

# CENTER FOR SECURITY STUDIES (CSS)



ANNUAL REPORT 2015



**Publisher**

Andreas Wenger  
Center for Security Studies (CSS), ETH Zurich

**Editor**

Daniel Frey

**Lectorship**

Benno Zogg

**Translation**

Imke Trainer, Claudia McQuillan

**Layout**

Miriam Dahinden-Ganzoni

**Photo credits**

Center for Security Studies (CSS), ETH Zurich

**Print**

Staffel Medien, Zürich

## PREFACE

The crises developing throughout 2015 have made it evident that the vision of an integrative, liberal European security order is confronted with fundamental challenges. While tendencies towards political fragmentation became apparent within the European Union in the context of the refugee crisis and a potential Grexit, illiberal and populist political forces gained ground in many countries. At the same time, concepts of alternative orders and strategic narratives incompatible with Western expectations have become increasingly manifest along the European periphery. Given the simultaneity of the Ukrainian crisis and the relationship between Russia and Europe in the east, and the crisis regarding Islamic State and regional power shifts in the south, the CSS again attempted to untangle a complex knot of threats, challenges and problems through its publications and events throughout the past year in order to contribute to the essential public discourse on feasible pathways leading forward.

Given the instability of the political situation worldwide, various events provided space for analysis, debate and the development of possible solutions, with discussion panels serving to provide in-depth explanations of the relevant Swiss perspectives in particular. Last year's first ETH workshop, for example, addressed the increasing civil and military use of space and explored the significance of these activities for Switzerland. Another ETH workshop delivered food for thought for the further development of Swiss armament policy, the Swiss Armed Forces and Swiss arms production in the context of global trends relevant to armament. Another workshop concerned the repercussions of the crises in the east and south for European and Swiss security.

Additionally our three major annual publications are designed to promote a deeper understanding of current security challenges. The Strategic Trends 2015 series examined the issues of "A thirty-year war in the Middle East?", "Putin's Russia as a challenge for European security", "Renascent radicalism", "Military competition in space" and "Normalization of international relations in cyberspace", while the 2015 Bulletin on Swiss Security Policy explored the development of Swiss relations to the Partnership for Peace and analyzed current trends towards delegating police tasks to private contractors in the context of the development of the Swiss private security industry, among others. The Sicherheit 2015 study continued the long-term study on the security perceptions among the Swiss population for another reporting year, and the issues investigated as part of CSS analyses on security policy ranged from the procurement of arms to compulsory military service and the effects of Putin's Russia on European security. The English-language publications Strategic Trends, Policy Perspectives and Analytical Digests also mainly dealt with issues focused around the Middle East, Russia, nuclear weapons and Euro-Atlantic security.

In terms of knowledge dissemination, the CSS offered a broad range of study and continuing education programs with a theoretical as well as a practical focus. Within the academic context, we once again





actively participated in the BA ETH program in Political Sciences and the MA in Comparative and International Studies as well as in the DAS ETH continuing education program in Military Sciences and the NADEL post-graduate program in Development and Cooperation. The CSS is additionally responsible for offering a number of courses with a practical focus, particularly in the field of mediation.

This annual report aims to provide an insight into the wide-ranging activities of the CSS and to encourage readers to perhaps explore our other publications, which are all available on our website at [www.css.ethz.ch](http://www.css.ethz.ch).

**Prof. Dr. Andreas Wenger**

Director, Center for Security Studies (CSS)

## TABLE OF CONTENT

<b>1</b>	<b>Research</b>	<b>4</b>
1.1	CSS Studies in Security and International Relations	5
1.2	Selected Publications	7
1.3	Selected Conferences	10
<b>2</b>	<b>Education</b>	<b>11</b>
2.1	BA ETH Public Policy	11
2.2	DAS in Military Sciences	12
2.3	Master of Arts in Comparative and International Studies (MACIS)	12
2.4	PhD program of the Center for Comparative and International Studies (CIS)	13
2.5	Master of Advanced Studies in Security Policy and Crisis Management (MAS ETH SPCM)	14
<b>3</b>	<b>Think Tank</b>	<b>16</b>
3.1	Publications on Swiss foreign and security policy	16
3.2	CSS Analyses in Security Policy	19
3.3	Strategic Trends	20
3.4	CSS Policy Perspectives	21
3.5	Russian Analytical Digest (RAD) / Caucasus Analytical Digest (CAD)	22
3.6	Academic consultancy: selected reports	24
3.7	ETH Workshop on Swiss Security Policy	29
3.8	Further selected Workshops	31
3.9	Transatlantic Post-Doc Fellowship for International Relations and Security (TAPIR)	35
<b>4</b>	<b>The Center for Security Studies (CSS)</b>	<b>36</b>



### Research Activities 2015

In 2015, CSS research activities comprised 26 research projects

### 2015 Publications

Journal contributions: 55  
Monographs and contributions to monographs: 23  
Edited volumes: 32  
Other publications: 39

## 1 RESEARCH

Research at the Center for Security Studies focuses on the changing threats states and their societies are exposed to, and the way major stakeholders organize to meet these threats. Research follows a broad, inter-disciplinary approach and focuses on four main research areas:

### **Risk and resilience**

We analyze not only the causes and theoretical, practical and normative consequences of approaching (inter)national security issues within a risk-based conceptual framework but also the associated concept of resilience. Our research focuses on the interrelationships between conceptual changes in security policy and resulting political practice.

### **Nuclear (weapons) policy**

We investigate the theoretical and historical dimensions of the proliferation or non-proliferation respectively of nuclear weapons and in particular the role institutions and regimes play within the global nuclear order. Our goal is to reveal the incentives and disincentives for nuclear proliferation in order to develop complex analyses of governments' (non-)proliferation decisions from this basis.

### **Security institutions**

We examine why and how security institutions have changed over time and take a close look at resulting policies and their effects on national security. We analyze various of world order concepts and investigate patterns of cooperation between various security stakeholders, including individual states, the UNO, EU and NATO, and global and regional security alliances.

### **Security and energy policy**

We investigate the interrelationships between energy and conflicts, the political economy of energy and issues of supply security.

## 1.1 CSS STUDIES IN SECURITY AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

The CSS Studies in Security and International Relations series deals primarily with historical and current issues in security policy. Based on an expanded concept of security, the series constitutes a forum for innovative research. The authors include academic researchers at the CSS as well as academics from associated partner institutes.

*Aglaya Snetkov*

### **Russia's Security Policy under Putin: A Critical Perspective**

2015

This book examines the evolution of Russia's security policy under Putin in the 21st century, using a critical security studies approach. Drawing on critical approaches to security the book investigates the interrelationship between the internal-external nexus and the politics of (in-)security and regime-building in Putin's Russia. In so doing, it evaluates the way that this evolving relationship between state identities and security discourses framed the construction of individual security policies, and how, in turn, individual issues can impact on the meta-discourses of state and security agendas. To this end, the (de-) securitization discourses and practices towards the issue of Chechnya are examined as a case study. In so doing, this study has wider implications for how we read Russia as a security actor through an approach that emphasizes the importance of taking into account its security culture, the interconnection between internal/external security priorities and the dramatic changes that have taken place in Russia's conceptions of itself, national and security priorities and conceptualization of key security issues, in this case Chechnya. These aspects of Russia's security agenda remain somewhat of a neglected area of research, but, as argued in this book, offer structuring and framing implications for how we understand Russia's position towards security issues, and perhaps those of rising powers more broadly.

*Thierry Tardy, Marco Wyss*

### **Peacekeeping in Africa: The Evolving Security Architecture**

2014

*Ursula Jasper*

### **The Politics of Nuclear Non-Proliferation: A Pragmatist Framework for Analysis**

2013

*Stephen Aris, Andreas Wenger*

### **Regional Organizations and Security: Conceptions and Practices**

2013





*Patrick Müller*

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

*Victor Mauer, Daniel Möckli*

**European-American Relations and the Middle East:  
From Suez to Iraq**  
2010

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



## 1.2 SELECTED PUBLICATIONS

In 2015, the members of the Center for Security Studies (CSS) produced a number of academic publications.

*Andreas Wenger, Stéfanie Von Hlatky (eds.)*

**The Future of Extended Deterrence**

Georgetown University Press, Washington D.C., 2015

Are NATO's mutual security commitments strong enough today to deter all adversaries? Is the nuclear umbrella as credible as it was during the Cold War? This book brings together experts and scholars from the policy and academic worlds to provide a rich and detailed analysis of post-Cold War nuclear weapons policy, nuclear deterrence, alliance commitments, nonproliferation, and missile defense in NATO but with implications far beyond.

*Myriam Dunn Cavelty*

**Cyber-security and Private Actors**

in: Routledge Handbook of Private Security Studies

Routledge, London/New York, 2015

This chapter focuses on the literature dealing with cyber-security issues of relevance to private security studies. The chapter identifies the particularities of cyber-security as a (national) security issue and shows how elusive the concept of cyber-security is, especially since it has different meanings for different stakeholders and over time. In conclusion, it is established that the biggest difference between cyber-security and other private security topics is that the state is not giving away power and authority to private actors but that the state is increasingly enforcing its authority in cyberspace, which has been almost exclusively dominated and shaped by private actors.



*Myriam Dunn Cavelty, Mareile Kaufmann, Kristian Soby Kristensen*  
**Resilience and (In)security: Practices, Subjects, Temporalities**

in: Security Dialogue 46/1

SAGE Publishing, Oslo, 2015

In the past few years, resilience has become increasingly visible and manifest in concrete policies and practices. This has resulted in an ever-growing number of reference objects, meaning sites, artifacts, populations, behavioral forms, emotional conditions, political movements and cultures that are defined as resilient or are supposed or encouraged to become resilient. The collection of articles in this special issue show that resilience is not a universal solution to a complex set of problems. We argue that there is theoretical as well as critical value in abandoning singular conceptualizations of resilience for an exploration of its multiplicity. We contend that resilience is interwoven with other forms of governance, especially technologies of risk, insurance, preparedness, and many more, and needs to be understood in relation to these forms of governance.

*Liviu Horowitz*

**Beyond Pessimism: Why the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons Will Not Collapse**

In: Journal of Strategic Studies, Vol. 38, Iss 1–2

Routledge, London/New York, 2015

This article questions the predominantly pessimistic assessments of the future of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT). After analyzing available evidence on states' interests and interactions within the NPT's framework, it argues that various negative expectations are unwarranted. Conversely, the article identifies three potentially threatening scenarios. It then scrutinizes the likely impact of reactive nuclear proliferation; analyses the probability of significant actors challenging the existing nuclear architecture; and explores whether the treaty's enforcement might soon be diluted. The article concludes the NPT is unlikely to face fundamental threats in the foreseeable future.



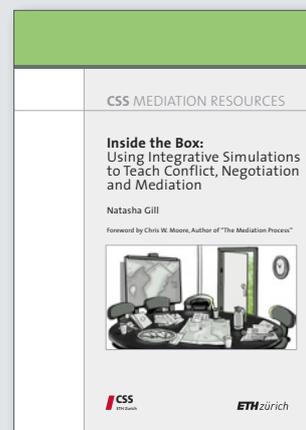
*Natasha Gill*

**Inside the Box: Using Integrative Simulations to Teach Conflict, Negotiations and Mediations**

Center for Security Studies (CSS), ETH Zurich, 2015

This book offers Integrative Simulations (IN-simulations) as one model of learning that involves multi-session scenarios (designed to take from two days to several months) based on existing conflicts, reflecting the perspectives of authentic parties. IN-simulations provide participants with the opportunity to immerse themselves directly in a conflict and negotiation, learn about the beliefs and interests of a wide variety of actors from their own perspectives, and experience the dynamics between parties in an environment that closely replicates reality. The guide is useful for instructors who offer training in negotiation and mediation to professionals and practitioners; university professors and program directors who wish to provide courses that integrate academic knowledge with practice-based learning; and experts, mediators or negotiators who seek to develop teaching methods that help them convey what they have learned and experienced ‘in the field’. In the words of Christopher W. Moore: “Natasha Gill’s Inside the Box is the most recent and masterful work to date on how simulations can be used to teach individuals, groups and organizations to be better negotiators and mediators.” This publication was developed within the framework of the Mediation Support Project, a joint initiative of the CSS and swisspeace, funded by the Swiss FDFA.

Congratulations to Natasha Gill who, with the Refugee Law Clinic of the Justus-Liebig-Universität Gießen, received the 2014 Peter Becker Award for Peace & Conflict Studies from the University of Marburg for her CSS Mediation Resources Publication “Inside the Box”. The Peter Becker prize is the award with the highest endowment for peace and conflict research in Germany, and seeks to promote the application of peace research in practical projects.





### **2015 Scientific Presentations**

In 2015, CSS researchers gave a total of 57 presentations to scientific audiences.

## 1.3 SELECTED CONFERENCES

The Center for Security Studies (CSS) presents numerous academic contributions to national and international events while at the same time organizing several academic conferences of its own.

### **Networked World?**

Zurich, 6./7. November 2015

The CSS hosted a conference on the topic “Networked World: Multilateral Institutions in International Security Governance”. Scholars from Africa, Asia, Europe, North America and South America examined issues concerning the increasingly complex and contested nature of the ‘networked’ relations between multilateral institutions in international security. The conference focused in particular on the politics of the relationships between global and regional multilateral institutions, interregional cooperation, and the question of overlap and role competition between multilateral institutions in different regions.

### **Non-Proliferation in a Historical Perspective**

Geneva, 6. November 2015

The CSS Nuclear Group together with the GCSP co-hosted a one-day workshop in Geneva on 6 November in the context of the Carnegie Corporation-funded Nuclear Proliferation International History Project (NPIHP). The workshop was entitled “Non-Proliferation in a Historical Perspective: New Insights and Policy Perspectives”.

## 2 EDUCATION

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

### 2.1 BA ETH PUBLIC POLICY

The six-semester bachelor's degree "BA in Public Policy" is aimed at future career officers in Switzerland. Its curriculum includes subjects of the humanities, social and political sciences as well as courses in didactics and military sciences. The degree program is offered in cooperation between the Department of Humanities, Social and Political Sciences (D-GESS) and the Military Academy (MILAK), both at ETH Zurich.

The Center for Security Studies (CSS) taught the following courses in 2015:

#### **Lectures:**

- Schweizer Aussen- & Sicherheitspolitik seit 1945 (spring semester 2015)
- Weltpolitik seit 1945: Geschichte der Internationalen Beziehungen (fall semester 2015)
- Aktuelle sicherheitspolitische Fragen (fall semester 2015)

#### **Seminars:**

- Seminar I: US-Sicherheitspolitik unter Obama (spring semester 2015)
- Seminar II: US-Sicherheitspolitik unter Obama (fall semester 2015)

#### **Colloquium:**

- Bachelor-Kolloquium (fall semester 2015)

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



## 2.2 DAS ETH IN MILITARY SCIENCES

The two-semester “Diploma of Advanced Studies ETH in Military Sciences” of ETH Zurich’s continuing education program, is aimed at future career officers fulfilling the terms of admission for the Diploma Course DLG at the Military Academy at ETH Zurich in accordance with MoD (VBS) admission criteria, in addition to university degree or degree of university of applied sciences as well as sufficient German. It is open to Swiss nationals and representatives of the armed forces of friendly nations. The program, which is accredited by the ETH Centre for Continuing Education, comprises selected areas of studies in military sciences as well as security policy and didactics. It is offered in cooperation between the Department of Humanities, Social and Political Sciences (D-GESS) and the Military Academy (MILAK), both at ETH Zurich.

As the DAS program in Military Sciences is generally only offered every two years, there was no intake in the fall semester 2015.

The ten participants in the second instalment of this continuing education program successfully completed their second semester of studies at the end of the 2015 spring semester and received their final certificates and diplomas. Once they have completed the compulsory 17-week specialist military training at MILAK, they will be issued their diplomas as Swiss career officers on 26 February 2016.

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

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

The Center for Security Studies (CSS) taught the following courses in 2015:

### **Seminars:**

- The Concept of Risk in International Relations and Security (spring semester 2015)
- Contemporary Security Studies (fall semester 2015)
- Political Violence (fall semester 2015)

<http://www.cis.ethz.ch/education/MACISnew.html>

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

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

In 2015, the Center for Security Studies (CSS) supervised the following doctoral dissertations:

*Corinne Bara*

**Recurring Patterns in the Onset and Diffusion of Violent Civil Conflict**

*Jan Bouschen*

**The Changing Meaning(s) of Health in Securitizing Vital Systems**

*Christoph Elhardt*

**The Role of Trust in European Monetary Cooperation (completed in October 2015)**

*Liviu Horovitz*

**Guns for Butter: The Political Economy of US Security Expansion**

*Christoph Kaufmann*

**Success and Failure in the Development of C2 Systems in Neutral European States**

*Marco Martini*

**A Negotiation Perspective on the Use of Threats in International Trade Disputes**

*Sascha Langenbach*

**Maritime Disputes and the Political Economy of Offshore Oil and Gas Investments**

*Monika Povilenaite*

**The Role of Cyber Incidents in the Processes of Knowledge Accumulation and Policy Change**

<http://www.cis.ethz.ch/education/PhDCIS.html>



## 2.5 MASTER OF ADVANCED STUDIES IN SECURITY POLICY AND CRISIS MANAGEMENT (MAS ETH SPCM)

The MAS ETH SPCM was developed in 2005 as a joint initiative of the professorial chair for International and Swiss Security Policy of ETH Zurich and the Senior Cadre Training of the Armed Forces. From 2005 to 2015, the program was offered in close cooperation with ETH Zurich and the Military Academy (MILAK) of ETH Zurich. The MAS ETH SPCM was aimed at civilian and military leaders from the private and public sectors who had demonstrated professional experience and a broad academic track record. The program, which was completed over a period of 18 months part-time, delivered high-quality training in strategic decision-making that was aimed fundamentally at the development of strong leadership qualities for handling current and potential security risks and crises. The MAS ETH SPCM additionally promoted awareness of complex and evolving security risks and addressed the influence of these risks on state, economic and social processes.

The program was offered in close cooperation with a range of partners from the scientific, public and private sectors. Academic training partnerships were in place with the following institutions throughout the program's existence:

- Center for Comparative and International Studies (CIS), ETH Zurich und Universität Zurich
- Departement Management, Technologie und Ökonomie (D-MTEC), ETH Zurich
- War Studies Department, King's College London
- S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang Technological University, Singapur
- Brent Scowcroft Center on International Security, The Atlantic Council, Washington D.C.
- Brookings Executive Education, Washington D.C.
- Dwight D. Eisenhower School for National Security and Resource Strategy, National Defense University, Washington D.C.

Formal public and corporate training partnerships were in place with the following institutions:

- Federal Department of Defence, Civil Protection and Sport (DDPS)
- Military Academy at ETH Zurich (MILAK)
- Corporate Security and Business Continuity, Deutsche Bank AG



About 75 leaders from more than 10 countries completed the five courses of the MAS ETH SPCM, including a dozen brigadier generals, a major general and a number of top managers, and many MAS ETH SPCM alumni returned to contribute to the program. A number of these alumni continue to play important public roles.

The program alumni include senior officers of the Swiss, German and Austrian armed forces, diplomats, attachés, security policy advisors, politicians and executive managers in industry and services companies. Leaders from over 20 public and private companies, including public enterprises at cantonal and federal level, ministries, companies in the financial services, defense, security, armament and manufacturing industries, humanitarian organizations, consultancy firms, lobby groups and legal firms, have benefited from this unique program that has not been offered anywhere else in the world in a comparable form.

#### **MAS Seminar 2013–2015**

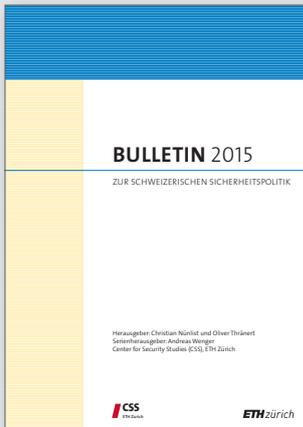
In 2015, the most recent, fifth course of the program, which was launched in 2013, included a block of seminars on crisis response scenarios. These were offered in cooperation with the Federal Office for Civil Protection, the Swiss Seismological Service and Deutsche Bank. The practical sequences were completed at the Swiss International Command (SWISSINT) in Stans. The program scenarios allowed participants to apply the knowledge and skills they had acquired throughout the course based on concrete examples of strategic and political decision-making. This intensive seminar block was concluded with final oral examinations, participants' defenses of their theses and a festive graduation ceremony.

## Public Outreach

Presentations to non-academic audiences: 74

Media contributions: 140

Meetings and workshops with politicians, administrators and scientists: 115



## 3 THINK TANK

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

### 3.1 PUBLICATIONS ON SWISS FOREIGN AND SECURITY POLICY

The Center for Security Studies (CSS) maintains several publication series on Swiss foreign and security policy; these series are aimed at expert audiences as well as interested parties in the general public.

*Christian Nünlist und Oliver Thürment (Hrsg.)*  
**Bulletin 2015 zur schweizerischen Sicherheitspolitik**  
Center for Security Studies (CSS), ETH Zurich, 2015

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

The year 2015 was characterized by the increasing danger emanating from Islamist terror and the ongoing confrontation between Russia and the West – both of which directly impacted on Swiss security policy. 2016 marks the 20th anniversary of Switzerland joining the NATO Partnership for Peace (PfP). For Switzerland, being a neutral country, that cautious move towards closer association with the Western military alliance constituted a significant step in 1996. The PfP continues to form a core aspect of Swiss security policy. The same is true of the Western European NATO partner states Sweden, Finland, Austria and Ireland. The Western European Partners (WEP), an informal group within the PfP, was established in recent years. However, as Christian Nünlist argues in the book's first chapter, the remarkable revival of cooperation between the 'Neutral Five' of the past, which collaborated closely within the Helsinki process during the Cold War period already, was put to the test in the run-up to Switzerland's 20th anniversary of joining the PfP, as NATO refocused on the concept of collective defense of Alliance territory.

Turkey's strategic significance as a NATO member has increased in recent months. Lisa Watanabe's analysis looks back on the strategic partnership between Switzerland and Turkey, which was initially conceived in 2005 but not implemented until 2013. She presents two



reasons why a good relationship with Turkey has become even more important for Switzerland since the 2014 turning point: Turkey plays a major role in any attempts by Western countries to reduce their energy dependency on Russia, and Turkey, being a transit country, has become a central player in combating the phenomenon of foreign jihadist fighters returning to Europe.

Despite the current focus on Russia and jihadist fighters, Swiss security policy is also concerned with a range of other issues. In the third paper in this Bulletin, Matthias Bieri examines the growth of private security companies in Switzerland. These are not subsidiaries of private military and security contractors with an international scope, whose presence has increased in armed conflicts in recent years; the chapter rather traces the development of the private security industry in Switzerland and analyses the reasons for the continuing boom in this industry. The paper also examines the current trend towards delegating police tasks to private contractors and the project of creating uniform standards, including for the training of security personnel. The increasing importance of private security companies for Swiss security policy is then explored from this basis.

An interview with Markus Seiler, Director of the Swiss Federal Intelligence Service (FIS), sheds light on the role of intelligence services in a world of continually increasing complexity. Seiler admits that not even the FIS is immune against unpleasant surprises, one of which was the limited resistance the Iraqi army offered to advancing IS fighters. Seiler also emphasizes that threats are not limited to combatants returning from Syria, as terrorist threats also emanate from within Switzerland due to the increasing radicalization of jihadists within the country. According to Seiler, the importance of counter-intelligence has also increased vastly in recent years, in addition to counter-terrorism and terrorism prevention.

The 2015 Bulletin contains the following papers (in German only):

*Christian Nünlist*

**20 Jahre Partnerschaft für den Frieden: Die Schweiz und die Gruppe der WEP-5**

*Lisa Watanabe*

**Die strategische Partnerschaft der Schweiz mit der Türkei**

*Matthias Bieri*

**Beständiger Aufstieg: Private Sicherheitsunternehmen in der Schweiz**

**«Wir haben den USA durchaus etwas zu bieten.»**

**(Interview mit Markus Seiler, Direktor des Nachrichtendienstes des Bundes)**

*Valerie Sticher*

**Konsensbildung zur Sicherheitssektor-Transformation in Simbabwe**

*Florian Roth*

### **Neue Wege zur Alarmierung der Bevölkerung im Katastrophenfall**

On 27 October 2015, the authors of the Bulletin on Swiss Security Policy launched their publication in Bern. Following the official welcome by Ambassador Christian Catrina from the DDPS Secretariat General, CSS staff gave presentations on their contributions about the 20th anniversary of Switzerland joining the NATO Partnership for Peace, Switzerland's partnership with Turkey and the increasing role private security companies play in Swiss security policy. These issues were then addressed in greater depth during the subsequent debate with representatives of various departments and members of diplomatic representations based in Bern.

*Tibor Szvircsev Tresch, Andreas Wenger, Thomas Ferst, Sabrina Pfister, Andrea Rinaldo*

### **Sicherheit 2015: Aussen-, Sicherheits- und Verteidigungspolitische Meinungsbildung im Trend**

Center for Security Studies (CSS), ETH Zurich, and Militärakademie at ETH Zurich (MILAK), 2015

The annual study *Sicherheit*, a joint publication by the CSS and the Military Academy at ETH Zurich (MILAK), evaluates long-term trends and tendencies in public opinion on foreign, security and defense policy issues in Switzerland. It is based on representative surveys conducted every year. The study is published in German containing summaries in German, French, Italian, and English.

The *Sicherheit 2015* study is based on a representative survey conducted among 1239 male and female Swiss voters in January/February 2015. It found that Swiss people feel secure and are optimistic about Switzerland's future. However, significantly more participants in the current survey than before take the view that the global political situation will deteriorate. Generally, Swiss citizens feel exposed to only a minor threat; in 2015, they showed significantly greater trust in the police, the courts and the Swiss Federal Council. Another development evident in 2015 is greater openness, although this parameter is still below the long-term average. While the desire for political and economic independence remains high, there was significantly less demand for military or absolute autonomy among the population in 2015, and there is no majority support for relevant endeavors. Approval rates for NATO membership and EU membership increased slightly in 2015, but clearly remain minority views. There continues to be strong support for economic cooperation with the EU and more active international involvement.

The survey paid particular attention to the perception of threats among the population, alternative service models and an assessment of the effectiveness of the Swiss Army.





## 3.2 CSS ANALYSES IN SECURITY POLICY

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

International expert circles frequently discuss the English versions of CSS Analyses in Security Policy. The policy briefs also enjoy a great deal of attention among Swiss foreign and security policy experts – among political decision-makers, the public administration, and academia. CSS Analyses in Security Policy is issued monthly as an e-publication and is available for free subscription.

A total of 18 briefs were published in 2015:

- No. 184: Revisiting Switzerland's North Africa Program
- No. 183: The Concept of Countering Violent Extremism
- No. 182: Arms Procurement (2): Project Dynamics
- No. 181: Arms Procurement (1): The Political-Military Framework
- No. 180: Military Conscription in Europe: New Relevance
- No. 179: Nonproliferation and Nuclear Energy: The Case of Vietnam
- No. 178: Afghanistan: Back to the Brink
- No. 177: European Security After the 2014 Watershed
- No. 176: Sectoral Sanctions: The Long Arm of Coercive Diplomacy
- No. 175: War in Yemen: Revolution and Saudi Intervention
- No. 174: NATO's "Spearhead Force"
- No. 173: Global Disaster Politics Post Sendai
- No. 172: Putin's Russia and European Security
- No. 171: Space: The New Frontier of Security Policy
- No. 170: The Western Balkans Between Europe and Russia
- No. 169: Entrenched Positions on Nuclear Non-Proliferation
- No. 168: Sinai Peninsula - from Buffer Zone to Battlefield
- No. 167: EU Foreign Policy: Mogherini Takes Over

**Subscription to CSS Analyses**  
Visit [www.css.ethz.ch/cssanalyses](http://www.css.ethz.ch/cssanalyses) to subscribe to the CSS Analyses free of charge.





#### Public Outreach

Andreas Wenger gave a presentation on “Geostrategic issues: repercussions of the conflicts in Ukraine and the Middle East on European security” during the hearing of the Foreign Policy Commission of the Council of States in Zurich.

### 3.3 STRATEGIC TRENDS

The Strategic Trends series offers a concise analysis of major developments in world affairs, with a primary focus on international security. The annual volumes provide succinct interpretations of key trends and contain numerous graphics. Strategic Trends is published in English. The CSS complements this publication with the annual meeting “Weltpolitische Lage: Herausforderungen für die Schweiz”.

Two themes are interwoven in the chapters of Strategic Trends 2015: norms and order. The systemic challenge that Putin’s Russia poses to a liberal EU, described by Jonas Grätz, is one of norms and values. The Middle East, the other crisis-ridden region, seems to be on the verge of a long struggle for a re-establishment, or re-invention, of regional and intra-state order, says Martin Zapfe. The effects of this struggle, and of competing concepts of the state and concepts of ruling within the Middle East, writes Prem Mahadevan, touch Europe directly – not least through a new ‘territorial terrorism’ embodied by the IS. Beyond those two geographical regions, two other chapters describe spaces where norms may just be emerging. Space, covered by Michael Haas, and Cyberspace, analyzed by Myriam Dunn Cavelty, represent global commons that will further move to the forefront of international affairs – and with them the question of which norms, if any, should guide those affairs. Thus, the diagnosed basic insecurity regarding the future of international affairs deepens, as it evolves from changes within the balance of power to the questioning of the very system in which state power is generated and applied.

Strategic Trends 2015 contains the following articles:

*Martin Zapfe*

**The Middle East’s Thirty Years’ War?**

*Jonas Grätz*

**Putin’s Russia: Exploiting the Weaknesses of Liberal Europe**

*Prem Mahadevan*

**Resurgent Radicalism**

*Michael Haas*

**Vulnerable Frontier: Militarized Competition in Outer Space**

*Myriam Dunn Cavelty*

**The Normalization of Cyber-international Relations**

Strategic Trends 2015 was launched at the Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs (FDFA) in Bern on 22 April 2015. Michael Haas, Prem Mahadevan and Martin Zapfe summarized the main insights provided by the individual chapters of the report during a brown bag lunch. The subsequent debate among about 25 attending FDFA members was chaired by Michele Coduri, head of the International Security Section. The presenters then travelled to Geneva on 24 April 2015 to launch the yearbook at the invitation of the Geneva Center for Security Policy (GCSP). The subsequent vivid debate among the



audience of about 50 people was chaired by Gustav Lindstrom, Head of the Emerging Security Challenges Program, and the GCSP additionally stimulated intensive communication via live tweets.

As in previous years, Strategic Trends 2015 was again presented at an event in Brussels, which was held at NATO Headquarters on 30 March, where the publishers and authors of the yearbook shared their main insights at the invitation of the Swiss NATO mission. Diplomats of permanent representations in Brussels and employees of the international NATO staff showed great interest in the issues raised by the CSS publication. One day later, on 31 March, the publishers and authors of Strategic Trends presented their analyses to diplomats of the EU representations in Brussels and members of various Brussels think tanks at the premises of Carnegie Europe. As on the previous day, Putin's Russia and the situation in the Middle East were of particular interest.

Martin Zapfe's closing presentation additionally provided insights into the core conclusions drawn in the publication, above all in the chapter on the Middle East, to participants in the General Staff training course.

### 3.4 CSS POLICY PERSPECTIVES

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

Five CSS Policy Perspectives were published in 2015:

Searching for an Energy Union

Coordinating Democracy Promotion: Lessons from Belarus

Keeping France in the CSDP

Out-narrating the IS

The Nuclear Weapons Comeback

[www.css.ethz.ch/publikationen/css-policy-perspectives.html](http://www.css.ethz.ch/publikationen/css-policy-perspectives.html)



### 3.5 RUSSIAN ANALYTICAL DIGEST (RAD) / CAUCASUS ANALYTICAL DIGEST (CAD)

#### RAD and CAD subscriptions

Both publication series are available for free subscription at [www.css.ethz.ch/en/publications/rad.html](http://www.css.ethz.ch/en/publications/rad.html) and [www.css.ethz.ch/en/publications/cad.html](http://www.css.ethz.ch/en/publications/cad.html).

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 at the University of Bremen, the Institute for European, Russian and Eurasian Studies at the George Washington University, and the German Association for East European Studies (DGO).

The Caucasus Analytical Digest (CAD) analyzes the political, economic, and social situation in the three South Caucasus states of Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia, and assesses the implications for the regional and wider international context. The series is produced by the Center for Security Studies (CSS) at ETH Zurich, the Research Centre for East European Studies at the University of Bremen, the Institute for European, Russian and Eurasian Studies at the George Washington University, and the German Association for East European Studies (DGO). The CAD is supported by a grant from the Academic Swiss Caucasus Net (ASCN).

The RAD and the CAD are both published in English and hosted on their own webpages on the CSS website, from where their full back catalogues can be accessed. Both publication series are available for free subscription.

In 2015, 18 RAD issues were published:

No. 178: US-Russian Relations

No. 177: Information Warfare

No. 176: Russia and the Baltics/Poland

No. 175: Russia and the Conflict in Syria

No. 174: Gazprom – Challenges at Home and Abroad

No. 173: Russia and Regime Security

No. 172: Russian Arctic Sustainability

No. 171: The Politics of the Putin Regime

No. 170 :Eurasian Economic Union: A 6 Months Report

No. 169: The view from China: Pivot to Asia

No. 168: The view from China: Russia as Seen by Two Chinese Scholars of Russia

No. 167: Russia, Europe and the Far Right

No. 166: Opposition Politics in Russia: Where are They?



No. 165: Russia, Central Asia and the Eurasian Economic Union

No. 164: Economic Challenges: Weak Ruble, Unstructured Monotowns

No. 163: Russia's Diversifying Energy Relations

No. 162: Russia and the West in Light of the Ukraine Crisis

No. 161: Russia and Mongolia

In addition 10 issues of the CAD were published:

No. 79: Parliamentary Elections in Azerbaijan

No. 78: Corruption

No. 77: Identity, Norms and Beliefs in Foreign Politics

No. 76: Armenian Politics

No. 75: Informal Economy

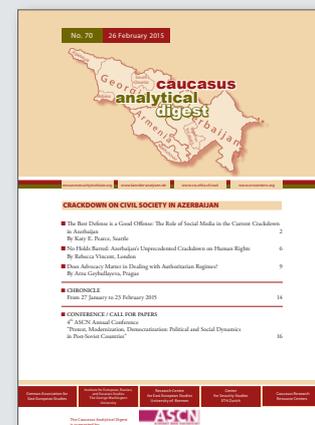
No. 74: Local Governance

No. 73: Civil Society

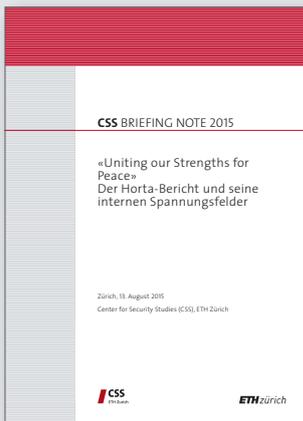
No. 72: Religion and Politics

No. 71: Women in Politics

No. 70: Crackdown on Civil Society in Azerbaijan



All CSS publications are available for free download from [www.css.ethz.ch/publikationen](http://www.css.ethz.ch/publikationen).



### 3.6 ACADEMIC CONSULTANCY: SELECTED PUBLICATIONS

The Center for Security Studies (CSS) provides consultancy for national and international public-sector actors.

**Michael Haas, Martin Zapfe**  
**“Uniting our Strengths for Peace”**  
**Der Horta-Bericht und seine internen Spannungsfelder**  
Center for Security Studies (CSS), ETH Zurich, 2015

In this publication, Martin Zapfe and Michael Haas evaluate José Ramos-Horta’s long-awaited report on UN peacekeeping operations and its potential implications for future UN missions. They have found the report to contain fundamental, unresolved tensions and to formulate policy recommendations that contradict its own analyses or present unrealistic challenges for the UN.

**Christian Nünlist, Matthias Bieri, Lisa Watanabe**  
**Sicherheitspolitische Trends 2016–2020**  
Center for Security Studies (CSS), ETH Zurich, 2015

This report provides an outlook on major security policy developments over the next five years. It examines the issues of ‘Islamic State’, the rivalry between Iran and Saudi Arabia, Russia’s increasing economic problems, and tensions arising in Asia due to China positioning itself more and more as regional hegemon, among others. Switzerland, being a small state, has a major interest in international norms and international law being adhered to. Oliver Thränert and Christian Nünlist presented the main insights outlined in this publication as part of an anticipatory roundtable organized by the Swiss Army Staff on 22 January 2015 and again on 24 February 2015 before the Military Strategy Staff (MSS).

**Lisa Watanabe**  
**Foreign Fighters and their return – measures taken by North African countries**  
Center for Security Studies (CSS), ETH Zurich, 2015

Lisa Watanabe examines how North African countries deal with returning foreign fighters. For a long time, there were hardly any government initiatives outside Algeria to prevent fighters from leaving their home countries or to monitor them upon their return. However, the situation has changed due to increasing concern about returning jihadist fighters, although Libya, being a failing state, has not been able to take relevant measures.

*Oliver Thränert*

### **Das Kernenergieprogramm Vietnams: Derzeit keine Gefahr des militärischen Missbrauchs**

Center for Security Studies (CSS), ETH Zurich, 2015

Vietnam has been able to build up nuclear infrastructure to cover the energy needs of this emerging country. In this publication, Oliver Thränert concludes that Vietnam, being a cooperative member of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, shows no evidence of developing military nuclear capabilities.

*Michel Herzog, Florian Roth*

### **Risiko- und Gefährdungsanalysen im Bevölkerungsschutz: Zweite Umfragestudie zur Weiterentwicklung der Arbeiten in den Kantonen und im Fürstentum Liechtenstein**

Center for Security Studies (CSS), ETH Zurich, 2015

This report provides an insight into current risk analysis practices in Switzerland's 26 Cantons, and in Liechtenstein. Based on a comparable survey conducted in 2011 (also by the CSS), the report provides a longitudinal analysis of the progress in risk analysis in recent years. The results of the study show that cantonal hazard and risk analyses are well established and have become increasingly comprehensive.

*Michel Herzog, Jennifer Giroux*

### **Urban Resilience: Considering technical and social infrastructures in complex human environments**

Center for Security Studies (CSS), ETH Zurich, 2015

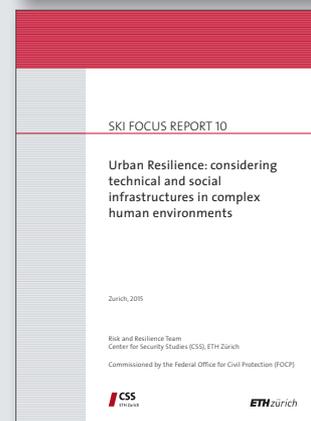
This study examines resilience in the urban space by focusing on critical infrastructure resilience and uniquely draws out its interdependent relationship with critical social infrastructures (CSI), which include services such as health services, insurance, relief organizations, etc. that often help communities cope with the impact of CI disruptions.

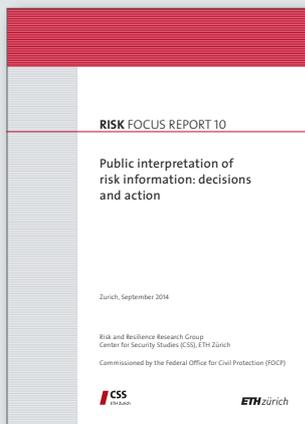
*Jennifer Giroux, Michel Herzog, Florian Roth*

### **Using (the right) media to reach the audience**

Center for Security Studies (CSS), ETH Zurich, 2015

Public risk communication is a central component of risk management, and yet at the same time one of its biggest challenges. Knowing which type of media to use and how to communicate with specific target groups is essential for risk management professionals looking to develop communication pathways with those confronted with various risks. The report examines some of the most important types of media and communication channels used to increase the effectiveness of public risk communication and provides some structured insights into how to use the 'right' media for a specific audience.





*Tim Prior, Michel Herzog*

**Public Interpretation of Risk Information**

Center for Security Studies (CSS), ETH Zurich, 2015

The report explores the relationship between risk communication and public decision-making regarding risk. This topic is of central interest to risk communicators given that the gap between risk messages and public behavior is widely recognized, but nevertheless remains difficult to manage. Appreciating why formal risk messages do not always result in the intended risk protective behavior is therefore as important to the risk communicator as technical knowledge about risk, its probability of occurrence, and the consequences for society.

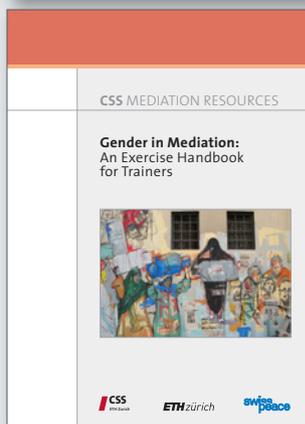


*Tim Prior*

**Measuring Critical Infrastructure Resilience**

Center for Security Studies (CSS), ETH Zurich, 2015

This report aims to illustrate how resilience might be assessed, and to elucidate indicators that might be useable, especially in the context of Switzerland's CIP strategy. The report explains the differences between absolute and relative assessments of resilience and outlines a selection of indicators that might be used to assess critical infrastructure(CI) resilience, using case studies where resilience indices have been developed based on a number of specific indicators.



*Simon Mason, Anna Hess, Rachel Gasser, Julia Palmiano Federer*

**Gender in Mediation: An Exercise Handbook for Trainers**

Center for Security Studies (CSS), ETH Zurich and swisspeace, 2015

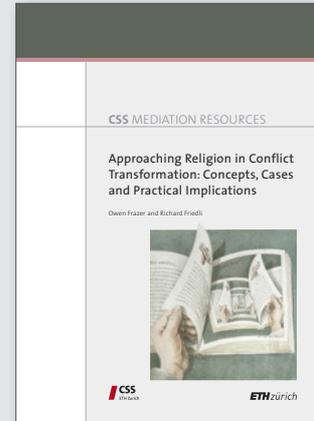
This handbook contains 47 practical exercises to help negotiation and mediation trainers make their trainings more gender-sensitive. By focusing on the intersection between mediation, gender equality and interactive didactics, the handbook seeks to support participatory and consensus-oriented decision-making in situations of conflict. In the words of Ambassador Heidi Grau, Head of the Human Security Division, Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs: "This Handbook provides negotiation and mediation trainers with practical exercises for transforming people's thinking, thereby empowering them to tackle gender issues in a cooperative manner." This publication was developed within the framework of the Mediation Support Project, a joint initiative of the CSS and swisspeace, funded by the Swiss FDFA.

*Owen Frazer, Richard Friedli*

### **Approaching Religion in Conflict Transformation**

Center for Security Studies (CSS), ETH Zurich, 2015

This paper is written for policy makers and conflict transformation practitioners working on conflicts with religious dimensions. It aims to support policy and practice by providing a conceptual framework to strengthen analysis of the role that religion plays in conflict. It draws both on academic writing on the nature of religion and accounts of conflict transformation initiatives to propose a framework that constitutes a useful balance between academic complexity and the simplicity necessary for practical application. This publication was developed within the framework of Culture and Religion in Mediation (CARIM), a joint initiative of the CSS and the Swiss FDFA.

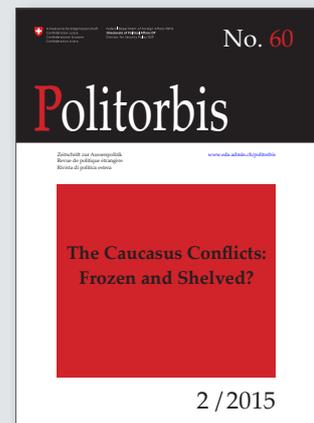


*Anna Hess Sargsyan*

### **Bridging Gaps in Civilian Peacebuilding in the Nagorno Karabakh Context**

In: *Politorbis* No. 60: The Caucasus Conflicts: Frozen and Shelved? 2015

This article takes a critical look at the state of art of Track II initiatives in the Nagorno Karabakh context. It identifies gaps and challenges of civilian peace-building in protracted conflict contexts and offers recommendations to make civil society initiatives in the Nagorno Karabakh context more targeted and effective. This publication was developed within the framework of the Mediation Support Project, a joint initiative of the CSS and swisspeace, funded by the Swiss FDFA.

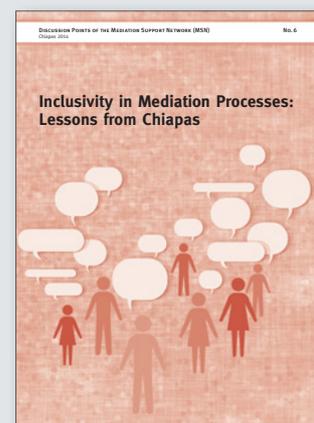


*Pablo Romo, Marylene Smeets*

### **Inclusivity in Mediation Processes: Lessons from Chiapas**

Mediation Support Network; Center for Security Studies (CSS), ETH Zurich, 2015

How can mediation support stakeholders in broadening the inclusion of stakeholders and in the representation of issues in a process? Members of the Mediation Support Network (MSN) met in Chiapas, Mexico, in November 2014 to discuss this question. The collection of MSN Discussion Points highlights some of the conceptual debates and showcases lessons learned from the Chiapas case.





**Working on Religion, Peace and Conflict in Theravada Buddhist Countries: Reflections by Practitioners**

The Network for Religious and Cultural Peacemakers | CSS | ETH Zurich

Rising inter-community and inter-religious tensions are a threat to peaceful coexistence in Sri Lanka, Myanmar and Thailand, as well as the wider region. Diverse efforts are under way to address these tensions, particularly in the areas of education, countering of hate speech, advocacy, engaging women, interfaith dialogue and activities, conflict dialogue, and early warning and early response.

These efforts could be strengthened by:

1. Deepening understanding of current and evolving dynamics;
2. Improving collaboration and co-operation between peacebuilding efforts;
3. Adopting a more strategic, action-oriented approach to dialogue;
4. Investing in prevention;
5. Employing inclusive, multi-level and multi-sector approaches;
6. Strengthening work on education;
7. Avoiding compartmentalization.

**Introduction:**

Myanmar, Sri Lanka and Thailand are all countries with a strong Theravada Buddhist tradition. They also all have significant minorities of people who adhere to other religious and cultural traditions, in the last few years rising tensions between communities, particularly Buddhist and Muslim, are manifesting in a number of ways which are threatening contributions to further education and peacebuilding. Violence in Myanmar, State and other parts of Myanmar, collaboration between Buddhist, nationalist and Muslim communities in Sri Lanka, and the ongoing situation in southern Thailand have all attracted national and international attention in recent years. Tensions and violence have led to people being displaced from their homes, moves to pass legislation that targets or focuses on particular religious groups or faith traditions, increased conversions over religious and cultural symbols and practices, and a growth in hate speech.

A number of organizations working to address some of these challenges to social cohesion and peaceful coexistence met in March 2015 to share their experiences, learn from each other and explore ways to improve their effectiveness through strengthened collaboration and co-operation. This short paper aims to share some of the insights from that meeting with the wider community of interested policy-makers and practitioners and encourage all to contribute to an ongoing exchange on how best to address inter-community and inter-religious tensions in the region.

**The Issues:**

There are many political, economic, social, religious, cultural and psychological factors contributing to inter-community tensions and violence and the accompanying rise of Buddhist nationalism in Myanmar, Sri Lanka, and Thailand. While the situation in each country has its specificities, there are also many commonalities.

May 2015

## Owen Frazer, Martine Miller Working on Religion, Peace and Conflict in Theravada Buddhist Countries: Reflections by Practitioners

Center for Security Studies (CSS), ETH Zurich; Network for Religious and Traditional Peacemakers

Rising inter-community and inter-religious tensions are a threat to peaceful coexistence in Sri Lanka, Myanmar and Thailand as well as in the wider region. Diverse efforts are under way to address these tensions, particularly in the areas of education, countering of hate speech, advocacy, engaging women, interfaith dialogue and activities, intrafaith dialogue, and early warning and early response. These efforts could be strengthened by: 1. Deepening understanding of current and evolving dynamics; 2. Improving collaboration and co-operation between peacebuilding efforts; 3. Adopting a more strategic, action-oriented approach to dialogue; 4. Investing in prevention; 5. Employing inclusive, multi-level and multi-sector approaches; 6. Strengthening work on education; 7. Avoiding compartmentalization. This publication was developed within the framework of Culture and Religion in Mediation (CARIM), a joint initiative of the CSS and the Swiss FDFA.

**KLAUS HOCK: WHAT IS RELIGION?**

CHAPTER 2 FROM EINFÜHRUNG IN DIE RELIGIONSWISSENSCHAFT; WBG, DAEMSTADT 2002.<sup>1</sup>

Engaging about the concept of religion leads us directly into the heart of religious studies and at the same time into one of its most relevant internal debates, which will hardly be resolved in the foreseeable future – and probably cannot be resolved at all. Almost every introduction makes reference to psychological James Frazer, noted for his contributions to the psychology of religion, who, at the beginning of the last century, compiled nearly 50 different definitions of the term “religion”.<sup>2</sup> Of course, he discarded them all and offered his own definition as an alternative instead. In the meantime, the attempts to define “religion” have grown to a vast number, and just to list them all would go beyond the scope of the small volume. Moreover, it would not be very helpful to add yet another definition of the term “religion” to the many existing ones and to present a detailed and long-winded justification for the choice of this concept. In the following, we will merely address some of the fundamental questions concerning the usage of the term “religion” in order to offer guidance in the maze of definitions of “religion”.

One of the problems with defining the concept of religion lies in the fact that the concept itself emerged in a very specific cultural and historical environment – it belongs predominantly to the occidental history of ideas. It is when we try to apply the concept of religion as a universal concept to phenomena in other historical and cultural contexts, if not before, that we meet with unexpected difficulties.

**Definitions of the term religio**

However, already the concept “religion” itself is not used consistently, and even its etymological derivation is contested. To start with, the Latin *religio*, on which the term is based, denotes “considerate action” or “conscientious observance”.<sup>3</sup> Although, for the Romans, the word *religio* contained principally the aspect of ritual exactitude, the concept can be further developed in different directions.

Cicero (106–43 BC) defines *religio* in his treatise *De natura deorum* (“On the Nature of the Gods”) as *cultus deorum*, i.e. as “cult of the gods”, as “care” or “worship” of the gods, with the correct ritual behaviour being paramount. As the antithesis, as it were, to *negligere*, “to neglect”, *religio*, “to consider carefully”, in turn refers to the correct course of action at a divine service, or more precisely as the “service for the gods”.<sup>4</sup> Cicero thus expresses the Roman understanding of “religion” according to which religion is not so much about proper faith, but rather about correctly performing the actions directed at the gods – hence, Roman religion was distinguished not by orthodoxy, but by orthopraxy.

Lactantius, a 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD Christian writer and statesman, however, refers to a different meaning: He derives *religio* from *religare* – to bind, bind again, connect, bring back. Later, the great Christian theologian Augustine (354–430) adopts this definition and describes the *religio* vera, the “true religion”, as one that is based on ascending or “re-attaching” the self – which has been separated from God, or has torn itself away from him – with God.

<sup>1</sup> Translated from German by CSS, ETH Zurich (2014).

1

## Klaus Hock What is Religion?

WBG (translated by the Center for Security Studies (CSS), ETH Zurich)

Understanding the term ‘religion’ is essential for peace practitioners and policy makers supporting the transformation of violent political conflict with religious dimensions. CSS ETH Zurich has translated the second chapter of Klaus Hock’s Introduction to Religious Studies (original title: Einführung in die Religionswissenschaft, WBG, 2002), a key reading for anyone wanting to gain insight into the genesis, the different meanings and underlying schools of thought, and the challenges of defining the concept of ‘religion’.



## 3.7 ETH WORKSHOP ON SWISS SECURITY POLICY

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

### **Armament in Europe: planning and procurement**

ETH Zurich, 11 November 2015

On 11 November 2015, politicians, representatives of public administration and industry as well as experts and guests discussed trends and problems of future defense procurement. A first panel of experts presented on current trends in global and European arms procurement. A second panel discussed the Swiss Army's arms procurement policy (2015-2020). The panel examined the question of how global and European trends influence Switzerland on the three levels of arms procurement policy, the Army, and industry. The need for planning reliability was much emphasized, which may be achieved through global budgets.

### **The State of Global Politics**

ETH Zurich, 27 March 2015

The 2015 edition of the CSS Strategic Trends yearbook was launched at this event, during which the publishers and authors of the book discussed both the insights it presents and their potential implications for Switzerland. In the first panel, the five chapters of the booklet were presented: 1. The Middle East's thirty years' war?, 2. Putin's Russia: exploiting the weaknesses of liberal Europe, 3. Resurgent radicalism, 4. Militarized competition in outer space and 5. The normalization of cyber-international relations.

In the second panel, the parliamentarians Alexander Kuprecht and Roland Fischer as well as Ambassador Christian Catrina of the Swiss Ministry of Defense and Eric Gujer, editor-in-chief of the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, discussed possible implications of these international trends for Switzerland. The panelists agreed in particular on the fact that Putin's Russia generated a need for adjustment in regard to Swiss security policy.



## **The Dual Use of Space**

ETH Zurich, 30 January 2015

On 30 January 2015, representatives from the Swiss government, politics, military and academia met to discuss the civil and military use of space and the importance of space-based systems for Switzerland. The more space is used for reconnaissance, navigation, earth observation and communication, the more dependencies arise that also affect Swiss security policy. These dependencies are problematic because satellites are very vulnerable.

In a first panel, Kai-Uwe Schrogl (European Space Agency/ESA) and Daniel Neuenschwander (Swiss Space Office) provided an introduction to security aspects of space. Questions addressed included: How are space policies governed internationally? What does the increasing use of outer space mean for Switzerland? A second panel with Stefan Brem (FOCP), Jan Schmidt (Swiss Re) and Martin Reber (DDPS) focused on space systems as critical infrastructure and the consequences for Switzerland of a potential failure of space-based systems. A third panel with Peter Guggenbach (RUAG Space), Daniel Neuenschwander (Swiss Space Office) and Wolfgang Hoz (Swiss Air Force) debated the following questions: What does the increasing militarization of space mean for Swiss neutrality policy? What potential does the Swiss Army see in space-based systems? How can the Swiss industry successfully continue its niche strategy?

## 3.8 FURTHER SELECTED WORKSHOPS

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

### **CSS Evening Talk: Conflicts and Security in the Maghreb and North Africa**

ETH Zurich, 20 October 2015

On 20 October 2015, Mohamed Mahmoud Ould Mohamedou, Deputy Director and Academic Dean of the Geneva Centre for Security Policy (GCSP), and Lisa Watanabe, Senior Researcher at the CSS, discussed conflict dynamics in the Maghreb and North Africa as part of the CSS Evening Talk series.

Both speakers agreed that there has been a dramatic loss in state power throughout the region and that non-state actors, in particular the so-called Islamic State (IS), are on the rise. While transformation and transition processes in all states will certainly need time to unfold, Tunisia has the highest chances of implementing democratic principles and achieving social stability. In the meantime, European and other Western countries should limit their efforts to supporting reforms, for instance in the security sector.

### **CSS Evening Talk: The Ukraine crisis and the future of the European security architecture**

ETH Zurich, 30 June 2015

The Ukraine crisis and the future of the European security architecture formed the primary focus of the discussion at the Evening Talk on 30 June 2015. Both Prof. Dr. Hanns Maull, Distinguished Senior Fellow at the German Institute for International and Security Affairs and longtime holder of the chair of International Relations at the University of Trier, and Prof. Dr. Andreas Wenger, the Director of the CSS, agreed on the fact that Russia's annexation of Crimea marked a turning point in the relations between Moscow and the West.

There are, however, no discernible signs of a new Cold War. Despite having global implications, the conflict with Russia does not feature the structural patterns to impinge on world politics in the 21st century. Moreover, Russia does not constitute the only challenge for European security nowadays. At least equally significant are the challenges in the southern European periphery. However, it became clear that both NATO and EU members depend on security guarantees against current Russian intimidation. With regards to the states situated between Russia and the West, such as Ukraine in particular, the process of enlargement should generally be reconsidered and delayed.



Today, there are many reasons to believe that the process of consolidation within the West should be weighted stronger than the process of enlargement to new countries.

### **CSS Evening Talk: The Future of the Two Koreas**

ETH Zurich, 26 February 2015

Since 1953, Swiss military personnel, as part of the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission tasked with monitoring the cease-fire agreement, have been stationed at the border between North and South Korea. At an Evening Talk, which took place on 26 February 2015, Prof. Eun-Jeung Lee from the Freie Universität Berlin and Nina Belz from the Neue Zürcher Zeitung discussed potential approaches how this standoff between the two Koreas could be solved in favor of reunification.

The big uncertainty in this regard was and remains the stability of the current regime in North Korea. It was noted that while it would be desirable to overcome the threat emanating from the regime in the North through reunification, this process itself could prove to be a risky endeavor. Additionally, important neighbors, such as China and Japan, show only limited interest in a reunified Korea. Therefore, it seems unlikely that the current situation, which has shaped the region since 1953, is about to change anytime soon.

### **Annual CSS Meeting – Geneva Center for Security Studies (GCSP)**

ETH Zurich, 20 October 2015

On 20 October 2015, representatives of the Geneva Center for Security Studies (GCSP) and the CSS came together for their regular meeting, which has been held annually since 2013. Both sides agreed to deepen their collaboration wherever possible.

Two issues were additionally discussed, namely the possible example that the OSCE could set for the handling of disputes in Asia and the agreement on the Iranian nuclear program, including its regional and international implications. Participants concluded that the focus in Asia was more on bilateral than on multilateral security relationships, in contrast to Europe, although certain parallels can be drawn regarding a number of problems shared by Europe and Asia.

Regarding the Iranian nuclear program, representatives of both the GCSP and the CSS welcomed the agreement as an important diplomatic milestone but agreed that it will be the implementation of this agreement, which will extend over a number of years, that will eventually show whether Iran is prepared to permanently renounce its nuclear weapons option.



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

New York (USA), 30 November to 2 December 2015

Together with the Mediation Support Unit of the United Nations DPA, the Network for Religious and Traditional Peacemakers, and the Swiss FDFA, the CSS organized a pilot course on Religion and Mediation in New York. It focused on providing participants with the knowledge and tools to support the design of mediation processes in violent political conflicts where religion plays a role.

### **Mediation Support Network Meeting**

Atlanta (USA), 12 to 14 October 2015

The eleventh meeting of the Mediation Support Network (MSN) was hosted at The Carter Center in Atlanta. The network discussions focused on challenges of peacemaking and mediation support in hot wars, with a particular focus on Ukraine, Syria and Colombia. The MSN is coordinated by the Mediation Support Project, a joint initiative of the CSS and swisspeace with financial support from the Swiss Foreign Ministry (FDFA).

### **Workshop: The Complexity of Peace Processes**

Armenia, September 2015 and Georgia, October 2015

CSS collaborated with the Finnish Crisis Management Initiative in organizing and delivering a workshop on “The Complexity of Peace Processes” in Yerevan from 25-28 September 2015 and in Georgia from 27 October – 2 November 2015. The aim of the workshops was to develop peace process competencies of the Armenian and Georgian Government officials. The workshops allowed the participants to gain insights into negotiation, mediation and peace process design, and hear how practitioners from Northern Ireland, Scotland and Switzerland have worked on similar issues.

### **Religion and Mediation Course**

Schwarzenberg (Switzerland), 6 to 11 September 2015

The Culture and Religion in Mediation (CARIM) program’s second “Religion and Mediation Course” (RMC) took place in cooperation with the Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs (FDFA), the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland, the Network of Religious and Traditional Peacemakers and the German Center for International Peace Operations at Schwarzenberg, near Geneva. The course brought together 28 mediators, peace practitioners and policy makers to deepen their understanding of religion’s role in and influence on violent political conflict. The course applied a broad understanding of mediation which encompasses a variety of approaches where third parties create a supportive space for stakeholders to come together to address their differences.



### **Peace Mediation Course**

Oberhofen (Switzerland), 7 to 19 June 2015

The 8th Peace and Mediation Course (PMC) covered the basic elements of mediation techniques, specific aspects of peace processes and process design. In 2015, 29 participants attended the course, including representatives of the UN, of various foreign ministries and governmental and non-governmental organizations.

The PMC aims to give participants a deeper understanding of mediation in peace processes and to promote the ability, knowledge and attitudes needed to foster mediation processes effectively. The PMC also offers uniquely practical insights delivered by experienced speakers giving first-hand accounts. Since its beginnings in 2008, the PMC has been regarded as one of the most important mediation courses with regard to peace processes. It is organized by the Mediation Support Project, a joint initiative of the CSS and swisspeace with financial support from the Swiss Foreign Ministry (FDFA).

### **Training on Consensus Building in Zimbabwe**

Harare (Zimbabwe), 27 to 29 May 2015

The Mediation Support Team supported the Zimbabwe Peace and Security Program (ZPSP) with one workshop in 2015 by providing input on tools and approaches for consensus building. The goal of the ZPSP is to contribute to the effective and sustainable modernization and transformation of the security sector in Zimbabwe through the provision of impartial and professional technical assistance. This particular workshop focused on ensuring a gender-based strategy for security sector transformation. CSS' contribution to the workshop took place within the framework of the Mediation Support Project, a joint project of the CSS ETH Zurich and swisspeace, funded by the Swiss FDFA.

### **NADEL course on Fragile Contexts – Politics, Security and Development**

Zurich, 23 to 27 November 2015

Together with the NADEL Center for Development and Cooperation, the CSS organized a five-day course aimed at helping participants adequately address the challenges posed by fragile contexts when engaging in development cooperation. It discussed cooperation between stakeholders (peace-building, security, humanitarian, development cooperation) and explored how development programming needs to be adapted to these situations.

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

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

The TAPIR program currently encompasses five fellowships. In 2015, the CSS hosted two TAPIR fellows, Nicolas Bouchet and Jonas Schneider. Nicolas Bouchet started his placement in June and researched the promotion of democracy by the USA, while Jonas Schneider has been with the CSS since November and analyzes non-proliferation.

Participating Institutes:

- Center for Security Studies (CSS), ETH Zurich
- Chatham House, London
- Finnish Institute of International Affairs (FIIA), Helsinki
- German Marshall Fund (GMF), Washington D.C., Berlin, Paris
- Institut français des relations internationales (IFRI), Paris
- Norwegian Institute for Defence Studies (IFS), Oslo
- Polish Institute of International Affairs (PISM), Warschau
- RAND Corporation (RAND), Washington D.C.
- SAIS Center for Transatlantic Relations (SAIS), Washington D.C.
- Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP), Berlin / Brüssel
- United States Institute of Peace (USIP), Washington D.C.



[www.swp-berlin.org/de/projekte/tapir](http://www.swp-berlin.org/de/projekte/tapir)



## 4 THE CENTER FOR SECURITY STUDIES (CSS)

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

The Center for Security Studies (CSS) at ETH Zurich 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. Kurt R. Spillmann and has developed into a national center of competence for security policy with an international impact.

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

### Staff

Prof. Dr. Andreas Wenger has guided the Center for Security Studies (CSS) as its director since 2002. Andreas Wenger is Professor of International and Swiss Security Policy at the ETH Zurich and delegate for the Diploma of Advanced Studies ETH in Military Sciences continuing education program and the BA ETH in Public Policy bachelor program. The CSS employs a total of about 45 staff.

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

### Strategic Partnership

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

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

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

### Partner Network

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

### Internships

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

[www.css.ethz.ch/en/center/internship-program.html](http://www.css.ethz.ch/en/center/internship-program.html)



## **Alumni**

The Alumni Association, which was established in 2014, held its second annual meeting on 16 October 2015. Andreas Wenger gave an outline of the various activities pursued by the CSS before several alumni presented talks about their current professional practice. These provided highly interesting insights into work at a Swiss bank, in particular current challenges regarding the bank's Russian business, and the changing landscape in developmental policy based on a report from the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation. The exchange continued informally over drinks.

[www.css.ethz.ch/en/center/CSSAlumni.html](http://www.css.ethz.ch/en/center/CSSAlumni.html)



**Center for Security Studies (CSS)**

ETH Zurich

Haldeneggsteig 4, IFW

8092 Zurich, Switzerland

Tel.: +41 44 632 40 25

Fax: +41 44 632 19 41

[karrer@sipo.gess.ethz.ch](mailto:karrer@sipo.gess.ethz.ch)

