

CSS Annual Report 2022



Foreword



**“Our mark of distinction:
Linking academia and
political consultancy.”**

Prof. Dr. Andreas Wenger,
Director, Center for Security Studies (CSS)

Russia's war in Ukraine, which began on February 24, 2022, dominated national and international security policy debates last year. The Russian invasion of Ukraine has already claimed thousands of lives, and the destruction of the country by military escalation is massive. On a political level, the war also has profound consequences for Europe and international relations: Defense, security and foreign policy, NATO, the system of nuclear control and cooperation between states are confronted with new realities. These implications for the security architecture also affect Switzerland, which is located in the heart of Europe.

An important focus of the CSS' work has therefore been to analyze and classify the current situation, its medium- and long-term implications, and to develop recommendations for the strategic direction and further development of Swiss foreign, security, and defense policy.

At the same time, the consequences of the rival interests of the great powers have continued to intensify. Geopolitical conflicts, the competition for technological supremacy – especially between the United States and China – as well as the uncertainties in global supply chains that became apparent not least during the Coronavirus Pandemic and the upheavals on the Asian continent in view of China's rise pose enormous challenges for the international community.

The articles in the CSS' annual publications have therefore addressed these important issues and changes in depth.

The “Bulletin 2022 on Swiss Security Policy” focused, among other things, on Switzerland's cooperation with its partner states in the field of security and defense policy, the military use of drones, and the priorities of Switzerland's UN Security Council membership.

The authors of the publication series “Strategic Trends” focused on relations between China and Russia, hypersonic technology as a political instrument in great power competition, the future of the nuclear arms control regime, and the reorganization of the “Indo-Pacific”.

This year, the annual “Studie Sicherheit” conducted a follow-up survey in response to the war in Ukraine to assess, among other things, the impact on neutrality as a guiding political principle in Switzerland.

This annual report provides an overview of our activities and is intended to encourage reading of our publications. Our publications are available online on our website www.css.ethz.ch. If you would like to receive regular updates on CSS publications, you can sign up for our monthly newsletter here, www.css.ethz.ch/en/center/css-newsletter.html, or follow us on Twitter (@CSS_ETHZurich), Facebook (@CSS.ETHZurich) or LinkedIn.

I wish you a stimulating read.

Prof. Dr. Andreas Wenger
Director, Center for Security Studies (CSS)



Table of Contents

3	Foreword
7	In Focus 2022 Russia's War in Ukraine Contributions to the Further Development of Swiss Foreign, Security and Defense Policy Various Highlights
10	CSS Core Themes New Technologies: Geopolitics and Governance The Asian Order in Transition Perspectives on Euro-Atlantic Security Mediation and Peace Promotion Military Doctrine and Arms Procurement Cyber Security Politics Socio-technical Resilience and Disaster Preparedness
17	The CSS in Figures
19	CSS Research Selected Books and Book Chapters Selected Journal Articles Research Projects
25	CSS Think Tank Publications Dialogue Platforms Policy Consultancy
37	CSS Education Education Programs Continuing Education
43	About the CSS



Russia's War in Ukraine

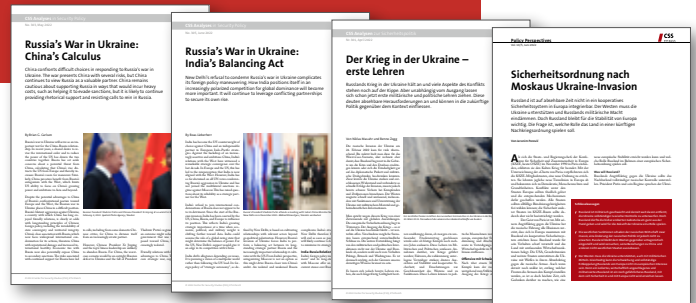
On February 24, 2022, the Russian attack on Ukraine began. Armed Russian troops invaded Ukrainian territory across the country's borders. Since then, the Ukrainian army has been fighting against the Russian invaders. CSS Researchers helped to frame the situation with contributions to national and international media, background analysis, publications and CSS dialogue platforms.

ETH Workshop on Security Policy: "The Impact of the War in Ukraine".

On June 3, 2022, the CSS hosted an ETH Workshop on "The Impact of the War in Ukraine". High-level panels discussed the dynamics of war and conflict management, the medium- and long-term global and regional impacts, and the implications for Swiss security and defense policy.

Publications

In numerous CSS Analyses and Policy Perspectives, CSS Researchers have analyzed the global implications of the Russian war in Ukraine. Contributions to the Bulletin on Swiss Security Policy and Strategic Trends 2022 have also taken a closer look at the consequences of this military confrontation.



Media Contributions

CSS Researchers' analysis, commentary, and interviews on Russia's war in Ukraine in 2022 have been featured in national and international media nearly 500 times.

TagesAnzeiger

Neue Zürcher Zeitung

The New York Times

SRF

RTS

LE TEMPS

The Guardian

BBC NEWS

WSJ

RSI

Daily Mail

POLITICO

The Washington Post

THE DIPLOMAT

Contributions to the Further Development of Swiss Foreign, Security and Defense Policy

With a series of publications and various activities in the field of policy advice, the CSS made significant contributions and valuable inputs to the further development of Swiss foreign, security and defense policy in 2022.

Capability Message: Planning Scenarios and Variants of the Orientation of the Armed Forces

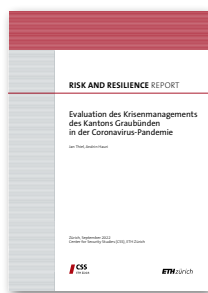
CSS Director Andreas Wenger advised and supported the Chief of the Armed Forces, Lieutenant General Thomas Süssli, and his staff in the development of the capability message with his expertise in several briefings and meetings.

CSS Briefing Paper: Switzerland's Security and Defense Cooperation in Europe: Possibilities for Expanded Cooperation

At the request of the DDPS, CSS Researchers wrote a CSS Briefing Paper that impacted the supplementary report to the Federal Council's Security Policy Report. This supplementary report was published on September 7, 2022. CSS Director Andreas Wenger participated as an expert in a hearing on the 2021 Security Policy Report before the Security Policy Commission of the National Council (SiK-N) on January 17, 2022, and presented the CSS Briefing Paper to the Security Policy Commission of the Council of States (SiK-S) on October 24, 2022.

Evaluation of the Crisis Management of the Canton of Graubünden in the Coronavirus Pandemic

On June 24, 2022, the CSS hosted an ETH Workshop on "The Future of Swiss Crisis Management". Four high-level panels discussed the role of the Confederation in Switzerland's crisis management, cantonal crisis management, international cooperation in crisis management, and the topic of science and crisis management.



On September 8, 2022, the CSS Risk and Resilience Report of the same name was published. The focus of the evaluation is on the further development of the cantonal crisis organization regarding the entire spectrum of hazards in the canton as well as cantonal cooperation with the federal authorities and other cantons.

AVIS Review 22

CSS Researchers actively supported the FDFA's AVIS Review 22 Process:

- June 27, 2022: Participation and keynote presentation by Sophie-Charlotte Fischer on the geopolitical dimension of technology supply chains at "Workshop 2: How Much Economic, Financial, and Technological Unbundling Do We Need to Prepare For?".
- August 12, 2022: Participation and keynote speech by Andreas Wenger at "Workshop 5: Europe's New Strategic Situation – Implications for CH Foreign Policy".
- September 5, 2022: Participation of Andreas Wenger in the meeting of the Sounding Board at the von Wattenwyl House at the invitation of Federal Councillor Ignazio Cassis.
- September 29, 2022: Participation of Andreas Wenger in the online meeting of the Sounding Board.

ICRC Course Series

The CSS Cybersecurity Team has developed a full-week course for 15 staff members from the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and other humanitarian organizations on “Cybersecurity policy, geopolitics, and strategy”. The course covers cybersecurity topics relevant to security policy, including what capabilities military actors have, the role of intelligence agencies, how political attribution works, and what international norms exist in cyberspace. In 2022, the course has been successfully held twice at ETH Zurich, and will continue to be held in 2023. As part of the “EPFL/ETHZ/ICRC Engineering Humanitarian Aid Partnership”, the course aims to improve the impact of humanitarian actors by promoting specific knowledge and skills.

The IT Army of Ukraine

The IT Army of Ukraine was created ad hoc and without a clearly structured or proven plan. Born out of necessity, the IT Army has subsequently evolved into a hybrid construct that is neither civilian nor military, neither public nor private, neither local nor international, and neither lawful nor unlawful. This CSS Cyberdefense Report by Stefan Soesanto provides the first comprehensive analysis of the structure, missions, and ecosystem of the IT Army.

The article has been downloaded nearly 20,000 times and remains the No. 1 hit on Google in a search for “IT Army”. It has been picked up by national and international media and has attracted government-level attention, including the German, French and Dutch Cyber Command and various ministries of defense and foreign affairs, among others.

“Maintaining rule-based orders and respecting international law are fundamental for Switzerland.” Interview with President of the Swiss Confederation Ignazio Cassis

In an interview for the Bulletin on Swiss Security Policy 2022, President of the Swiss Confederation Ignazio Cassis talks about the changing European security architecture in an increasingly multipolar world, increased security cooperation between Switzerland and the EU and NATO, and the role of the Organization for Security and Cooperation (OSCE) and the UN. While the OSCE, according to Cassis, can currently hardly fulfill its role due

to Russian aggression, the UN Security Council continues to function. Accordingly, Cassis is positive about Swiss membership in the Security Council for 2023 to 2024. He sees this mandate as an opportunity to bring Swiss strengths to bear and, in the process, make an important contribution to ensuring that the Security Council remains as capable of action as possible, even in times of heightened geopolitical tensions.

Journal Article:

The War in Ukraine and Global Nuclear Order

Russia's invasion of Ukraine has neither exposed the international system of nuclear control as toothless, nor brought it to the brink of collapse. The history of the global nuclear order shows how resilient it is in the face of unscrupulous actions by great powers. Alexander Bollfrass

and Stephen Herzog argue that nuclear targeting, threats to deter, and related efforts to mitigate risk are hardly new phenomena. Rather, the consequence of war has been to raise public awareness of the often unpalatable role nuclear weapons play in international politics.



Alexander Bollfrass, Stephen Herzog: **The War in Ukraine and Global Nuclear Order**
In: Survival, Taylor & Francis, 2022

CSS Core Theme

New Technologies: Geopolitics and Governance

The geopolitical dimension of new technologies, their applications in the military sphere, and the resulting governance challenges form a core theme of the CSS' work. The focus is on the use of geo-economic instruments in the competition of great powers for technological supremacy, the increasing importance of non-state actors in security policy, the influence of new technologies on warfare, and their limitation by possible state prohibitions of certain military applications.



News

Presentation by Sophie-Charlotte Fischer on the Geopolitics of Technology Supply chains as Part of the AVIS Process, June 2022

In June 2022, Sophie-Charlotte Fischer gave a presentation on the geopolitical dimension of technology supply chains at a workshop of the AVIS Process. She pointed out that the effects of technological decoupling between the US and China will also have an impact on Switzerland and formulated some policy recommendations to counter them at an early stage.

New Publications

Taylor Grossman, **Norms vs. Realities: Cyber at the UN**, *CSS Analyses in Security Policy*, No. 313.

Sophie-Charlotte Fischer, **France: A European Pioneer in the Geopolitics of Technology**, *CSS Analyses in Security Policy*, No. 302.

Sophie-Charlotte Fischer, **US-China «Tech Decoupling»: A Swiss Perspective**, *CSS Policy Perspectives*, 10/10.

Doctoral Theses

Sophie-Charlotte Fischer, **Mobilizing Technology Companies: How America Competes with China for Technological Supremacy**, *ETH Zurich (completed)*.

Tobias Pulver, **Technological Competition in an Interdependent World: How States Shape Commercial Economic Networks in Pursuit of Power**, *ETH Zurich (ongoing)*.

Other Activities

Quotes in the Media: **Im Ukraine-Krieg mischen die grossen Tech-Konzerne aktiv mit. Das ist gefährlich**
This NZZ article by Lukas Mäder with comments by CSS Researcher Mauro Gilli is about the involvement of large corporations like Microsoft or Elon Musk's Starlink in the Ukraine war and the problematic implications for all sides.

Online Article: The China Factor in Tech Export Controls Against Russia

Sophie-Charlotte Fischer looks at the technology export controls imposed on Russia by the U.S. and its allies and partners in response to the invasion of Ukraine in this Diplomats article. She argues that China will not undermine the export controls because of its own economic interests.

Quotes in the Media: Folgen von Huawei-Verbot in den USA schwer abschätzbar

Julian Kamasa addresses the consequences of banning new devices from Huawei and other Chinese manufacturers in the U.S. to SRF in a piece by Dario Pelosi.

Blog Post: Chip Shortages in the Light of Geopolitics and Climate Change

Julian Kamasa explains in his CSIS Strategic Technologies blog post that in addressing the current chip shortage, policymakers would be well advised to consider factors such as regional geopolitical power dynamics, the impact of climate change, and specific industrial needs.

CSS Core Theme

The Asian Order in Transition

Against the backdrop of China's rise, Asia is increasingly gaining political, economic, and military influence. CSS Researchers analyze how the regional order in Asia is changing because of the "Indo-Pacific" concept promoted by Japan, Australia, the United States, and India. The focus is on the associated competition between the U.S. and China, the closer cooperation between Beijing and Moscow, India's rise in importance, and the challenges and opportunities for smaller and medium-sized Asian states.



Other Activities

Media Article: **Der Indopazifik: Auf dem Schachbrett der amerikanischen Geopolitik taucht eine neue Region auf**

The central arena of strategic competition between the United States and China is the so-called Indo-Pacific. Behind it lies a new geopolitical concept. It is likely to fundamentally change Asia, argue Boas Lieberherr and Linda Maduz in a NZZ article.

Interview: **Machtkampf um Taiwan – Noch verhindert die Abschreckung einen Krieg im Pazifikraum**

Commenting on the goals and ambitions of China and the United States in the Pacific region, Brian Carlson argued in an interview with SRF against the backdrop of current military maneuvers that at the moment neither side would risk an armed conflict over Taiwan. However, the probability of a Chinese attack is likely to increase in the coming years.

Short Presentation: **Was steckt hinter dem Begriff der «regelbasierten Ordnung»?**

At the State-of-Asia conference of Asia Society Switzerland, Boas Lieberherr spoke about the diverging views on the concept of rule-based order. In the conceptual ambiguity could be the benefit of the concept from the point of view of the proponents. It remains unclear whether this will lead to a better common understanding of the central rules, norms, and institutions of the future international order.

News

Indo-Pacific: The Reconstruction of a Region in: *Strategic Trends 2022*

Boas Lieberherr and Linda Maduz discuss the extent to which the Indo-Pacific represents a new conceptualization of Asia. The Indian Ocean region and the Asia-Pacific are understood as a coherent strategic space. They show that the transition from the previously used "Asia-Pacific" to the "Indo-Pacific" is associated with four trends: the shift from an economic to a security agenda, from bottom-up to top-down regionalism, from multilateralism to minilateralism, and from the inclusion to the exclusion of China.

New Publications

Linda Maduz, N vine Schepers, **Seoul's Bolstered Defense Ambitions**, *CSS Analyses in Security Policy*, No. 311.

Boas Lieberherr, **Russia's War in Ukraine: India's Balancing Act**, *CSS Analyses in Security Policy*, No. 305.

Niklas Masuhr, N vine Schepers, **AUKUS: Below the Surface**, *CSS Analyses in Security Policy*, No. 300.

Brian Carlson, **China-Russia Relations and Asian Security**, in: *Strategic Trends 2022*.

CSS Core Theme

Perspectives on Euro-Atlantic Security

This thematic area focuses on developments in the field of Euro-Atlantic security structures relevant to Swiss foreign, security and defense policy. The focus is on security organizations such as NATO and the OSCE, military cooperation within the EU and arms control. Also covered are relations between Russia and Europe as well as challenges facing Europe with regard to North Africa and the Middle East.



News

Strategic Shifts and NATO's new Strategic Concept

NDC Research Paper, June 2022

This NATO Defense College article, co-authored by CSS Researchers Mauro Gilli, Nina Silove, and Max Smeets, analyzes the systemic changes taking place in the Alliance's broader strategic landscape and emphasizes the need for NATO's new strategy to fully reflect these changes. As part of the project, a workshop was held in Rome with high-level participants from NATO.

New Publications

Oliver Thränert, **Russia as a Nuclear Power**, *CSS Analyses in Security Policy*, No. 312.

Eemeli Isoaho, Niklas Masuhr, Fabien Merz, **Finland's NATO Accession**, *CSS Analyses in Security Policy*, No. 310.

Henrik Larsen, **NATO's Strategic Concept: Tempered Ambitions**, *CSS Analyses in Security Policy*, No. 309.

Dominika Kunertova, **European Defense Policy: Zeitenwende, Ltd.**, *CSS Analyses in Security Policy*, No. 304.

Névine Schepers, **Russia's War and the Global Nuclear Order**, *CSS Policy Perspectives*, 10/6.

Other Activities

Television Appearances: **SRF News spezial Eskalation im Ukraine-Konflikt / Krieg in der Ukraine**

On February 22, 24 and 28, the head of the CSS Think Tank, Dr. Oliver Thränert, appeared as an expert on SRF News spezial. The broadcasts focused on the consequences of the Russian invasion of Ukraine for European security.

Quotes in the Media: **Menace nucléaire: que cherche Vladimir Poutine?**

By putting deterrent weapons on heightened alert, Putin is distancing himself from Russia's doctrine. CSS Researcher Névine Schepers comments on the president's actions in this regard to Le Temps.

Lecture: **Swiss Ambassadors Conference**

In August 2022, on the annual Swiss Ambassadors Conference, Benno Zogg gave a presentation on the impact of the war in Ukraine on the countries "in between" and the role of Switzerland.

Quotes in the Media: **Wie sich die Schweiz auf eine mögliche nukleare Eskalation vorbereitet**

Switzerland is comparatively well prepared for a nuclear escalation, but even the legendary Swiss bunkers are not enough in the event of a large-scale nuclear war. Stephen Herzog assesses for SWI swissinfo which scenarios would be conceivable and how Switzerland's infrastructure is equipped for an emergency.

CSS Core Theme

Mediation and Peace Promotion

The CSS aims to study, develop, and promote effective forms of mediation in armed conflicts. The focus is on mediation support in peace processes, mediation in conflicts with a religious nature, and ceasefires in peace processes. Further, the role of local mediators, gender perspectives, the issue of environment and peace, and peacebuilding in fragile contexts are explored.



News

Mediation Space: Addressing Obstacles Stemming from Worldview Differences to Regain Negotiation Flexibility

CSS Mediation Resources

Jean-Nicolas Bitter, Simon Mason, Emanuel Schaeublin, Angela Ullmann

In many intra-state conflicts, the respective communities are highly polarized along ideological divides and have different views on what kind of society and state should be built. Such issues can deeply divide societies and block political processes and mediation efforts. This CSS Mediation Resources, developed in collaboration with the Swiss FDFA, proposes a method to address such blockages by having the authors analyze the main challenges that can arise from ideological differences in conflict and conflict transformation.

New Publications

Simon Mason, Olivia Lazard, **Klimawandel und Friedensmediation: Die Natur in Verhandlungen einbeziehen**, in: *Bulletin 2022 on Swiss Security Policy*.

Christine Eriksen, Andrin Hauri, Joane Holliger, Simon Mason, Fabien Merz, Benno Zogg, **The Climate Change – Security Interface**, *CSS Analyses in Security Policy*, No. 315.

Fritz Brugger, Joane Holliger, Simon Mason, **Triple Nexus in Fragile Contexts: Next Steps**, *CSS Policy Perspectives*, 10/9.

Corinne Bara, Govinda Clayton, **Your Reputation Precedes You: Ceasefires and Cooperative Credibility During Civil Conflict**, in: *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Sage 2022.

Govinda Clayton, Håvard Mokleiv Nygård, Håvard Strand, **Costs and Cover: Explaining the Onset of Ceasefires in Civil Conflict**, in: *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Sage 2022.

Allard Duursma, **Peacekeeping, Mediation, and the Conclusion of Local Ceasefires in Non-State Conflicts**, in: *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Sage 2022.

Other Activities

Television Appearance: Research for Peace

In this SRF Einstein episode on the topic of peace research, CSS Researchers Simon Mason and Eemeli Isoaho present part of their mediation training. In a simulated negotiation situation, participants experience first-hand how complicated and lengthy a mediation can be.

Workshop: Mediation for Peace Certificate Program

Katrina Abatis, together with the Federal Department of Foreign Affairs (FDFA), trained 16 young diplomats from the member states of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC). The training was part of the "Mediation for Peace" certificate program organized by the Diplomatic Academy of the Turkish government. Participants learned about Track 1 mediation and process design.

CSS Core Theme

Military Doctrine and Arms Procurement

Issues of military security and defense are increasingly gaining political relevance as great power rivalries continue to intensify. We identify trends in military doctrine, force structures, and arms policy. We monitor ongoing conflicts and their impact on defense debates at home and abroad. Furthermore, we study the influence of new technologies and analyze the defense and deterrence strategies of small states.

News

The Vulnerabilities of the Drone Age: Established Threats and Emerging Issues out to 2035

The NATO Science for Peace and Security Programme

James Rogers, Dominika Kunertova

The Vulnerabilities of the Drone Age (VDA) project team, led by James Rogers and CSS Researcher Dominika Kunertova, has gathered insights from three strategic foresight analysis workshops funded by the NATO Science for Peace and Security (SPS) program to analyze the global proliferation of drones to hostile states and non-state actors.



New Publications

Constant Despont, Dominika Kunertova, Niklas Masuhr: **Militärische Drohnennutzung: Erfahrungen, Technologie und Schweizer Optionen**, in: *Bulletin 2022 on Swiss Security Policy*.

Constant Despont, **French Defense at a Crossroads**, *CSS Analyses in Security Policy*, No. 307.

Constant Despont, **Understanding Capability-Based Planning**, *CSS Analyses in Security Policy*, No. 298.

Dominika Kunertova, **The Ukraine Drone Effect on European Militaries**, *CSS Policy Perspectives*, 10/15.

Dominika Kunertova, **New Hypersonic Weapons: Same but Different**, in: *Network for Strategic Analysis*, Policy Report 20.

Antonio Calcara, Andrea Gilli, Mauro Gilli, Ivan Zaccagnini, **Will the Drone Always Get Through? Offensive Myths and Defensive Realities**, in: *Security Studies*, 2022.

Other activities

Project Documentation: **ROBOST Factsheets: "Robotics in the Armed Forces"**

As part of a commissioned project on "Robotics in the Armed Forces" for armasuisse/Science and Technology, Michael Haas prepared individual fact sheets on the countries Australia, Estonia, France, Germany, Israel, PR China, Russia, Turkey, United States of America, and United Kingdom.

4+4 Discussion: **Drones**

In August 2022, a 4+4 discussion took place with representatives of the defense group of the DDPS, in which Andreas Wenger, Niklas Masuhr, Dominika Kunertova and Constant Despont participated on behalf of the CSS. Among other things, the military use of drones was discussed.

Conference Talk: **What is the impact of different types of conventional major weapons on recent battlefields?**

In this session organized by SIPRI at the 2022 Stockholm Security Conference, Dominika Kunertova discussed the role of new technologies in defining future battlefields, drawing on the initial experience of the war in Ukraine.

Radio Interview: **BBC World Service The Inquiry: Why is Russia's Invasion Plan Failing?**

In a BBC radio documentary, Niklas Masuhr discussed flawed military planning assumptions made by the Russian leadership after its failed initial invasion of Ukraine in early 2022.

Journal Article: **Why is Russia being so brutal in Ukraine?**

In a May 2022 article for *Political Violence At A Glance*, Julia Friedrich (Global Public Policy Institute, Berlin) and CSS Researcher Niklas Masuhr examined the structural causes of the Russian armed forces' brutal actions against Ukrainian civilians.

CSS Core Theme

Cyber Security Politics

Over the last decade, cyber incidents have become more costly, more damaging, and also more political. We focus on two interlinked problems: first, the use and misuse of digital technologies in politics, society, and business; and second, the ongoing negotiation processes among the state, society, and the private sector regarding the definition of roles, tasks, and rules of conduct in cyberspace.



News

DDPS Workshop on Information Warfare Policy Consultancy

Lennart Maschmeyer spoke as an external expert on the topic of influencing activities and disinformation at a workshop organized by the DDPS with high-ranking representatives from the General Secretariat of the DDPS, the Defense Group, the Federal Armaments Agency armasuisse, the Federal Intelligence Service and the Federal Office for Civil Protection.

Other Activities

Policy Consultancy: **Presentation at the DDPS on the topic of "Cybercommand"**

Based on his CSS Policy Perspective, "What it Takes to Develop a Military Cyber-Force", Max Smeets gave a presentation to the leadership team of the Swiss Cyber Command.

Blog Post: **Hack Global, Buy Local: The Inefficiencies of the Zero-Day Exploit Market**

The market for zero-day exploits is considered thriving, global, and ubiquitous. In this Lawfare blog post, Max Smeets explains that this market is prone to market failures due to the large information asymmetries between sellers and buyers.

Blog Post: **The Challenge: Cyberspace and Security in the Indo-Pacific**

In this blog post for FACTS Asia, Miguel Gomez provides an overview of the challenges the EU must consider as it pursues its cybersecurity agenda in the region.

Workshop & Report: **Cyber Operations During the 2022 Russian Invasion of Ukraine: Lessons Learned (so far)**

What key lessons can we learn about the role of cyber operations in military conflict from the Russian invasion of Ukraine? How do Russian cyber operations in wartime differ from those in peacetime? And what cyber activities can we expect in the coming months? These and other questions were discussed in the workshop organized by the European Cyber Conflict Research Initiative in Tallinn. The results are summarized in a report by Monica Kaminska, James Shires, and CSS Researcher Max Smeets.

New Publications

Max Smeets, **No Shortcuts: Why States Struggle to Develop a Military Cyber-Force**, Hurst Publishers, 2022.

Max Smeets, **What it Takes to Develop a Military Cyber-Force**, *CSS Policy Perspectives*, 10/7.

Lennart Maschmeyer, Myriam Dunn Cavelty, **Goodbye Cyberwar: Ukraine as Reality Check**, *CSS Policy Perspectives*, 10/3.

Kevin Kohler, **Cyberneutrality: Discouraging Collateral Damage**, *CSS Policy Perspectives*, 10/1.

Max Smeets, **A US History of not Conducting Cyber Attacks**, Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, 2022.

Lennart Maschmeyer, **A New and Better Quiet Option? Strategies of Subversion and Cyber Conflict**, in: *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 2022.

Stefan Soesanto, **The IT Army of Ukraine: Structure, Tasking, and Ecosystem**, *CSS Cyberdefense Reports*, 2022.

Stefan Soesanto, **EU Declarations, DDoS Attacks, and the Erosion of Norms and Rules for State Behaviour in Cyberspace**, *Real Instituto Elcano*, 2022.

Andrew C. Dwyer, Clare Stevens, Lilly Pijnenburg Muller, Myriam Dunn Cavelty, Lizzie Coles-Kemp, Pip Thornton, **What Can a Critical Cybersecurity Do?**, in: *International Political Sociology*, 2022.

CSS Core Theme

Socio-technical Resilience and Disaster Preparedness

This core theme deals with the security of societies and their critical infrastructures under consideration of natural, social and technical risk factors. Resilience is studied as a system-specific phenomenon in order to understand the dynamic and contextual characteristics of complex socio-technical systems and thus contribute to the further development of future civil protection.



News

A Comparative Assessment of Mobile Device-Based Multi-Hazard Warnings: Saving Lives Through Public Alerts in Europe

CSS Risk and Resilience Reports

CSS Researchers Andrin Hauri, Kevin Kohler, and Benjamin Scharte discuss the advantages and disadvantages of different options of electronic public warning systems and compare seven multi-hazard warning apps from eight European countries to make recommendations for the future development of the Swiss warning app AlertSwiss.

New Publications

Jan Thiel, Andrin Hauri, **Evaluation des Krisenmanagements des Kantons Graubünden in der Coronavirus-Pandemie**, *CSS Risk and Resilience Reports*.

Christine Eriksen, Andrin Hauri, David Nicolai, **Adapting Civil Protection to a Changing Climate**, *CSS Policy Perspectives*, 10/12.

Christine Eriksen, Andrin Hauri, **When Crises Collide: Energy, Security, Climate Change**, *CSS Policy Perspectives*, 10/8.

Billy Tusker Haworth, Scott McKinnon, Christine Eriksen, **Advancing Disaster Geographies: From marginalisation to inclusion of gender and sexual minorities**, *Geography Compass*, 2022.

Other Activities

Radio-Interview: Innovation und Überforderung: Das Gespräch mit Andrin Hauri von der ETH Zürich zum Bündner Krisenmanagement

How good was the crisis management of the Canton of Graubünden during the pandemic? In which areas is there the greatest need for action? How did internal and external communication go during the crisis? What was the greatest achievement of the Graubünden crisis organization? CSS Researcher Andrin Hauri answers these and other questions in an interview with SRF 1 Regionaljournal Graubünden.

Presentation: A Comparative Assessment of Mobile Device-Based Multi-Hazard Warnings

At the Alertswiss community event in Bern on March 31, 2022, which brought together the practitioners responsible for the Alertswiss app and experts at the cantonal and federal level, CSS Researchers Andrin Hauri and Kevin Kohler presented the key findings from their study and discussed possible further developments of the Swiss alert chain with those present.

Presentation: Coping with Climate Change and Wildfires through Gender Equity

CSS Researcher Christine Eriksen presented her research findings on how cultural norms and gender inequalities affect society's ability to cope with wildfires as part of a side event coordinated by the NGO Committee on the Status of Women to the 66th session of the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women.

The CSS in Figures

Among the top ten most viewed websites at ETH Zurich,
was that of CSS with **626,995** views.

A total of **886,397** documents were
downloaded from the CSS website.

Most frequently the Russian Analytical Digest (RAD) issues
with **223,710** downloads.

The CSS Analyses were downloaded **145,372** times.

The CSS has **16,300** followers on *Twitter*,
nearly **110,000** on *Facebook*
and over **23,100** on *LinkedIn*.

CSS staff contributed
to **20** different courses
at ETH Zurich,
reaching **614** students.

CSS employees
gave more than **335** lectures
to academic and non-academic audiences.

In its advisory role,
the CSS has entered into dialogue
more than **115** times
with CSS partners in politics and administration
in workshops, hearings and other formats.

CSS employees published **12** articles
in Swiss newspapers,
were quoted **47** times
83 in Swiss media, and interviewed
times by Swiss media.

Honors

- › *Allard Duursma* received an SNF Starting Grant and will conduct research on **"Peacekeeping, Peacemaking, and Patronage Politics in Non-State Conflicts"**. He was also awarded the ISA 2022 ISS Best Security Article Award by the International Studies Association (ISA).
- › *Govinda Clayton* received the International Interactions Award for Best Data Paper 2020–21 from the International Interactions Journal for his paper, **"United Nations peace initiatives 1946-2015: introducing a new dataset"**.
- › CSS Researcher *Christine Eriksen*, along with Eliza de Vet, was honored with the 2021 Wiley Prize for their article **"Untangling insurance, rebuilding, and wellbeing in bushfire recovery"**, which was published in *Geographical Research* in November 2020.



CSS Research



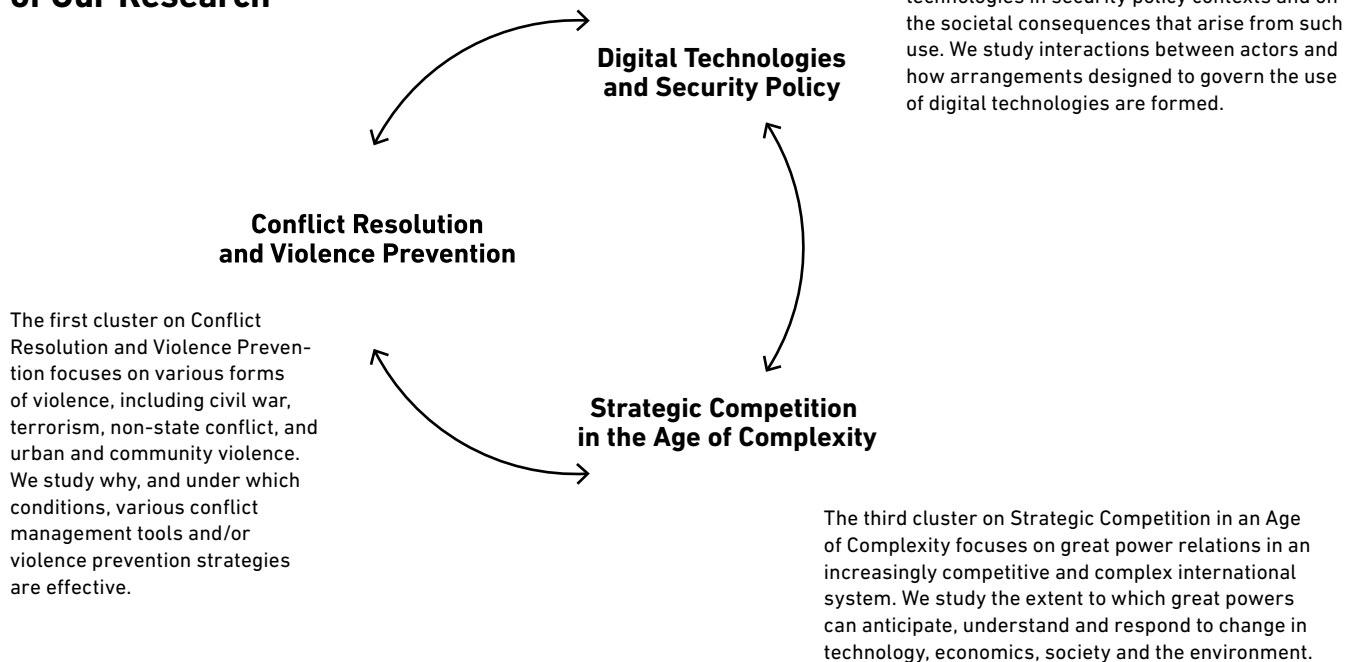
“Research at CSS is diverse, interdisciplinary and relevant.”

Dr. Myriam Dunn Cavelty,
Deputy Head CSS Research and Teaching

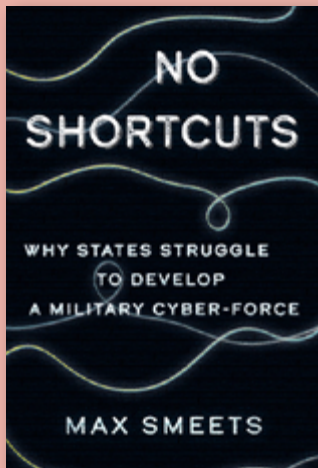
CSS research is dedicated to a wide range of security policy issues with high socio-political relevance. We distinguish ourselves through excellent, innovative and high-impact academic research; a dialogue with practitioners and the broader public about the results of that research; and the provision of high-quality teaching for academic and practitioner students. Our research is theory-driven, empirically grounded, and methodologically pluralistic. We are concerned with old and new threats to states and their

societies and with the way in which key actors organize to address these threats. The analysis of causes and consequences of political violence, of shifts in security thinking, and of institutions, political processes, norms, and policies to mitigate insecurity, define us. It is true that we operate in an inherently inter- and transdisciplinary field: We draw on explanatory approaches from international relations, international history, science and technology studies, political sociology, political psychology, and criminology.

The Three Clusters of Our Research



Selected Books and Book Chapters



Max Smeets

No Shortcuts: Why States Struggle to Develop a Military Cyber-Force

2022

[Website of the publisher](#)

Over the past decade, numerous states have declared cyberspace a new area of warfare. They sought to develop a military cyber strategy and establish a cyber command. No Shortcuts provides a level-headed overview of where we are in the militarization of cyberspace. In this book, CSS Researcher Max Smeets bridges the gap between technology and policy to assess the necessary building blocks for states to develop military cyber capabilities. He argues that for many states, the barriers to entry into conflict in cyberspace are currently too high. Accompanied by a variety of empirical examples, Max Smeets shows why state capabilities to develop military cyber capabilities might change over time and explains the limitations of capability transfer by states and private actors. ■

Brian Carlson

China-Russia Cooperation in Nuclear Deterrence

In: Russia-China Relations, Springer, 2022

[Online version](#)

Historically, nuclear issues have played an important role in the development of relations between Moscow and Beijing. They have served as a source of both potential discord and emerging cooperation. Cooperation between China and Russia to strengthen their respective nuclear deterrents is already an important factor in international security and could grow in importance over time. The book chapter by CSS Researcher Brian Carlson assesses past cooperation between China and Russia on nuclear deterrence and the potential for further cooperation in this area. ■

Rachel Reimer, Christine Eriksen

Leadership in Mountain and Wildland Professions in Canada

In: Gender and the Social Dimensions of Climate Change, Routledge, 2022

[Online version](#)

Seasonal hazards occur in mountains and wilderness areas that require risk management strategies for people to coexist safely in these environments. This chapter, written by Rachel Reimer and CSS researcher Christine Eriksen, explores the intersectional gendered dimensions of occupational cultures in mountain and wilderness settings. It focuses on the work of mountain guides in winter, avalanche work, and summer firefighting in the western mountain provinces of Canada. ■

CSS Studies in Security and International Relations

The CSS Studies in Security and International Relations focus on historical and current security policy issues. Based on a broadened concept of security, the series presents itself as a forum for innovative research. The authors of the studies include both CSS Researchers as well as scholars from associated partner institutes.

In this series the following books have already been published:

Myriam Dunn Cavelty, Andreas Wenger (Hrsg.)
Cyber Security Politics: Socio-Technological Transformations and Political Fragmentation
 2022

Andreas Wenger, Ursula Jasper, Myriam Dunn Cavelty (Hrsg.)
The Politics and Science of Prevision
 2021

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

Roland Popp, Liviu Horovitz, Andreas Wenger (Hrsg.)
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

Selected Journal Articles



Lennart Maschmeyer
Subversion, Cyber Operations, and Reverse Structural Power in World Politics

In: European Journal of International Relations, SAGE Publications, 2022

The Russian-sponsored influence campaign on the 2016 U.S. presidential election highlighted a gap in theories of (cyber) power. Lennart Maschmeyer argues that this campaign demonstrated the importance of subversion, a hitherto under-researched tool of power. Integrating intelligence science and international relations theory, he develops an innovative theory of subversion as reverse structural power. This theory helps explain two unresolved problems in cybersecurity: the capability-vulnerability paradox and the outsized role of nonstate actors. ■



Corinne Bara, Govinda Clayton
Your Reputation Precedes You: Ceasefires and Cooperative Credibility During Civil Conflict

In: Journal of Conflict Resolution, SAGE Publications, 2022

How does the state's behavior in negotiations with a non-state group influence the behavior of other non-state actors? In this article in the Journal of Conflict Resolution, Corinne Bara and Govinda Clayton argue that the dynamics of different conflicts within a country are interdependent and that a state develops a certain reputation through its interactions with individual parties to a conflict. ■



Henrik Larsen

Adapting NATO to Great-Power Competition

In: The Washington Quarterly, Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2022

In this article in The Washington Quarterly, Henrik Larsen writes about NATO's opportunities and risks in the face of current challenges and how the Europeans should mount the main defense against Russia. He argues that growing conflicts among the great powers are exacerbating existing problems and that NATO needs to rethink its role in combating Russian and Chinese gray-area warfare and growing influence, which will have a long-term impact on the alliance's cohesion. ■



Allard Duursma

Peacekeeping, Mediation, and the Conclusion of Local Ceasefires in Non-State Conflicts

In: Journal of Conflict Resolution, SAGE Publications, 2022

Most studies focus on the impact of mediation and peacekeeping on armed conflicts between government and rebels and ignore non-state conflicts between different rebel groups or communal groups. This Journal of Conflict Resolution article aims to fill this research gap. Allard Duursma theorizes how military and civilian components of peacekeeping operations contribute to the conclusion of local ceasefires in non-state conflicts involving armed opposition groups or communal groups. ■



Antonio Calcara, Andrea Gilli, Mauro Gilli, Raffaele Marchetti, Ivan Zaccagnini

Why Drones Have Not Revolutionized War: The Enduring Hider-Finder Competition in Air Warfare

In: International Security, MIT Press, 2022

Conventional wisdom in security studies holds that drones have revolutionary implications for war and world politics. In this article, Antonio Calcara, Andrea Gilli, CSS Researcher Mauro Gilli, Raffaele Marchetti, and Ivan Zaccagnini challenge this theory by analyzing three conflicts in which drones have been used on a large scale. They conclude that drones per se do not have the revolutionary impact that many attribute to them. ■

Doctoral Program of the Center for Comparative and International Studies (CIS)

At the heart of the doctoral program of the Center for Comparative and International Studies (CIS) is the writing of the dissertation. Additionally, the students attend – complementary to their previous courses of study – courses in their respective specialties. The following dissertations were supervised by the CSS in 2022:

- › *Tobias Pulver*
Technological Competition in an Interdependent World: How States Shape Commercial Economic Networks in Pursuit of Power
- › *Markus Geray*
You Shall (not) Pass: Where, Why, and How Armed Groups use Roadblocks in Violent Conflicts
- › *Jennifer Scurrall*
How Artificial Intelligence Modifies Political Opinion Formation – An Experimental Approach to Understand the Influence of Political Bots in Online Social Networks
- › *Claudia Wiehler*
Contagious Escalation: Investigating Network Effects Between Community-based and Militarized Conflict Dyads
- › *Nicholas Bahrigh*
Foreign Relations through the lens of the Firm: How Policy Risk shapes the Global Economic and Security Environment
- › *Samuel Lloyd (ISTP Doctorate)*
Urban Policies as Tools for Enhancing Informal Social Control Processes and Reducing Crime in Public Space
- › *Amos Dossi*
Balancing Scale against Heterogeneity: How Military-Technological Complexity Influences Optimal Framework Size in Armaments Procurement (University of St. Gallen)
- › *Birke Pfeifle*
Civilian Infrastructure Targeting in War and its Humanitarian Consequences: Uncovering Spatial Patterns using Satellite Imagery

Research Project Remote Monitoring of Armed Conflicts: Strengthening early warning capacities in armed conflicts through AI

The Remote Monitoring of Armed Conflicts (RMAC) project aims to automatically detect conflict-related events using a combination of open-source satellite images and machine learning. The goal is to facilitate better humanitarian responses from organizations working in armed conflicts. These organizations currently identify, verify, and document conflict-related events manually using satellite images. However, due to their labor-intensive nature, these processes can only be done on an ad-hoc basis. By combining open-source satellite images with machine learning, the RMAC project has the potential to automate these processes, thereby enabling organizations to monitor conflicts more systematically and supporting humanitarian responses to conflicts worldwide. The project is a collaboration between the EcoVision Lab, the Center for Security Studies, the International Committee of the Red Cross, UNDPPA, and AAAS and will run from 2022 to 2026.

Research Project Ceasefire Projekt: Introducing the ETH/PRIO Civil Conflict Ceasefire Dataset

The project builds on an ongoing collaboration between researchers at the Center for Security Studies (CSS) at ETH Zurich, the Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO), and Uppsala University. It is generously funded by the Folke Bernadotte Academy (FBA), the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the Swedish Research Council.

An important contribution of the project was the creation of the ETH/PRIO Civil Conflict CeaseFire (CF) dataset. This contains information on all ceasefires during civil wars between 1989 and 2021, and is the first global comparative database on ceasefires in civil wars that contains information on the entire family of ceasefires, including unilateral, verbal, written, and unimplemented ceasefires. It also includes information on the purpose, timing, and nature of the ceasefire. The dataset is compatible with other conflict datasets, particularly the UCDP conflict database. It was featured in a 2022 article in the Journal of Conflict Resolution.



CSS Think Tank



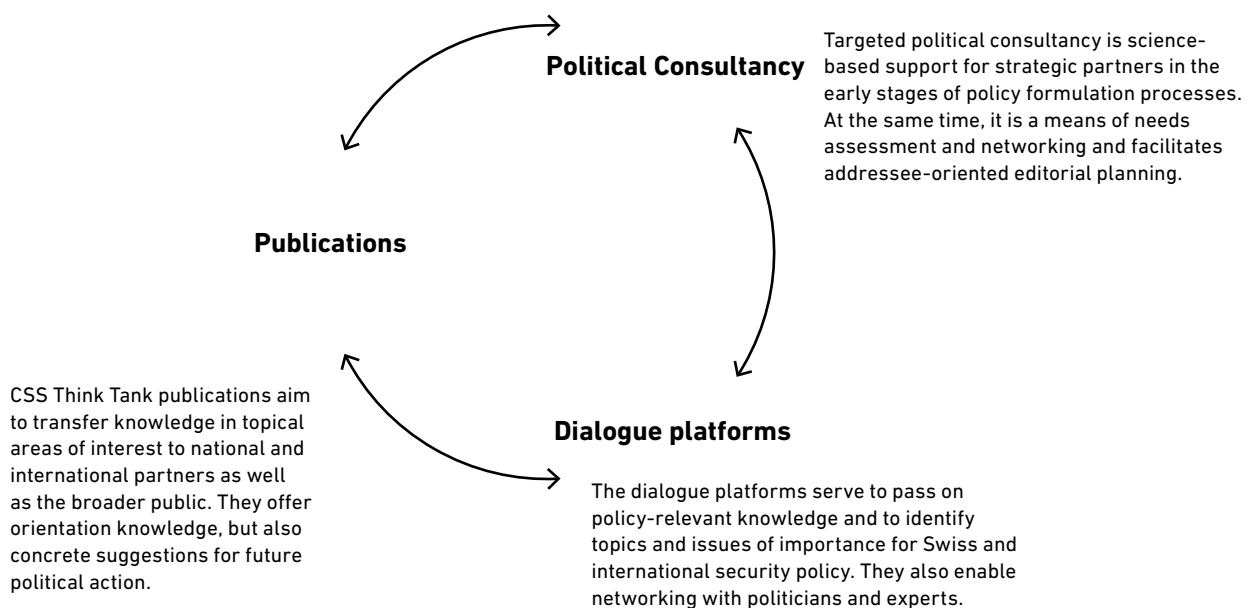
“Political consultancy thrives through constant dialogue with policymakers and society.”

Dr. Oliver Thränert,
Head CSS Think Tank

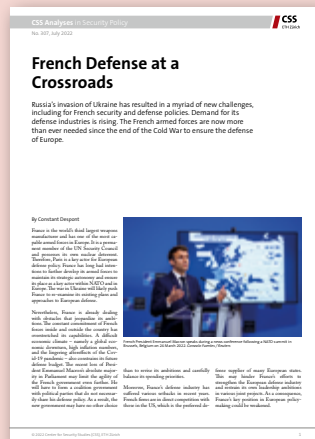
The basis of the CSS Think Tank's work is its understanding of science-based advisory work as part of a continuous dialogue between politics, science and society. Knowledge production aimed at consultancy is not a one-way street. What issues are relevant or to be prioritized for politics and society cannot be developed by the CSS Think Tank on its own. Rather, this can only succeed if its employees are in constant dialogue with politics and society. Therefore, the CSS Think Tank is in constant and close exchange with its strategic partners. The resulting knowledge about the needs of politics and society allows for an early anticipation of topics.

It also feeds into editorial planning for publications, dialogue platforms and policy advice. The feedback on the written and oral products forms the basis for further topic planning. In short, the dialogue-based knowledge production of the CSS Think Tank results in needs-oriented advice, which in turn leads to the raising of new questions.

Think Tank Work as a Dialogue among Science, Politics and Society



CSS Analyses in Security Policy



Newsletter CSS Analyses
A newsletter that regularly reports on the latest issues can be subscribed to at www.css.ethz.ch/cssanalyses.

Since 2006, the CSS Analyses in Security Policy have been discussing current foreign and security policy developments and their backgrounds in a concise form. The topics are often examined with a view to Switzerland, but usually also appeal to an international audience.

CSS analyses are published on the first Wednesday of the month (except January, July and August) in German, French and English.

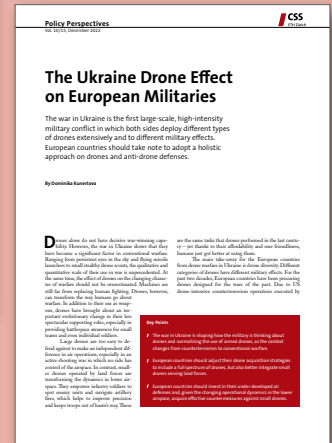
Editors: Névine Schepers, Sophie-Charlotte Fischer, Julian Kamasa, Fabien Merz and Benno Zogg.

All CSS Analyses 2022

- No. 316: **Russia's Future as an Energy Power**
Jeronim Perović
- No. 315: **The Climate Change – Security Interface**
Christine Eriksen, Andrin Hauri, Joane Holliger, Simon Mason, Fabien Merz, Benno Zogg
- No. 314: **Ukraine's Uncertain Path to the EU**
Henrik Larsen
- No. 313: **Norms vs. Realities: Cyber at the UN**
Taylor Grossman
- No. 312: **Russia as a Nuclear Power**
Oliver Thränert
- No. 311: **Seoul's Bolstered Defense Ambitions**
Linda Maduz, Névine Schepers
- No. 310: **Finland's NATO Accession**
Eemeli Isoaho, Niklas Masuhr, Fabien Merz
- No. 309: **NATO's Strategic Concept: Tempered Ambitions**
Henrik Larsen
- No. 308: **Geopolitical Dimensions of the Energy Transition**
Julian Kamasa
- No. 307: **French Defense at a Crossroads**
Constant Despont
- No. 306: **NATO's Adaptation to the Russia Threat**
Henrik Larsen
- No. 305: **Russia's War in Ukraine: India's Balancing Act**
Boas Lieberherr
- No. 304: **European Defense Policy: Zeitenwende, Ltd.**
Dominika Kunertova
- No. 303: **Russia's War in Ukraine: China's Calculus**
Brian Carlson
- No. 302: **France: A European Pioneer in the Geopolitics of Technology**
Sophie-Charlotte Fischer
- No. 301: **The War in Ukraine – First Lessons**
Niklas Masuhr, Benno Zogg
- No. 300: **AUKUS: Below the Surface**
Niklas Masuhr, Névine Schepers
- No. 299: **The State of the Islamic State**
Fabien Merz
- No. 298: **Understanding Capability-Based Planning**
Constant Despont
- No. 297: **National Approaches to Ransomware Protection**
Nele Achten

CSS Policy Perspectives

CSS Policy Perspectives Newsletter
A newsletter, which provides regular updates on the latest issues, can be subscribed to at www.css.ethz.ch/en/publications/css-policy-perspectives.html.



In the CSS Policy Perspectives, CSS staff members analyze current security policy issues, sometimes in co-authorship with international guest authors. CSS Policy Perspectives are produced on an ad hoc basis and translate the CSS' academic expertise into policy-oriented analyses and recommendations for action. The publication targets an international audience and is therefore mostly written in English. Fifteen CSS Policy Perspectives were published in the reporting year 2022:

All CSS Policy Perspectives 2022

- › **The Ukraine Drone Effect on European Militaries**
- › **Minsk's Signals: Belarus and the War in Ukraine**
- › **The China Factor in Russia's War in Ukraine**
- › **Adapting Civil Protection to a Changing Climate**
- › **Tense Triangle in Asia: The South Korea Factor**
- › **US-China "Tech Decoupling": A Swiss Perspective**
- › **Triple Nexus in Fragile Contexts: Next Steps**
- › **When Crises Collide: Energy, Security, Climate Change**
- › **What it Takes to Develop a Military Cyber-Force**
- › **Russia's War and the Global Nuclear Order**
- › **Sicherheitsordnung nach Moskaus Ukraine-Invasion**
- › **The War Against Ukraine Shapes NATO's Future**
- › **Goodbye Cyberwar: Ukraine as Reality Check**
- › **Ceasefire Monitoring and Verification Technology**
- › **Cyberneutrality: Discouraging Collateral Damage**

Russian Analytical Digest



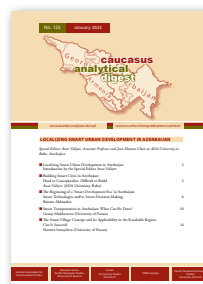
The Russian Analytical Digest (RAD) analyzes recent events, trends and developments within contemporary Russian politics, economics and business, foreign policy, security and society. Each issue contains original academic and policy relevant research articles by authors from across the globe, and topical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

Russian Analytical Digest (RAD)

- › No. 290: **Wagner Group**
- › No. 289: **Russia's Relations with its Regional Allies since 24th February 2022**
- › No. 288: **Brain Drain from Russia after February 24th 2022**
- › No. 287: **How the War Affects the Eurasian Economic Union**
- › No. 286: **War and Church**
- › No. 285: **Economic Dysfunctionalities**
- › No. 284: **Energy and War**
- › No. 283: **Political and Economic Consequences of Russia's War against Ukraine**
- › No. 282: **Russian Information Warfare**
- › No. 281: **Political Regime Stability / Universities / Agriculture**
- › No. 280: **Sanctions against Russia; Russia's War in Ukraine on Social Media**
- › No. 279: **Russia and Afghanistan After the Withdrawal of the USA and Its Allies**
- › No. 278: **Russia's Invasion of Ukraine: First Assessments and Geopolitical Implications**
- › No. 277: **Russian Military Build-up around Ukraine – Part 2**
- › No. 276: **Russian Military Build-up around Ukraine – Part 1**
- › No. 275: **Russia's Role in the Contemporary International Agri-Food Trade System**

Caucasus Analytical Digest

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



Caucasus Analytical Digest (CAD)

- › No. 130: **Impact of the Russia-Ukraine War on Black Sea Geopolitics**
- › No. 129: **Perspectives on Europe**
- › No. 128: **Aftermath of the 2020 Karabakh War: New Geopolitical Reality in the South Caucasus**
- › No. 127: **Ambitious Agenda – Limited Substance? Critical Examinations of the EU's Resilience Turn in the South Caucasus**
- › No. 126: **Responses to Covid-19: Displaced Persons / International Aid**

Bulletin 2022 on Swiss Security Policy

The Bulletin 2022 on Swiss Security Policy once again deals with current topics of Swiss foreign and security policy. It opens with an interview with the President of the Swiss Confederation and Head of the Federal Department of Foreign Affairs (FDFA), Ignazio Cassis. The authors take a forward-thinking look at military drone use, Switzerland's security and defense policy cooperation in the shadow of Russia's war in Ukraine, priorities for Swiss UN Security Council membership, the cross-connections between peace mediation and climate protection, and the role of technology in cease-fire monitoring.



The entire bulletin, including the interview and all five articles, can be downloaded as a pdf (in German): [Onlineversion](#)

Switzerland's Security and Defense Cooperation in the Shadow of Russia's War in Ukraine

In this article, Amos Dossi and Sophie-Charlotte Fischer examine the possible implications of the Ukraine war for Swiss cooperation strategies in the security and defense sector. While Switzerland has established a close-meshed and institutionally strong network of multilateral relations in the field of European domestic security policy since the 1990s, it limited its defense cooperation to the military policy working level, relying primarily on bilateral and minilateral formats. This model worked well for a long time; however, the changed security situation and adjustments on the part of partner states suggest further development and diversification here.

Military Drone Use: Experiences, Technology and Swiss Options

In this article, Constant Despont, Dominika Kunertova and Niklas Masuhr discuss the military use of drones, which have become an indispensable part of military operations. At the same time, however, it would be an exaggeration to speak of a military revolution caused by drones. Given the offensive potential of increasing autonomy of the systems, no purely technological solution to drone defense can be expected in the foreseeable future. Accordingly, Despont, Kunertova and Masuhr argue regarding Switzerland that drones are and will remain a task for the whole state.

Priorities of Swiss UN Security Council Membership

In this article, Fabien Merz highlights the opportunities and ambitions associated with the four thematic priorities of Swiss Security Council membership for the period 2023–2024. He shows what Switzerland has to offer in the areas of promoting sustainable peace, protecting civilians, climate security, and increasing the Council's efficiency. He argues that Switzerland's foreign policy profile puts it in a good position to offer added value in these areas and to contribute constructively to the Council.

Strategic Trends 2022

The Strategic Trends publication series offers an annual analysis of important world political developments. The focus is on issues of international security. The volumes contain in-depth studies of selected key trends and are enriched with numerous graphics. The series is published in English.

The chapters in this year's volume address important trends in world politics at a time of rapid change and great uncertainty. The authors have looked at events up to April 1, knowing full well that the situation may change significantly by the time the volume is scheduled for publication in May. Nonetheless, the four chapters address key strategic trends that will shape international security in the years ahead, regardless of the outcome of the Russian war in Ukraine.



China-Russia Relations and Asian Security

In the first chapter, Brian Carlson analyzes China-Russia relations and the implications for Asian security.

Hypersonic Weapons: Emerging, Disruptive, Political

In the second chapter, Dominika Kunterova explains how hypersonic technology has become a political tool in the great power competition between the United States, China, and Russia.

Transatlantic Security and the Future of Nuclear Arms Control

In the third chapter, N vine Schepers argues that Russia's war in Ukraine significantly complicates nuclear arms control efforts, while underscoring their necessity given the increased risk of nuclear escalation.

Indo-Pacific: The Reconstruction of a Region

In the concluding chapter, Boas Lieberherr and Linda Maduz analyze the emerging concept of the Indo-Pacific, particularly with regard to its strategic implications.

On May 13, 2022, the CSS, on the occasion of the publication "Strategic Trends 2022", invited to the ETH conference "World Political Situation 2022". Two selected articles were published in short form on the same day on a double page of the Neue Z rcher Zeitung. The first article was about the Indo-Pacific. This is a relatively new regional framework driven primarily by the United States, Australia, India and Japan. East Asia, the Pacific region, and the Indian Ocean are seen as one strategically connected area. The second text focused on the future of arms control. In view of new nuclear dynamics – not least in the light of Russian nuclear threats in the context of Moscow's invasion of Ukraine – it was more important than ever before. In view of difficult political and technological contexts, however, it is not easy to give arms control the importance it deserves.



Studie Sicherheit 2022

Aussen-, Sicherheits- und Verteidigungspolitische
Meinungsbildung im Trend



Author(s): **Tibor Szvircsev Tresch, Andreas Wenger, Stefano De Rosa, Thomas Ferst, Jacques Robert, Patric Rohr**
Editor(s): **Tibor Szvircsev Tresch, Andreas Wenger**

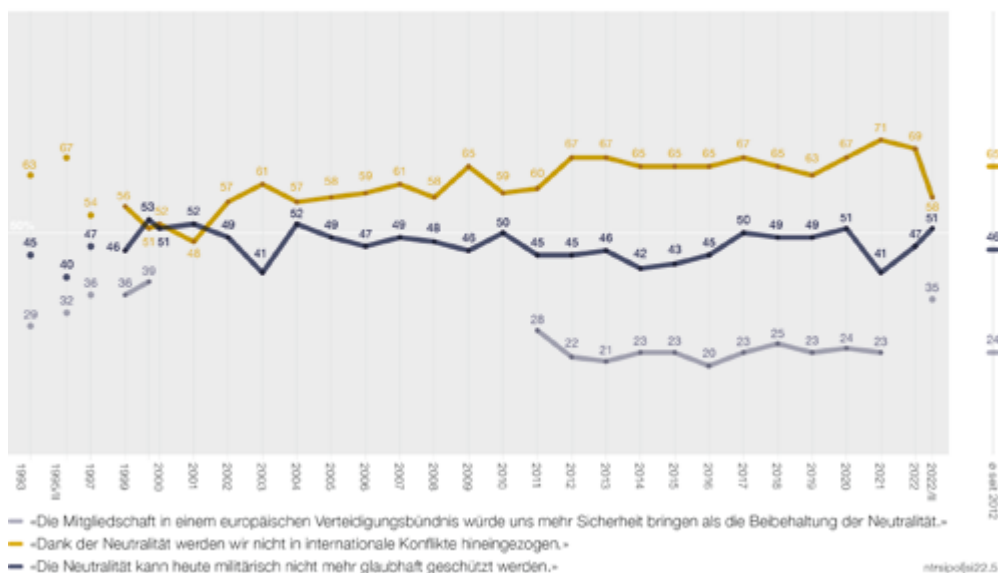
The publication is published in German and includes summaries in German, French, Italian and English. [Onlineversion](#)

The annual study "Sicherheit", which is published jointly by the Military Academy at ETH Zurich (MILAC) and the CSS, serves to identify long-term trends in the formation of opinion on foreign, security and defense policy in Switzerland.

In January 2022, the Swiss continue to feel very secure and remain united and almost unanimous in their support for neutrality. In terms of foreign policy, the Swiss electorate's low willingness to open up continues. Respondents continue to have a positive attitude toward the Swiss Army. Compared to 2018, support for a mandatory orientation day for women has declined. However, a majority tends to be in favor. The data for the "Sicherheit 2022" study was collected between January 4 and 20, 2022. Due to the war in Ukraine, a follow-up survey was conducted this year.

With the war in Ukraine, Swiss people are taking a more pessimistic view of the future. The war is leading to a more critical view of Swiss neutrality. At the same time, security policy cooperation with NATO or the EU is becoming more popular. In addition, Swiss people want to strengthen Switzerland's defense capabilities. Therefore, good training and equipment of the army are demanded. This is shown by the results of the follow-up survey of the "Sicherheit 2022" study. The follow-up survey took place at the beginning of June 2022.

«Die Schweiz verfolgt seit langer Zeit eine Politik der Neutralität. Welchen der folgenden Aussagen würden Sie zustimmen?»
sehr einverstanden / eher einverstanden in Prozent, gerundet



Security Policy Functions of Neutrality.
In: Follow-up survey of the "Sicherheit 2022" study due to the war in Ukraine.

CSS Dialogue Platforms

ETH Workshop on Security Policy: “Implications of the War in Ukraine”

On June 3, 2022, the CSS hosted an ETH Workshop on “Implications of the War in Ukraine”. Four high-level panels discussed the following topics: Dynamics of war and conflict management, medium- and long-term global and regional impacts, implications for Swiss security and defense policy, and assessments from policymakers. ■

ETH Workshop on Security Policy: “The Future of Swiss Crisis Management”

On June 24, 2022, the CSS hosted an ETH Workshop on “The Future of Swiss Crisis Management”. Four high-level panels discussed the following topics: the role of the federal government in Switzerland’s crisis management, cantonal crisis management, international cooperation in crisis management, and science and crisis management. ■

ETH Evening Talk: Book Launch: “No Shortcuts: Why States Struggle to Develop a Military Cyber-Force”

On June 22, 2022, the Center for Security Studies (CSS) at ETH Zurich hosted an ETH Evening Talk on the occasion of the launch of CSS Researcher Max Smeets’ new book. The discussion was moderated by Senior Lecturer for Security Studies and Deputy for Research and Teaching at the CSS, Myriam Dunn Cavelty. ■

ETH Evening Talk: “Building New Alliances? US Policy in the Middle East”

On June 30, 2022, the CSS hosted an ETH Evening Talk on “Building New Alliances? US Policy in the Middle East”. Michael Singh, Lane-Swig Senior Fellow and Managing Director at the Washington Institute and former Senior Director for Middle East Affairs at the National Security Council presented his views on US policy in the Middle East considering current challenges in the Middle East, such as the rapprochement between Israel and certain Arab countries or Iran’s influence on regional security and Tehran’s nuclear program. ■

ETH Evening Talk: “Great Power Conflicts and Domestic Security: The Importance of Critical Supply Chains”

As part of the ETH Evening Talks event series, the Center for Security Studies (CSS) invited Prof. Dr. Heribert Dieter, researcher at the Stiftung für Wissenschaft und Politik in Berlin and adjunct professor at the University of Potsdam, and Dr. Sophie-Charlotte Fischer, CSS Researcher in the Swiss and Euro-Atlantic Security Team, on September 28, 2022, to shed light on the U.S.-China global conflict from a political economy as well as security policy perspective. They focused primarily on the role of critical supply chains. ■

ETH Lecture Event: “The Consequences of the Russian Invasion of Ukraine for European Security”

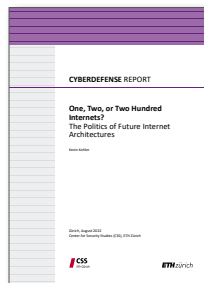
On November 10, 2022, at the invitation of the Center for Security Studies (CSS), Ambassador (ret.) Dr. Christoph Heusgen, Chairman of the Munich Security Conference, spoke about the implications of the Russian war in Ukraine for European security policy. According to Ambassador Heusgen, an important question is whether Europe has the capacity to stand together and cooperate militarily in conflicts on or at the edge of the continent. He stressed several times that the West must continue to support Ukraine, even though high (and rising) energy prices, inflation, and the upcoming recession are causing more and more people to critically question the support for Ukraine. ■



CSS Political Consultancy

Selected Studies

In its advisory role, the CSS supports various public sector actors working in the field of security policy.



Kevin Kohler

One, Two, or Two Hundred Internets?: The Politics of Future Internet Architectures

Center for Security Studies (CSS), 2022

The Internet has grown massively since its commercialization and globalization in the 1990s. Yet, despite its success, the notion that the Internet could lose its global character looms large. The debate plays out in two variants. In the first, the Internet is evolving into a “splinternet” made up of multiple national Internets due to intentional access and connectivity restrictions imposed by governments. A second assertion that emerged with the onset of the U.S.-China “trade war” in 2018 is that we are moving toward a bifurcation between a Western and a Chinese Internet. This CSS Cyberdefense Report provides an overview of the discourse on the fragmentation and bifurcation of the Internet. ■

Andrin Hauri, Kevin Kohler, Benjamin Scharte

A Comparative Assessment of Mobile Device-Based Multi-Hazard Warnings: Saving Lives through Public Alerts in Europe

Center for Security Studies (CSS), 2022

While there are many different forms of public alert systems, those that use electronic communication services offer several advantages. For example, their reach is much greater because much of the population always has a cell phone with them. This report describes the challenges for such multi-hazard warning apps and based on that, presents several recommendations to address them. ■

Center for Security Studies (CSS)
at ETH Zürich

Swiss Security and Defense Cooperation in Europe: Options for Further Development

CSS Briefing Paper, 2022

The Russian war against Ukraine has shaken the foundations of the European security order that has evolved since 1989. European states are placing new priority on strengthening their military preparedness as well as their economic and social resilience. NATO is experi-



encing a renaissance as part of these efforts – see the accession of Sweden and Finland – and the EU, too, seems to be adapting its political priorities to the new situation. These upheavals affect the planning bases of Swiss security and defense policy in a variety of incisive ways. One important aspect is multilateral security and defense cooperation. On behalf of the Federal Department of Defense, Civil Protection and Sport (DDPS), CSS has prepared a briefing paper. It shows how Switzerland can position itself actively and expediently in this increasingly important area of intergovernmental cooperation. ■



Spiez Laboratory: The Swiss Federal Institute for NBC-Protection
in collaboration with the Center for Security Studies

Spiez CONVERGENCE Report on the Fifth Conference

Center for Security Studies (CSS), 2022

In 2022, the report on the fifth Spiez Convergence Conference, in which participants discussed new developments in science and technology and their potential impact on chemical and biological weapons interdiction regulations, was published: [Online version](#). ■

Selected Hearings, Workshops and Courses

Course for Higher Cadres of the Swiss Security Network (LG SVS II / 2022)

On August 31, 2022, Prof. Andreas Wenger gave the opening lecture followed by a discussion at the SSN senior management course in Bern on "Switzerland's security policy in a historical perspective". ■

Autumn seminar with the management of the Federal Office for Civil Protection FOCP

At the invitation of FOCP Director Dr. Michaela Schärer, CSS Director Prof. Andreas Wenger participated as an external expert in a high-level workshop on strategic issues with the FOCP Executive Board on October 20, 2022. ■

4+4 Discussion on Drones

On August 25, 2022, a 4+4 discussion on drones took place with representatives of the DDPS Defense Group, in which Prof. Andreas Wenger, Niklas Masuhr, Dr. Dominika Kunertova and Constant Despont participated on behalf of the CSS. The CSS provided substantive inputs on military drones, operational empirics, technology, and Swiss options in the field of drones against the backdrop of the Armed Forces' priorities, among other topics. Future contributions of the CSS, as well as the cooperation with the Swiss Drone and Robotics Center (SDRZ VBS) in Thun were also discussed. ■

DDPS Workshop on "Information Warfare"

Lennart Maschmeyer gave a presentation on the topic of influence activities and disinformation as an external expert at a workshop organized by the DDPS with high-ranking representatives from the General Secretariat of the DDPS, the Defense Group, the Federal Armaments Agency armasuisse, the Federal Intelligence Service and the Federal Office for Civil Protection. ■

Cyber Ceasefires

On October 10–11, 2022, mediation, ceasefire, and cyber experts met in Zurich to discuss how best to integrate offensive cyber capabilities into peace processes. It was the first meeting on this topic and was co-sponsored by the United Nations Mediation Support Unit and the CSS. The workshop further developed ideas first presented in the CSS publication "Cyber Ceasefires". The findings will inform new UN guidelines next year. ■



Participants of the Cyber Ceasefires Workshop.

Contributions to SCHWEIZ 2035: Lage- und Umfeldanalyse at the request of the Federal Chancellery:

Two CSS contributions were presented as part of the book publication "Schweiz 2035: Think Tanks beantworten 20 Zukunftsfragen" on May 25, 2022:

1 Will Switzerland have to fend off a cyberattack from another country on its critical infrastructures by 2035?

Digitization, networking and the increasing complexity of IT offer cyber attackers opportunities to sabotage functional processes of critical infrastructures and thus, if necessary, also to exert political pressure. Dr. Myriam Dunn Cavelty and CSS Director Prof. Andreas Wenger expect more cyberattacks on critical infrastructure by 2035. They write in their article that these are unlikely to be destructive attacks of a warlike nature, however, but rather espionage activities or small acts of sabotage.

2 Will Switzerland still be neutral in 2035?

As international relations continue to develop, the question increasingly arises as to whether it will still be possible for Switzerland to remain neutral in the future. According to CSS Director Prof. Andreas Wenger and CSS Think Tank Head Dr. Oliver Thränert, it will still be so in 2035. They explain the various functions of neutrality and classify the role of the concept in the current and future context of globalization and great power rivalries. ■

Blending Homegrown Peacebuilding Solutions to Overcome Protracted Pastoral Conflicts in Africa: Experience-sharing workshop for the East and Southern Africa Region

This workshop with mediation and peace practitioners from Kenya, Zimbabwe, Somalia, and South Sudan took place in Nairobi, Kenya, November 22–24, 2022, and was co-organized by the Mediation Support Project (CSS and swisspeace, funded by the FDFA) with the Swiss Embassy in Kenya, Garissa University and the Frontier Counties Development



Impressions from the workshop in Kenya for the presentation of the book “Mediation and Governance”.

[Link to the video of the workshop](#)

Council. “Mediation and Governance in Fragile Contexts: Small Steps to Peace” was launched and brought together representatives of governments and civil society working at the global, regional, and local levels to develop and achieve Sustainable Development Goal 16 (promote peace, inclusiveness and end violence). Participants reflected on and improved their mediation and peacebuilding practices and explored how Dekha Ibrahim Abdi’s insights on mediation and peacebuilding can be applied to current challenges. ■



Islamic Scholars Shape the Behavior of Armed Groups

A webinar on “The Role of Islamic Jurists in Shaping Armed Group Behavior” in the context of conflict, negotiation, and governance activities was organized on February 1, 2022, by Culture and Religion in Mediation (CARIM, a joint program of the CSS and the FDFA) in partnership with the Cordoba Peace Institute (CPI). Fifty experts, government representatives, and peace practitioners from the UN, EU, Switzerland, Africa, and MENA gathered to discuss the preliminary findings of a pilot study of cases from Mali, Syria, and Iraq conducted by the CPI with support from the Templeton Charity Foundation Switzerland and the FDFA. ■

Peace Mediation Course

From July 3–15, 2022, the annual Peace Mediation Course took place in Saanen, Switzerland. The course once again brought together top-notch trainers and 25 motivated practitioners to deepen their understanding of peace mediation and acquire the necessary skills and knowledge to effectively support mediation processes. The course is offered by the Federal Department of Foreign Affairs (FDFA) and organized jointly with the Mediation Support Project (CSS and swisspeace, funded by the FDFA). ■

Workshop on Dialogue in Kenya

Dialogue and trust are key to sustainable peace. In 2022, the Culture and Religion in Mediation (CARIM) program, a joint program of the CSS and the FDFA, held several meetings in Kenya with the Swiss Embassy and UNDP to discuss the importance of and support for inclusive, locally led, and community-driven dialogues. ■





CSS Education

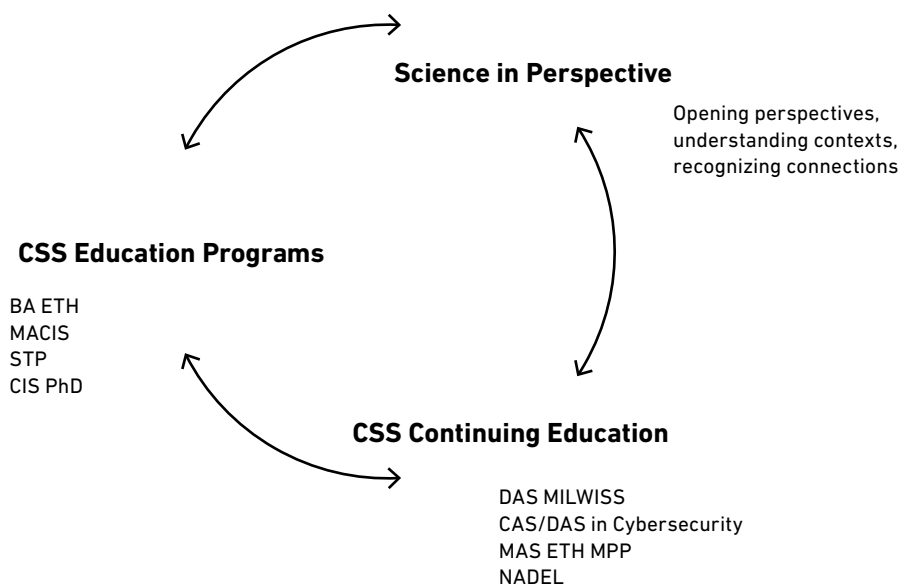
The CSS education courses are a central part of the study programs of the Department of Humanities, Social and Political Sciences (D-GESS) of ETH Zurich and the Center for Comparative and International Studies (CIS) of ETH Zurich and the University of Zurich.

Our courses cover all aspects of security policy within the framework of ETH teaching, from theory

to concepts and history to specific topics. The teaching ranges from introductory lectures with tutorials to research-oriented seminars.

Prof. Andreas Wenger is program director for the Master of Advanced Studies ETH Mediation in Peace Processes (MAS ETH MPP).

CSS Education: Education Programs and Continuing Education



CSS Education Programs

BA ETH in Political Science

The six-semester bachelor's degree program BA Governmental Sciences is aimed at prospective Swiss professional officers. It comprises a curriculum of humanities, social and political science subjects, which are supplemented with military science courses. The program is a collaboration between the Department of Humanities, Social and Political Sciences (D-GESS) at ETH Zurich and the Military Academy (MILAK) at ETH Zurich. The students are at the same time graduates of the Bachelor Course (BLG) at MILAK.

The following courses were offered by CSS in 2022:

Lectures:

- › Schweizer Aussen- und Sicherheitspolitik seit 1945 (*Spring Semester 2022*)
- › Weltpolitik seit 1945: Geschichte der Internationalen Beziehungen (*Fall Semester 2022*)
- › Die Rolle von Technologie in nationaler und internationaler Sicherheitspolitik (*Fall Semester 2022*)
- › Einführung in die Cybersicherheitspolitik (*Fall Semester 2022*)

Seminars:

- › Seminar I: Zunehmende Grossmachtkonkurrenz: Neue Machtkonstellationen und ihre Auswirkungen auf internationale und regionale Sicherheit (*Spring Semester 2022*)
- › Seminar II: Zunehmende Grossmachtkonkurrenz: Neue Machtkonstellationen und ihre Auswirkungen auf internationale und regionale Sicherheit (*Fall Semester 2022*)

Master of Arts in Comparative and International Studies (MACIS)

MACIS is a four-semester research-oriented graduate program of the Center for Comparative and International Studies (CIS). The MACIS curriculum combines comparative and international political science to teach students about the complex interrelationships between national, international, and transnational political processes. Special emphasis is placed on methods, theories, and research-oriented work. In this respect, the MACIS also sees itself as preparation for the doctoral level. Of the national and international applicants, about 20 students can be accepted each year.

The following courses were offered by CSS in 2022:

Seminars:

- › Ending Violence (*Spring Semester 2022*)
- › Political Violence (*Fall Semester 2022*)
- › Introduction to Security Studies (*Fall Semester 2022*)

Science in Perspective / Science in Context

With the course program Science in Perspective / Wissenschaft im Kontext, the D-GESS enables students at ETH Zurich to gain new perspectives on the content of their core subjects. SiP thus enriches studies at ETH Zurich and contributes to the university's unique profile. Various CSS staff members teach in this course program. In the lectures, political contexts are conveyed without which science and technology would be inconceivable. The aim is to empower students to recognize and critically question connections between scientific knowledge, technical innovations, cultural contexts, individuals, and societies. In this way, they expand their reflective competence and are prepared for societal and global developments of the future.

The following courses were offered by CSS in 2022:

Lectures:

- › Schweizer Aussen- und Sicherheitspolitik seit 1945 (*Spring Semester 2022*)
- › Weltpolitik seit 1945: Geschichte der Internationalen Beziehungen (*Fall Semester 2022*)
- › Einführung in die Cybersicherheitspolitik (*Fall Semester 2022*)
- › Die Rolle von Technologie in nationaler und internationaler Sicherheitspolitik (*Fall Semester 2022*)

CIS Doctoral Program

The Center for Comparative and International Studies (CIS) offers different ways to complete a doctoral program. The 12 ECTS doctorates of the Department of Humanities, Social and State Sciences (D-GESS) at ETH Zurich specialize in one of the five core research topics – Democracy, Market and Politics, Political Violence, Sustainable Development, and Security. It is possible to pursue a subject-specific or cross-disciplinary doctorate. The subject-specific doctorate is intended for candidates who have completed a master's degree in a subject area of a D-GESS professorship.

(e.g. law, history, philosophy, political science, sociology, economics). The Master's degree should have a similar focus as the doctorate. The cross-disciplinary D-GESS doctorate is recommended for candidates who have obtained a Master of Science (MSc) in natural or technical sciences from ETH Zurich or another university. The D-GESS doctorate requires cooperation with another ETH department – e.g. in the form of co-referees from the natural or technical sciences of ETH Zurich.

Master of Advanced Studies ETH Mediation in Peace Processes (MAS ETH MPP)

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

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

In 2022, a total of three modules were conducted. Module 2 “Mediation Methods – Negotiation/Mediation Theories and Skills” in March provided students with the core concepts and techniques of negotiation and mediation. In June, Module 3 “Mediation Content – Substance of Peace Processes and Peace Agreements” highlighted five key issues such as security, justice, power sharing, economics and the environment from a peace mediation perspective. Module 4, “Mediation Process Design – Models, Theory, and Practice”, in November addressed key elements of process design such as inclusion, negotiation venue, mediation style, and mandate.

In addition, the MAS ETH MPP program continued its “Mediation Exchanges” series of events open exclusively to the program’s community of practice (i.e., current and former students, strategic partners, and the CSS). The following events were offered virtually:

- › 1/2022 “Environmental Cooperation to Promote Peace in the Middle East” with ECOPEACE, a trilateral Jordanian, Palestinian and Israeli environmental peacebuilding organization.
- › 2/2022 “The War in Ukraine: Geopolitics and Prospects for Peace” with mediation and dialogue expert (and MAS ETH MPP lecturer) Denis Matveev, Dr. Christina Horváth Stenner, Mediation Support Officer at the OSCE in Vienna and MAS ETH MPP graduate, and Benno Zogg, former Senior Researcher and Head of the Swiss and Euro-Atlantic Security Team at CSS.
- › 3/2022 “The Conflict in Myanmar: Narratives, International Norms, and Prospects for Peace” with Emma Leslie, founder of the Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies in Cambodia.

Modules:

- › Module 2: Mediation Methods – Negotiation/Mediation Theories and Skills (March 7 – March 18, 2022)
- › Module 3: Mediation Content – Substance of Peace Processes and Peace Agreements (June 13 – July 1, 2022)
- › Module 4: Mediation Process Design – Models, Theory, and Practice (October 31 – November 18, 2022)



MAS students performing an exercise during a program module



Panel MAS ETH MPP Policy Forum (Heidi Hostettler)

In June 2022, the MAS ETH MPP program held its first Alumni Meeting as part of the Strategic Advisory Board and Policy Forum meeting on “Innovating Peace Mediation: New Approaches and Strategies”. The event featured working groups on four major macro trends in armed conflict (geopolitics, worldviews, technology, and environment) and their implications for professionalizing peace mediation, and concluded with a high-level panel discussion. The alumni meeting brought together current MAS ETH MPP students and alumni from the two previous cycles to explore various case studies presented by participants, as well as mediation research and skills.

The main results of the Policy Forum discussions were summarized in a report: [Online version](#). In each case, insights are provided on the general implications of the field for armed conflict and peace mediation and on possible innovations. A reading list and a list of innovations for peace mediation, as well as a brief description of the Policy Forum methodology and participants, are also included.



DAS ETH in Military Science

The two-semester continuing education program Diploma of Advanced Studies ETH in Military Science (DAS MILWISS) is aimed at prospective professional officers who already have a university degree or equivalent qualification. Admitted are Swiss, but also representatives of friendly foreign armies who were simultaneously accepted into the Diploma Course of the Military Academy (MILAK) at the ETH Zurich (DLG).

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

On March 15, 2023, 35 graduates of the bachelor's degree program (BSG19) and the diploma program (DAS21) of the Military Academy were graduated at ETH. For the first time since 2020, the graduation ceremony could again take place in the usual setting at ETH. In the presence of numerous invited guests as well as family members and friends, the graduates were bid farewell in a festive setting and were able to receive their diplomas as federally certified professional officers at the Audi Max.

CAS / DAS ETH in Cyber Security

This program takes a multidisciplinary approach that examines both technical and strategic policy aspects of information and cybersecurity. In addition to an introduction to the subject and a seminar on a current cybersecurity topic, lecturers from the Department D-GESS offer a course on political, strategic, governmental and military aspects of cybersecurity.

CSS employees taught in three courses during the 2022 Fall Semester:

- › Realities of Cyber Conflict (Max Smeets)
- › Perceptions of Cyber Conflict (Miguel Gomez)
- › Attribution (Max Smeets)

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 practitioners, pursuing the goal of contributing to effective and sustainable development cooperation.

The CSS cooperates with the NADEL on two courses, both of which took place in 2022:

- › Mediation Process Design – Supporting Dialogue and Negotiation
- › Fragile Contexts – The Nexus between Humanitarian Aid, Peace and Development

About 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.

Management, employees

Since 2002, the CSS has been headed by Prof. Dr. Andreas Wenger. He is professor for Swiss and International Security Policy at ETH Zurich and program director of the MAS ETH Mediation in Peace Processes. The CSS employs a total of about 60 staff members. ■

Partner network

The CSS has a large network of national and international partners from academia, administration, policy, the media, and the private sector. ■

National Task

Since 2021, the CSS represents an open-ended national task transferred to the ETH Domain by the Federal Council. Already since 2004, the CSS of ETH Zurich has maintained a strategic partnership with the Federal Department of Defense, Civil Protection and Sport (DDPS). This was followed in 2012 by a further partnership with the Federal Department of Foreign Affairs (FDFA). The advisory boards, made up of representatives of the respective sponsoring bodies, support the CSS management in the strategic orientation of the center. The CSS is located in the Department of Humanities, Social and Political Sciences (D-GESS) at ETH Zurich. Together with the political science professorships of ETH Zurich and the University of Zurich, it has formed the Center for Comparative and International Studies (CIS) since 1997. ■

CSS Internship

Each year, CSS offers six-week internships for four students from master's or bachelor's programs who are in their final year of study. ■

Alumni

Former employees of the CSS are organized in the Alumni Fachgruppe CSS of the ETH Alumni. In addition to a wide range of benefits, they also receive regular information from the ETH Alumni Association and, in particular, invitations to selected CSS events. ■

ETH Zürich
Center for Security Studies (CSS)
Haldeneggsteig 4, IFW
8092 Zürich

www.css.ethz.ch

Publisher: Andreas Wenger, CSS Director
Editor: Sarah Krenz
Design: Miriam Dahinden-Ganzoni
Photos: Center for Security Studies (CSS), ETH Zurich
Printing: Staffel Medien AG, Zürich

© ETH Zürich, May 2023