

CSS Annual Report 2023



Foreword



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

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

Russia’s continued war of aggression against Ukraine, Hamas’ terrorist attack on Israel, Israel’s offensive in the Gaza Strip, attacks by Houthi rebels in the Red Sea, the ongoing tensions over Taiwan, climate change: 2023 was characterized by multiple, overlapping crises with serious implications for global security. Defense, security, and foreign policy are confronted with major challenges, both globally and in Switzerland.

One of the CSS Think Tank’s key objectives is to analyze and classify emerging security dynamics, anticipate the likely medium and long-term implications, and to provide advice to its institutional partners – the Federal Department of Defense, Civil Protection and Sport (DDPS) and the Federal Department of Foreign Affairs (FDFA) – on the further development of Swiss foreign, security, and defense policy. Further details can be found on pages 8 and 9.

CSS basic research in 2023 has also shed light on topics that are of central importance in view of the multiple crises. One research project is investigating how constraints on the use and proliferation of nuclear weapons, which are currently faltering, can be strengthened. Another research project is examining the digitalization of conflict environments, which poses new challenges for humanitarian organizations such as the ICRC.

The fragmented global situation also calls for new strategies and innovations in international cooperation. To promote these, ETH Zürich and the United Nations signed a Memorandum of Understanding in October 2023 to intensify their collaboration. As part of this partnership, the CSS, together with the UN Operations and Crisis Centre (UNOCC), has been leading a research project on conflict-event prediction for UN Peacekeeping since 2021. The Master of Advanced Studies ETH Mediation in Peace Processes, which also trains UN mediators, illustrates the relevance of this close partnership. On page 12, you can read about the areas in which CSS worked with the United Nations in 2023.

We wish you an inspiring – and hopeful – read. If you would like to receive regular updates on CSS publications, you can sign up for our monthly newsletter on the CSS website or follow us on X (@CSS_ETHZurich), Facebook (@CSS.ETHZurich) or LinkedIn.

Prof. Dr. Andreas Wenger

Director, Center for Security Studies (CSS)



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About the Center for Security Studies (CSS)

The CSS is committed to researching Swiss and international security issues. It offers security policy expertise in research, teaching and consultancy. 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 junior professionals and serves as a point of contact and source of information for the interested public.

Management and 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. ■

CSS Internship

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

National Task

Since 2021, the CSS represents an open-ended national task transferred to the ETH Domain by the Federal Council. The CSS has maintained a strategic partnership with the Federal Department of Defense, Civil Protection, and Sport (DDPS) since 2004, and a partnership with the Federal Department of Foreign Affairs (FDFA) since 2012. The advisory boards, made up of representatives of the respective sponsoring bodies, support 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. ■

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. ■

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

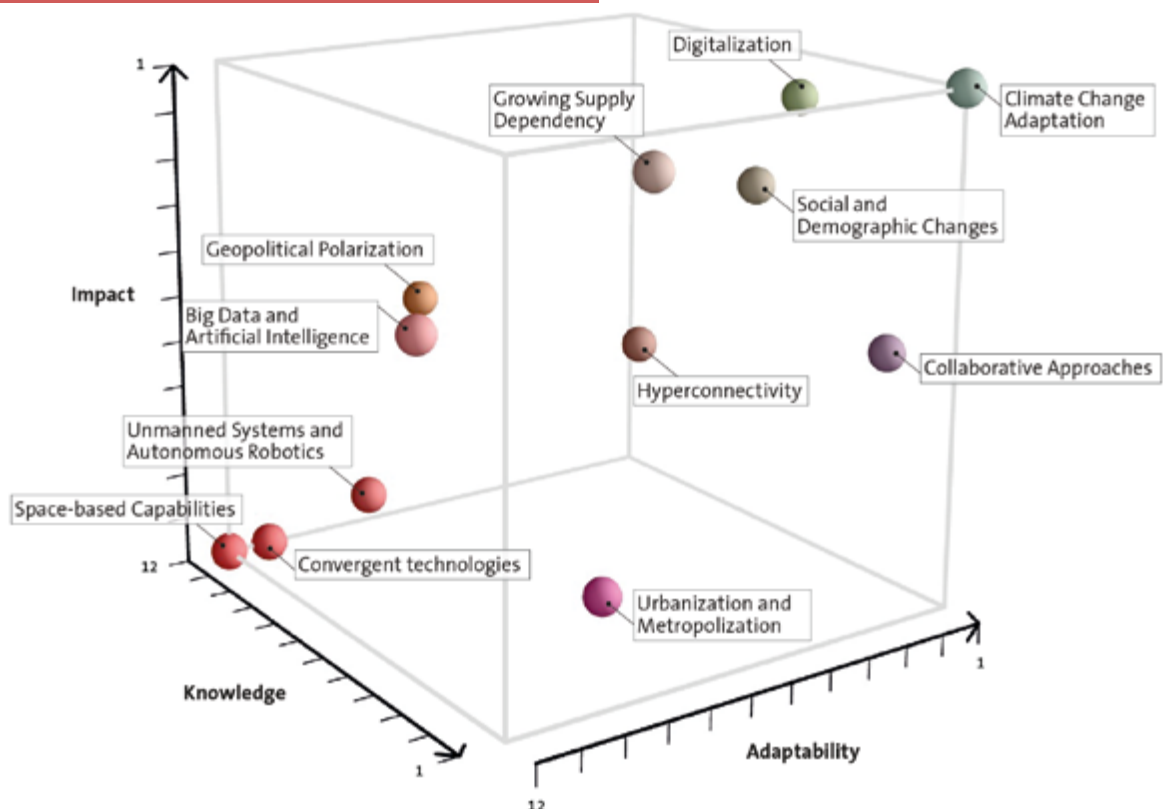
As a center of competence for Swiss and international security policy, the Center for Security Studies (CSS) combines research with policy advice. It works closely with its strategic partners – the Federal Department of Defence, Civil Protection, and Sport (DDPS) and the Federal Department of Foreign Affairs (FDFA). In 2023, CSS experts continued to contribute to the further development of Swiss foreign, security, and defence policy through these partnerships.

Trend Analysis Civil Protection 2035 – Uncertainties, Challenges and Opportunities

Civil protection is a dynamic field of activity that requires constant adaptation. In 2023, the CSS Risk and Resilience team was commissioned by the Federal Office for Civil Protection to produce the third edition of an ongoing series of publications that provide a basis for a coherent and evidence-based optimization of the civil protection strategy at federal, cantonal, and communal level. The report analyzes twelve trends relevant to Swiss civil protection up to 2035, such as artificial intelligence and the current geopolitical polarization. Emerging challenges, opportunities, and political implications are then derived from this. In order to enable the broadest possible view of the identified trends across all levels of government, the team brought together the entire spectrum of all stakeholders involved in strategic civil protection planning as part of a survey and a workshop.



The Trend Analysis Civil Protection 2035 analyzes twelve trends relevant to Swiss civil protection (1 is the most relevant, 12 is the least relevant).



Support for the Swiss Civil Protection Capability Analysis

Together with selected cantonal representatives, the Federal Office for Civil Protection carried out a target-performance analysis of the capabilities required to fulfil the civil protection mandate in 2023. The CSS Risk and Resilience team supported the Federal Office in this process in the areas of methodology and workshop preparation. ■

Policy Advice in the Field of Sensor-to-Shooter Loop

In July 2023, experts from the Center for Security Studies (Prof. Dr. Andreas Wenger, Dr. Oliver Thränert, Dr. Amos Dossi, Stefan Soesanto, Niklas Masuhr) discussed the cross-cutting issue of the “sensor-to-shooter loop” with high-ranking players from various military and technological organizations. The discussion focused on the following aspects, among others: The challenge of maintaining a balance in future procurement projects between “effect” (weapon systems, means of effect) on the one hand and “enablers” (reconnaissance, combat support, logistics) on the other; the kinetic effect at long range, including beyond national borders; and greater appreciation of the advantages of the defender in the context of Swiss doctrine development. ■

Bulletin Article on the Technological Potential and Challenges of Long-range Weapon Systems

In an article in Bulletin 2023 on Swiss Security Policy published by the Center for Security Studies, CSS expert Niklas Masuhr looks at long-range weapon systems, which are becoming increasingly relevant in the context of the war in Ukraine. Such weapons are being procured by many countries, including European ones. They fulfil important functions, including air defence. Their procurement is also a priority for the Swiss Armed Forces. However, the possession and use of these systems raise a number of questions. ■

Policy Advice on Kinetic Effects at Long Range and Industrial Aspects of Loitering Munitions

In August 2023, experts from the Center for Security Studies (Prof. Dr. Andreas Wenger, Dr. Oliver Thränert, Dr. Amos Dossi, Niklas Masuhr) met with representatives of the Military Academy MILAC, the Swiss Armed Forces Development Project WEA, the State Secretariat for Security Policy SEPOS, armasuisse and the Swiss Air Force to discuss military strategic and operational aspects of the Swiss Armed Forces’ future capability to operate kinetically at long range. Particular attention was paid to the new aspect of so-called loitering munitions (LM). Three presentations provided impetus for a lively, interdisciplinary discussion: “Combat in the depths of enemy space from the perspective of the Swiss Armed Forces” (WEA division); “Swedish pre-emptive/deterrence strategy in the Cold War” (CSS); “Thoughts on the desirability and feasibility of domestic development and production of LM” (armasuisse). ■

Scientific Support for the Postulate Report on Cyber Law Enforcement

In 2023, CSS experts Myriam Dunn Cavelti and Stefan Soesanto supported the Federal Office of Police fedpol and the Swiss Security Network SVS in compiling the report on National Councillor Andri Silberschmidt’s postulate “How fit are the cantons in cybercrime prosecution”. The postulate calls on the Federal Council to draw up an inventory of the prosecution of cybercrime by the cantons. ■

Moderation of a Workshop for the DDPS on the Topic of Cyber Exercises

In September 2023, CSS expert Stefan Soesanto moderated a workshop for the DDPS on the topic of cyber exercises and thus supported the DDPS in responding to National Councillor Marcel Dobler’s postulate “Overarching cyber test strategy in the DDPS”. In this postulate, Mr. Dobler calls on the Federal Council to examine how an overarching, comprehensive cyber test strategy 2023–2030 can be developed and introduced. ■

Scientific Support for the Postulate Report “Cyber Risks in Space”

The postulate “Cyber risks in space” by National Councillor Judith Bellaiche took the CSS Cyberdefense Report “Terra Calling: Defending and Securing the Space Economy” by CSS expert Stefan Soesanto as a basis to ask the Federal Council to draw up a report on Switzerland’s situation in the context of the growing digitalization of space. Stefan Soesanto then supported the DDPS in drafting the corresponding postulate report in 2023. The report provides an inventory of Switzerland’s critical dependencies on space infrastructure services and capabilities and identifies possible measures to expand Switzerland’s room for manoeuvre. ■

Scientific Advice for the Vogt Study Commission on Security Policy

The study commission on security policy set up by the DDPS and chaired by Valentin Vogt began its work in 2023. Their upcoming report will set out how a future-proof security policy can be organized for Switzerland. The CSS supported the Commission’s work with a presentation by CSS expert Myriam Dunn Cavelti on the topic of cyber risks. ■

Three ETH Workshops on Security Policy

The ETH Workshops on Security Policy promote the informal exchange between politics, administration, business, and science on current security policy topics. In 2023, the CSS held three workshops on the military lessons learned from Russia’s invasion of Ukraine, on arms control and technology governance, and on the first year of Switzerland’s membership of the UN Security Council (more on this in the “CSS dialogue platforms” section). ■

Supporting the Swiss Mandate on the UN Security Council

In June 2022, the UN General Assembly elected Switzerland as a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council. Experts at the CSS are supporting Switzerland's contribution to peace and security in 2023 and 2024 through research work, various events, and publications.

ETH Workshop on the first year in the UNSC

The ETH Workshop jointly organized by the Center for Security Studies (CSS) and the Swiss Association for Foreign Policy (SGA/ASPE) on 8 December 2023 in Zurich was dedicated to the first year of Switzerland's membership in the UN Security Council. The aim of the conference was to comprehensively analyze Switzerland's membership in the Security Council, taking an in-depth look at Switzerland's engagement, the impact of its interventions, and the challenges it has faced. An outlook for the coming second year of membership was also provided.

The conference was divided into three panels. The first panel explored how different facets of Swiss society perceive Switzerland's UNSC membership, concluding with a keynote speech by Ambassador Pascale Baeriswyl, Head of the Permanent Mission of Switzerland to the United Nations in New York. The second panel delved deeper into individual thematic aspects that were of particular relevance during Switzerland's mandate, including climate security and the crisis in Gaza. The concluding third panel focused on the international perception of Switzerland's engagement. This workshop thus offered a unique opportunity to critically reflect on Switzerland's role on the global stage and to develop future strategies.

Research project on Switzerland's UNSC seat in cooperation with the Graduate Institute and the University of Lausanne

Switzerland's seat on the UN Security Council offers a unique opportunity for research. A cooperative research project between the University of Lausanne, the Geneva Graduate Institute and ETH Zurich, led by Prof. Lucile Maertens (Graduate Institute) and Dr. Sara Hellmüller from the CSS and funded by the Fondation pour l'Université de Lausanne, is using ethnographic methods to investigate Switzerland's diplomatic practices as a neutral and relatively small state. The project shows how non-permanent members can bring their priorities to bear in one of the most important multilateral bodies.

Bulletin article on the first year of Swiss membership of the UNSC

In his article in the Bulletin on Swiss Security Policy 2023, Fabien Merz, Senior Researcher at the CSS, analyzes how Switzerland has handled its first year of membership in the Security Council. The author concludes that Swiss diplomacy has so far been successful in navigating the Council's increasingly tense international dynamics. Accordingly, the first half of Switzerland's membership of the Council can be considered a success despite a challenging starting position. Merz's analysis is the newest in a series of articles published in the Bulletin dealing with various aspects of Switzerland's membership in the Security Council, representing an ongoing monitoring campaign of Swiss contributions to the UN.



Travelling exhibition on UN peacekeeping missions

An interactive travelling exhibition, organized by Dr. Sara Hellmüller from the CSS, informs a wider audience about the UN's activities and Switzerland's role in UN peacekeeping missions. It will be shown in various cities in 2023 and 2024, corresponding with Switzerland's term on the UN Security Council. In 2023, it was hosted at the Maison de la Paix in Geneva and at ETH Zurich. In 2024, the exhibition will be shown in Basel, Geneva, New York, Stans, St. Gallen, Stockholm, and Zurich. It can also be visited online: peacemissions.info/additional/exhibition-lang



Launch of the UN Peace Missions App

Together with her team, Dr. Sara Hellmüller of CSS has created a comprehensive dataset on UN peace missions (www.peacemissions.info). In 2023, she also launched the UN Peace Missions App. The app contains all the key information on UN peacekeeping missions, including their locations, start and end dates and, most importantly, a detailed list of each mission's mandate. If you want to know more, you can also access the UN resolutions on which the missions are based. The development of the app was supported by the Swiss National Science Foundation (Agora project) and the Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs.

- › The UN Peace Missions App can be downloaded here: peacemissions.info.

Workshop: "UN Peacekeeping at 75"

2023 marks 75 years since the UN's first peacekeeping operation. For this anniversary, the CSS and the academic journal *International Peacekeeping* organized a workshop in Zurich in June to reflect on the role of UN Peacekeeping in maintaining and achieving peace and security. Around 40 people took part in the workshop, including numerous UN employees, representatives of the Swiss government (FDFA, DDPS), and academic peacekeeping experts. The workshop concluded with a public event at the ETH, during which Switzerland's role in future peacekeeping missions was discussed.

Conference on Switzerland's seat on the UN Security Council

On 30 November 2023, the University of Geneva organized a workshop on the topic of "Small States in International Organisations". This was followed by a public conference on Switzerland's seat on the UN Security Council, with speakers including Dr. Sara Hellmüller of the CSS, former Federal Councillor Micheline Calmy-Rey, Dr. Myriam Oehri (Liechtenstein Mission to the UN), and Darius Fahrman (foraus).



Partnership with the United Nations

In October 2023, the United Nations and ETH Zurich signed a Memorandum of Understanding to deepen their collaboration and foster mutual exchange. The partnership is intended to support the development of technology-based social innovations for addressing global challenges. This represents an exciting step for the university – and also for the researchers at CSS, who have been working with UN organizations for a number of years, for example as part of a research project for UN Peacekeeping on the prediction of conflict events.

Conflict-Event Prediction for UN Peacekeeping

Since 2021, the CSS has led an inter-disciplinary research project to explore the feasibility of an event-prediction system for UN Peacekeeping. The project involves close collaboration between domain experts from the CSS, machine-learning scholars from ETH's technical departments, and practitioners working at the UN Operations and Crisis Centre (UNOCC). By combining machine learning with event records from the UN, the project aims to create the basis for a software platform that supports data processing and decision-making processes in UN peacekeeping missions. Although conflict event-prediction is a nascent field of research, the project is already having an impact. An internal project report made a series of recommendations to UN policymakers, which are currently being implemented. CSS researchers have attended high-profile UN conferences to share their expertise. In October 2023, the project was mentioned in the UN Security Council as an example of how AI can be used to tackle challenging data problems in global peace and security.



UN Under-Secretary-General Guy Ryder and ETH President Joël Mesot after the signing of the Memorandum of Understanding. (Photo: ETH Zurich)

Remote Monitoring of Armed Conflicts

Remote sensing offers a non-intrusive way of observing surface changes. Remote Monitoring of Armed Conflicts is a project that aims to develop a monitoring tool based on deep learning and open-source satellite imagery to provide humanitarian and human rights practitioners with near real-time information about conflict events. The project is a collaboration between the CSS, EcoVision, the ICRC, and the UN Satellite Center (UNOSAT).

- › In 2023, the following publication was published as part of this project: Valerie Sticher, Jan Dirk Wenger, Birke Pfeifle, **Toward the Remote Monitoring of Armed Conflicts**, *PNAS Nexus*. <https://doi.org/10.1093/pnasnexus/pgad181>

Science Diplomacy

The partnership between the UN and ETH Zurich is a good example of how science diplomacy strengthens ties between scientists and policymakers. CSS researchers have researched, analyzed, and advised on the topic of science diplomacy in several publications:

- › Leo Eigner, **The Promise and Paradox of Science Diplomacy**, *CSS Analysis in Security Policy*, Nr. 326
- › Leo Eigner, **Schweizer Wissenschaftsdiplomatie in unsicheren Zeiten**, *CSS Bulletin 2023 zur schweizerischen Sicherheitspolitik*.

UN Religion and Mediation Course

This course, held in May and June 2023, aimed to provide UN and non-UN participants with tools for analyzing the religious dimensions of armed conflicts where the UN is present and to facilitate an exchange on practical ways of engaging with religion and different worldviews in mediation processes and peacebuilding efforts. The delivery of the course was spearheaded by the Culture and Religion in Mediation Program (CARIM), which is a joint project of the CSS and the Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs (FDFA). It was organized with the help of the Network for Traditional and Religious Peacemakers, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Finland, the UN Department of Political and Peacebuilding Affairs, and additional support from the FDFA.

Mediation in Peace Processes

Since 2017, the CSS has offered the Master of Advanced Studies ETH "Mediation in Peace Processes" (MAS ETH MPP) to professionals with mediation experience. The course is built on collaboration with the Swiss Federal Department for Foreign Affairs and the foreign ministries of Germany, Sweden, and Finland with support from the UN Department for Political Affairs, the EU, and OSCE. The MAS is the only course worldwide that professionalizes the training of mediators in peace processes.

The CSS in Figures

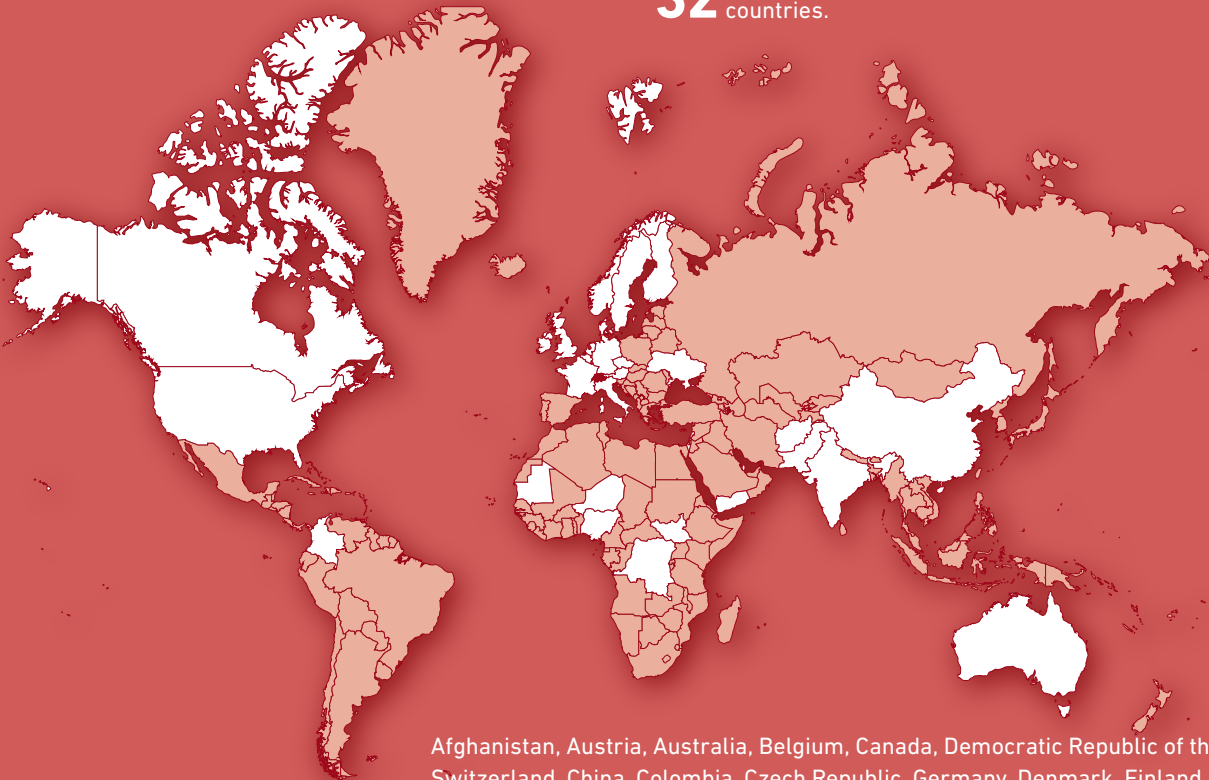
CSS staff contributed to **21** different courses at ETH Zurich reaching **707** students.

CSS employees gave more than **250** lectures to academic and non-academic audiences.

In its advisory role, the CSS entered into dialogue more than **146** times with partners in politics and administration in workshops, hearings, and other formats.

CSS employees published **22** articles in Swiss newspapers, were quoted **30** times in Swiss media, and interviewed **35** times by Swiss media.

The CSS is globally connected. In 2023, CSS experts collaborated in their research projects with people from **32** countries.



Afghanistan, Austria, Australia, Belgium, Canada, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Switzerland, China, Colombia, Czech Republic, Germany, Denmark, Finland, France, United Kingdom, Ireland, Israel, India, Italy, Lebanon, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria, Netherlands, Norway, Pakistan, Qatar, Sweden, Singapore, South Sudan, Ukraine, United States of America, Yemen

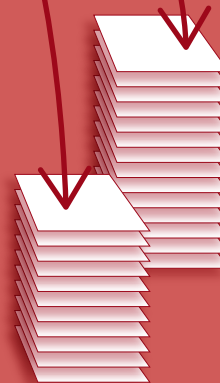
The CSS has **16,500** Followers on X (formerly Twitter),
 nearly **110,000** on Facebook
 and **25,000** on LinkedIn



A total of
943,482
 documents were downloaded

The CSS Analyses were downloaded
192,122 times

The *Russian Analytical Digests (RAD)*
 were downloaded
471,035 times



Honors

- > *Dr. Christine Eriksen* received an SNSF Consolidator Grant for a research project on resilience to forest fires in Europe.
- > *Claudia Wiehler* was honored with the Best Graduate Student Paper of the Women's Caucus for International Studies for her article "**Communal Conflicts in the shadow of civil war: Violence between informal groups in clustered conflict networks**" and the John Sprague Award of the American Political Science Association for her article "**Informal armed groups in the shadow of civil war: The Nigerian conflict network**".
- > *Hassan Elbahtimy*, *Rebecca Davis Gibbons* and CSS researcher *Stephen Herzog* received a HOPe Conference Grant from the Hiroshima Organisation for Global Peace. In addition, *Stephen Herzog* received a Yale Nuclear Security Research Grant from Yale University.
- > *Dr. Sara Hellmüller* received a Starting Grant from the Swiss National Science Foundation for her research project "**Yes, I do: A theory on belligerent consent to United Nations peace missions**".



Policy Advice and Social Dialogue

CSS Think Tank



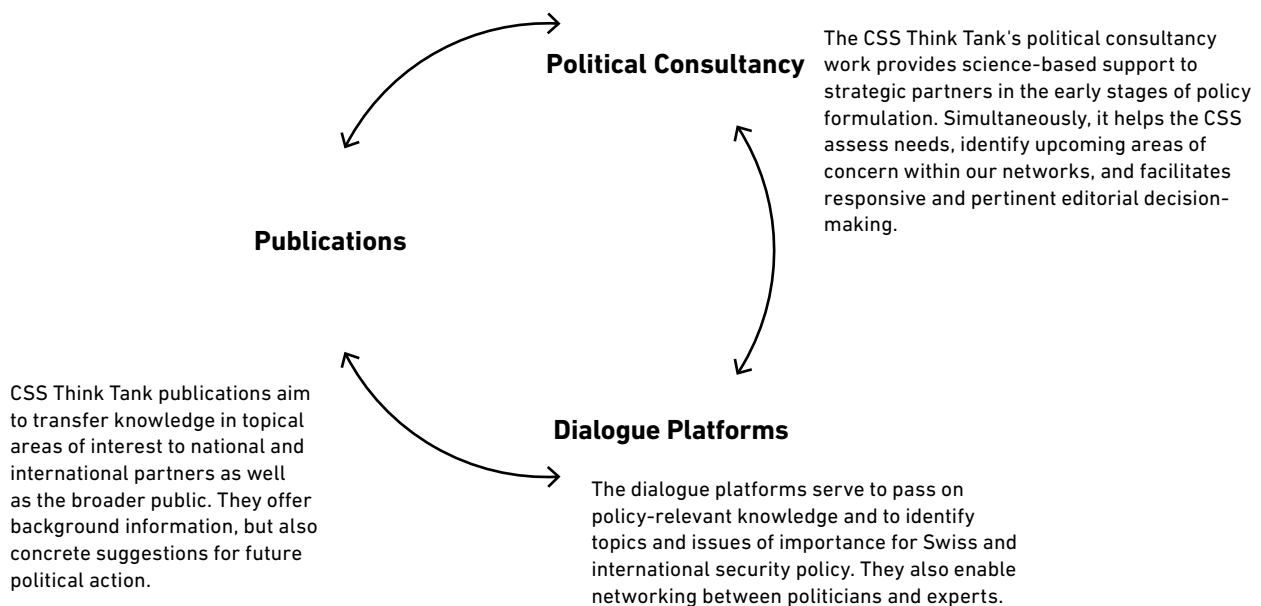
“Political consultancy thrives through constant dialogue with policymakers and society.”

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 of high priority to politics and society cannot be determined by the CSS Think Tank on its own. Rather, productive and effective policy advice can only emerge if a Think Tank is in continuous dialogue with politics and society. Therefore, the CSS Think Tank is in constant and close exchange with its strategic partners. The resulting insights into the needs of politics and society allows the CSS to provide advice and expertise that is responsive to a rapidly changing world.

It also feeds into editorial planning for publications, dialogue platforms, and policy advice. The feedback we receive on our written and oral products forms the basis for future work and analyses. In short, the CSS Think Tank’s dialogue-based approach to knowledge production results in needs-oriented policy advice, which in turn germinates new, important 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 explored 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.

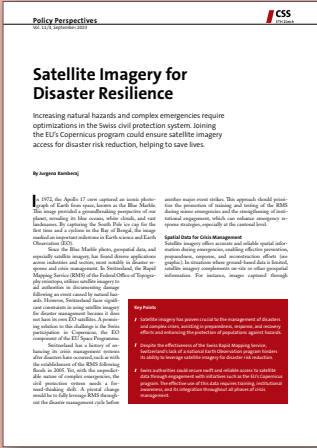
➤ Editors: Névine Schepers, Fabien Merz, Julian Kamasa, Sophie-Charlotte Fischer

All CSS Analyses 2023

- No. 334: **Geopolitical Echoes of the Karabakh Conflict** *Hrant Mikaelian, Jeronim Perovic*
- No. 333: **The New Frontier of Space Militarization** *Sarah Wiedemar*
- No. 332: **Assessing Hybrid War: Separating Fact from Fiction** *Lennart Maschmeyer*
- No. 331: **The Role of Mediation Support Structures** *Simon J. A. Mason, Mukondeleli Mpeiwa*
- No. 330: **UN Peacekeeping** *Corinne Bara*
- No. 329: **German Military Planning: Aims and Trade-Offs** *Alexander Feltes, Niklas Masuhr*
- No. 328: **Managing Disaster Costs** *Simon Aebi*
- No. 327: **Central Asia in an Era of Great-Power Rivalry** *Brian Carlson*
- No. 326: **The Promise and Paradox of Science Diplomacy** *Leo Eigner*
- No. 325: **Hotspot Balkans: Serbia and Kosovo** *Andrej Marković, Jeronim Perović*
- No. 324: **NATO and Article 5 in Cyberspace** *Sarah Wiedemar*
- No. 323: **Reaching for the Stars: China's Space Ambitions** *Sophie-Charlotte Fischer*
- No. 322: **The United Nations and Counterterrorism** *Fabien Merz*
- No. 321: **The Biological Weapons Ban and Scientific Progress** *Sophie Reiners, Oliver Thränert*
- No. 319: **The Promise and Peril of Wargaming** *Taylor Grossman*
- No. 318: **Russia's Footprint in Africa** *Charlotte Hirsbrunner, Niklas Masuhr*
- No. 317: **The "Rules-Based Order": Conflicting Understandings** *Boas Lieberherr*

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. Six CSS Policy Perspectives were published in the reporting year 2023.

All CSS Policy Perspectives 2023

- › **Unequal Access to UN Human Rights Bodies** *Christoph Valentin Steinert*
- › **Making Cyber Attribution More Transparent** *Eugenio Benincasa*
- › **Satellite Imagery for Disaster Resilience** *Jurgena Kamberaj*
- › **Mind the E-Waste: A Case for Switzerland** *Julian Kamasa*
- › **Securing Europe's Supply of Rare Earths** *Julian Kamasa*
- › **Navigating Stormy Seas in US-China Relations** *Brian G. Carlson*

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 Zurich, 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. 307: **Taking Russia to Court**
- › No. 306: **Russian Occupation in Ukraine**
- › No. 305: **Perceptions of Russia's War in the Global South**
- › No. 304: **Russia and the Global Food Supply**
- › No. 303: **The Wagner Group – A Preliminary Update**
- › No. 302: **Opposition of Russian Society to the War**
- › No. 301: **Domestic and International Reverberations from Russia's War on Ukraine**
- › No. 300: **Anti-LGBTQ Discrimination and Violence**
- › No. 299: **Ideological and Conspiratorial Underpinnings of Russia's War Against Ukraine**
- › No. 298: **Russia's Technological Sovereignty**
- › No. 297: **Climate Change in Russia**
- › No. 296: **Relations With China Post-War**
- › No. 295: **Russian Regions Update**
- › No. 294: **Whither Russia?**
- › No. 293: **How to Study Russia**
- › No. 292: **The Value of Public Opinion Polls**
- › No. 291: **Hidden Resistance to the Russian-Ukrainian War inside Russia**

Ukrainian Analytical Digest



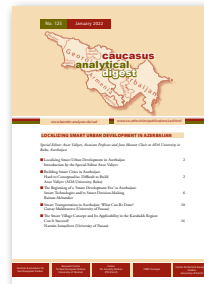
The Ukrainian Analytical Digest (UAD) analyzes the political, economic, and social situation in Ukraine in the context of international and security policy developments. The Ukrainian Analytical Digest (UAD) is an internet publication jointly produced by the Center for Security Studies (CSS) at ETH Zurich, the Research Centre for East European Studies at the

University of Bremen, the Center for Eastern European Studies (CEES) at the University of Zurich, and the German Association for East European Studies (DGO).

Ukrainian Analytical Digest (UAD)

- › No. 3: **Russian Occupation in Ukraine**
- › No. 2: **Ukrainian Studies in Social Sciences**
- › No. 1: **Language Usage and Language Policy**

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. The Digest focuses on the international and security dimensions of developments in this region. The CAD is a bimonthly, online publication jointly produced by the Caucasus Research

Resource Center (CRRC-Georgia), the Research Centre for East European Studies (FSO) at the University of Bremen, the Center for Security Studies (CSS) at ETH Zurich, 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. 135: **Impact of the Russian War against Ukraine on Georgia**
- › No. 134: **Ramifications of the Armenian-Azerbaijani Rivalry beyond the Spotlight**
- › No. 133: **Nation-Building in 21st Century Azerbaijan: Discourse and Narratives**
- › No. 132: **Russia's War Against Ukraine: Connectivity and Disruption in the South Caucasus**
- › No. 131: **Informality and Informal Practices in the Time of COVID-19: The Case of Georgia**

Bulletin 2023 on Swiss Security Policy

The Bulletin 2023 on Swiss Security Policy once again deals with current topics of Swiss foreign and security policy. It opens with an interview with Federal Chancellor Walter Thurnherr. The authors take a forward-thinking look at the Swiss mandate in the UN Security Council, Swiss arms control, disarmament and non-proliferation policy, the challenges in the procurement of long-range weapons systems, and Swiss science diplomacy.



The entire Bulletin, including the interview and all five articles, can be downloaded as a pdf (in German) [here](#).

Switzerland's Arms Control, Disarmament and Non-proliferation Policy in Times of Upheaval

In this article, Névine Schepers looks at armaments policy in Switzerland. Over the past ten years, Swiss arms control, disarmament and non-proliferation policy has been confronted with a difficult geopolitical environment and rapid technological developments. Despite these challenges, Switzerland has used diplomatic know-how, scientific and technical expertise, and a carefully built reputation to improve global governance.

Swiss Science Diplomacy in Uncertain Times

In this article, Leo Eigner sheds light on Swiss science diplomacy. The worsening geopolitical threat has far-reaching consequences for education, research, and innovation (ERI). As a cross-cutting issue, science diplomacy links foreign, ERI and economic policy and, particularly important given geopolitical developments, security policy. Against this background, this article outlines a conceptual framework for this still-controversial term and provides an overview of Swiss science diplomacy.

Long-range Weapon Systems: Technological Potential and Conceptual Challenges

In this article, Niklas Masuhr looks at long-range weapon systems, which are becoming increasingly relevant in the context of the war in Ukraine. Such weapons are being procured by many countries, including European ones. They fulfil important functions, including air defence. Their procurement is also a priority for the Swiss Armed Forces. However, the possession and use of these systems raises a number of questions.

Strategic Trends 2023

The Strategic Trends publication series offers an annual analysis of important political developments worldwide. 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.



China, Russia, and the Future of World Order

In the first chapter, Brian G. Carlson discusses the challenges to world order that China and Russia pose, both separately and through their partnership.

Silicon Curtain: America's Quest for Allied Export Controls against China

In the second chapter, Sophie-Charlotte Fischer analyzes the US quest to deny China access to critical technology and know-how through allied export controls.

Alliances and Extended Nuclear Deterrence in Europe and Asia

In the third chapter, Névine Schepers discusses how a worsening global security environment and rising nuclear threats have brought to the forefront the crucial role played by US alliance networks in both Europe and Asia, the extended deterrence arrangements on which they rely, and the increasing interconnectedness between both regions.

How India Navigates a World in Transition

In the final chapter, Boas Lieberherr analyzes India's foreign policy and argues that New Delhi seeks to avoid overdependence on any country while leveraging diverse partnerships in a quest for security and status as an emerging major power.

Workshop "World Political Situation 2023"

At the ETH Workshop on Security Policy "World Political Situation 2023" on 28 April, the CSS presented the "Strategic Trends 2023". In the first panel, the authors presented their respective chapters. In a second panel, Linda Maduz, Head of the Asia Program at the Geneva Centre for Security Policy, Marina Wyss Ross, Head of the Arms Control, Disarmament and Cybersecurity Section at the Federal Department of Foreign Affairs, and renowned Swiss journalists discussed the current global political situation and the resulting challenges for Switzerland.

Study “Sicherheit” 2023

Formation of opinion in the area of foreign, security, and defence policy



Author(s): **Tibor Szvircsev Tresch, Andreas Wenger, Stefano De Rosa, Thomas Ferst, Emanuela Rizzo, Jacques Robert, Till Roost**
 Editor(s): **Tibor Szvircsev Tresch, Andreas Wenger**

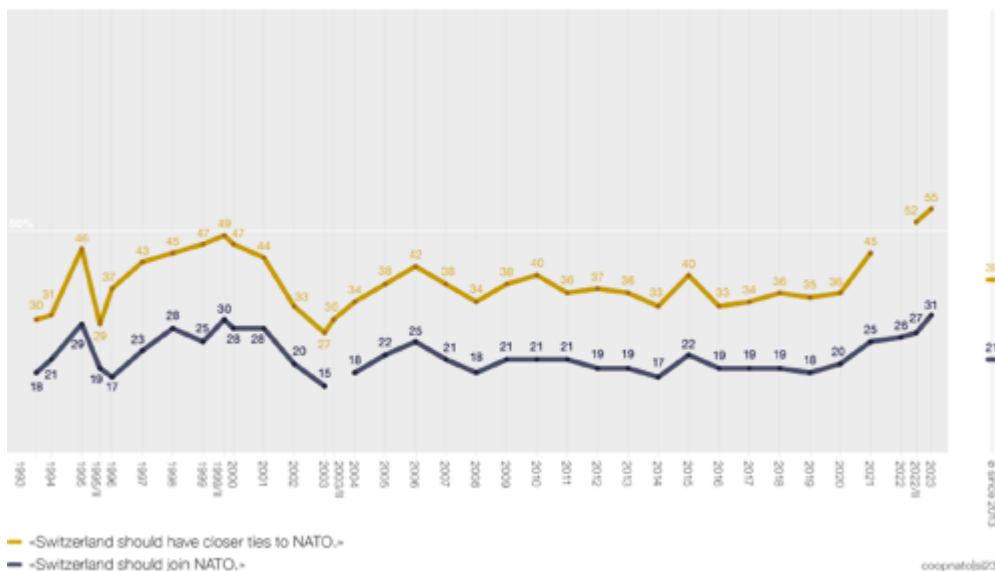
The publication is published in German and includes summaries in German, French, Italian, and English.

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 public opinion on foreign, security, and defense policy in Switzerland.

In 2023, the Swiss are considerably less optimistic about the future and although neutrality is less strongly supported, it still receives high approval rates. In terms of foreign policy, the willingness to open up and cooperate has increased. Compared to the previous year, the Swiss want to strengthen the defense capabilities of the armed forces. Attitudes regarding Swiss sanctions against Russia remain unchanged. The three greatest threats to Switzerland were also a focus in this study for the first time. The survey data for “Sicherheit” 2023 was collected between 3rd and 20th January 2023.

-Below I have some statements about the Swiss foreign policy. Which of the following statements would you agree with?-

very much agree / rather agree in percent, rounded



The development of responses to a specific question of the study “Sicherheit” since 1991.

CSS Dialogue Platforms

ETH Evening Talk: “China and European Security”

On 16 January, 2023, the CSS hosted an ETH Evening Talk entitled “China and European Security.” Bonnie Glaser and Brian Carlson discussed China’s role in European security in light of Russia’s aggression in Ukraine. The speakers covered China’s impact on global order, its partnership with Russia, and the potential threat to Taiwan. They highlighted Europe’s dependence on the US and urged a deeper understanding of China’s strategic ambitions and their impact on European security. ■

ETH Evening Talk: “Russia’s War against Ukraine: Implications for NATO”

On 15 March, 2023, the CSS organized an ETH Evening Talk entitled “Russia’s War against Ukraine: Implications for NATO.” Sten Rynning, Professor of War Studies at the University of Southern Denmark, and Henrik Larsen, Senior Researcher at the CSS, shared insights on NATO’s evolution and adaptation to Russia’s aggression. Rynning traced NATO’s expansion and political transformations since the 1990s, noting the alliance’s slow recognition of the Russian threat. Larsen discussed NATO’s response to the conflict in Ukraine, highlighting the importance of strengthening Europe’s defense capabilities, particularly considering the US’s shift towards Asia. ■

ETH Workshop on Security Policy: “Russia’s Ukrainian Invasion: Military Lessons, Technological Trends and Armament Policy Options”

On 28 June, 2023, the CSS organized an ETH Workshop on “Russia’s Ukrainian Invasion: Military Lessons, Technological Trends and Armament Policy Options.” Three expert panels explored doctrinal and technological developments in modern warfare, Western adaptation strategies, and potential impacts on

Swiss security and defense policy. The workshop facilitated a comprehensive dialogue among academic, military, and political experts to understand the conflict’s implications. ■

ETH Evening Talk: “Reconstruction of Ukraine”

On 30 June, 2023, the CSS organized an ETH Evening Talk titled “Reconstruction of Ukraine.” Ambassador Alexandra Baumann, who heads the Prosperity and Sustainability Division at the Federal Department of Foreign Affairs, and Thomas Kleine-Brockhoff, Guido Goldman Distinguished Scholar at the German Marshall Fund, shared their insights into the international efforts and proposals for a Marshall Plan for Ukraine. The discussion centered on Switzerland’s role and the involvement of the broader international community in the reconstruction of Ukraine. ■

ETH Workshop: “Arms Control and Technology Governance”

On 20 October, 2023, the CSS hosted an ETH Workshop on Arms Control and Technology Governance. The event addressed the urgent need for modern arms control measures and technology governance in the face of escalating geopolitical tensions and technological progress. The workshop comprised three panels dealing with challenges to European security and arms control, dual-use technologies and export controls, and technology governance in space. ■

ETH Evening Talk: “Is Putin firmly in the saddle? Internal political dynamics in Russia”

On 16 November, 2023, the CSS held an ETH Evening Talk entitled “Is Putin firmly in the saddle? Internal political dynamics in Russia.” The event featured insights from Dr. Sabine Fischer, a Senior Fellow

at the German Institute for International and Security Affairs, and Prof. Dr. Jeronim Perović, Scientific Director of the Center for Eastern European Studies at the University of Zurich. The presentations discussed Russia’s internal politics and their impact on European security. ■

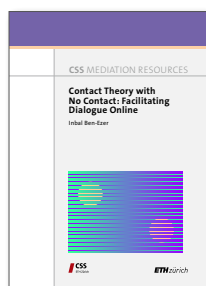
ETH Treffpunkt Science City: Cyber Warfare Using the Example of Ukraine

Stefan Soesanto gave a talk on cyber warfare using the example of Ukraine at ETH Science City on 26 November. Soesanto spoke about the use of Clearview in Ukraine, an AI facial recognition technology to improve border security and identify spies. The presentation also covered the Delta system, a cloud-based military platform similar to Google Maps that is used to track military movements and logistics in real time. His presentation explored the evolving nature of modern warfare and the strategic use of digital technologies. ■

ETH Workshop: “The first year of Swiss membership of the UN Security Council”

On 8 December, 2023, the CSS and the Swiss Association for Foreign Policy SGA/ASPE jointly organized a conference in Zurich to analyze Switzerland’s first year as a member of the UN Security Council. The conference featured three panels focusing on the internal and international perspectives of Switzerland’s membership, key thematic issues like climate security and the crisis in Gaza, and the outlook of Switzerland’s engagement. Highlights included a keynote by Ambassador Pascale Baeriswyl, offering a comprehensive reflection on Switzerland’s role and future strategies on the global stage. ■

Selected Studies

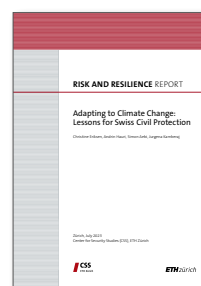


Inbal Ben-Ezer

Contact Theory with No Contact: Facilitating Dialogue Online

Center for Security Studies (CSS), 2023

Contact theory is a well-established scientific theory that shows that contact between groups reduces prejudice and improves relations. Bringing adversaries together is central to peace-building strategies in dialogue, negotiation, or mediation. The digitization of the 21st century has changed the possibilities for face-to-face encounters; online interactions are now commonplace. The question arises to what extent such online contacts can improve relations. Drawing on current scholarship and practical experience, this report analyzes the effectiveness of online encounters in conflict situations and provides guidance for peace professionals who organize such encounters. ■



Christine Eriksen, Andrin Hauri,

Simon Aebi, Jurgena Kamberaj

Adapting to Climate Change: Lessons for Swiss Civil Protection

Center for Security Studies (CSS), 2023

Increasingly severe hazards caused by climate change are leaving their mark on Europe. Switzerland has, therefore, been pursuing a national strategy for adaptation to climate change since 2012. However, given the increasing frequency and intensity of climate-related events, more intensive adaptation and improved international cooperation are needed. The latest CSS Risk and Resilience Report complements the Federal Office of Civil Protection's 2021 analysis and shows that recent climate-related events have led to significant changes in the disaster management systems of the countries studied. The study presents two critical lessons for all affected countries as well as eight approaches that could be useful for Swiss civil protection. ■

Taylor Grossman

Cyber Rapid Response Teams: Structure, Organization, and Use Cases

Center for Security Studies (CSS), 2023

Cyber rapid response teams are increasingly being deployed at national and supranational levels to promptly respond to and mitigate cyber attacks. Both NATO and the EU have established their own rapid response teams to deal with the growing number of cross-border cyber incidents. Despite progress in international cooperation, questions still need to be answered about these teams' composition, legal framework, and effectiveness. This report on cyber defense analyzes the structure, limitations, and benefits of cyber rapid response teams. Finally, it discusses the need for Switzerland to establish its own cyber rapid response teams. ■

Sophie-Charlotte Fischer, Michiel Foulon,
Julian Kamasa

US-China Interdependence: Implications for Switzerland

Center for Security Studies (CSS), 2023

During intense rivalry between the United States and China, both countries face several economic and strategic challenges due to their strong interdependence. These challenges also have profound implications for Europe and Switzerland. This study examines the impact of this interdependence, particularly in Switzerland. At the macroeconomic level, the study examines the strategic implications of the interdependence and rivalry between the United States and China. At the microeconomic level, the effects in high-tech sectors are also analyzed. ■

Selected Hearings, Workshops, and Courses

CSS course series for the ICRC

Twice a year, the CSS cybersecurity team offers a full-week course on “Cybersecurity, Geopolitics, and Strategy” for approximately 15 high-ranking members of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC). The course covers topics relevant to security policy in the field of cybersecurity, including the capabilities of military actors, the role of intelligence services, how political attribution works, and international norms in cyberspace. The course is designed to improve the impact of humanitarian actors by promoting knowledge and skills related to cybersecurity, and is part of a broader EPFL/ETHZ/ICRC Engineering Humanitarian Aid Partnership. The third and fourth iterations of this course were held with great success at ETH Zurich in 2023.

Peace Mediation Course

From 2–14 July 2023, the annual Peace Mediation Course took place in Saanen, Switzerland. The course once again brought together outstanding trainers and 26 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). ■



Center for Mediation of the Finnish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Representatives of the CSS Mediation and Peace Promotion Cluster. Helsinki, May 2023.

Internal Training and Strategy Session on Peace Mediation for the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland

In concert with the MAS ETH Mediation in Peace Processes Program, the Mediation and Peace Promotion Cluster at the CSS organized a training session for the Finnish Ministry for Foreign Affairs in May 2023. The training focused on how to build trust in peace negotiations and discussed the role of emotions in peace mediation. Additionally, the CSS facilitated an internal strategy session for the ministry’s Centre for Mediation on different cooperation models as well as the implications of contemporary geopolitical tensions on mediation. ■

Mediation Training for the Kenyan Ministry for Foreign Affairs

In April 2023, the Mediation and Peace Promotion Cluster at the CSS and the Finnish Ministry for Foreign Affairs, in partnership with the MAS ETH Mediation in Peace Processes program, offered a four-day peace mediation course for the Kenyan Ministry for Foreign Affairs. The training was hosted by the International Peace Support Training Centre (IPSTC) in Nairobi and focused on providing an overview of theoretical and practical foundations of peace mediation. Trainers in the course included representatives of ETH Zurich, the Finnish Ministry for Foreign Affairs, the UN Standby Team of Mediation Advisors, and the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD). The training was concluded by the Alfred Mutua and Pekka Haavisto, the foreign ministers of Kenya and Finland, respectively. ■



Participants and Course Trainers at the International Peace Support Training Centre (IPSTC), Nairobi, April 2023.

The **Mediation Support Network (MSN)** is a global network of 26 primarily non-governmental organizations that support mediation in peace negotiations, including the UN. The MSN Annual Meeting 2023, hosted by the West Africa Network for Peacebuilding (WANEP), took place in Accra, Ghana, 26–28 April, 2023. The aim of the network is to assist and improve mediation practices, enhancing coordination and collaboration amongst its members. In 2023, MSN provided feedback to the UN on their Practice Note on The Implications of Climate Change for Mediation and Peace Processes and the UN Guidance on the Mediation of Ceasefires. The MSN is coordinated by the Mediation Support Project, a joint initiative of CSS ETH Zurich and swisspeace, funded by the Swiss FDFA.



Mediation experts at the Annual Meeting 2023 of the MSN in Ghana.



Knowledge Transfer through Basic Research

CSS Research



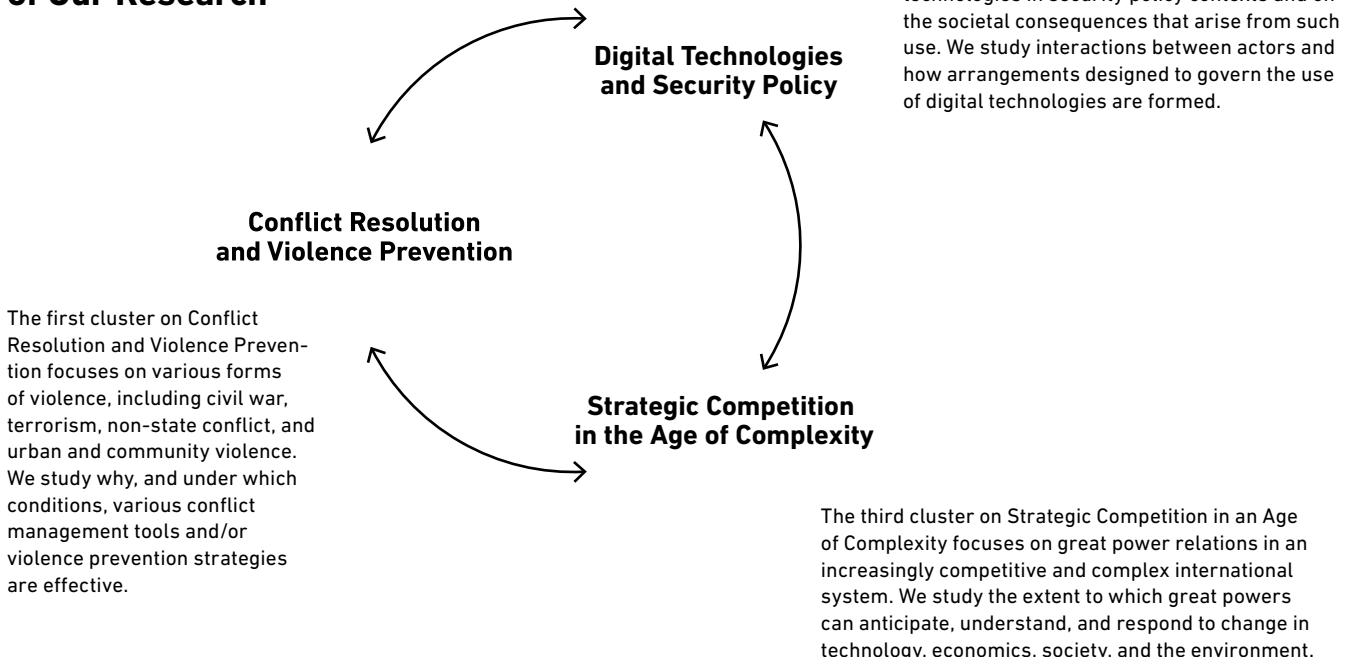
“Research at CSS is diverse, interdisciplinary, and relevant.”

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

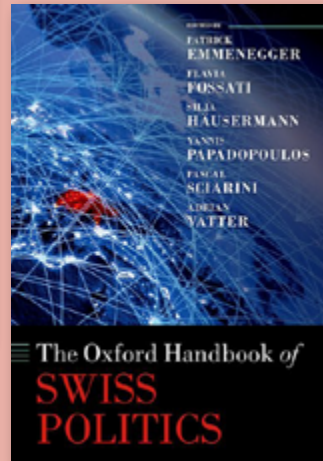
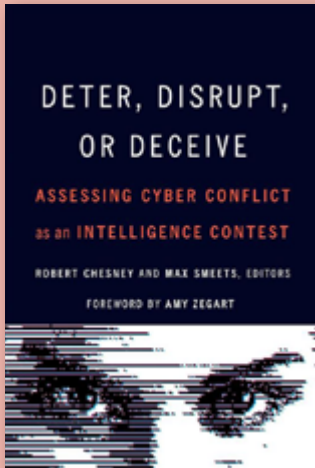
CSS research is dedicated to a wide range of security policy issues with high socio-political relevance. We distinguish ourselves through excellent, innovative, and high-impact academic research; a dialogue with practitioners and the broader public about the results of that research; and the provision 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 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. Furthermore, 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



Robert Chesney, Max Smeets (Ed.)
**Deter, Disrupt, or Deceive:
 Assessing Cyber Conflict as
 an Intelligence Contest**
 2023

In this book, Robert Chesney and CSS researcher Max Smeets argue that reframing cyber competition as an intelligence competition will improve our ability to analyze and strategically plan for cyber events and policy. The authors discuss the logic and implications of this reframing. They examine this intelligence concept in different areas of cybersecurity policy and in different national contexts. Taken as a whole, the chapters provide a unique approach that highlights the points of agreement and disagreement among leading experts and places it all in the context of international relations and intelligence research. ■

Andreas Wenger
Security Policy and Politics
 In: *The Oxford Handbook of Swiss Politics*,
 Oxford University Press, 2023

Switzerland's security policy has broadened and deepened considerably since the end of the Cold War. The general threat perception and the strategic and operational response of the various actors to it have changed fundamentally. In this chapter, Professor Andreas Wenger discusses the challenges against this background and shows how today's security policy has developed and constantly changed to adapt to these challenges. Particular attention is paid to the different constellations of actors in Swiss security policy at the various levels and their respective competencies. ■

Robert Chesney, James Shires, Max Smeets
Cyberspace and Instability
 2023

This book examines instability in cyberspace and seeks to reconceptualize stability and instability. It highlights the risks of unintended escalation, the role of NATO in cyber conflict, and the importance of infrastructural resilience. Case studies on the US and China, the 2016 US presidential election, IoT security challenges, and African Union initiatives illustrate the complexity of cyber stability. In addition, the authors Robert Chesney, James Shires and CSS researcher Max Smeets critically question Euro-American conceptualizations of cyber stability. The work serves as a guide for decision-makers and researchers to understand and manage cyber instability by providing a nuanced understanding of the issue and policy solutions. ■

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 been published:

Myriam Dunn Cavelty, Andreas Wenger (Ed.)

Cyber Security Politics: Socio-Technological Transformations and Political Fragmentation
2022

Andreas Wenger, Ursula Jasper, Myriam Dunn Cavelty (Ed.)

The Politics and Science of Prevision
2021

Stephen Aris, Aglaya Snetkov, Andreas Wenger (Ed.)

Inter-Organizational Relations in International Security
2018

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

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

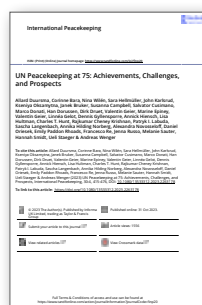
Aglaya Snetkov

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

Thierry Tardy, Marco Wyss

Peacekeeping in Africa: The Evolving Security Architecture
2014

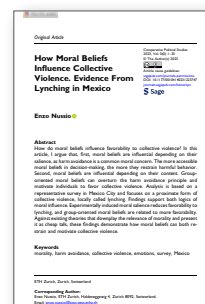
Selected Journal Articles



Allard Duursma, Corinne Bara, Nina Wilén, Sara Hellmüller, John Karlsrud, Kseniya Oksamytna, Janek Bruker, Susanna Campbell, Salvator Cusimano, Marco Donati, Han Dorussen, Dirk Druet, Valentin Geier, Marine Epiney, Valentin Geier, Linnéa Gelot, Dennis Gyllensporre, Annick Hiensch, Lisa Hultman, Charles T. Hunt, Rajkumar Cheney Krishnan, Patryk I. Labuda, Sascha Langenbach, Annika Hilding Norberg, Alexandra Novosseloff, Daniel Orieseck, Emily Paddon Rhoads, Francesco Re, Jenna Russo, Melanie Sauter, Hannah Smidt, Ueli Staeger, Andreas Wenger

UN Peacekeeping at 75: Achievements, Challenges, and Prospects
In: *International Peacekeeping*, Routledge, 2023

2023 marks the 75th anniversary of the UN's first peacekeeping mission. To mark the occasion, this article looks at how academics and UN officials assess the achievements and challenges of the last 75 years. It highlights various aspects of UN peacekeeping: the basic principles of consent, impartiality, and non-use of force as well as the protection of civilians, the importance of political priorities, the need for early warning systems, the role of cooperation with regional organizations, and the influences of the changing geopolitical landscape on peacekeeping missions. ■



Enzo Nussio

How Moral Beliefs Influence Collective Violence. Evidence From Lynching in Mexico
In: *Comparative Political Studies*, SAGE Publications, 2023

How do moral convictions influence the willingness to engage in collective violence? CSS researcher Enzo Nussio's analysis is based on a representative survey in Mexico City and focuses on a form of collective violence known locally as lynching. Contrary to existing theories that downplay the importance of morality, the results of this study show how moral beliefs can curb and motivate collective violence. ■



Dominika Kunertova
Drones Have Boots: Learning from Russia's War in Ukraine
 In Contemporary Security Policy, Taylor & Francis, 2023

Before Russia invaded Ukraine in 2022, security experts significantly underestimated the tactical value of small drones. Research into military innovations focused on sophisticated drone technologies, while little attention was paid to "low-tech" drones. The Ukraine conflict impressively revealed this research gap: contrary to the assumption that large drones dominate warfare and that small drones without air superiority are ineffective, it was precisely these small drones that changed the dynamics of war in lower airspace in Ukraine. In this article, CSS researcher Dominika Kunertova argues that the situation calls for a reassessment of the role of drones in modern conflicts. ■



Emanuel Schäublin
Civility as Collective Self-Care in Nablus (Palestine): Face-to-Face Interactions in the Shadow of War
 In: Peacebuilding, Taylor & Francis, 2023

The residents of Nablus in the West Bank, under Israeli military control since 1967, are actively shaping public life despite a lack of political rights. This article by CSS researcher Emanuel Schäublin, based on field research in 2013 and 2014, shows that this civil courage can be used to discuss ethical and political questions about living together in dignity amid a repressive and opaque political landscape. Civil courage, understood as collective ethical self-care, manifests itself in mutual discipline, respect, dignified interpersonal interaction, and respect for victims through the concealment of consumption. In this community characterized by repression, civility becomes a political act that demands a new view of civil society. ■



Andrew Shaver, Alexander Bollfrass
Disorganized Political Violence: A Demonstration Case of Temperature and Insurgency
 In: International Organization, Cambridge University Press, 2023

In this article, Andrew Shaver and CSS researcher Alexander Bollfrass examine whether there is a relationship between temperature and violence in attacks initiated by individual combatants but not in those that require organizational coordination. Their findings highlight the importance of exploring the interaction between strategic and individual motivations in conflicts. ■

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 2023:

- › *Birke Pfeifle*
The Targeting of Civilian Buildings in Internal Armed Conflict: Uncovering and Explaining Spatial Patterns Using Satellite Imagery
- › *Claudia Wiehler*
Informal Armed Groups in the Shadow of Civil War
- › *Jennifer Victoria Scurrall*
How Artificial Intelligence Modifies Political Opinion Formation – An Experimental Approach to Understand the Influence of Political Bots in Online Social Networks
- › *Joseph Christian Agbagala*
Organizational Dynamics of Advanced Weapons Systems in Informal Alliances
- › *Markus Geray*
Authority Formation in Fragmented Conflicts: The Central Role of Road-block-induced Interaction
- › *Nicholas Bahrich*
Technological Diffusion and the Strategy of Embargoes: How and Why Embargoes Shape Firm Preferences and Capabilities to Produce and Protect Technology
- › *Tobias Pulver*
Great Power Technological Competition in a Globalized, Complex and Fragmented World

Research Project Nuclear Verification

In 2023, CSS Senior Researchers Alexander Bollfrass and Stephen Herzog began exploring a common interest in nuclear verification. Their focus lies in tracking arsenals and states' declarations about them as checks and balances on nuclear weapons falter. This research has implications for nuclear arms control, nonproliferation, and disarmament. Together, Bollfrass and Herzog developed a project on how open-source satellite imagery may present opportunities and liabilities for verification. It entails archival research and interviewing government and private sector actors. Bollfrass is also working on a book chronologizing monitoring and verification in the nuclear

domain. Herzog is developing strategies to think about making future nuclear disarmament "irreversible." The turn to verification in nuclear research at CSS is not limited to studies by Bollfrass and Herzog. From 5–7 May, 2024, CSS will host a conference titled "Inspection and Inference: Theories and Tools of Nuclear Arms Control Verification." In Zurich, leading global scholars and practitioners will present findings and discuss how to motivate increasingly sophisticated, policy-relevant studies about verification. The conference culminates with an event for the Swiss policy community and media covering issues relevant to Bern.

Research Project Protection Framework for Digital(ized) Conflicts

The digitalization of conflict environments poses new challenges for humanitarian organizations such as the ICRC, as the physical, social, and psychological risks to the affected population are largely unclear. This transdisciplinary project develops a methodology that enables humanitarian actors to document and understand these risks and the potential harm, and to develop appropriate responses to meet the needs of those affected. The aim is to develop appropriate protection-oriented measures for state and non-state actors.



Knowledge Transfer through Education

CSS Education



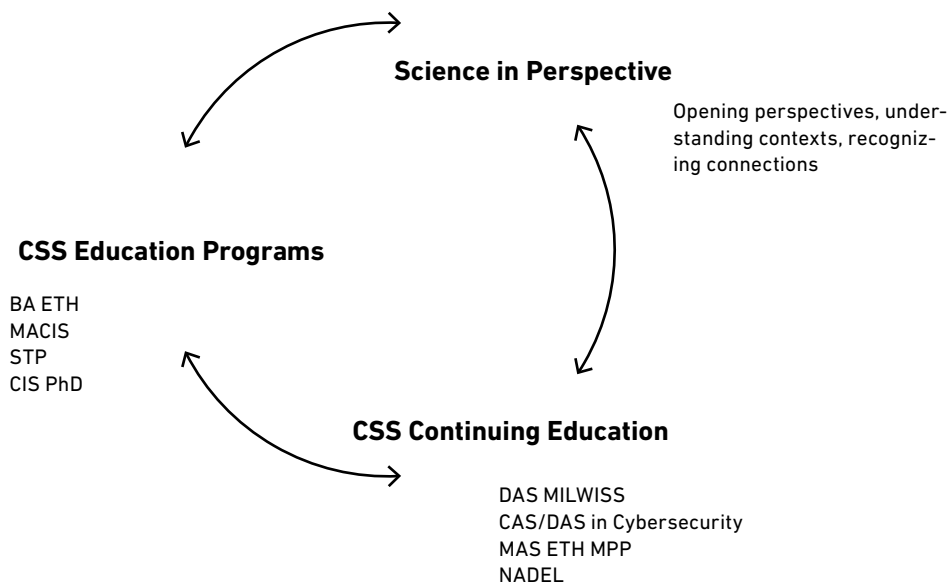
The CSS education courses are a central part of the study programs of the Department of Humanities, Social and Political Sciences (D-GESS) of ETH Zurich and the Center for Comparative and International Studies (CIS) of ETH Zurich and the University of Zurich.

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



BA ETH in Public Policy

The six-semester bachelor's degree program BA in Public Policy 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 (MILAC) at ETH Zurich. The students are also graduates of the Bachelor Course (BLG) at MILAC.

The following courses were offered by the CSS in 2023:

Lectures:

- > Die Rolle von Technologie in nationaler und internationaler Sicherheitspolitik (*Fall Semester 2023*)
- > Einführung in die Cybersicherheitspolitik (*Fall Semester 2023*)
- > Schweizer Aussen- & Sicherheitspolitik seit 1945 (*Spring Semester 2023*)
- > Weltpolitik seit 1945: Geschichte der internationalen Beziehungen (*Fall Semester 2023*)

Seminars:

- > Seminar I: Zunehmende Grossmacht Konkurrenz: Neue Macht-konstellationen und ihre Auswirkungen auf internationale und regionale Sicherheit (*Spring Semester 2023*)
- > Seminar II: Die strategische Bedeutung von Überraschung, Täuschung und Nachrichtendienst (*Fall Semester 2023*)

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 inter-relationships 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 2023:

Seminars:

- > Ending Violence (*Spring Semester 2023*)
- > Political Violence (*Fall Semester 2023*)
- > Nuclear Weapons and International Politics (*Fall Semester 2023*)

Science in Perspective

With the course program Science in Perspective (SiP), 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. Lectures focus on the political and socio-economic contexts from which modern science and technology was born, with an eye to understand how science and technological development are intimately connected with their social contexts. 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 2023:

Lectures:

- > Die Rolle von Technologie in nationaler und internationaler Sicherheitspolitik (*Fall Semester 2023*)
- > Einführung in die Cybersicherheitspolitik (*Fall Semester 2023*)
- > Schweizer Aussen- und Sicherheitspolitik seit 1945 (*Spring Semester 2023*)
- > Simulation of Negotiations: Integrating Science and Diplomacy Information (*Spring Semester 2023*)
- > Weltpolitik seit 1945: Geschichte der Internationalen Beziehungen (*Fall Semester 2023*)

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 – for example, 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, which is a globally unique two-year postgraduate program for mid-career professionals involved in mediating violent political conflicts. Founded in 2017, the MAS ETH MPP is built on a close partnership between ETH Zurich and its strategic partners: the Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs (FDFA), the United Nations (UN), the German Federal Foreign Office (FFO), and the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland (MFA).

In 2023, the program organized the last two modules of the 2021–2023 cycle and the first module of the ongoing 2023–2025 program cycle. With an admission rate below nine per cent, a new cohort of 21 participants have been selected to participate in the 2023–2025 program cycle. Participants come from diverse backgrounds, representing different genders, institutional affiliations, and nationalities. To date, the program has welcomed participants from 41 different nationalities and representing the United Nations, regional organizations, governments, and various civil society organizations.

Advisory and Training Support in the Field of Mediation

In the framework of its strategic partnerships, the MAS ETH MPP continued providing advisory and training support to Switzerland, Germany, and Finland. The program was mandated in 2023 by the Swiss FDFA and the German FFO to take over the organization of an annual week-long course on peace mediation for diplomats. The course took place in Gstaad-Saanen from 18–22 September, 2023, and was attended exclusively by diplomats from the three strategic partner countries of the MAS ETH MPP (Switzerland, Germany, and Finland). The course's aim is to enhance participants' understanding of peace mediation and foster better coordination and complementarity between diplomats

and mediators. In 2025, the course will take place in Finland and in Switzerland in 2026. Other examples of support provided in 2023 included, for instance, facilitating an internal strategy session for the Centre for Mediation in Helsinki (May 2023), co-designing a course with the Finnish MFA for Kenyan diplomats, and providing mediation training for the Parliament of Finland.

New Scholarship Fund

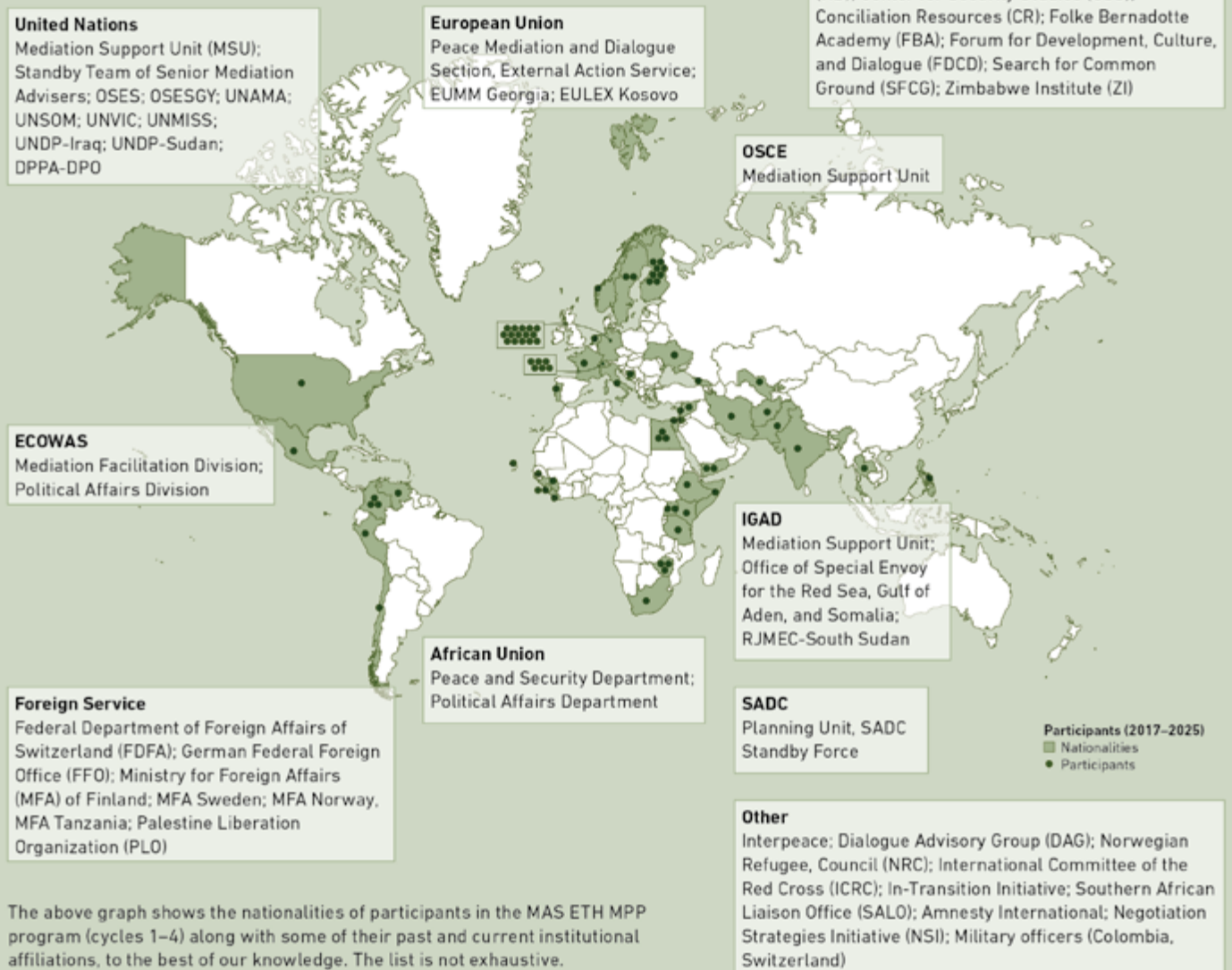
In cooperation with the ETH Foundation, the program also established a new partnership with Nagulendran Philanthropy Alliance to establish a scholarship fund for the program for the next ten years. More about the partnership can be read on the website of [ETH Foundation](#).

“Mediation Exchanges” Event Series

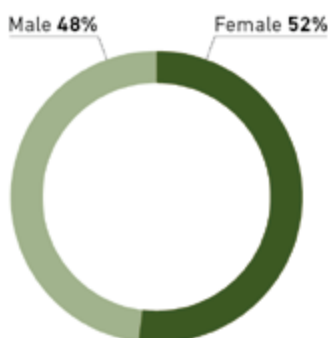
The MAS ETH MPP program also continued its “Mediation Exchanges” series of events, open exclusively to the program's community of practice (i.e., current and former students, strategic partners, and the CSS). The following events were offered virtually:

- › “Cyber Capabilities, Social Media Manipulation, and Peace Mediation” with Govinda Clayton, Mediation Support Manager at the Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue (HD); Sean Kane, Team Leader at the Mediation Support Unit in the UN Department of Political and Peacebuilding Affairs; and Maude Morrison, Team Leader on social media at HD.
- › “Where is the UN heading? A New Agenda for Peace and the Future of UN Mediation” with Richard Gowan, UN Director of the International Crisis Group and Sara Hellmüller, Senior Researcher, CSS ETH Zurich.

Nationalities and key institutional affiliations of MAS ETH MPP participants (2017–2025)



Gender of MAS ETH MPP Participants (2023–2025)



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)

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. Participation is limited to Swiss nationals and representatives of friendly foreign armies who are simultaneously enrolled in the Diploma Course of the Military Academy (MILAC) 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 with the Department of Humanities, Social and Political Sciences (D-GESS) at ETH Zurich and MILAC.

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:

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

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