

# CENTER FOR SECURITY STUDIES (CSS)



ANNUAL REPORT 2016



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## PREFACE

With Brexit and the election of Donald Trump as US president, the year 2016 surprised us with two events that have the potential to change the security policy situation in Europe and, thus, also in Switzerland. While it is not yet clear what the new US administration's policy, or indeed the precise nature of the UK's EU exit deal will be, nevertheless, the European security architecture is already in flux, stirring up discussions that very likely will continue to concern us in the future.

In light of the renewed use of toxic gas, the current focus is increasingly upon the war in Syria, which has been ongoing for 6 years. The steady arrival of refugees has abated, probably due to the cold season, but in the past year, the issue of migration has continued to keep security policy practitioners on their toes. Somewhat below the media's radar, but no less dangerous, are the threat of cyber-attacks and the unfazed expansion of China's military power base in the South China Sea.

As in previous years, the Center for Security Studies tracked, analyzed and classified developments during the reporting period of 2016 with regard to their impact on Swiss foreign and security policy.

The Bulletin on Swiss Security Policy deals with the concrete implementation of Swiss security policy – both in the sense of a general empirical snapshot and as an analysis of the security policy aspects of foreign policy – as well as with the substance and organization of police training. The Bulletin is supplemented by an interview with Peter Maurer, the president of the ICRC. Of the other annual publications, the study *Sicherheit* (Security) continued the well-established long-term research on the perception of safety of the Swiss population, and the CSS Analyses cover a variety of topics, ranging from the different debates on security policy in Europe and the effects of scientific progress on biological weapons to developments in European border countries.

In the reporting period of 2016, again numerous events were held, in which the published knowledge was discussed in further detail. In addition to the traditional working sessions, the energy policy event on the topic of "Security of Supply in the Swiss and the EU Electricity Market", which was organized in cooperation with Avenir Suisse, deserves special mention.

The visit by Federal Councillor and head of the Department for Foreign Affairs Didier Burkhalter to the CSS was a special highlight. His public lecture explored the question: "What foreign policy do we want for our country?"

I hope that this annual report will provide an interesting overview of our activities and that some of our publications will catch your attention. All our publications are available on our website [www.css.ethz.ch](http://www.css.ethz.ch).

**Prof. Dr. Andreas Wenger**

Director, Center for Security Studies (CSS)







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### Research Activities 2016

In 2016, CSS research activities comprised 39 research projects.

### 2016 PUBLICATIONS

Journal contributions: 72  
Monographs and contribution to Monographs: 24  
Edited volumes: 34  
Other publications: 42

## 1 RESEARCH

The research at the Center for Security Studies focuses on the ever-changing threats facing states and their societies, and the ways in which key actors are organized to address these threats. The research adopts a broad interdisciplinary approach and focuses on four main research areas.

### Nuclear (Weapons) Policy

We examine the theoretical and historical dimensions of nuclear proliferation and non-proliferation, and in particular the role of institutions and regimes within the global nuclear order. The aim is to reveal the incentives and impediments to nuclear proliferation and to create complex analyses of states' (non-) proliferation decisions.

### Security Institutions

We examine why and how security institutions have changed over time. We look at the resulting policies and their impact on national security. We analyze different concepts of the global order and examine patterns of cooperation between different security actors, including individual states, the UN, the EU, and NATO, as well as global and regional security communities.

### Security Technology

We examine the development and deployment of civilian and military security technologies. We study the decisions that inform this development and their political and social implications. We also look at arms control efforts.

### Cybersecurity

We examine how cyber-incidents affect or even change the political discourse by making certain (political) measures possible. In particular, we are interested in how the knowledge about these incidents emerges, how it changes, who plays which role, and how this knowledge is used in politics.

### Urban Security

We examine questions of personal security and interpersonal violence in urban areas. Rapid urbanization, especially in the global South, has aggravated problems of economic inequality and social discrimination and contributed to high rates of violence. Together with the Institute for Science, Technology and Policy (ISTP), we are working with researchers from various disciplines on solutions to urban security problems.



## **Post-Conflict Studies**

We examine the conditions for sustainable peace following armed conflicts. In doing so, we are pursuing a holistic approach that not only focuses on the resurgence of political violence, but also addresses the issue of continuing social violence. Mediation, cease-fires, and demobilization of soldiers are at the focus of our work on peace processes. Reconciliation processes and trust-building are important elements for overcoming socially and politically legitimated violence in the long term.

## 1.1 CSS STUDIES IN SECURITY AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

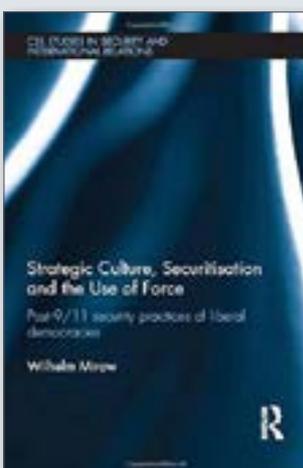
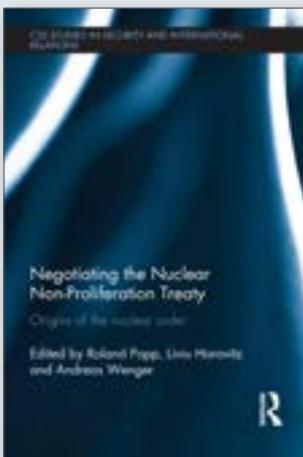
The CSS Studies in Security and International Relations focus on historical and current security policy issues. Adopting a broad concept of security, the series aims to be a forum for innovative research. The authors of the studies include scientific staff from the CSS as well as scientists from associated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

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

This anthology provides a critical historical assessment of the negotiations on the United Nations Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) and the establishment of the non-proliferation regime. The NPT was signed by 190 countries and extended indefinitely in 1995. This makes it the most successful disarmament treaty ever. Nevertheless, we know too little about the motivations and the strategic calculations of the various powers and smaller states that ultimately led them to join the treaty in spite of its discriminatory character. The contributions in this anthology take into account recently declassified sources and previously inaccessible material. On this basis, they highlight the specific considerations that informed the different national positions during the NPT negotiations.

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

This book investigates and explains the extent to which different liberal democracies have resorted to the use of force since the 9/11 terrorist attacks. The responses of democratic states throughout the world to the September 2001 terrorist attacks have varied greatly. This book analyses the various factors that had an impact on decisions on the use of force by governments of liberal democratic states. It seeks to explain differences in the security policies and practices of Australia, Canada, France, Germany, and the UK regarding the war in Afghanistan, domestic counterterrorism measures and the Iraq War. To this end, the book combines the concepts of strategic culture and securitization into a theoretical model that disentangles the individual structural and agential causes of the use of force by the state and sequentially analyses the impact of each causal component on the other. It argues that the norms of a strategic culture shape securitization processes of different expressions, which then bring about distinct modes of the use of force in individual security policy decisions. While governments can also deviate from the constraints of a strategic culture, this is likely to encounter a strong reaction from large parts of the



population, which in turn can lead to a long-term change in strategic culture. This book will be of much interest to students of strategic culture, securitization, European politics, security studies, and international relations in general.

*Aglaya Snetkov*

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

2015

*Thierry Tardy, Marco Wyss*

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

2014

*Ursula Jasper*

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

2013

*Stephen Aris, Andreas Wenger*

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

2013

*Patrick Müller*

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

2011

*Victor Mauer, Daniel Möckli*

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

2010

*Robert W. Orttung, Jeronim Perovic, Andreas Wenger*

**Russian Energy Power and Foreign Relations:  
Implications for Conflict and Cooperation**

2009

*Vojtech Mastny, Christian Nünlist, Andreas Wenger*

**Origins of the European Security System:  
The Helsinki Process Revisited, 1965–75**

2008

*Myriam Dunn Cavelty*

**Cyber-Security and Threat Politics:  
US Efforts to Secure the Information Age**

2007

*Myriam Dunn Cavelty, 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 CSS produced a number of academic publications.

*Jonas Schneider*

**Amerikanische Allianzen und nukleare Nichtverbreitung**

In: Comparative Politics – Vergleichende Politikwissenschaft, Band 7  
Nomos, Baden-Baden, 2016

Jonas Schneider examines a question that is highly relevant to proliferation research as well as practical non-proliferation policy: Why do some foreign policy decision-makers of US alliance partners agree to end their nuclear activities, while other decision-makers – often from the same government and sometimes even the same party – strictly oppose such a step? This question confounds conventional explanatory approaches. To explain why some allied decision-makers agree to end their nuclear weapons activities, while others do not, Schneider develops an innovative theory that focuses on the decision-makers' individual perception of status. He examines this theory within the framework of four detailed country case studies and draws important conclusions for non-proliferation policies in the Middle East and Northeast Asia.



*Jack Thompson*

**Progressive Politics and the Rise of the Modern Right**

In: Progressivism in America

Oxford University Press, New York, 2016

This book is the first to offer a comprehensive overview of progressive politics, combining historical analysis, a discussion of policy priorities today, and a survey of the challenges ahead. Featuring essays by leading scholars, analysts, and commentators, it is an indispensable guide to the ideas and debates that will shape US politics in the coming years.

*Matteo Bonfanti*

**Collecting and Sharing Intelligence on Foreign Fighters in the EU and its member states**

In: Foreign Fighters under International Law and Beyond, S. 333–353

Springer, The Hague, 2016

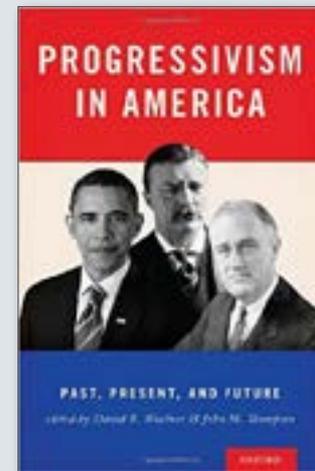
This book offers various perspectives, with an international legal focus, on an important and underexplored topic that has recently gained momentum: the issue of foreign fighters. It provides an overview of the challenges, pays considerable attention to the status of foreign fighters, and addresses numerous approaches, at both the supranational and the national level, on how to tackle this problem. Outstanding experts in the field – lawyers, historians, and political scientists – contributed to the present volume, providing the reader with a multitude of views concerning this multifaceted phenomenon. Particular attention is paid to its implications in light of the armed conflicts currently taking place in Syria and Iraq.

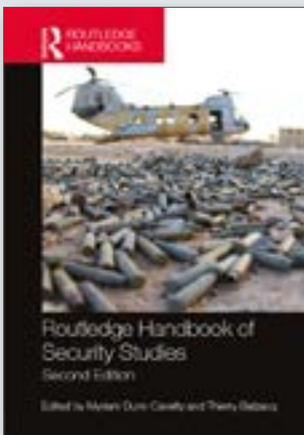
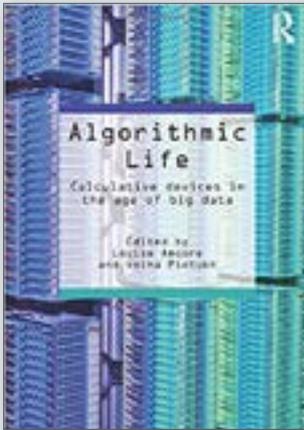
*Severin Fischer*

**Die Energiewende und Europa**

Springer, Berlin, 2016

In this book, Severin Fischer analyzes the interactions and causal relations between the energy and climate policies of Germany and the EU in the years from 2007 to 2015. The focus is on processes of Europeanization in the overall development strategy, and in three specific policy areas: the electricity market and infrastructure development, renewable energy policy, and climate protection. Based on process analyses, Severin Fischer explains the emergence of the European framework for the German energy transition project, the so-called “Energiewende”, and the German influence on decisions in EU energy and climate policy.





*Matthias Leese*

**‘Seeing Futures’ – Politics of Visuality and Affect**

In: *Algorithmic Life: Calculative Devices in the Age of Big Data*  
Routledge, New York, 2016

This book critically explores forms and techniques of calculation that emerge with digital computation, and their implications. The contributors demonstrate that digital calculative devices matter beyond their specific functions as they progressively shape, transform, and govern all areas of our life.

*Myriam Dunn Cavelty, Thierry Balzacq (eds.)*

**Routledge Handbook of Security Studies**

Routledge, 2nd edition, New York, 2016

The field of security studies has undergone significant change during the past 20 years, and is now one of the most dynamic sub-disciplines within international relations. This second edition has been significantly updated to address contemporary and emerging security threats with chapters on organized crime, migration and security, cybersecurity, energy security, the Syrian conflict, and resilience, among many others. Comprising articles by both established and up-and-coming scholars, The Routledge Handbook of Security Studies provides a comprehensive overview of the key contemporary topics of research and debate in the field of security studies.

*Ursula Jasper, Moritz Weiss*

**Konventionelle Bedrohungen, technologische Diffusion und die Entwicklung von militärischen Drohnen**

In: *Vorsicht Sicherheit! Legitimationsprobleme der Ordnung von Freiheit*

Nomos, Baden-Baden, 2016

Beware security! At first sight, this warning is a paradox. It emphasizes the price of security – and that is liberty. However, what we mean by liberty and security is contingent. Concepts of liberty and security have been expanded over time and even may be overstretched today. In a historical perspective, the state’s provision of security came first, whereas (liberal) liberty from state interference developed later on. For the modern, constitutional state based on the rule of law, liberty is the *raison d’être*. Autocratic regimes, in contrast, can still safeguard their legitimacy via security-oriented output. In view of changing and multiple perils to security as well as to liberty, the contributions focus on the ‘right’ balance between security and liberty in various contexts and on how this balance can be theoretically substantiated.



*Daniel Keohane*

**Ambiguous Expectations: Future Scenarios and Key Variables for the Transatlantic Relationship**

In: *Solidarity under Stress in the Transatlantic Realm*  
The German Marshall Fund of the United States, Paris, 2016

These are testing times for the transatlantic relationship. For a variety of reasons, on both sides of the Atlantic, current expectations of the other are ambiguous. Europeans are struggling to unite in the face of a number of difficult domestic and external crises. The US electorate, meanwhile, is in the midst of a presidential campaign that is raising big questions about the role Washington should play in the world. But looking beyond current political difficulties, walking through different future scenarios for the transatlantic relationship can help identify the key variables that will affect the Euro-Atlantic alliance in the years to come. By understanding and debating these variables, the US and European governments can help ensure that the transatlantic relationship becomes healthier and stronger, despite the vast array of difficult current challenges.





### **2016 Scientific Presentations**

In 2016, CSS researchers gave a total of 65 presentations to scientific audiences.

## 1.3 SELECTED CONFERENCES

The CSS presents numerous academic contributions to national and international events while at the same time organizing several academic conferences of its own.

### **The Potentials and Pitfalls of Predicting Politics**

Zurich, 26/27 August 2016

The CSS hosted a two-day interdisciplinary workshop on “The Potentials and Pitfalls of Predicting Politics”, which was attended by a small group of scientists from various disciplines, including political science, history, the sociology of technology, and natural sciences.

Based on the observation that both the social and the natural sciences are increasingly obliged to be policy-relevant – not least by conducting research that helps to predict and anticipate future developments –, this workshop aimed to reveal the possibilities, but also the limits and dangers of such demands and to pursue questions such as the following: How do different epistemological traditions conceptualize (future) knowledge? What kinds of (future) knowledge can science provide? Which methods are available? Which underlying assumptions determine our reflection about the future? Who is heard and who has the authority to make predictions and forecasts? Which political implications do predictions have? What is the role of power dynamics and knowledge hierarchies?

## 2 EDUCATION

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

### 2.1 BA ETH PUBLIC POLICY

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

The CSS offered the following courses in 2016:

#### **Lectures:**

- Schweizer Aussen- & Sicherheitspolitik seit 1945 (spring semester 2016)
- Weltpolitik seit 1945: Geschichte der Internationalen Beziehungen (fall semester 2016)
- Aktuelle sicherheitspolitische Fragen (fall semester 2016)

#### **Seminars:**

- Seminar I: Europäische Sicherheit vor der Neuausrichtung (spring semester 2016)
- Seminar II: Europäische Sicherheit vor der Neuausrichtung (fall semester 2016)

#### **Colloquium:**

- Bachelor-Kolloquium (fall semester 2016)

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



## 2.2 DAS ETH IN MILITARY SCIENCES

The two-semester program Diploma of Advanced Studies ETH in Military Sciences (DAS MILWISS) is targeted at military executives (career officers) who already hold an academic degree or a comparable higher qualification. Swiss nationals are eligible to apply, as are representatives of friendly foreign armies who have been admitted to the diploma course of the MILAK.

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

On 26 February 2016, all eight Swiss graduates of the 2014–2016 diploma course received the federal diploma as Swiss career officers. The two foreign graduates, a Korean and a German student, received a certificate. At the end of the spring semester 2016, all graduates had already received the final certificate and diploma of the ETH after successfully completing the DAS MILWISS program.

At the beginning of the autumn semester 2016, the class of 2016–2018 was welcomed to the diploma course, marking the beginning of the third DAS MILWISS program. Seventeen graduate students are participating – 16 Swiss and one German.

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

The four-semester MACIS is a research-oriented graduate program of the 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 CSS taught the following courses in 2016:

### **Seminars:**

- Introduction to Security Studies (fall semester 2016)
- Political Violence (fall semester 2016)
- Technology Governance and International Security (fall semester 2016)

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

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

The CSS offered the following courses in 2016:

### **Seminars:**

- Argumentation and Science Communication  
(spring term 2016)

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

The PhD program of the 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 2016, the CSS supervised the following doctoral dissertations:

*Corinne Bara* (submitted in November 2016)

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

*Jan Bouschen*

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

*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**

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



*Sophie-Charlotte Fischer* (started in October 2016)  
**From Rule-Takers to Rule-Makers? Analyzing the Role of  
Private Authority in the Governance of Emerging Dual-Use  
Technologies**

### 3 THINK TANK

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

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

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

*Christian Nünlist und Oliver Thürner (eds.)*

##### **Bulletin 2016 zur schweizerischen Sicherheitspolitik**

Center for Security Studies (CSS), ETH Zurich, 2016

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 CSS.

The first chapter of the Bulletin is devoted to the development of Swiss foreign security policy. Andreas Wenger and Christian Nünlist argue that in the current phase of global upheaval, the scope for action for Swiss foreign policy has increased overall. The authors advocate raising the profile of this so-called "comprehensive component" of Swiss security policy, which had already been conceived to some degree more than 40 years ago in the first Swiss security policy strategy paper, the Report 73. They identify three guiding principles for the strategic priorities of future Swiss security policy, and present five principles for their practical implementation.

The second chapter analyzes the Swiss activities in Bosnia, where two decades ago in 1996, Switzerland took up the post-war management in the West Balkans, which still continues today. The posting of Swiss OSCE Yellow Caps in the summer of 1996 was an important milestone in the Swiss Army's international activities.

In a groundbreaking contribution, Lisa Wildi and Jonas Haggmann analyze the hitherto scarcely researched system of police training and instruction in Switzerland. Swiss police training has been harmonized and professionalized, as the article reflects in detail, while some regional differences and educational policy challenges remain.

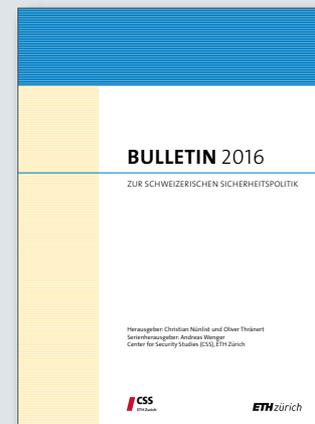
#### **Public Outreach 2016**

Presentation to non-academic audiences: 96

Media contributions: 143

Meetings and workshops with politicians, administrators and

scientists: 175





In the fourth major contribution, the results of a multi-year research project focusing on the practice of security policy in Switzerland will be presented for the first time. The project was funded by the Swiss National Science Foundation (2013–2016) and conducted by researchers from the CSS and the Department of Political Science and International Relations at the University of Geneva.

As President of the ICRC, Peter Maurer has first-hand experience regarding the current wars and conflicts. In this interview, he talks about the urbanization of modern warfare and how this trend affects the humanitarian work of the ICRC. The former high-ranking Swiss diplomat draws hope from his many talks in Syria: “There has to be a critical mass of actors who must conclude that the military solution is too expensive and, therefore, does not serve their interests in the long run.”

The 2016 Bulletin brings together the following articles:

*Andreas Wenger und Christian Nünlist*

**Aufwertung der sicherheitspolitischen Beiträge der Schweizer Aussenpolitik**

*Matthias Bieri*

**Das Schweizer Engagement in Bosnien: Langfristigkeit unter Druck**

*Lisa Wildi und Jonas Hagmann*

**Vom Landjäger zum modernen Ordnungshüter:  
Die Polizeiausbildung in der Schweiz**

*Jonas Hagmann, Andreas Wenger, Lisa Wildi, Stephan Davidshofer und Amal Tawfik*

**Schweizer Sicherheitspolitik in der Praxis: Eine empirische Momentaufnahme**

*Interview mit Peter Maurer, Präsident des IKRK*

**«Wir sind in der Logik der Verhinderung des Schlimmsten»**

*Myriam Dunn Cavelty und Andreas Wenger*

**Forschungs- und Beratungsleistungen für die Armee im Bereich Cyberdefense**

*Claudia Otto*

**Kooperation mit dem Labor Spiez: Risiken aus der Konvergenz von Biologie und Chemie**

The Bulletin on Swiss Security Policy 2016 was launched at the Vatter Business Center in Berne on 25 October 2016. Authors and editors presented the chapters of the publication, which are devoted to Swiss security policy, the Swiss mission in Bosnia, police training and continuing education in Switzerland, and practical security policy work in Switzerland. Fredy Gsteiger, deputy editor-in-chief of radio at Swiss Radio and Television (SRF), commented on the short presentations. Participants from the federal administration, parliament, and from diplomatic missions represented in Bern participated in the ensuing discussion.

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

**Sicherheit 2016: Aussen-, Sicherheits- und Verteidigungs-  
politische Meinungsbildung im Trend**

Center for Security Studies (CSS), ETH Zurich, and Military Academy (MILAK) at the ETH Zurich, 2016

The annual study Security: The Trend of Opinions on Foreign, Security, and Defense Policy, a joint publication by the CSS and the MILAK, evaluates long-term trends and tendencies in public opinion on foreign, security and defense policy issues in Switzerland. It is based on representative surveys conducted every year. The study is published in German containing summaries in German, French, Italian, and English. The study Security 2016 is based on a representative survey of 1'211 Swiss citizens in January 2016.

The sense of security for Swiss citizens has declined slightly in 2016, and they are less optimistic about Switzerland's development. The fear of crime is low, and generally speaking, Swiss citizens feel secure in the public space. At the same time, the global political situation is viewed in a much more negative light than in the previous year. Specific internal security measures enjoy stronger support among the Swiss population. There is vocal demand for an increase in police officers, and support for using army personnel when the police resources are overstretched has increased significantly. While combating terrorism is a top priority, the demand for combating right-wing and left-wing extremism has declined, but still remains clearly a priority for the majority. It is clear that given the threat of political violence today, citizens tend to prioritize security over civil liberties. Confidence in Swiss authorities and institutions has risen and is above average. In terms of foreign policy, there seems to be a lower degree of openness in general. Support for rapprochement with, or accession to, institutions such as the EU and/or NATO is still poorly represented in the Swiss population and has recently declined. Support for economic cooperation, however, remains at a high level. There is less demand for political and security policy autonomy in 2016 than in the previous year. In 2016, Swiss voters continued to adhere to the principle of neutrality. At present, the Swiss population has a markedly positive attitude towards the armed forces. Swiss citizens are satisfied overall with the performance of the Swiss Army and consider the Swiss Army to be necessary.



### 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.



### 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, while the German and French versions often look more closely at what the respective security issues mean for Switzerland. In doing so, they reflect an institutional viewpoint of the CSS.

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

A total of 17 briefs were published in 2016:

No. 185: Is Britain Back? The 2015 UK Defense Review

No. 186: Challenges to Coexistence in Georgia

No. 187: A Nuclear Deal for Pakistan?

No. 188: The Legacy of Obama's Foreign Policy

No. 189: Nordic Security: Moving towards NATO?

No. 190: Bosnia: Standstill despite New Strategic Significance

No. 191: Peace and Violence in Colombia

No. 192: Transatlantic Energy Security: On Different Pathways?

No. 193: Libya: In the Eye of the Storm

No. 194: Why Security Sector Reform has to be Negotiated

No. 195: One Belt, One Road: China's Vision of Connectivity

No. 196: Swiss Border Guard and Police: Trained for an Emergency?

No. 197: Brexit: Impacts on Europe's Energy and Climate Policy

No. 198: Bioweapons and Scientific Advances

No. 199: Switzerland and Jihadist Foreign Fighters

No. 200: Putin's Next Steppe: Central Asia and Geopolitics

No. 201: Constrained Leadership: Germany's New Defense Policy

## 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*. (see also page 25)

As usual, this edition of Strategic Trends consists of five chapters that present and analyze key developments in international relations. In the first, Daniel Keohane examines a fundamental paradigm shift in European security policy: the re-nationalization of defense cooperation. This is in contrast to security policy challenges, which are transnational in nature: As Lisa Watanabe observes in her analysis of the political economy of migration, the current migration patterns present enormous challenges both to the internal political mechanisms of the EU and to its foreign policy concept. Nowadays, it is impossible to describe the complexity of the security challenges of Europe without the concept of hybrid warfare. However, according to Prem Mahadevan, this type of warfare is by no means limited to Europe. The current power-political jockeying in Asia, which coincides with China's continued ascent, shows remarkable similarities with the behavior of Russia in Crimea. Oliver Thränert, meanwhile, warns that the increasing importance of nuclear weapons is accompanied by political disinterest in arms control. Finally, Severin Fischer sheds light on the most important implications of the changing global energy system – an order in which common sense all too often takes a back seat. Under this order, internal instability in countries that play key roles in their respective regional security structures leads to new conflicts with global repercussions, as already seen in the past year.

Strategic Trends 2016 includes the following articles:

*Daniel Keohane*

**The Renationalization of European Defense Cooperation**

*Lisa Watanabe*

**Borderline Practices – Irregular Migration and EU External Relations**

*Prem Mahadevan*

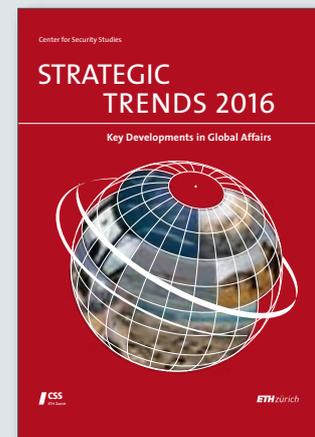
**Power Politics in (Eur)Asia**

*Oliver Thränert*

**A Nuclear World Out of (Arms) Control**

*Severin Fischer*

**An Energy World Order in Flux**



In 2016, the Strategic Trends yearbook was again launched at the FDFA in Bern. At a brown bag lunch on 7 April 2016, the authors presented the core findings of their chapters. The ensuing discussion with approximately 25 members of the FDFA was moderated by Mr. Michele Coduri, Section Head for International Security.

On 20 April 2016, the authors were invited to the Geneva Center for Security Policy (GCSP) to present the yearbook. The discussion in front of an audience of more than 50 people, consisting of employees from Geneva-based think tanks as well as members of numerous diplomatic missions, was – as in previous years – moderated by Gustav Lindstrom, Head of the Emerging Security Challenges Program and live-tweeted by the GCSP.

In addition, the yearbook on Strategic Trends was also presented in Brussels. On 21 March, the editors and authors were once again hosted by the Swiss mission at NATO's headquarters, where they presented their main arguments. The audience consisted mainly of diplomats from permanent representations to the EU, as well as members of the international NATO staff. In the afternoon, the Strategic Trends authors visited NATO's internal think tank, the Strategic Analysis Capability, and discussed their theses.

On 22 March, the CSS presented the publication again in the rooms of Carnegie Europe before the diplomats of the EU representations based in Brussels as well as employees from different Brussels think tanks. Given that Brussels experienced terrorist attacks at the same time, this presentation will be certainly remembered by all present.

Martin Zapfe also presented the main statements in condensed form to the participants of the General Staff course as part of his closing address.

### **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, as an electronic publication.

Ten CSS Policy Perspectives were published in 2016:

Vol. 4/1: Trust and Realpolitik: The OSCE in 2016

Vol. 4/2: Russia's Militarization of Color Revolutions

Vol. 4/3: Time to Seize the Greek Opportunity

Vol. 4/4: Nord Stream 2: Trust in Europe

Vol. 4/5: Promoting Salafi Political Participation

Vol. 4/6: Donbas and the Democracy Dilemma in De Facto States

Vol. 4/7: Hybrid Threats and NATO's Forward Presence



- Vol.4/8: Syria and the Chemical Weapons Ban
- Vol.4/9: IS Defeat in Sirte Leaves Tunisia Vulnerable
- Vol.4/10: Donald Trump's Foreign Policy: McCarthyism as a Cautionary Tale

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

The Russian Analytical Digest (RAD) analyzes events, trends, and developments concerning the political, economic, social, and security policy situation in Russia. Each issue contains academic and policy-relevant articles from international authors, topical statistical information, graphics, and opinion polls. The series is jointly produced by the Research Center for East European Studies at the University of Bremen, the Institute for European, Russian, and Eurasian Studies at George Washington University, and the German Society for Eastern European Studies (DGO).

The Caucasus Analytical Digest (CAD) analyzes the political, economic, and social situation in the three Southern Caucasus states of Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia, and assesses the implications for the regional and wider international context. The series is jointly produced by the Caucasus Research Resource Centers, the Research Centre for East European Studies at the University of Bremen, the CSS, and the German Association for East European Studies (DGO).

The RAD and the CAD are both published in English.

In 2016, 15 RAD issues were published:

- Nr. 178: US-Russian Relations
- Nr. 179: Russia-Turkey Relations
- Nr. 180: Economic Crisis
- Nr. 181: Corporate Social Responsibility
- Nr. 182: Political Economy
- Nr. 183: Competition or Coordination?
- Nr. 184: Russian Food Policy
- Nr. 185: Climate Change
- Nr. 186: Duma Elections Preview
- Nr. 187: Economic Strategy and Inequality
- Nr. 188: Russia-Kazakhstan Relations
- Nr. 189: State Duma Elections
- Nr. 190: Russia and the Oceans
- Nr. 191: Globalising or Nationalizing – Russian Academia
- Nr. 192: Russia-Iran Relations
- Nr. 193: Nuclear Issues





In addition, ten issues of the CAD were published:

Nr. 80: Monuments of Memory

Nr. 81: Religious Minorities

Nr. 82: Foreign Direct Investment

Nr. 83: Low Oil Prices: Economic and Social Implications  
in Azerbaijan

Nr. 84: Karabakh Conflict

Nr. 85: Caucasus Barometer 2015 Results

Nr. 86: Turkish Societal Actors in the Caucasus

Nr. 87: Cities in the South Caucasus

Nr. 88: Agriculture

Nr. 89: Parliamentary Elections in Georgia

## 3.2 DISCUSSION PLATFORMS

### ETH WORKSHOPS ON SWISS SECURITY POLICY

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

#### **NATO and European Security after 2014**

ETH Zurich, 22 January 2016

In the run-up to the Warsaw NATO summit scheduled for 8 to 9 July, 2016, the CSS held an ETH Workshop on 22 January 2016 entitled “NATO and European Security after 2014”. Faced with a more assertive Russia in the east and the so-called “Islamic State” in the south, NATO needs to adjust to a new strategic environment. At the conference, which was attended by national and international defense and security policy experts, participants discussed, inter alia, NATO’s political and military planning, Russia’s military intentions and capabilities, NATO and the Baltic Scenario, requirements for extended nuclear deterrence, as well as political and military implications regarding the threats from the south.



## **The State of Global Politics 2016**

ETH Zurich, 18 March 2016

On 18 March 2016, as in previous years, the editors and authors of Strategic Trends presented their insights and assertions to an audience of experts as part of the State of Global Politics event. In a second panel, Andreas Rüesch (deputy head of the foreign desk of Swiss daily *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*), Michele Coduri (section head for international security at the FDFA), and Brigadier General Daniel Lättsch (commander of the general staff school) discussed the significance of these precarious developments for Switzerland. All panelists agreed that, as a small state in the heart of Europe, Switzerland cannot close its eyes to these trends, but should rather identify the resulting opportunities and risks for the country's own future actions.

## **Prevention of Violent Extremism (PVE)**

ETH Zurich, 24 June 2016

The 27th ETH Workshop on Security Policy took place on Friday, 24 June 2016, with about 50 participants from Switzerland and abroad, including many representatives of Swiss cities, cantons, and civil society. A first panel discussed practical examples of how to prevent violent extremism, e.g., through de-radicalization programs in German prisons or through the involvement of mothers of jihadists in prevention and disengagement.

A second panel was devoted to the PVE Action Plan of the Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs (FDFA), published in April 2016, and to opportunities and risks of the global PVE hype for Swiss foreign policy and Swiss development aid.

A third panel addressed jihadist radicalization in Switzerland and the phenomenon of European and Swiss foreign terrorist fighters and their return. One question was discussed controversially: how could the success of prevention be evaluated? Also, it remained unclear how Swiss schools, communities, and cities might benefit from knowledge that the FDFA is currently gaining since PVE has become a priority of Swiss foreign policy.



## CSS EVENING TALKS

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

### **The Future of European Defense: The Cases of the UK, France and Germany**

ETH Zurich, 25 February 2016

Europe is simultaneously confronted with serious security challenges in the east and the south: from an increasingly assertive Russia, and civil war and state failure in the Middle East. Since the US can only support Europeans to a limited degree, they need combine their resource. However, the contrary seems to take place: One is witnessing a renationalization of European defense policies.

Two speakers, Dr. Hans-Georg Ehrhart, board member of the Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy at the University of Hamburg, and the CSS's Daniel Keohane, discussed current developments in security and defense policy in the three major Western European countries of Germany, the UK, and France. The German Bundeswehr's armament budget is set to double. Whether this will actually be implemented, and whether it translates into increased capabilities, is questionable. Britain and France will spend more on defense, as well, focusing on special operations capabilities and aircraft carriers. All these endeavors are limited, however, by financial and domestic constraints. Furthermore, the consequences for European security of a Brexit, of Britain leaving the EU, are hard to assess.

### **Do We Need a Cyber-Grand Strategy?**

ETH Zurich, 9 June 2016

Cyberspace is of increasing importance to security policy. Do we thus need a Grand Strategy to deal with challenges in this field? This question was debated by speakers Alexander Klimburg of The Hague Centre for Strategic Studies and Myriam Dunn Cavelty of the CSS at the CSS Evening Talk on 9 June 2016. They both agreed that so far, no state has fully developed such a grand strategy, let alone implemented it. Even if an all-encompassing strategy may not necessarily be desirable, it is still appropriate to adjust concepts about cyberspace to the fundamental values of societies and their respective foreign policies.



## **Islamist Terrorism and Security Policy in Europe**

ETH Zurich, 13 September 2016

Thomas Schöttli, vice director of the Federal Intelligence Service (NDB), and Guido Steinberg, researcher at the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP) in Berlin were the two speakers at the Evening Talk discussing “Islamist Terrorism and Security Policy in Europe” on 13 September 2016. Both speakers agreed that the so-called “Islamic State” (IS) will still be a long-term threat to Europe, despite its military losses in Syria. IS is still able to exert a pull and makes use of a strong ideology. Although Switzerland may not be in focus, it can still be affected by IS activities such as terrorist attacks. The speakers argued that there needs to be further effort across Europe to strengthen the institutions responsible for internal security. Also, a better coordination between these institutions remains desirable.

## **America after the Elections**

ETH Zurich, 14 November 2016

The election of Donald Trump as 45th president of the US came as a surprise – at least for many people in Europe. What were the reasons for this decision by US voters, and what does Trump’s election mean in a foreign and security policy context? These and other questions were discussed by Prof. Dr. Jürgen Wilzewski, University of Kaiserslautern, and Dr. John Thompson, Team Global Security at the CSS Think Tank, at the CSS Evening Talk on 14 November 2016. Both speakers agreed that the election campaign revealed deep divisions in US society. Therefore, the US is expected to act increasingly according to its own interests. Europe, as a consequence, will have to deal with many international conflicts and problems on its own.

## **FURTHER SELECTED WORKSHOPS**

### **Federal Councillor Didier Burkhalter visits the ETH**

ETH Zurich, 27 April 2016

On April 27 2016, Federal Councillor and head of the FDFA, Didier Burkhalter, gave a speech at ETH Zurich on “What foreign policy do we want for our country?”

Foreign policy objectives emphasized in Federal Councillor Burkhalter’s speech included a strong partnership with the EU, a strong global presence, and Switzerland’s continued commitment and contributions to peace, security, and development. Switzerland’s foreign policy aims to help build bridges and to provide an impetus for sustainable solutions to crises and global challenges.



### **International Security Forum (ISF)**

Maison de la Paix, Geneva, 13–15 June 2016

The CSS is a partner of the biennial International Security Forum, which brings together some 350 dignitaries who make and shape international security affairs. For 22 years, world diplomats, ministers, government officials, military and private sector personnel have attended the ISF. The GCSP hosted the 11th ISF from 13 to 15 June 2016 at the Maison de la Paix in Geneva, Switzerland.

The ISF Conferences have nurtured the discourse on traditional challenges such as nuclear disarmament and regional conflicts, and emerging issues such as asymmetrical warfare and climate change. The 2016 edition of the International Security Forum was entitled *Global Disorder – Security in a World Disrupted*.

The 11th ISF was hosted by the GCSP, sponsored and co-organized by the Swiss Federal Department of Defense, Civil Protection and Sports (DDPS) and the Swiss FDFA as an official Swiss contribution to the Partnership for Peace. The main conference partners include the Geneva Center for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF), the Geneva International Center for Humanitarian Demining (GICHD), the GCSP, the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies (HEI) in Geneva and the CSS, which chaired three of the panels:

#### **Panel 1: Challenges for European Security and the Role of OSCE Mediation**

The precarious situation in the Eurasian region highlights the OSCE's important role in its commitment to guaranteeing peace and stability. However, the increasing political tensions between OSCE member states are limiting the organization's scope of action. Nevertheless, Switzerland's Chairmanship of the OSCE in 2014 was able to contribute significantly to the de-escalation of the Ukraine crisis.

#### **Panel 2: Disaster Resilience for the Community: Protection of Development Gains in Fragile Environments**

This discussion targeted the question of whether integrated disaster risk reduction (DRR), a widely respected concept in development policy, can increase a community's disaster resilience. Special attention was given to natural disasters in theaters of conflict. In fragile states, natural disasters often result in social vulnerability because the corresponding government cannot provide the communities with basic government services.

#### **Panel 3: Technology as a Challenge for Arms Control**

Modern technologies are developing rapidly and are becoming increasingly accessible to a wide range of actors. Many of these innovations in the biological, chemical, and nuclear fields, as well as robots and automated systems, can also be used in the military context. The use of nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons violates the respective international conventions; upholding these requires strong political determination.



## **Security of Supply in the Swiss and EU Electricity Markets**

ETH Zurich, 29 September 2016

Avenir Suisse and the CSS, supported by the Energy Science Center (ESC), organized an event on “Security of Supply in the Swiss and the EU Electricity Market – Ownership Structures, Political Responsibility, and Cross Border Cooperation”.

Ensuring security of supply is one of the central tasks of energy policy. In particular, in an ever more closely integrated European electricity market, close coordination between network operators, power companies, and politics is vital. But what exactly is the nature of this cooperation and the responsibilities that it entails? What happens if companies find themselves in financial difficulties? Which ownership structures are necessary, which are desirable? Finally, how important is cooperation between Switzerland and the EU? These questions were raised at the event by expert speakers including Dr. Jörg Spicker, Head of Market at Swissgrid, and Barbie Kornelia Haller, head of the section on “Economic Key Issues of Energy Regulation” at the Federal Network Agency (BNetzA) in Germany. The two speakers were joined in the debate by Dr. Patrick Dümmler, Senior Fellow at Avenir Suisse, and Dr. Severin Fischer, Senior Researcher at the CSS, and answered questions raised by the audience.

## **Advisory Commission on International Cooperation**

ETH Zurich, 23 November 2016

At the invitation of the CSS, the Advisory Commission on International Cooperation, led by former State Councillor Prof. Felix Gutzwiller, visited the ETH Zurich on its annual retreat. Prof. Wenger welcomed the guests and introduced them to the Center.

## **Way to Peace: the Human Dimension, Conference on Peacebuilding in Ukraine**

Kiev, Ukraine, 8 December 2016

At the request of the Swiss FDFA, the CSS contributed to a panel discussion on best practices in peacebuilding at a conference organized by UNICEF and the Ukrainian Ministry of Temporarily Occupied Territories and Internally Displaced People.

### 3.3 ACADEMIC CONSULTANCY

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

#### SELECTED STUDIES

*Christian Nünlist, Matthias Bieri, Fabien Merz, Benno Zogg, Daniel Keohane, Lisa Watanabe, Martin Zapfe*

**Sicherheitspolitische Trends 2017–2025**

Center for Security Studies (CSS), ETH Zurich, 2016

In 2016, the fundamental internal crisis of Western democracies became a focal point of security policy prognosis. In Europe and beyond, the vote in favor of Brexit and Trump's victory in the US have defied key axioms of the Western-dominated, liberal security order in Europe and around the globe, challenging the state of affairs that has prevailed for decades and disrupting the fundamentals of the status quo in the West. At the same time, the world has become more insecure in 2016, and the security policy risks and threats for Europe and Switzerland have increased, while important Western states remain hamstrung in their capacity to act. The study will be presented on 26 January 2017 during the Antizipationstreffen of the Department of Military Doctrine of the Armed Forces Staff, just like the previous issue "Security Policy Trends 2016–2020" was in January 2016.

*Matthias Bieri, Jannicke Fiskvik, Christian Nünlist, Oliver Thränert, Martin Zapfe, Benno Zogg*

**Die NATO und Russland: Verteidigungsplanung 2014–2016**

Center for Security Studies (CSS), ETH Zurich, 2016

This study attempts to answer the following key questions: How has NATO adapted its defense planning vis-à-vis Russia to reflect the changed threat picture after Russia's annexation of Crimea? What is the internal logic of these steps, and where might political-military problems arise? Moreover, the authors briefly discuss the roles of active NATO partners Sweden and Finland, which would be of crucial importance for NATO in many scenarios, but are themselves directly affected by Russia's increasingly assertive stance. The results of the study were discussed on 21 June 2016 during a visit at the Federal Intelligence Service (NDB).



*Tim Prior, Florian Roth*

### **Learning from Disaster Events and Exercises in Civil Protection Organizations**

Center for Security Studies (CSS), ETH Zurich, 2016

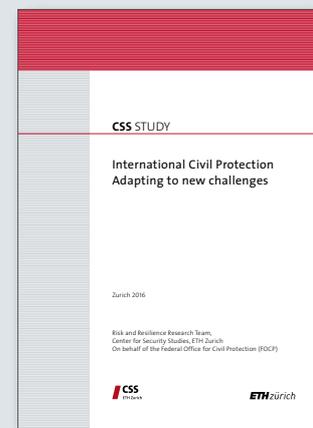
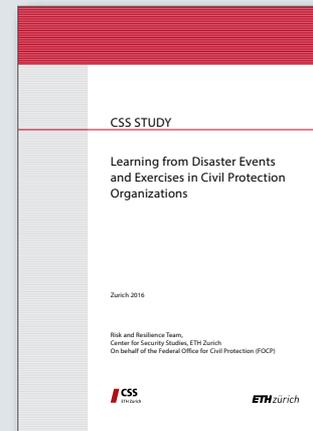
This report focuses on understanding how civil protection organizations learn from direct or indirect experiences (events) and planned learning processes (exercises). The work is based on information gained from desktop analysis and interviews with civil protection representatives or researchers from the case study countries concerning international events and exercises. We examined how these events were reported, evaluated, and then (if at all) acted on organizationally, and how the information was used to inform adaptive processes in the context of the national civil protection system. An implicit assumption of the authors was that civil protection organizations should be learning organizations that document and respond to operational, coordination, and planning issues if and when they are recognized. By exploring a range of international cases, this study seeks to provide recommendations on good practice, reporting, and evaluation, and provide insights into how international civil protection organizations have responded to challenging events or informative exercises.

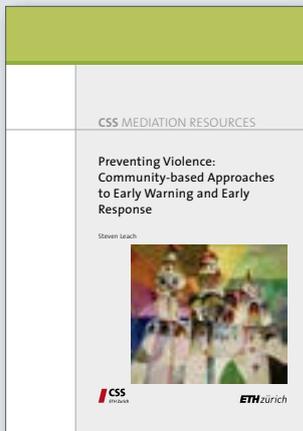
*Tim Prior, Michel Herzog, Tabea Kaderli, Florian Roth*

### **International Civil Protection: Adapting to new challenges**

Center for Security Studies (CSS), ETH Zurich, 2016

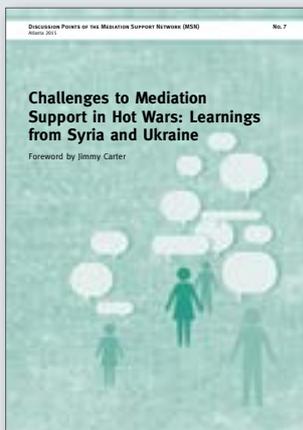
This report compares and contrasts national approaches to addressing three important challenges to modern civil protection: the interdependency of modern threats/risks; austerity and the need for economic efficiency; and the changing nature of communication. Each challenge is examined in the context of an organizational response, and explored from the perspective of two countries where the challenge has been institutionally recognized. The work identifies three principal results from these national comparisons of approaches to key challenges: there are no best practices; high-impact events drive system adaptations; and system adaptations coincide with political and economic windows of opportunity.





*Steven Leach (author), Owen Frazer (ed.)*  
**Preventing Violence: Community-based Approaches to Early Warning and Early Response**  
Center for Security Studies (CSS), ETH Zurich, 2016

Community-based early warning and early response (EWER) systems are locally-rooted initiatives designed to prevent violence and transform conflict through an inclusive, participatory process, built on a foundation of consensus. With chapters on structure, indicators, monitoring, and response, this publication offers an accessible overview of the current knowledge and learning about community-based EWER systems. It should be of interest to anyone interested in local approaches to violence prevention and conflict transformation.



*Lars Kirchhoff, Sara Hellmüller, Anna Hess, Anne Isabel Kraus, Chris McNaboe, Valerie Sticher*  
**Challenges to Mediation Support in Hot Wars: Learnings from Syria and Ukraine**  
Center for Security Studies (CSS), ETH Zurich, 2016

Hot wars pose distinct challenges to peacemaking efforts. In fluid and quickly changing contexts, coordination is difficult, information is highly politicized, and actors are tempted to rush in without proper preparation. The humanitarian situation puts enormous pressure on third parties to resolve the conflict, and to do so as quickly as possible. There may be an increased willingness on the side of international actors to compromise on established principles, such as inclusivity or national ownership, in order to stop the carnage. This all begs the question: how can we best support peacemaking efforts while war is still waging? From 12 to 14 October 2015, the Mediation Support Network (MSN) met in Atlanta, US, under the auspices of The Carter Center to discuss this timely question. The combination of conceptual discussions and case studies opened up the space to take a detailed look into the inner workings, promises, challenges and pitfalls of the contemporary field of peace mediation. MSN is coordinated by the Mediation Support Project (MSP), a joint initiative of the CSS and swisspeace, funded by the Swiss FDFA.

*Simon Mason, Damiano Sguaitamatti, and  
Maria del Pilar Ramirez Gröbli*  
**Stepping Stones to Peace? Natural Resource Provisions  
in Peace Agreements**

Center for Security Studies (CSS), ETH Zurich, 2016

To what extent can provisions on natural resources in peace agreements be stepping stones on the path from violent conflict to post-conflict natural resource management? In an effort to help answer this question, this chapter provides an overview of natural resource provisions in ninety-four peace agreements from twenty-seven countries and regions. It then examines the cases of Guatemala, the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Sierra Leone, and Sudan in more depth.

*Lisa Wildi*  
**«Per aspera ad astra»: Der lange Weg zur einheitlichen  
Polizeiausbildung**

In: format magazine, Nr. 6, 2016

A look at the history of police training in Switzerland shows that the road that led to a largely standardized national system of basic training was a long and rocky one. Only at the beginning of this century were the syllabi of Swiss police academies as well as the final exams harmonized nationwide, and the title of Police Officer recognized at the federal level. Nevertheless, certain differences remain between the various police schools and police corps to this day.

## SELECTED MEETINGS AND WORKSHOPS

### **Visit of US Congressional Staffers at the CSS**

Zurich, 30 May 2016

As part of a one-week trip to Switzerland organized by the Swiss Embassy in Washington, DC, a delegation of 12 US Congress staff visited the CSS on 30 May 2016. Among the congressional staffers were, among others, the chief of staff of Senator John McCain and the vice chief of staff of Senator Harry Reid. To begin with, Angela Ullmann, Daniel Keohane, and Christian Nünlist gave an introduction about the ETH Zurich and the CSS. They continued by discussing with their US guests the challenges to European security posed by Russia and the Islamic State, the phenomenon of jihadist radicalization and Western jihadist fighters in Syria/Iraq, as well as the strategic impact of a potential Brexit. The discussion became very lively, in particular concerning the leadership role of the West in the Ukraine crisis, with the US Congress staff emphasizing the role of the US and NATO, while CSS staff highlighted the key role of Germany, the EU, and the effectiveness of EU sanctions against Russia.





### **Spiez Convergence**

Labor Spiez, 5.–8. September 2016

Spiez Convergence is a biennial conference organized since 2014 by the Spiez Laboratory with support from the FDFA, the DDPS, and the CSS. The scientific program of Spiez Convergence 2016 was jointly developed by CSS and Labor Spiez. The conference took place in Spiez from 5–8 September 2016; the director general of the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons, Ambassador Ahmet Üzümcü, held the opening address. Scientists, industry representatives, arms control experts, and political decision-makers discussed the scientific and technological advances in life sciences and their possible far-reaching effects on the Biological Weapons Convention (BWWC) or the Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC). The conference series and report on the second Spiez Convergence were presented at the Eighth Review Conference of the Biological Weapons Convention in Geneva in November 2016. The next installment of Spiez Convergence will take place in September 2018.

### **Mediation Support Network Meeting “When Peace Processes Get Stuck”**

Siem Reap (Cambodia), 21–23 September 2016

The twelfth Mediation Support Network (MSN) meeting was dedicated to the topic of ending temporary impasses in peace processes. Learning from regional cases (Myanmar, Thailand), the attendees discussed and evaluated strategies that mediation support actors can apply when peace processes hit temporary impasses. As the coordinator of MSN, the Mediation Support Project (a joint initiative of CSS and swisspeace, funded by the Swiss FDFA) supported the organization of this meeting.

### **Workshop Series with Swiss Army Representatives**

Zurich, 20 May 2016 and 28 October 2016

CSS staff met with representatives of the Swiss Army to discuss current security policy challenges. Two topics were dominant: Russia’s hybrid warfare, and migration. Regarding the problem of hybrid warfare, the participants overwhelmingly agreed that Switzerland should better coordinate state resources. Concerning migration, the army plays a rather limited role. Although troops may be deployed in crisis situations, managing migration issues comes primarily under the jurisdiction of the cantons and municipalities.

On 28 October 2016, the second workshop on Current Security Challenges took place at the CSS. The 12 participants comprised high-ranking army officers and representatives of the CSS. The topics cyber-war and information warfare were discussed on the basis of preparatory reading and introductory lectures.



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

Workshop Series in Southern Thailand

In partnership with the Swiss FDFA and the Institute for Human Rights and Peace Studies, the Culture and Religion in Mediation Program (CARIM, a joint initiative of CSS and Swiss FDFA) launched a project to facilitate dialogue between a range of key Buddhist actors in order to encourage the constructive engagement of the Buddhist community in efforts to promote peaceful coexistence in southern Thailand. Over the course of 2016, a series of workshops took place where participants jointly analyzed the obstacles to majority-minority coexistence and brainstormed political solutions to the conflict, as well as how they could contribute to solving the issues. In addition, field trips to affected communities enabled participants to interact with local Buddhists, authorities, and Muslim leaders, and learn first-hand about the strategies of coexistence practiced by some peaceful Buddhist-Muslim communities in the region.

### **Zimbabwe Peace and Security Program**

Workshop Series in Zimbabwe

Since 2014, the CSS (in the framework of the MSP) has been collaborating with the Swiss FDFA to support the Zimbabwe Peace and Security Program by holding a series of workshops. The ZPSP aims to contribute, through the provision of impartial and professional technical assistance, to effective and sustainable modernisation and transformation of the security sector in Zimbabwe in order to enhance the democratic governance, security and the national sovereignty of the people of Zimbabwe. The three ZPSP workshops in 2016 involved representatives from the Churches, parliamentary oversight commissions, security institutions of the state, academics and war veterans. Further information concerning the methodology of this program can be found in the CSS Analysis in Security Policy No. 194: Why Security Sector Reform has to be negotiated.



## SELECTED BRIEFINGS AND COURSES

### **Briefing of the Czech Parliament on Jihadism in Europe**

Prague, 14 January 2016

The Global Security Team briefed 14 members of the Czech Parliament, as well as officials from the foreign and defense ministries, on Jihadism in Europe. The meeting lasted for two hours and took place at the Ministry of Defense in Prague. It began with an overview of the current threat scenario, and went on to discuss the impact of the immigration crisis on domestic security in EU states, concluding with a risk assessment of the Czech Republic specifically. The level of audience engagement was considered to be high by the meeting organizer, and several questions were asked through the presentation and afterwards, including whether CSS research on jihadist terrorism has generated policy changes in EU counterterrorism and homeland security postures.

### **UN Ceasefire Mediation Course**

Oslo, 3–10 April 2016

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

### **Peace Mediation Course**

Oberhofen (Switzerland), 5–17 June 2016

The ninth Peace Mediation Course (PMC) was held this year, organized by the Swiss FDFA and the MSP (a joint initiative of the CSS and swisspeace, funded by the FDFA). The goal of the PMC is for participants to deepen their understanding of peace mediation and acquire the skills, knowledge and attitudes to support mediation processes effectively. In 2016, 25 participants attended the course, including representatives of the FDFA, the United Nations, regional organizations, governmental and non-governmental organizations, and experts from conflict regions. The PMC offers uniquely practical insights delivered by experienced speakers giving first-hand accounts. Since its beginnings in 2008, it has been regarded as one of the most important mediation courses with regard to peace processes.



### **Mediation Training for Swiss and German Diplomats**

Berlin, 27 June–1 July 2016

The MSP (a joint initiative of the CSS and swisspeace, funded by the Swiss FDFA) collaborated with the Swiss FDFA and the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Berghof Foundation and the Center for Peace Mediation of the University of Viadrina in a five-day mediation training for German and Swiss diplomats.

### **Training of Trainers on Conflict Transformation, Negotiation, and Mediation**

Geneva, 15–19 August 2016

The CARIM Program (a joint initiative of the CSS and Swiss FDFA) organized a five-day training of trainers' course on conflict transformation, negotiation, and mediation for partners and staff members of the Cordoba Foundation of Geneva (CGF). The CGF seeks to promote dialog between cultures and civilizations. The training aimed to provide participants with a common language and a basic level of knowledge on conflict transformation, negotiation, and mediation, and to equip them with the skills and tools for designing and conducting training on the abovementioned topics.



### **Training of Trainers for the Gender and Mediation Handbook**

Siem Reap (Cambodia), 22 September 2016

The MSP (a joint initiative of the CSS and swisspeace, funded by the Swiss FDFA) organized a one-day workshop to test and launch the Gender and Mediation Handbook published by the CSS in 2015. This Training of Trainers course, which took place the day before the annual meeting of the Mediation Support Network (MSN), brought together 15 participants from various member organizations of the MSN.

### **Religion and Mediation Course**

Schwarzenberg (Switzerland), 2–7 October 2016

This was the third “Religion and Mediation Course” of the CARIM program conducted in cooperation with the FDFA, the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland, the Network of Religious and Traditional Peacemakers, and the German Center for International Peace Operations. CARIM is a joint initiative of the CSS and the Religion, Politics, and Conflict field of activity of the Swiss FDFA. The course brought together 24 peace practitioners to deepen their understanding of the interplay between religion and politics in violent political conflict and to acquire the skills, knowledge, and attitudes necessary to support efforts to mediate or transform conflicts in which religion plays a role.

### **Training on Dialog Facilitation and Mediation for Young Nepali Facilitators, Transition to Peace Institute**

Kathmandu (Nepal), 22–28 October 2016

In collaboration with the Nepal Transition to Peace Institute (NTTPI), the MSP (a joint initiative of the CSS and swisspeace, funded by the Swiss FDFA) designed and delivered a five-day training course on dialog facilitation and mediation for 18 young Nepali facilitators. With the aim of building the mediation skills and knowledge of participants, this training was part of the Swiss FDFA’s longtime support of the NTTPI.

### **Negotiation and Mediation Course**

Mutare (Zimbabwe), 11–16 July and 23–25 November 2016

The CSS, in the framework of the Mediation Support Project (a joint initiative of the CSS and swisspeace, funded by the Swiss FDFA), and the Institute for Peace, Leadership and Governance (IPLG) of the Africa University (AU) in Zimbabwe collaborated to organize the first “Negotiation and Mediation Course” at the AU. The course consisted of a six-day training program from 11–16 July 2016, in Mutare, Zimbabwe, as well as a project work assignment and a three day follow-up training session from 23–25 November.



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

New York, 6–9 December 2016

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



[www.swp-berlin.org/en/projects/tapir](http://www.swp-berlin.org/en/projects/tapir)

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

The TAPIR program 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 comprises five fellowships. In 2016, Jonas Schneider was one of the fellows at the CSS and conducted research on nonproliferation. Nicolas Bouchet, the other one, focused on democracy in the post-soviet area.

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

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



## 4 THE CENTER FOR SECURITY STUDIES

The 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 served as the director of the CSS 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 60 staff.

### **Strategic Partnership**

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

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

### **Partner Network**

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

### **Internship Program**

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



## **Alumni**

The Alumni Association, founded in 2014, met on 4 November 2016 for its third annual meeting. Andreas Wenger provided an update of developments at the CSS. Then, alumni gave talks about their day-to-day business. The animated exchange later continued over drinks.





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