

CENTER FOR SECURITY STUDIES (CSS)



ANNUAL REPORT 2013



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PREFACE

Looking at the global political state of affairs and the associated challenges for Switzerland in the year 2013, several important focal areas may be highlighted. At the start of the year, political attention was concentrated on Iran's nuclear program and the Geneva talks, though the Syrian conflict also had international as well as Swiss policy-makers on tenterhooks. The bombing of the Boston Marathon once more forced the authorities to tighten security precautions and confirmed that homegrown terrorism is still a force to be reckoned with. The outbreak of unrest in Ukraine at the end of the year and the resulting regime change have again shifted the focus of security policy debates in Europe to the issue of relations between Russia and the West.

The aim of our work through research, teaching, the think tank, and the International Relations and Security Network (ISN) is to foster an understanding of current security policy challenges. Through a variety of events, studies, and publications, the Center for Security Policy (CSS) has brought together theoretical knowledge and practical expertise and, together with the ISN, has created a space for analysis, debate, and solutions.

In 2013, the CSS Evening Talks, for instance, dealt with "Conflicts and Conflict Resolution in the Caucasus," "The Iranian Nuclear Program as a Challenge for the International Community," the question of "The Return of Conventional War?," and "Switzerland's OSCE Chairmanship 2014." The latter issue was also debated at the year's final ETH Workshop on 8 November 2013. Other Workshops looked at "Resilience in Crisis Situations" and "The State of Global Politics 2013."

The latter event was based on the annual publication "Strategic Trends." Its 2013 issue dealt with the increasing "De-Westernization of Globalization," maritime tensions in East Asia, the shifting parameters of military crisis management, and the "Glocalization of al-Qaedaism." In an international system increasingly marked by regional dynamics yet strongly globalized, international leadership is on the decline.

In the area of teaching, the CSS offered a range of courses in 2013 covering a broad spectrum of theoretical and practical lectures. In addition to the monthly publication series "CSS Analysis in Security Policy," the newly launched "CSS Policy Perspectives" now offers information tailored to the needs of an international audience. The contributions are produced in accordance with current events and translate the academic competence of the CSS into policy-relevant analyses and policy recommendations. Other political consultancy offered by the CSS in 2013 included studies on "Risk and Resilience," "Mediation and Peace Support," and "Jihadi Radicalization in Switzerland."

By offering documents, dossiers, podcasts, blog entries, videos, and much more, the ISN once more very successfully pursued its mission in 2013. This open-access information platform for International Relations and security policy organizations, experts, and students, now





in its 20th year, once again experienced an increase in visitors (for a total of 1.27 visitors). In addition to the offerings of current documents and the expansion of content in the multimedia database, this increase of 381,000 visitors can mainly be attributed to the enhanced web presence.

Prof. Dr. Andreas Wenger

Director, Center for Security Studies (CSS)



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1 RESEARCH

Research Activities 2013

In 2013, the research activities of the CSS were organized in about 53 research projects.

Publications 2013

Articles: 32

Monographs: 11

Book chapters and research studies: 41

Other publications: 88

At the heart of the CSS research activities are key questions of security and strategic studies. The Center's research work follows a broad, interdisciplinary approach and clusters in six areas.

Risk and Resilience

The CSS analyzes new risks and current threats to state and society. It examines the interplay between threat perceptions and countermeasures with a focus on political mechanisms and processes, and seeks to explain why groups, states, and/or societies focus on certain types of risks, and with what effects.

Security Institutions

The CSS explores why and how security institutions have changed over time. It studies different concepts of world order and examines patterns of cooperation between various security actors, including states, the UN, the EU, and the NATO, as well as global and regional security communities.

Strategy and Doctrine

The CSS explores core aspects of the revolution in military affairs and examines the impact of military transformation processes on politics, strategy, and doctrine. It looks at the changing nature of peace operations.

Regional Studies

The CSS investigates the foreign and security policy context of a number of regions, notably Europe, the Middle East, the Great Lakes Region of Africa, Russia, the Caucasus, Central Asia, and the Asia-Pacific. Its research focuses on dynamics driving conflicts and cooperation within these contexts, as well as developing theoretical and conceptual approaches for analytically investigating, and comparing, regions.

State Failure and State Building

The CSS looks at the causes and consequences of state failure. It analyzes new strategies of conflict prevention and examines peace- and state-building processes. The CSS has a special focus on mediation and facilitation processes.

Swiss Foreign, Security, and Defense Policy

The CSS analyzes Swiss foreign, security, and defense policy from both a current and a historical perspective. The Center's special focus is on the doctrinal processes, strategic crisis management, and aspects of human 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.

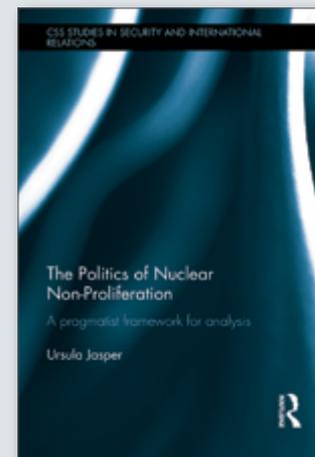
Ursula Jasper

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

London and New York: Routledge, December 2013

This book examines the puzzle of why some states acquire nuclear weapons, whereas others refrain from trying to do so – or even renounce them. Based on the predominant theoretical thinking in International Relations it is often assumed that nuclear proliferation is inevitable, given the anarchic nature of the international system. Proliferation is thus often explained by vague references to states' insecurity in an anarchic environment. Yet, elusive generalizations and grand, abstract theories inhibit a more profound and detailed knowledge of the very political processes that lead towards nuclearization or its reversal.

Drawing upon the philosophical and social-theoretical insights of American pragmatism, "The Politics of Nuclear Non-Proliferation" provides a theoretically innovative and practically useful framework for the analysis of states' nuclear proliferation policies. Rather than recounting a parsimonious, lean account of proliferation, the framework allows for the incorporation of multiple paradigms in order to depict the complex political contestation underlying states' proliferation decisions. This pragmatist framework of analysis offers ways of overcoming long-standing metatheoretical gridlocks in the IR discipline and encourages scholars to reorient their efforts towards imminent "real-world" challenges.





Stephen Aris, Andreas Wenger

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

London and New York: Routledge, October 2013

Since the end of the Cold War, there has been an increased focus on regions as a relevant realm for security, with actors within regional contexts identifying a significant degree of interdependency between one another. As a consequence, international security has taken on a distinct regionally institutionalized character, as seen by the increase in calls for greater utilization of “Chapter VIII: Regional Arrangements” of the UN, in order to create a devolved UN-led system of global security management. However, the idea of a system of global security management is a remote prospect, because divergence seems to be as important as commonality in terms of regional security.

In light of the above, “Regional Organizations and Security” analyzes the primary ROs that are active in Africa, Asia, Eurasia, the Middle East, and South America. The findings of individual case studies are compiled to highlight disparities and similarities in how security is seen, prioritized, understood, practised, managed, and implemented across regions. On this basis, the authors reach conclusions about whether we live in an increasingly globalized or regionally distinct world, and go on to assess the prospects for a globalized system of security management and consider how this might be developed and organized.

Other publications in this series:

Patrick Müller

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

October 2011

Daniel Möckli, Victor Mauer

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

October 2010

Jeronim Perović, Robert W. Orttung, Andreas Wenger

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

February 2009

Andreas Wenger, Vojtech Mastny, Christian Nünlist

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

April 2008

Myriam Dunn Cavelty

Cybersecurity and Threat Politics:

US Efforts to Secure the Information Age

November 2007

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

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

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

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

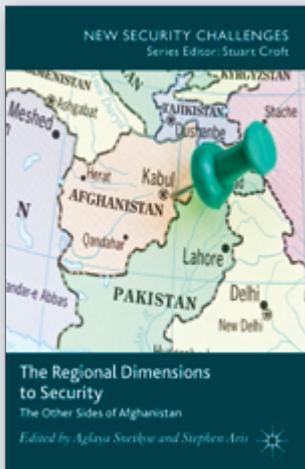
1.2 SELECTED PUBLICATIONS

In 2013, the members of the Center for Security Studies (CSS) produced a number of academic publications.

Jonas Grätz
**Russland als globaler Wirtschaftsakteur: Handlungsressourcen
und Strategien der Öl- und Gaskonzerne**
Munich: Oldenbourg Wissenschaftsverlag, 2013

Oil, gas, and coal from Russia are indispensable elements of Europe's energy supply today. At the same time, the expansive activities of Russian oil and gas companies are controversial. Some observers regard the latter as commercial actors pursuing mainly economic interests. Others suspect that they are trying to attain economic control and integration as a way of pursuing foreign-policy goals. The lack of consensus is due not least to a terminology that makes it difficult to establish a dialog between both views. This study develops a methodology for analyzing both the economic and the foreign-policy functions of the companies in question. Their motivations and instruments are analyzed empirically by looking at 40 projects in nine countries. The book shows how power structures, the ability to reform, and the investor behavior of companies are connected.

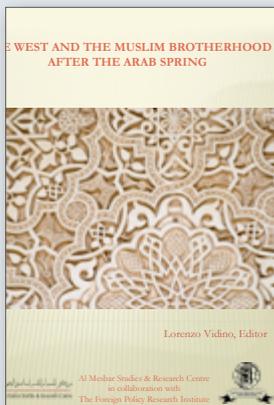




Aglaya Snetkov, Stephen Aris

The Regional Dimensions to Security: Other Sides of Afghanistan
Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013

Afghanistan has been a primary topic on the international security agenda for most of the last three decades. In light of the ongoing US and NATO drawdown in operations and transfer of responsibility to Afghan authorities, the relationship between Afghanistan and its neighboring states and regions has once again become paramount to stability in the wider region and beyond. This book provides a comprehensive assessment of the perspective and approaches to Afghan security taken by the states bordering and in close proximity to Afghanistan, and the transnational dynamics that interconnect these states with Afghanistan and one another. On this basis, it examines the nature of the regional dimension to Afghan security, and assesses prospects for and likely nature of a regional mechanism for managing Afghan security and stability following the US and NATO withdrawal. Including case studies from Pakistan, Iran, China, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and proximate regional powers, namely India and Russia, this timely book will appeal to scholars across international relations, security studies, and Asian studies.



Lorenzo Vidino (ed.)

The West and the Muslim Brotherhood After the Arab Spring
Philadelphia: Foreign Policy Research Institute, 2013

Few observers foresaw the Arab Spring, but it should not have surprised anyone that the Islamist movements – the most organized movements in the Arab world – became the main beneficiaries of the turmoil that ensued. Islamism, in its gradualist and pragmatic approach embodied by the Muslim Brotherhood and its offshoots worldwide, seems ready to reap the rewards of its three decades-old decision to abandon violence and focus on grassroots activities. This monumental change has created many concerns among liberals, religious minorities and, more generally, all non-Islamists in the countries where Islamists have won. In addition, Arab states ruled by non-Islamist regimes have expressed concern. The former worry that Islamist ideology – even in its more contemporary, pragmatic form – remains deeply divisive and anti-democratic, often at odds with their values and interests. The latter believe that on foreign policy issues, most of the positions of various Brotherhood-inspired parties are on a collision course with the policies of established regimes in the region.

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.

10th International Security Forum (ISF)

Geneva, 22 – 24 April 2013

The three busy and informative days featured 29 plenary and panel sessions and more than 120 high-level speakers. The seven panels organized by CSS and ISN covered the following topics: Cyberwar, Europe Between Crisis and Renewal, Leaving Afghanistan, Mediation in Today's Armed Conflicts, Next Steps in Nuclear Disarmaments, Normative Change in Peacekeeping Operations, and Small Arms Trade.

Not only did the ISN cover many of the sessions live for the first time (it sent out almost 150 real-time tweets), it also provided audio-visual materials from ISN-sponsored panels on the post-2014 future of Afghanistan and the role of “hidden actors” in the global small arms trade. (Audio recordings of the CSS and other ISF panels are available on the ISN website.) Finally the ISN hosted a reception on 23 April for over 60 “junior” and “senior” international relations and security experts from the Pacific Forum CSIS and the US National Defense University's Near East South Asia (NESAS) Center for Strategic Studies. Cross-generational and multi-regional dialog and networking were the order of the day at this highly successful event.

EU Energy Policy as a Challenge for Switzerland

Zurich, 20 March 2013

The energy transition that the Swiss Federal Council has decided is generally regarded as a national challenge. However, Switzerland's energy supply is already closely integrated with that of neighboring states today. This is why the changes introduced by the EU, such as liberalization and increased integration of markets, but also the fostering of renewable energies already have a strong influence on security of supply and pricing in Switzerland today. This event, jointly organized by the CSS and Avenir Suisse, analyzed the developments in European energy policy and the associated challenges for Switzerland. In their introductory remarks, Oliver Geden of Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik Berlin and Oliver Koch of the EU Commission's Directorate-General for Energy debated current developments in the EU. In the subsequent panel discussion, chaired by Professor Andreas Wenger, they exchanged views on the effects on Switzerland with Matthias Gysler, head economist at the Swiss Federal Office of Energy (SFOE) and Urs Meister, energy expert at Avenir Suisse.

Academic Lectures 2013

In 2013, CSS staff members gave a total of 80 lectures to academic audiences.



Nuclear Proliferation History: New Evidence, Analysis, and Policy Insights

Vienna, 1 February 2013

This one-day workshop was organized by the CSS and hosted by the Vienna Center for Disarmament and Non-Proliferation (VCDNP). It was intended for historians, academics, think tank members, diplomats, and public servants and is part of the ongoing Nuclear Proliferation International History Project (NPIHP), an international association founded by the Carnegie Corporation of New York. The CSS is a founding member of the NPIHP.

The workshop underlined the importance of conducting research on nuclear proliferation history. Participants presented new research on less-examined aspects of nuclear history, based on research in archives, on interviews, as well as on other new sources. Several experts discussed the state of research on nuclear history in their presentations and discussed the potential impact of in-depth and accurate knowledge of nuclear history on policy decisions and political process.



2 EDUCATION

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

2.1 BA ETH IN PUBLIC POLICY

The six-semester BA course in Public Affairs is targeted at prospective career officers. It consists of social, political, and humanities subjects as well as military science, in line with the requirements of modern Armed Forces. The course is conducted jointly by the Department of Humanities, Social, and Political Sciences (D-GESS) at ETH Zurich and the Military Academy at ETH Zurich (MILAK).

The Center for Security Studies (CSS) taught the following courses in 2013:

Lectures:

- Swiss Foreign and Security Policy Since 1945 (spring semester 2013)
- World Politics since 1945: The History of International Relations (fall semester 2013)
- Current Issues in Security Policy (fall semester 2013)

Seminars:

- Foreign Policies and Security Strategies of the Great Powers, Part I (spring semester 2013)
- Foreign Policies and Security Strategies of the Great Powers, Part II (fall semester 2013)

Colloquium:

- Bachelor Colloquium (fall semester 2013)

Graduation Ceremony 2013

Thirteen graduates, 12 male and one female, accepted their Bachelor of Arts ETH in Public Policy 2010–2013 diplomas from Professor Roman Boutellier, the representative of the ETH Executive Board and vice president for human resources and infrastructure. The director of the Military Academy, Brigadier General Daniel Moccand, and

www.berufsoffizier.ethz.ch



Deputy Director of Studies Professor Lars-Erik Cederman offered their formal congratulations. The address was delivered by National Councilor Corina Eichenberger.

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

www.cis.ethz.ch/education/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 of the national and international applicants are selected each year.

The Center for Security Studies (CSS) taught the following courses in 2013:

- The Concept of Risk in International Relations and Security (spring semester 2013)
- Contemporary Security Studies (fall semester 2013)

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

www.cis.ethz.ch/education/phd

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 2013, the Center for Security Studies (CSS) supervised the following doctoral dissertations:

Corinne Bara

How Inequalities Matter: A Complexity-Oriented Approach to the Study of Intra-State Conflict

Christoph Elhardt

Making and Breaking Trust in European Monetary Integration: Coping with EMU's Risks

Mark Daniel Jaeger

Combined Sanctions Policies: Risk, Danger, and Positive Incentives

Christoph Kaufmann

The Development of C2 Systems in Neutral European States

Sascha Langenbach

The Political Economy of Upstream Oil and Gas Investments

Marco Martini

A Negotiation Perspective on the Use of Threats and Promises in International Economic Policy Disputes

Wilhelm Mirow

Strategic Culture, Securitization, and the War on Terror: Comparing the Security Policies and Practices of Western Liberal Democracies since 11 September 2001

Bianca Sarbu

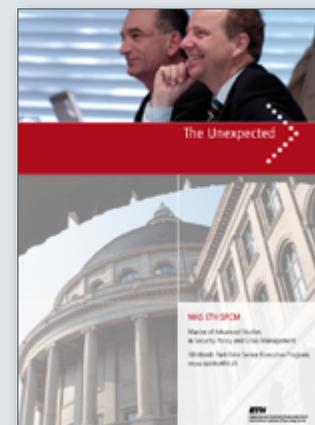
Control of the Oil Upstream Sector: Explaining Policy Choices Across Oil Producing Countries (concluded in May 2013)

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

The MAS ETH SPCM is the result of a joint initiative of the Chair in International and Swiss Security Policy at ETH Zurich and the Armed Forces College. The program is carried out in close cooperation with ETH Zurich and the Military Academy at ETH Zurich (MILAK). The MAS ETH SPCM is aimed at civilian and military executives from the public and private sectors with demonstrated leadership experience and broad academic skills. The 18-month part-time program offers an ambitious education in strategic decisionmaking, with a particular focus on strengthening leadership qualities in handling current and potential security risks as well as crisis situations. Additionally, the MAS ETH SPCM aims to heighten awareness of complex and novel security risks and to demonstrate the impact of these risks on governmental, economic, and social processes.

The program is offered in close cooperation with academic, public, and private corporate partners and as part of a close academic training partnership with the following institutions:

- Center for Comparative and International Studies (CIS), ETH Zurich and University of Zurich
- Department of Management, Technology, and Economics (D-MTEC), ETH Zurich
- S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore



www.spcm.ethz.ch

- Brent Scowcroft Center on International Security, The Atlantic Council, 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 are 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 60 executives from ten countries graduated from the first four MAS ETH SPCM courses, including over a dozen brigadier generals, a major general and members of top management. MAS ETH SPCM alumni participate regularly in program-related activities and continue to be engaged with the program as Forum participants, lecturers, and advisors. Many have frequent and regular public appearances.

Among the alumni of the first four courses are high-ranking officers in the Swiss and Austrian armed forces, diplomats, attachés, security policy consultants, politicians, and executive board members of industrial and service companies. So far, executives from more than 20 public and private enterprises have benefited from the MAS ETH SPCM, which is one of its kind in the world. Among them are enterprises at the federal, cantonal, and ministerial level; companies in the financial, defense, security, and arms industries; manufacturing companies; and consultancy companies, lobbyists, and law firms.

4th MAS ETH SPCM 2011–2013

The final course block of the fourth course 2011–2013 dealt with strategic management of crises at the level of nation-states, at the intrastate level, and in the private sector. The first sequence of three crisis management exercises dealt with handling non-violent demonstrations in major cities. The second exercise dealt with the effects of escalation in a West African civil war. Finally, participants were presented with a fictitious scenario for crisis reaction operations and developed solutions for various contexts such as peace support operations and composite crises. The course block concluded with a well-attended MAS ETH SPCM forum at ETH Zurich that involved a dozen renowned international lecturers. The forum discussed the challenges of resilience in energy supplies in the oil, gas, and electricity sectors and of renewable energy.

The course was solemnly concluded with the diploma graduation ceremony, attended by speakers Lieutenant-General André Blattmann, head of the Swiss armed forces, and former ambassador Anton Thalmann.

5th MAS ETH SPCM 2013–2015

The fifth MAS ETH SPCM course was launched in September. Among the new participants were the fifth Austrian army career officer, the fifth Deutsche Bank executive, the third staff member of the Swiss Federal Office of Civil Protection, and the second head of delegation of the International Committee of the Red Cross.

Ten lecturers from seven countries introduced the students to the literature and key concepts of strategic emergency planning and crisis prevention in the public and private sectors during the first intensive two-week course block. The focus was initially on gaining a conceptual understanding of the characteristics, dynamics, and developments of crises. In a second, practice-oriented phase, the participants dealt with instruments and capabilities for successful crisis management. The following key topics were discussed: legitimation, perception, trust, communication, and resilience as well as practical crisis reaction and negotiation techniques at the strategic level.

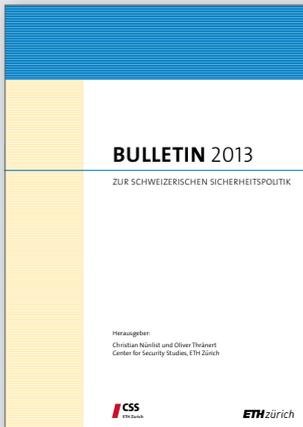


Public Outreach

Presentations delivered to non-academic audiences: 78

Media contributions: 167

Meetings and workshops with representatives of politics, public administration, and academia: 111



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 CSS maintains several publication series on Swiss foreign and security policy; these series are intended for expert audiences as well as for interested parties in the general public.

Christian Nünlist and Oliver Thranert (eds.)

Bulletin 2013 on Swiss Security Policy

Center for Security Studies (CSS), ETH Zurich, 2013

The "Bulletin on Swiss Security Policy" ("Bulletin zur schweizerischen Sicherheitspolitik") has been published annually since 1991. For the 2013 issue, in addition to the longer main articles and short descriptions of CSS projects – this year, focusing on the CSS's think tank activities and a project on the role of religion in mediation processes – two new features were introduced: interviews and external contributions. Ueli Maurer, who was serving as Switzerland's federal president until the end of 2013, discussed the Security Policy Report 2014/2015 with special attention to future wars and the implications of Switzerland's changed geostrategic environment for the country's security policy. Federal Councilor Burkhalter, who in 2014 serves as foreign minister and as federal president, but also as OSCE chairman-in-office, discussed the Swiss OSCE presidency and reveals his expectations for concrete progress particularly in the Western Balkans.

The new category of "External Contribution" invites input from voices outside the CSS: In the 2013 edition, two members of the "foraus" foreign-policy think tank debate the issue of free movement, which is certain to make waves in Switzerland in 2014. The first contribution in this year's Bulletin questions the accepted wisdom about the supposed crisis of the OSCE and weighs the risks of Switzerland's chairmanship against the opportunities for Swiss foreign policy. The second contribution is a critical investigation of the Swiss-Russian strategic partnership. At the end of 2013 – three years after the outbreak of revolutions in various Arab countries – it's been time for a sober analysis of Switzerland's North African policy. As the third contribution shows, Switzerland fundamentally reshaped its policy vis-à-vis Egypt, Libya, and Tunisia in March 2011. The fourth article is dedicated to the question of security in public space.

The Bulletin 2013 features following lead articles (in German only):

Christian Nünlist

“Switzerland is an OSCE in miniature”: Perspectives on Switzerland’s OSCE chairmanship in 2014

Jonas Grätz

Partnership with Russia: Taking Stock of a Foreign-Policy Focus

Lisa Watanabe

After the Arab Uprisings: A New North Africa Policy for Switzerland

Jonas Hagmann and Ilyas Saliba

Security in the Public Space

Tibor Szvircsev Tresch, Andreas Wenger, Julie Craviolini, Elvira Krämer and Evgenije Sokoli

Security 2013: The Trend of Opinions on Foreign, Security, and Defense Policy

Center for Security Studies (CSS), ETH Zurich, and Military Academy at ETH Zurich (MILAK), 2013

The annual study “Security” (“Sicherheit”), 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 2013 edition of the study is based on a representative survey of 1,200 Swiss citizens of voting age, conducted in January and February 2013. In the year 2013, Swiss citizens felt safe. Compared to the previous year, the Swiss population regarded the future of Switzerland with greater optimism and was also considerably less pessimistic regarding the development of global affairs. They also continue to aim for maximum leeway in foreign policy matters. Thus, the bilateral approach to (purely) economic cooperation with the EU currently enjoys broad support, while the willingness to move closer to the EU or to join it has remained at a historic low. By comparison, the principle of neutrality as well as the perceived purpose of neutrality enjoy high popularity when compared with long-term responses. Moreover, support for the militia army and general conscription increased markedly during the period in question. Special attention was devoted in this year’s survey to various measures in the areas of domestic security, positive and negative aspects of conscription, alternative service models, the compatibility of military service and professional life, and conscription for Swiss citizens with a migration background.

As always, the numbers supporting these trends are listed in the current volume. The time series thus grow longer with each volume, gradually approximating the goal of the study: to visualize longer-term opinion formation on foreign, security, and defense policy matters among the Swiss population.



3.2 CSS ANALYSIS IN SECURITY POLICY

Subscribe to “CSS Analysis”

Subscriptions to “CSS Analysis” can be submitted at www.css.ethz.ch/publications/CSS_Analysis_EN.



The policy brief series “CSS Analysis 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 Analysis”. 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 Analysis” is issued monthly as an e-publication and available for free subscription. At the end of 2013, the publication had about 5,600 subscribers (English: 3,277; German: 1,576; French: 487). The issues that appeared during the year under report were downloaded more than 30,000 times.

A total of 20 briefs were published in 2013:

No. 146: The Future of Conventional Arms Control in

No. 145: The Proliferation of Advanced Conventional Weapon

No. 144: The Kerry Initiative: Cometh the Hour, Cometh the Man?

No. 143: Debating European Defence and Security

No. 142: Resilience in Security Policy: Present and Future

No. 141: Kidnapping for Ransom as a Source of Terrorism Funding

No. 140: China's Nuclear Arms Build-Up: Background and Consequences

No. 139: France's New Strategy: The 2013 White Paper

No. 138: The Struggle for Sweden's Defence Policy

No. 137: Descending Drones?

No. 136: Russia in Europe: Strategic Challenges

No. 135: Tunisia: The Challenges of Transition

No. 134: The 2014 NSS: Towards an Obama Doctrine?

No. 133: The Council of Europe: Time for Reform

No. 132: Lashkar-e-Taiba: Local Organisation, Global Ambitions

No. 131: Nagorno-Karabakh: Obstacles to a Negotiated Settlement

No. 130: The ICC: High Expectations, Ambiguous Record

No. 129: Whole of Government: Integration and Demarcation

No. 128: European Strategies Against Jihadist Radicalisation

No. 127: The Nuclear Suppliers Group at the Crossroads

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.

“Strategic Trends 2013” deals with the consequences of a globalization increasingly less dominated by Europe and North America, maritime tensions in East Asia, the transformation of military crisis management, and al-Qaeda’s global and local spheres of action. The introductory chapter of this year’s edition states that global leadership is increasingly on the wane in a changing system of states. It posits that the global system today is marked by the economic weakness of Europe and North America, lack of determination to lead, and a growing mutual dependency. Against this background, it is shown that the US has adapted its policy to the new situation and is searching for new ways to take on a leadership role without employing much in the way of resources.

“Strategic Trends 2013” features the following articles:

Oliver Ibränert

Strategic Trends 2013: Redefining Leadership

Jonas Grätz

The De-Westernization of Globalization

Prem Mahadevan

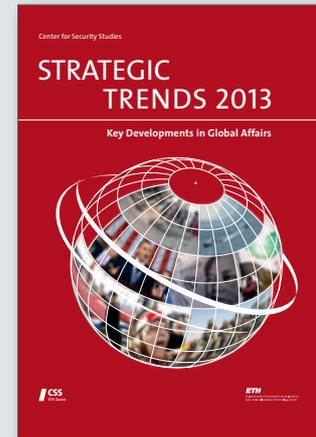
Maritime Insecurity in East Asia

Andrea Baumann

Shifting Parameters of Military Crisis Management

Prem Mahadevan

The Glocalization of al-Qaedaism





www.css.ethz.ch/policyperspectives



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 towards an international audience and are therefore published in English. At the end of 2013, there were around 800 subscribers.

The “CSS Policy Perspectives” series started in 2013 with the three following contributions:

- No. 3: Neither Small Step Nor Giant Leap (by Oliver Thränert)
- No. 2: Friend Not Foe (by Owen Frazer)
- No. 1: Deflating Russia’s Gas Pressure (by Jonas Grätz)

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

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

The RAD and the CAD are both published in English and hosted on their own webpage on the CSS website, from where their full back-catalogue can be accessed. Both publication series are available for free subscription. They had about 6,990 and over 2,180 subscribers, respectively at the end of 2013.

RAD and CAD subscriptions

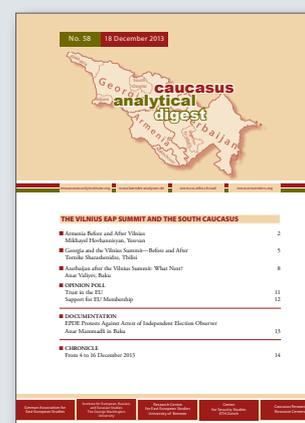
Both publication series are available for free subscription at www.css.ethz.ch/publications/RAD_EN and www.css.ethz.ch/publications/CAD_EN.

In 2013, 20 RAD issues were published:

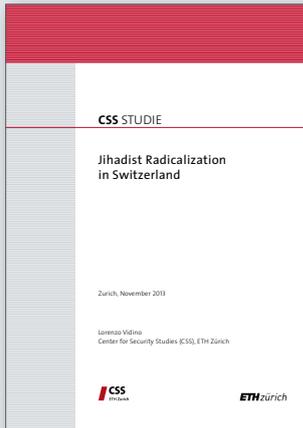
- No. 141: Xenophobia and Migrants
- No. 140: Capital Flight and Off-Shore Investment
- No. 139: Governors and Mayors
- No. 138: Putin's Turn to Traditionalism/Nationalism
- No. 137: Russia and Higher Education
- No. 136: Navalny and the Moscow Mayoral Election
- No. 135: Russia and Right-Wing Extremism
- No. 134: Cyber Security and Internet Protest
- No. 133: Putin 3.0: The Economic Plan
- No. 132: Russia and Northeast Asia: Russian Foreign Policy Between Conflict and Rapprochement
- No. 131: Russia and the North Caucasus
- No. 130: Russia's Relations with France and the United Kingdom
- No. 129: Arctic Urban Sustainability
- No. 128: Russia in the Syrian Conflict
- No. 127: Putin 3.0: One Year Later – Expert Perspectives
- No. 126: Popular Culture and Politics
- No. 125: Russia's Relations With Turkey, Bulgaria and Romania
- No. 124: Domestic Politics
- No. 123: The Russian Media Landscape
- No. 122: Pussy Riot

In addition, 11 issues of the CAD were published:

- Nr. 58: The Vilnius Eap Summit and the South Caucasus
- No. 57: Migration
- No. 56: Presidential Elections in Georgia
- No. 55: Presidential Elections in Azerbaijan
- No. 53/54: Post-Elections Armenia
- No. 51/52: The South Caucasus Between the EU and the Eurasian Union
- No. 50: Informal Relations in Everyday Life – Informal Economy
- No. 49: Georgian Politics
- No. 48: Foreign Policy Changes in Georgia
- No. 47: Energy and Politics
- No. 46: Protests in Azerbaijan



All CSS publications are freely available as e-publications at www.css.ethz.ch/publications/index_EN.



3.6 ACADEMIC CONSULTANCY: SELECTED REPORTS

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

Lorenzo Vidino

Jihadist Radicalization in Switzerland

Center for Security Studies (CSS), ETH Zürich, 2013

Even though some of its citizens have been killed or kidnapped by various jihadist groups abroad over the last twenty years, internally Switzerland has not witnessed jihadist activities on a significant scale. Unlike most Western European countries, in fact, no successful terrorist attack of jihadist inspiration has ever been perpetrated on its territory and only a dozen individuals have been tried for terrorism-related crimes, all of them involving non-violent activities of material support and propaganda. Moreover, the number of Swiss residents who have traveled abroad to join jihadist groups is also estimated to be lower than in most other European countries. Yet Swiss authorities are not complacent and argue that “Switzerland is not an island.” Counterterrorism officials have consistently claimed that there is ample evidence suggesting that some of the same radicalization trends that have long characterized other Western European countries also exist in Switzerland, albeit on a smaller scale. This report seeks to assess the size and dynamics of jihadist radicalization in the country.

Marco Wyss

Development of Defense Expenditures of Selected European States Since 1990 (Germany, France, United Kingdom, Finland, Austria, and Sweden)

Center for Security Studies (CSS), ETH Zurich, 2013

This study was authored by the CSS on behalf of the Federal Intelligence Service (FIS). It examines the development of defense expenditures of selected European states since 1990 and shows how the prevalence of intra-state and regional conflicts as well as transnational risks has caused attention to turn towards new security policy challenges. However, the current transition to a multipolar system, which is due to the increasing shift of power towards Asia, has once more tilted the balance towards an increased likelihood of conventional warfare. Since the end of the Cold War, the states analyzed here have been confronted with the need to cover a growing spectrum of tasks with proportionally and continually diminishing financial resources. As the recent past has shown, this will also bring about considerable capacity losses. The armed forces will continue to shrink, cost-intensive units will be downsized or closed down, and procurement of new weapons systems and platforms will be postponed, reduced in number, or stopped altogether. This trend holds true not only for the states studied here, but for the majority of European states. It appears that Europe’s military defense and expeditionary capabilities will inevitably be diminished, since the EU’s efforts to join forces in the

framework of the Common Security and Defense Policy (CSDP) through pooling and sharing are being foiled by the national interests of individual member states.

Tim Prior, Michel Herzog

Risk Factsheet 9: The Practical Application of Resilience Resilience Manifestation and Expression

Center for Security Studies (CSS), ETH Zurich, 2013

This factsheet aims to overcome some of the theoretical and disciplinary complexity associated with the concept of resilience by reflecting on the way it manifests and is expressed in response to a disturbance. By focusing on resilience as response, and reflecting on the various ways in which resilience may manifest or be expressed, the factsheet seeks to highlight an element of practicality in this term that may otherwise be overlooked. This factsheet builds on the factsheet “Expressions of Resilience,” which discussed the issue in the context of the “bounce back” and adaptation forms of the concept.

Tim Prior, Jonas Hagmann

SKI Focus Report 8: Measuring Resilience Benefits and Limitations of Resilience Indices

Center for Security Studies (CSS), ETH Zurich, 2013

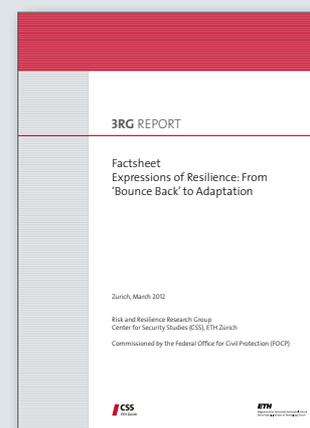
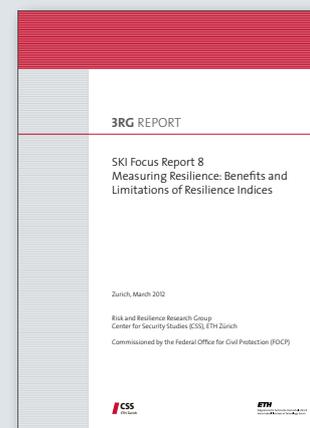
This Focus Report provides a background to the measurement of resilience. Its first section introduces the topic and explores the reasons why resilience should be measured. Looking at the utilities of a resilience index, this report differentiates between the most central awareness and policy-guidance functions of such an instrument. The report’s second section presents three different approaches to measure resilience. In each case study, the report explores the development and application, benefits, and limitations of the index at hand. The third section discusses the pitfalls and potentials of resilience index-making at a more general level. The concluding section highlights the likely implications arising from this discussion for the development of a resilience index in Switzerland.

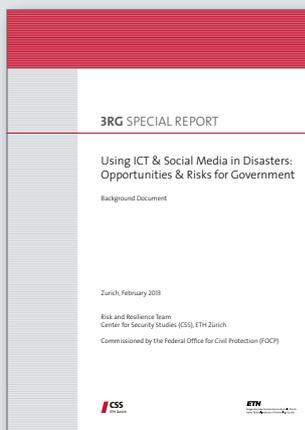
Jennifer Giroux, Tim Prior

Factsheet: Expressions of Resilience From “Bounce Back” to Adaptation

Center for Security Studies (CSS), ETH Zürich, 2013

Resilience is widely viewed as a desirable feature for systems that could be exposed to threats or disturbance. It implies strength and flexibility; elasticity and durability. Derived from the Latin word *resilire* which literally means to “spring” or “bounce back,” the early use of resilience in a threat or disturbance context encapsulated this fundamental meaning – where risk managers designed systems to preferably return to a normal functioning state quickly after a disturbance. The “bounce back” has subsequently become an outward expression of resilience in many contexts, but the term and its meaning are not universally used.





Jennifer Giroux

SKI Factsheet 9: Trends in Resilience

Spotlight on Teaching and Learning Resilience

Center for Security Studies (CSS), ETH Zurich, 2013

The concept of resilience in homeland security (HS) and critical infrastructure protection (CIP) continues to gain traction and relevance in a 21st-century risk environment characterized by volatility, uncertainty, instability, vast acceleration and interactivity. Indeed, in today's world threats are unpredictable and crosscutting between various policy domains, interests, and sectors. While there have been, and continue to be numerous efforts to conceptualize, define, and measure resilience¹ (for homeland security purposes), there is also an emerging trend in the growth of training and certificate programs that specifically focus on critical infrastructure resilience, as well as building societal resilience in general.

Florian Roth, Gabriel Brönnimann

Focal Report 8: Using the Internet for Public Risk Communication

Center for Security Studies (CSS), ETH Zurich, 2013

This report addresses key issues of online public risk communication. It identifies the main goals of risk communication generically and how they may be achieved using the Internet. In particular, it shows possible strategies of how key elements of traditional risk management can be adapted to the new information environment. After an introductory section, the concept of risk communication is clarified and some major trends in risk communication research and practice are sketched out. Thereafter, the authors address the question of how current challenges of risk communication can be met in a communication environment in which the Internet and other information and communication technologies play an increasingly important role.

Jennifer Giroux, Florian Roth, Michel Herzog

Using ICT and Social Media in Disasters

Opportunities and Risks for Government

Center for Security Studies (CSS), ETH Zurich, 2013

When a crisis is unfolding, people no longer wait for an official statement from government actors; rather they turn to the news media, they go to Twitter or Facebook, they log onto forums and blogs, etc., because they expect information and they can get it quickly from various sources. In such a dynamic information environment, if a government lacks a policy on how to use social media, particularly in crisis situations (meaning it does not act, or act appropriately), then it may face a loss of credibility and struggle with the management of a crisis. To get ahead of this curve, debating the risks and opportunities of using social media is a critical first step to building a sound social media policy and identifying certain engagement guidelines. This report examines four different issue areas to analyze how social media is used in the context of risk and crisis communication.

Florian Roth, Jennifer Giroux, Michel Herzog

Crisis Mapping in Switzerland A Stakeholder Analysis

Center for Security Studies (CSS), ETH Zurich, 2013

Crowdsourced crisis maps emerged in the last decade as a series of civil society projects – often launched by small groups or even individual media users with the intention to collect and organize geo-referenced information from a large number of sources during crisis in order to make it useful for emergency managers as well as those people affected by the crisis. The purpose of this study is not only to examine crisis mapping, but more importantly to place this phenomenon within a Swiss context. What would a potential crisis map look like in a Swiss context? Which actors would be involved and what role could governmental actors play? To date, despite their reported usefulness for mitigating the effects of disaster and speeding up recovery processes, little is known about of crisis mapping could be brought in line with established procedures of disaster management.

Tim Prior, Florian Roth

Preparing for Disasters in Global Cities An International Comparison

Center for Security Studies (CSS), ETH Zurich, 2013

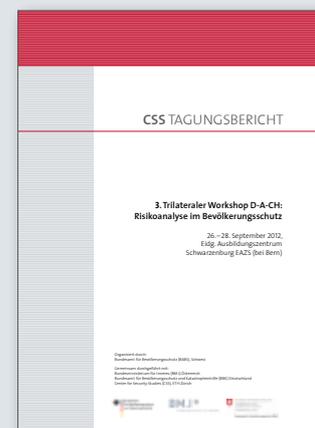
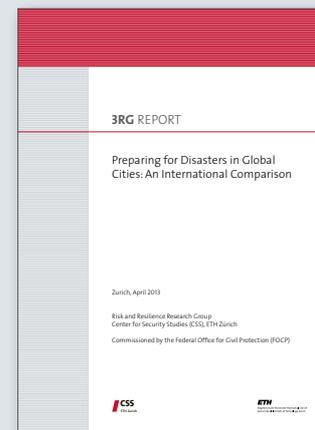
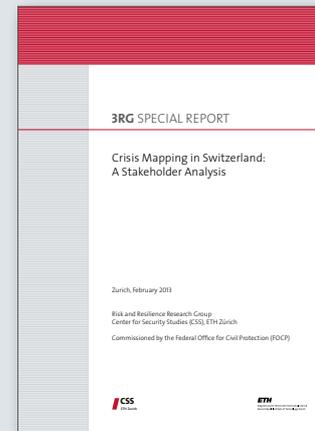
Today, the majority of the globe's inhabitants live in urban areas. According to all forecasts cities will continue to grow in the coming decades. At the same time, cities have become increasingly connected as a result of economic, political, and cultural globalization. In the context of urban security, the growing complexity these connections bring may present a double-edged sword: Cities can be both the most secure, or most dangerous places when disaster strikes. The very characteristics of urban life – such as population concentrations, compact architectural structures, diverse socio-demographics, as well as complex, interconnected infrastructure systems – present both challenges and opportunities in terms of managing disasters in cities.

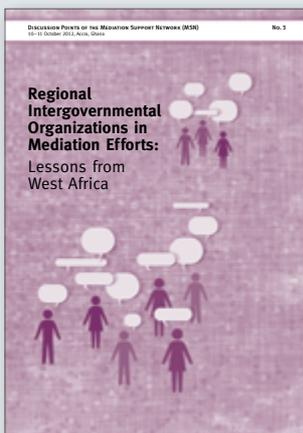
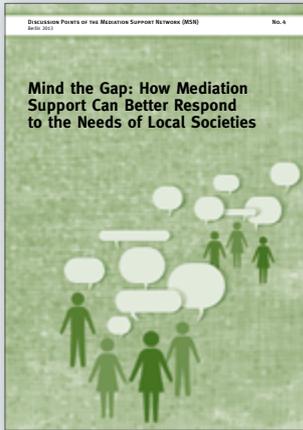
Florian Roth

Workshop Report: 3rd Trilateral Workshop D-A-CH Risk Analysis in Civil Protection

Center for Security Studies (CSS), ETH Zurich, 2013

Since 2010, the trinational workshop series “D-A-CH: Risk analysis in civil protection (Risikoanalyse im Bevölkerungsschutz)” has been bringing together civil protection experts from Germany, Austria, and Switzerland. It is conducted jointly by the Swiss Federal Office for Civil Protection (FOCP), the Austrian Interior Ministry, the German Federal Office of Civil Protection and Disaster Assistance, and the CSS (ETH Zurich). The third part of the workshop series took place from 26 to 28 September 2012 in Schwarzenburg by Berne. The aim of this event was to facilitate an exchange of views on current issues in risk analysis in civil protection and of lessons learned among the partner organizations. This report summarizes the key results of the workshop.





Simon Mason (ed.)

MSN Discussion Points No. 4

Mind the Gap: How Mediation Support Can Better Respond to the Needs of Local Societies

Mediation Support Network; Center for Security Studies (CSS),
ETH Zurich, 2013

This publication explores how international mediators and mediation support actors can assist local and national efforts towards peace without undermining local ownership or ignoring local needs. It focuses on three specific gaps: 1) a lack of case-specific understanding and action, 2) a lack of information sharing and coordination, and 3) insufficient local and international collaboration. It presents some experiences of member organizations of the Mediation Support Network and makes some suggestions as to how the gaps could be bridged.

Simon Mason, Sara Hellmüller (eds.)

MSN Discussion Points No.3

Regional Intergovernmental Organizations in Mediation Efforts: Lessons From West Africa

Mediation Support Network; Center for Security Studies (CSS),
ETH Zurich, 2013

The Mediation Support Network (MSN) met from 10 to 11 October 2012 in Accra, Ghana, under the auspices of the West Africa Network for Peacebuilding (WANEP). In this meeting the network addressed the topic of "Regional Intergovernmental Organizations (RIGOs) in Mediation Efforts and the Complementary Roles of International Actors." This summary reflects the MSN's discussion and the speakers' inputs (ECOWAS, UNOWA, EU, UN MSU, and the Ghana Peace Council) on this topic. These discussion points do not provide a comprehensive or consensus view of MSN members. Rather, they are a reflection of key issues that were discussed and that may be useful to better understand various mediation actors and ways of improving collaboration between them. In a nutshell, the MSN meeting in Accra underlined the need to see peace mediation as a collective activity, especially involving RIGOs and civil society organizations (CSOs), and not as the exclusive domain of the state.

Simon Mason (ed.)

MSN Discussion Points No. 2

Translating Mediation Guidance Into Practice: Commentary on the UN Guidance for Effective Mediation by the Mediation Support Network

Foreword by Jimmy Carter

Mediation Support Network; Center for Security Studies (CSS), ETH Zurich, 2013

The Mediation Support Network (MSN) is a network of primarily non-governmental organizations (NGOs) that support mediation in peace negotiations. During their 2012 meetings, MSN members discussed and reflected on the “UN Guidance for Effective Mediation.” The aim of this document is to formalize and catalog these reflections into a consolidated commentary for the wider mediation and peace policy community, focusing on how to translate the UN Guidance into practice. Rather than being a comprehensive commentary, this document therefore focuses on certain issues and cases that seem pertinent from the MSN perspective.

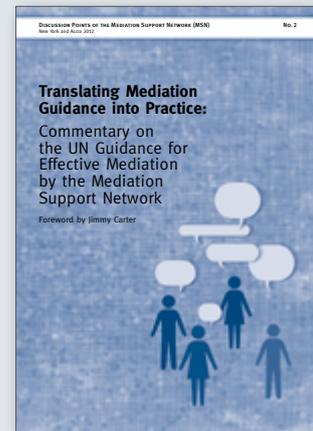
Owen Frazer, Lakhdar Ghettas

Approaches to Conflict Transformation

Lessons From Algeria, Denmark, Egypt, Kenya, Morocco, Tajikistan, and Yemen

The Cordoba Now Forum, Geneva; Center for Security Studies (CSS), ETH Zurich, 2013

This report looks at conflict transformation methods employed by third-parties and what lessons can be learned from practical experience. The main body of the report presents case studies of dialog processes, mediation space and diapraxis, culturally-balanced co-mediation, local mediation, ombuds institutions, and early warning and rapid response mechanisms. The cases are based on experiences from Algeria, Denmark, Egypt, Kenya, Morocco, Tajikistan, and Yemen. Many of the cases highlight the limits to the influence of any third-party intervener while nonetheless confirming that, under the right circumstances and with the right approach, they can play a constructive role. The examples of local mediation and culturally-balanced co-mediation emphasize that the traditional notion of a neutral outsider is not the only approach to ensuring third-party neutrality and impartiality.





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. Participants from the spheres of academia, the administration, politics, and the armed forces participate in these events.

Switzerland’s OSCE Chairmanship 2014

ETH Zurich, 8 November 2013

The ETH Workshop on “Switzerland’s OSCE Chairmanship 2014” discussed the following questions: What is the significance of the Swiss OSCE chairmanship for the country’s foreign policy? What are the opportunities and risks that Switzerland faces? In which areas can the organization achieve tangible progress under Swiss leadership, and where are the structural obstacles that might impede implementation of Switzerland’s priorities?

The first panel saw practitioners such as Swiss OSCE Ambassador to Vienna Thomas Greminger and the president of the Swiss parliamentary OSCE delegation, Christine Egerszegi-Obrist, in discussion with the CSS’s Christian Nünlist about the transformation of the OSCE from the Cold War until today, with particular reference to the alleged crisis of the OSCE in the wake of increasing political tensions between Russia and the West. On a second panel, Lisa Watanabe (CSS), Hans-Henning Schröder (Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, Berlin), and Wolfgang Zellner (Institut für Friedensforschung und Sicherheitspolitik, Hamburg) discussed the ongoing OSCE reform process (“Helsinki +40”), Russia’s views on European security, and the future of conventional arms control and confidence-building in Europe. The final third panel discussed in detail three core issues of Swiss OSCE policy: the Southern Caucasus (Tobias Privitelli, political advisor of the special OSCE representative for the Southern Caucasus, FDFA), the Western Balkans (Franz-Lothar Altmann, Bucharest), and counterterrorism (Christian Bühlmann, GCSP).

Regarding Switzerland’s OSCE chairmanship in 2014, there appeared to be a general consensus among participants that due to the overall stalemate, no great breakthroughs were to be expected in the coming year and that expectations should not be too high. However, the Swiss chairmanship should give extra visibility to the country’s own foreign-policy priorities, including mediation and the provision of good offices in the Western Balkans.



Resilience in Crisis Situations

ETH Zurich, 11 October 2013

The approximately 50 participants of the ETH Workshop on “Resilience in Crisis Situations” all agreed that the proliferation of the resilience concept had improved awareness of how crises and disasters can be overcome. The workshop discussed not only goals and types of resilience, but also challenges and opportunities in implementing it in Switzerland.

The first panel, with speakers Susanne Krings of the German Federal Office of Civil Protection and Disaster Assistance and Myriam Dunn of the CSS, debated the foundations of resilience in security policy and Germany’s experiences with the concept. A subsequent panel looked at the sectors requiring protection in Switzerland from a practical perspective. Ruedi Rytz of the Federal Office for National Economic Supply, Hans Rudolph Heinemann, Professor at the ETH Risk Center, Reto Häni of Microsoft Western Europe, and Marc Hechler of the Zurich Cantonal Bank shared their experiences with the audience.

The workshop concluded with a debate on the practical implementation of resilience in Switzerland between Christoph Flury of the Federal Office of Civil Protection, André Duvillard of the Swiss Security Network, and Hanspeter von Flüe, head of Civil Protection of the Canton of Berne.

The State of Global Politics 2013

ETH Zurich, 15 March 2013

Following up on the CSS publication “Strategic Trends 2013,” this ETH Workshop discussed core issues involving Swiss foreign and security policy. The event was also aimed at promoting the exchange of ideas and networking between key representatives from the political, administrative, academic, media, and professional spheres. First of all, the CSS presented the latest issue of the annual “Strategic Trends” publication. The first panel dealt with the issue of “Switzerland–US: Debt crisis, power, and friction.” The panelists were Ambassador Philippe Guex, State Councilor Christian Levrat, National Councilor Christa Markwalder, and Martin Naville, chief executive officer at the Swiss–American Chamber of Commerce. The second panel was dedicated to the topic of “The Transformation of Military Crisis Management: Consequences for Switzerland.” The discussants were Major General Wolfgang Wosolsobe, National Councilor Chantal Galladé, Ambassador Thomas Greminger, and Ambassador Christian Catrina.



3.8 FURTHER SELECTED WORKSHOPS

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 CSS staff members.

CSS Evening Talk: The Swiss OSCE Chairmanship

ETH Zurich, 11 December 2013

On 11 December, the CSS held an Evening Talk on the topic of “The Swiss OSCE Chairmanship 2014.” The speakers were Ambassador Heidi Grau, head of the OSCE Task Force at the Swiss Foreign Ministry, and Christian Nünlist, head of the Swiss and Euro-Atlantic Security Team at the CSS think tank. The attendees all agreed that the OSCE has unfairly drifted outside of the focus of public attention. For the OSCE is the only organization of significance in the area of security policy that includes all European states including the successor states of the Soviet Union as well as the US and Canada. However, expectations of the Swiss chairmanship should not be unrealistically high. Berne, it was agreed, was determined to foster the OSCE reform process, to increase mediation capacities, to achieve progress in the area of transnational threats (fighting international terrorism), and to advance the cause of reconciliation in the Western Balkans. However, no great success was expected when it came to conventional arms control or dealing with conflicts in the Caucasus, where the antagonism between the interests of Western states and those of Russia is in full effect.

CSS Evening Talk: The Return of Conventional War?

ETH Zurich, 11 September 2013

On 11 September 2013, Professor Joachim Krause of the Chair of International Politics at the Christian Albrecht University of Kiel and Martin Zapfe, head of the Global Security Team at the CSS think tank, debated whether conventional warfare scenarios were becoming more likely. One of the basic points on which both speakers were agreed was the intervention fatigue that can be observed in practically all countries of Europe and North America. Nevertheless, conflict scenarios requiring military intervention by these countries were to be expected in the future as well. Syria, increasingly mired in civil war, could soon become such a country. Thus, Western states continue to face the challenge of adapting their armed forces to constantly changing trajectories of conflict.



Expert Workshop “Swiss Crisis Mapping: Using Geo-Referenced Information and Social Media in Swiss Crisis and Disaster Management”

ETH Zurich, 5 September 2013

This workshop was conducted jointly by the Federal Office of Civil Protection (FOCP), ETH Zurich, and the Institute of Geomatics Engineering at the University of Applied Sciences and Arts Northwestern Switzerland for the benefit of select experts from the areas of disaster and risk management, new communications and information technologies, and cartography and geoinformatics. The workshop participants discussed current developments in the area of crisis mapping with experts from various disciplines. The primary focus was on gaining a broad range of perspectives on crisis mapping in the context of Switzerland and to debate the question of networking among the actors concerned as well as possibilities for more extensive cooperation.

CSS Evening Talk: Iran and Its Nuclear Program as a Challenge to the International Community

ETH Zurich, 12 June 2013

Are diplomatic solutions for the Iranian nuclear problem still feasible? Or must we learn to live with the Iranian bomb? Would nuclear deterrence between Iran and Israel work over the longer term? Or would this be too risky, and would Israel and/or the US use military force to prevent an Iranian bomb sooner or later? These were the core questions asked by Mark Fitzpatrick, director of the Non-Proliferation and Disarmament program at the London International Institute for Strategic Studies, and Oliver Thränert, head of the CSS think tank. Just two days before the first round of presidential elections in Iran, this issue had a particular urgency. The lively debate with audience members made clear that there was widespread skepticism regarding possible military action against Iran. At the same time, some discussants emphasized that a nuclear-armed Iran would also raise many problems.

Peace Mediation Course

Oberhofen, 2–14 June 2013

The goal of the Peace Mediation Course (PMC) is for participants to deepen their understanding of peace mediation and acquire the skills, knowledge and attitudes to support mediation processes effectively. This year's course covered mediation basics, topics in peace processes (security, justice, economy, power-sharing), and process design (multi-track and track 1 processes). The main trainers are chosen due to their first-hand experience in peace mediation, giving the course a close-to-reality touch that is unique. Twenty-seven participants attended the PMC 2013. They were affiliated with the Swiss FDFA, the United Nations, various foreign ministries, as well as various governmental and non-governmental organizations. Since it was first launched in 2008, the course has become known as one of the key mediation courses in the area of peace processes. The PMC is organized by the Mediation Support Project, a joint venture between the CSS and swisspeace, funded by the Swiss FDFA.



Roundtable Discussion: Public Policy and (Myths About) Terrorism

ETH Zurich, 22 May 2013

Terrorist acts such as the recent Boston Marathon bombing are described by many as “black swans” – events that fall outside the realm of regular expectations, have a high impact, and defy prediction. Balancing this mundane, everyday form of terrorism with its occasional capacity for mass destruction is a unique policy challenge for twenty-first century organizations and states. To help address this challenge, the ISN/CSS hosted a roundtable discussion that featured Gary LaFree (University of Maryland; director of the National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism), Lorenzo Vidino (CSS) and Jennifer Giroux (CSS).

CSS Evening Talk: Conflicts and Conflict Resolution in the Caucasus

ETH Zurich, 23 January 2013

On 23 January, the CSS hosted a discussion on conflicts and options for conflict resolution in the Caucasus for CSS staff members, FDFA officials, and other invited guests with an interest in security policy issues. The speakers, Professor Neil MacFarlane of the University of Oxford and Professor Jeronim Perović of the University of Zurich, agreed that in the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict as well as in Georgia disputes with the separatist regions of Abkhazia and South Ossetia, no solutions were in sight. On the contrary, at least in the case of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, there is a danger of escalation, since Azerbaijan is adopting an increasingly assertive stance towards Armenia on the strength of its large oil revenues and the resulting arms expenditures. Should a new round of hostilities erupt, the violence might also spread to the broader neighborhood, including Iran or Turkey. Unfortunately, the outlook is therefore also bleak for the OSCE, which has been engaged in conflict resolution for years and which will be chaired by Switzerland in 2014.



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.

Five new fellowships will be awarded at the beginning of 2014.

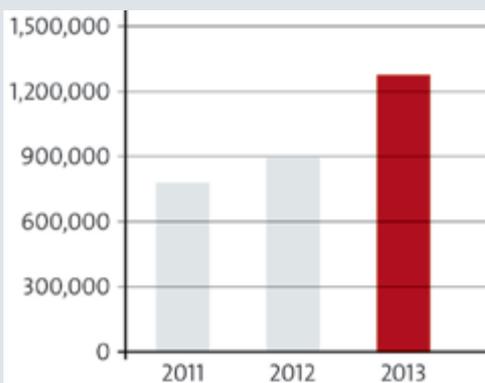
Participating institutes:

- Center for a New American Security (CNAS), Washington, D.C.
- Center for International Relations (CIR), Warsaw
- Center for Security Studies (CSS), ETH Zurich
- Chatham House, London
- European Union Institute for Security Studies (EUISS), Paris
- Finnish Institute of International Affairs (FIIA), Helsinki
- Institute for Strategic and International Studies (IEEI), Lisbon
- Institut français des relations internationales (IFRI), Paris
- Norwegian Institute for Defence Studies (IFS), Oslo
- Polish Institute of International Affairs (PISM), Warsaw
- RAND Corporation, Washington, D.C.
- SAIS Center for Transatlantic Relations, Washington, D.C.
- Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), Stockholm / Washington, D.C.
- Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP), Berlin/Brussels
- United States Institute of Peace (USIP), Washington, D.C.

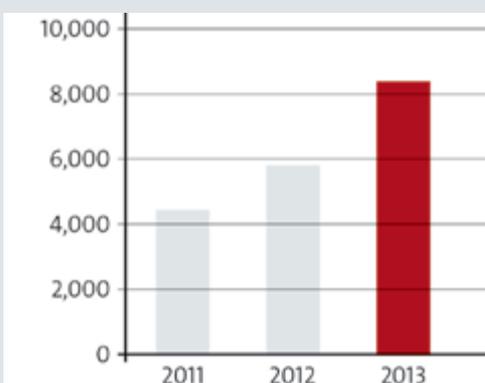
4 INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND SECURITY NETWORK (ISN)

www.isn.ethz.ch

Yearly “Unique Visitors” to the ISN Website 2011–2013



Yearly Page Views (in 1000s) 2011–2013



For 20 years, the International Relations and Security Network (ISN) has functioned as an open access information service for organizations, experts, professionals, and students who focus on International Relations (IR) and security studies. In fulfilling this charter, 2013 was a productive and successful year for the ISN – a record-breaking 1.27 million visitors used its web-based products and services which represented a 381,000 increase from the previous record established in 2012 (put another way, the ISN registered a record 8.38 million page views in 2013 which represented a 2.57 million increase from the previous year). Much of this success can be attributed to the new strategic direction that the ISN has followed since mid-2011 and the continued expansion and improvement of its products, services, and features.

If the ISN has indeed evolved and improved, its overall mission has not changed. It continues to facilitate international relations and security-related dialog and cooperation, and also provides open-source research tools and materials in accessible ways.

The ISN accomplishes the above mission by:

- Partnering with the world’s leading think tanks, universities, research institutes, NGOs, and international organizations
- Providing a global and in-depth selection of multimedia-based analyses, views, and opinions on the major IR and security-centered issues of our day
- Managing and maintaining a web-based Multimedia Library that includes tens of thousands of items
- Providing conceptual expertise and the tools needed to perform digitally-based education and training

To sustain and strengthen the above efforts, the ISN channeled its day-to-day activities in 2013 into six core areas: 1) managing and serving its partner network, both in and out of the Euro-Atlantic area; 2) expanding and diversifying its extensive Multimedia Library; 3) providing a variety of daily editorial content in a structured way; 4) facilitating and enabling mutual cooperation between IR and security-centered communities, with a particular focus on students and young professionals; 5) completely revising and updating the ISN website; and 6) researching and developing new e-learning services with a focus on mobile learning.



Editorial Content (Dossiers / Security Watch / The ISN Blog)

In 2013, the ISN provided daily (Monday–Friday) analyses, background articles, and information on IR and security-related issues by relying on three editorial products.

In the case of the ISN Dossiers series, which can be used by interested educators and researchers alike, the ISN’s Editorial Content Team completed a 24-week series on regional issues and then partially completed a 12-week series on the future of the state and the international system. Over the entire year, the team produced 49 dossiers, which included over 240 publications, podcasts, and questions and answers features. Most of the content was provided by the over 250 ISN partners and a cadre of original contributors, including members of the ISN’s parent organization, the Center for Security Studies (CSS).

The ISN also continued its Security Watch series during the year, which featured current events-centered articles and background analyses, again mostly provided by the wider ISN community.

Finally, the ISN sustained its four-week blogging cycle which provided analyses of IR and security-relevant topics from partner, expert, local, and global perspectives. (In the last case, the ISN recruited several additional blogging partners in order to include a wider diversity of views and analyses.)

By structuring editorial context into three parts – the in-depth Dossiers section, the more current events-centered Security Watch section, and the highly diverse ISN Blog section – the 2013 version of the ISN website offered:

- In-depths analyses and backgrounders on issues that define IR and security studies today
- Academically substantive contributions from ISN partners, respected research institutes, and individual experts on important and “under-the-radar” issues
- Podcasts, videos, and other multimedia that provided discussions and interviews with leading scholars and policy experts

The results of all these efforts not only meant featuring over 240 products of the ISN Dossiers series during the year, but also the posting of 278 ISN Blogs and 250 Security Watch articles. In addition, the ISN presented 250 featured partner publications and over 150 videos on its homepage.



Multimedia Library

The ISN Multimedia Library continued to offer an extensive collection of full-text books, working papers, policy briefs, government reports, journals, articles, blog posts, and audio-video resources in 2013. It not only added 7,709 new PDF publications to its holdings, it also significantly expanded its media-based resources, thus making the Library a truly dynamic and interactive service.

By the end of 2013, the freely-available Multimedia Library's content included:

- 62,059 full-text books, working papers, government reports, and journal articles from over 250 partner institutions
- Open-source publications from prominent think tanks and research institutes
- Over 1,700 videos and over 1,000 audio holdings
- A comprehensive directory of 3,290 think tanks, research institutes, NGOs, and other organizations active in IR and security studies

E-Education and E-Learning

The ISN's E-Education and E-Learning Team continued to provide technology-based forms of education and training in 2013, with a particular emphasis on the defense and security communities. It did so by:

- Conducting Swiss government-mandated research on next-step e-learning technologies
- Evaluating and developing e-learning and mobile learning applications for the Partnership for Peace Consortium (PfPC) and other international and national-level stakeholders
- Providing an online learning platform with over 100 freely available defense and security-related courses and over 50,000 registered users
- Developing, upgrading and supporting open-source platforms and software such as the ISN Mobler Cards app, the ISN Personal Dossiers tool, ISN e-book support services, etc. (the Mobler Cards, for example, had over 300 institutional and individual iOS and Android users by the end of 2013)
- Training and coaching of e-learning/ADL production specialists

The new ISN Personal Dossiers tool will be launched in the early spring of 2014. It will enable users to create and arrange their own personalized dossiers with materials from the ISN Multimedia Library and then either share them with others or embed them into their own websites. Curriculum developers and teachers should find this free, interactive tool especially useful in performing their duties.



Partners and Communities

In 2013, the ISN continued to recruit new and diverse partner organizations, but not in a way that unduly stressed its “absorption capacity.” Fourteen organizations thus joined the ISN network and brought the total number partners up to 255 worldwide.

The ISN further collaborated with its partners and other interested organizations in order to exchange information, share lessons learned, and strengthen the ties between them. It did so by:

- Co-organizing the 10th International Security Forum (ISF) in Geneva, including sponsoring and conducting two panel sessions at this major biennial regional event
- Hosting and facilitating the participation of 29 Pacific Forum CSIS Young Leaders and 25 senior leaders from the US National Defense University’s Near East South Asia (NESA) Center for Strategic Studies at the ISF
- Designing and staging a day-and-a-half “Europe 101” seminar in Zurich for the 30-person Pacific Forum CSIS contingent (in collaboration with the CSS)
- Implementing a new ISN social media strategy and significantly increasing its outreach via these channels (During the year, for example, the ISN was rated as the social media outlet with most followers compared to other Swiss “Official Department and Subschool Pages”. The ISN increased its numbers of Facebook fans from just under 5,000 to over 11,015 and increased its number of Twitter followers from about 2,200 to 4,001.)
- Launching a monthly ISN Partner Pulse newsletter service, which had 5,636 subscribers at the end of the year
- Co-sponsoring and supporting four graduate student conferences which represented an investment in the young professionals now entering the IR and security fields
- Staging three IR and security-centered panel discussions (as part of the ISN/CSS Communities Roundtable series)
- Supporting the Model OSCE project, which is an official part of the Swiss 2014 OSCE chairmanship



Update of the ISN Website

Over the course of 2013, the ISN completely updated its website. (The last comprehensive upgrade occurred in 2008.) It made over 90 major and minor adjustments to the site, including a redesigned drop-down search menu; a comprehensive Browse Information “landing page,” which is updated on a weekly basis; a new ISN Blog page design; a Partner News section, which displays important partner events, projects, and job openings as well as ISN/CSS news; new Issues and Regions search tabs which enabled ISN users to browse through the over 100 ISN Dossiers which were available at year’s end; and much more.

Conclusion

In our view, the above highlights confirm that 2013 was indeed a productive year for the ISN. An unprecedented number of users profited from its products and services and the wealth of information they provide. We hope to exceed these accomplishments in 2014 and continue to make the ISN a well-respected and valuable information resource for IR and security-minded professionals, researchers, educators, students, and interested members of the public.

5 THE CENTER FOR SECURITY STUDIES (CSS)

The Center for Security Studies (CSS) at ETH Zurich is a center of competence for Swiss and international security policy. It offers security policy expertise in research, teaching, and consultancy and operates the International Relations and Security Network (ISN). The CSS was founded in 1986 by Professor Kurt R. Spillmann and promotes understanding of security policy challenges as a contribution to a more peaceful world. Its work is independent, practice-relevant, and based on a sound academic footing.

The CSS combines research and policy consultancy and, as such, functions as a bridge between academia and practice. It trains highly qualified junior researchers and serves as a point of contact and information for the interested public. The CSS also operates the ISN as a leading global open-source information platform in the field of International Relations and security policy.

Staff

Professor Andreas Wenger has been the Director of the CSS since 2002. He is professor of International and Swiss Security Policy. Professor Wenger is the delegate for the Master of Advanced Studies in Security Policy and Crisis Management (MAS ETH SPCM) and the BA ETH in Public Policy. Overall, the Center employs over 60 staff members.

Strategic Partnership

Since 2004, the CSS has been jointly supported by ETH Zurich and the Federal Department of Defence, Civil Protection, and Sport (DDPS). In 2012, another partnership was established with the Federal Department of Foreign Affairs (FDFA). An advisory board staffed by representatives of each institution supports the management of the CSS in the strategic direction of the Center's activities.

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 since 1997 constituted the Center for Comparative and International Studies (CIS).

www.css.ethz.ch



Partner Network

The CSS has an extensive network of 255 national and international partners from academia, policy, the media, and the private sector.

Internships

Every year, the Center for Security Studies (CSS) and the International Relations and Security Network (ISN) offer a comprehensive internship program for students, mainly from the fields of political science.

In 2013 a total of nine students completed one of the internship programs described above.

www.css.ethz.ch/about/internships



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