

## A new way to think about peace? Peace strategies for the 21st century Symposium at the IFSH in honor of the 60th birthday of Michael Brzoska

On May 14, 2013, the Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy at the University of Hamburg (IFSH) held a scientific symposium in honor of the 60th birthday of its director Michael Brzoska. The thematic focus of the symposium was the question of how a sustainable peace policy can be created in the age of globalization. This question is also the focal point of the new medium-term work program of the IFSH. The participants of the symposium dealt with the problem in two rounds of discussion. The first panel worked on the challenges of a global peace policy, the second one discussed the criteria and cornerstones of a Eurasian-Atlantic peace order.



The first panel, which was introduced and moderated by Dr Hans-Georg Ehrhart (IFSH), was joined by Prof. Cord Jakobeit, Department of Political Science of the University of Hamburg and chairman of the scientific advisory board of the IFSH, Prof. Elke Krahnemann from the School of Social Science at the Brunel University in London, Prof. Tobias Debiel from the Institute for Development and Peace of the University of Duisburg-Essen, and Prof. Detlef Nolte from the German Institute for Global and Area Studies in Hamburg. The participants of this round of discussion emphasized that enduring peace can in principle also be established and

stabilized with autocratic states. But conflict regulation between states with different norm systems does not mean that universal norms, like the respect for human rights, should be abandoned. These norms should also be promoted in authoritarian states using political means. It was referred to a multitude of points of contact with authoritarian states that result from a multidimensionality of norms. In this context the participants also talked about the conditions and possibilities of a peace policy from the possibly weak position of 'the West' in the context of upcoming and only in parts democratically constituted powers like Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa – the so called BRICS states. The current degree of the relative loss of power of the West was controversial among the attendees, but they agreed that the goal has to be the steadying of a process with these states towards a "positive peace". This type of peace includes more than the mere absence of war, it also integrates aspects like distributional justice and a sustainable handling of resources.

In the second panel, which was chaired by Dr Anna Kreikemeyer (IFSH), participants were Prof. Lothar Brock from the Peace Research Institute in Frankfurt, Prof. Solveig Richter from the Willy Brandt School of Public Policy at the University of Erfurt, Prof. Conrad Schetter, director of the Bonn International Center for Conversion, and Prof. Michael Staack from the Helmut-Schmidt-University in Hamburg. The panelists discussed the criteria and possibilities of the development

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of a Eurasian-Atlantic peace order. This refers to a greater region that is characterized by the coexistence and, to some extent, conflict of democratic, semi-democratic and autocratic states. A permanent and sustainable trend of normative, societal and political convergence between the participating states and societies was stated as the main condition for a peace order in this area. The attendees of the panel worked on questions like how to evaluate the current state of expectancy stability in the region, which actors could make a contribution to its increase, and how it can be further improved through institutional linkages as well as other actions and mechanisms.



*Participants of the symposium (left to right): Herbert Wulf, Michael Brzoska, Eveline von Hoffmann, Gerald Kirchner, Holger Fischer.*

They concluded that a flexible, dialog oriented handling of the existing divergences offers the best chance of a development in that direction. These differences and contradictions refer to interests as well as identities and will play an important role in the longer term. A positive peace research is also unlikely to develop without a minimum of socio-economic distributional justice. Therefore, it must be asked how such distributional justice can be established in the Eurasian-Atlantic region. The conclusion of the panel was that the divergences in the region should neither be denied, nor accentuated in a way that they block the overall process towards a stable peace order. In addition, a regionally-oriented perspective, like the one of a Eurasian-Atlantic peace order, should always be thought in a global context.

The two scientific panels were complemented by introductory addresses of Prof. Götz Neuneck, the deputy scientific director of the IFSH, Prof. Holger Fischer, vice president of the University of Hamburg, and Gerald Kirchner, the director of the Centre for Science and Peace Research in Hamburg. All of them honored Michael Brzoska's merits for the German peace research as well as the work of the IFSH. The tribute was ac-

companied by a greeting of Dr Dorothee Stapelfeldt, deputy mayor and senator of the Ministry of Science and Research. Prof. Herbert Wulf connected personal and professional moments in his speech to an amicable appreciation.

The keynote speech was held by Dr Sverre Lodgaard, former director of the Peace Research institute in Oslo (PRIO), the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research, and the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs in Oslo. His speech dealt with the problematic aspects of "global governance" arising from the often conflicting policies of the Western states and of the BRICS, whose policies are primarily oriented on their own respective interests.

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### **Peace Report 2013 presented in Berlin and Brussels New Wars, New Armament, New Arms Markets and the State of Peace**

While Europeans pride themselves on reducing their military budgets and replacing traditional power politics by civilian, diplomatic multilateralism, they have massively expanded their arms exports. Not only does the Old World, Germany included, deliver weapons into all corners of the world, it also exports security technologies and services that can be used by civilians and the military alike. Moreover, a highly problematical trend in the use of weapons aims at substituting ones' own fighting troops with military drones. There is reason to worry that by this means the inhibiting threshold to employing military power may decrease. These were the



*After the publisher's visit at the Committee for Economic Cooperation and Development (left to right): Bruno Schoch (HSFK), Ines-Jacqueline Werkner (FEST), Ute Koczy MdB (Bündnis 90/Die Grünen), Stefan Rebmann MdB (SPD), Marc von Boemcken (BICC), Harald Leibrecht MdB (FDP), Margret Johannsen (IFSH).  
(© Deutscher Bundestag/ Lichtblick/ Achim Melde)*

conclusions of the 2013 Peace Report. Its focal point "New wars, new armament, new arms markets" is highly topical; it nevertheless extends beyond the political day-to-day business.

The Peace Report 2013 critically addresses the new developments and shows alternatives. The euro- and financial crisis has so far slowed down the growth of many European armies; the military commitment in Afghanistan is reduced – time for a profound reflection upon peace policy. We elaborate on the role that European states can and should play in future UN peace operations, we inform about the state of the art in arms control and disarmament and we discuss dilemmas of German foreign policy.

Besides its focal point the Peace Report 2013 sheds light on successful, partially successful and failed peace processes and scrutinizes current challenges to international politics in places as Mali, Congo, North Korea and Syria.

The editors, representing the four publishing institutes, presented the yearbook at the Federal Press Conference in Berlin on June 4, 2013. Subsequently they submitted their findings and discussed their recommendations in meetings with members of various committees of the German Bundestag such as the Foreign Affairs Committee, the Defense Committee, the Committee for Economic Cooperation and Development, as well as with members of the Planning Units of the Foreign Office, the Ministry of Defense and the Ministry for Economic Co-operation and Development. Other meetings involved parliamentarians of The Left, the Alliance 90/The Greens, the Social Democratic Party, together with French Members of Parliament of the Parti Socialiste, in their respective working groups dedicated to International Politics. Moreover, they met with networks of the peace movement such as Pax Christi, the International Lawyers Against Nuclear, Biological and Chemical Arms (ILANA) and the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (IPPNW).

The public event entitled "Arms Markets Unlimited – Ethical Limits. Civil Drones – Outsourced Weapons Factories – Electronic Border Fences" in Berlin's "French Dome", jointly organized by the Protestant Academy Berlin, Women in International Security (WIIS) and the four institutes, was one of the highlights of the Peace Report's guest performance in the German capital. Marc von Boemcken, Bonn International Center for Conversion (BICC) and editor in charge of this year's Peace Report, held the introductory speech and Ruprecht Polenz, Member of the German Bundestag,

gave a talk entitled "Armament – Ethical Challenge. A Positioning Attempt". Following a panel discussion between Christiane Hoffman, general-secretary of Pax Christi and head of "Action Cry Out – Stop the Arms Trade!", Bernhard Moltmann of the Peace Research Institute Frankfurt (PRIF) and Ruprecht Polenz, the audience was given the opportunity to join in the debate. Constanze Stelzenmüller, Women in International Security, Deutsche Sektion (WIIS.de), acted as moderator.

A series of four panel discussions organized by the Volkshochschule Basel in cooperation with PRIF that addressed the focal issues of the Peace Report 2013 under the heading "War and Peace. Present Military and Political Challenges" as well as a pupils' seminar in Hannover organized in cooperation with the Protestant Academy Loccum rounded off the touring of the Peace Report in 2013.

The contributions of IFSH to the Peace Report 2013 were written by Michael Brzoska, Hans-Georg Ehrhart and Martin Kahl. Margret Johannsen again acted as the editor for IFSH. She also attended to the contributions of this year's guest authors Muriel Asseburg, Sabine Kurtenbach und Heiko Wimmen.

In mid June, the Peace Report goes to Brussels. The Brussels office of the Protestant Church of Germany (EKD) will host a panel discussion, with Member of the European Parliament Franziska Brantner and the authors of the Peace Report 2013 Michael Brzoska, Director of the IFSH, and Marc von Boemcken, editor in charge of this year's Peace Report, deepening understanding of the focal point of the Peace Report 2013 "New Wars, New Arms, New Arms Markets". On the occasion of the Brussels event and responding to last year's positive echo the Peace Report for the second time presented to its Brussels audience a miniature edition with selected texts in English. This was made possible through the generously continued sponsorship by the German Foundation for Peace Research (DSF). The translations are also available on [www.friedensgutachten.de](http://www.friedensgutachten.de).

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## The Relationship between State and Religion in Germany and Tajikistan

Exchange of Experiences with High-Level Representatives from Tajikistan, Berlin and Hamburg

The Centre for OSCE Research (CORE) has arranged in cooperation with the Department for Dialogue with the Islamic World and the Special Representative for Dialogue among Civilizations of the German Federal Foreign Office a one-week visit program for high-level representatives from Tajikistan. The delegation's eight members included representatives of both the secular state power and the political Islam. It was headed by Mr Subhon Koshonov, Senior Advisor to the President of Tajikistan on Social Issues and Public Relations.

The intention of the visit was to exchange experiences with regard to the relationship between a secular state and religious communities - a sensitive domestic issue in Germany and a highly controversial and explosive matter in Tajikistan. With the newly increasing tensions between Tajik state institutions on the one side and the Islamic Rebirth Party (IRP) and other groups of the political Islam on the other side, the matter may now - one and a half decades after the Civil War, 1992-1997 - again start heavily aggravating the conflict constellation in the country.



*German-Tajik talk on state and religion: German and Tajik interlocutors with Ambassador Dr Heinrich Kreft, German Federal Foreign Office Special Representative (2nd from left), Mr Subhon Koshonov, Senior Advisor to the President of Tajikistan (2nd from right) and Ambassador (ret.) Dr Arne C. Seifert, CORE (far right)*

This finding was the conceptual point of departure for the exchange of views that took place in Berlin and Hamburg from 13 - 20 April 2013. It included about one and a half dozens of meetings, among others with parliamentarians of the German Bundestag, with the Head of the Federal Presidential Office, State Secretary David Gill, with the Foreign Office's Special Representative for Dialogue among Civilizations, Ambassador Dr Heinrich Kreft, with other high-ranking experts of the Federal Foreign Office, the Federal Ministry of the Interior, the Berlin Senate Department for the Interior and Sports, with the Head of the Hamburg Senate Chancellery, Dr Christopher Krupp, and other officials of the Free and

Hanseatic City of Hamburg as well as representatives of the Catholic Office in Berlin, the Council of the Evangelical Church (EKD), the Berlin Jewish community, the Turkish-Islamic Union for Religious Affairs (DITIB), the Council of Islamic Communities in Hamburg (SCHURA), the Islamic Centre of Hamburg and with young Muslims of the Berlin project JUMA - Young, Muslim, Active. Discussions with the Tajik guests ended with a conversation on prospects of this kind of German-Tajik consultations on the relationship between the state and religion.

The involvement of CORE in the initiation and implementation of the visit program was based on experiences made during many years of secular-Islamic dialogue work in Tajikistan. A special role in this played CORE's moderating role between prominent secular and Islamic politicians in a secular-Islamic confidence-building project in 2001-2003. CORE maintains intensive consultancy and academic contacts to Tajikistan and other countries in the region.

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## Conflict transformation and peacebuilding in the Philippines

On April 15, 2013, the IFSH/ZEUS held an expert panel on "Conflict Transformation and Peace building on the example of the Philippines" in cooperation with the German Armed Forces Staff College (FüAkBw). At the time the FüAkBW was visited by a Philippine civil-military group of experts to exchange views. Accompanied by Commander Thomas Böhlke (FüAkBW) and under the leadership of Lieutenant General (ret.) Raymundo Benitez Ferrer, also named the "Peace General", the Philippine delegation consisted of four participants. They were and still are intensively involved in the peace building process in the Philippines, especially on Mindanao. The IFSH was represented by its scientific director Prof. Michael Brzoska, the director of ZEUS Hans-Georg Ehrhart and the institute's military fellow Lt. Col. Johann Schmid.

The discussion's main focus was the "International Peace and Security Plan Bayanihan", a new approach of the Philippine's current government, which aims to overcome its already four decades lasting conflict between Maoist and Muslim separatists with more than 120.000 deaths so far. The new approach on the resolution of the conflict is comparable to a paradigmatic

change, which could only be made after a political-military changed "mindset". Instead of "winning the war", now "winning the peace" has become the strategic motto. In this context, "Peace General" Ferrer spoke of a "window of opportunity" under the current government. Now, the main focus is on confidence-building, human security, participation and involvement of local governments and civil actors, cultural awareness and holistic approaches. The military will undertake tasks beyond its combat mission in this matter, cooperating with diverse civil actors. It is a great challenge for the Philippine's armed forces whose orientation, until recently, followed the US-doctrines from the war in Korea in the 1950s and the "body-count" approach in Vietnam. The Philippine expert's judgement on the further development turned out to be positive, as the conflict parties are currently at least in talks with each other.

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### IFAR<sup>2</sup> on North Korea's third nuclear test

Under new supreme leader Kim-Jong Un North Korea continues its aggressive policy and conducted another nuclear test on February 12 2013. Different sources had already registered increasing activity since the middle of last year on the testing ground Punggyeri in northeast North Korea in the province Hamgyong, where the earlier tests of 2006 and 2009 also took place. North Korean officials called it a successful nuclear explosion at which a "smaller and lighter warhead" was tested.

Altogether, 96 stations of the International Monitoring System (IMS) of the CTBTO (Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty Organization) registered the seismic waves on February 12, 11:57 local time and sent the data to the analysis center in Vienna. According to the center the magnitude was about five. Based on that, South Korea calculated an explosive force of roughly six to nine kilotons. Thanks to the increased number of measuring stations, it was possible to narrow the point of explosion down to  $\pm 8,1$  km of 41,313 degrees north latitude and 129,01 degrees eastern longitude. The US Geological Survey estimates the depth of the explosion to be one hundred meters. Important was the identification of radionuclides which escaped from the underground explosion and had been collected through air samples weeks after the test outside North Korean borders. With the technique of "Atmospheric Transport Modelling" it was possible to calculate a three-dimensional path of the radioactive isotopes and to

trace them back to their source of origin. One Japanese station in Takasaki, about a thousand kilometers from the testing ground, and another station in Russian Ussuriysk identified the noble gas isotopes Xenon-131m and Xenon-133, 55 days after the test. It has not been fully clarified yet whether we are dealing with the testing of a uranium bomb or a plutonium bomb. The first failed test in 2006, the estimated 24 to 42 kilogram North Korean plutonium supplies and the construction of a uranium enrichment plant all hint to a plutonium bomb, though. In view of the aggressive rhetoric of the North Korean regime, the termination of the six-party talks and the continuing policy of sanctions of the Western countries, an end of the nuclear crisis is not in sight. North Korea tries to forcefully achieve the recognition as a nuclear state and direct negotiations with the USA (based on: Physik Journal 12 (2013), no. 6, p. 8).

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### IFAR<sup>2</sup>: Panels and Workshops on arms control in Moscow, Brussels and Berlin

On May 16, 2013, the Center for Energy and Security Studies, the Arms Control Association (ACA), the British American Security Information Council (BASIC) and the IFSH organized the workshop "Prospects for Russian-US Arms Control". Diplomats and experts from several NATO-countries and Russia discussed the possibility of further talks on arms control between Russia and the USA. A week later, on May 23, the "Moscow European Security Conference" was held in Moscow. About 300 participants from Russia, the CSTO- and the NATO-states were invited to the conference, which was organized by the Russian Ministry of Defense and opened by the Minister of Defense Sergei Shoigu together with the Minister of Foreign Affairs Sergei Lavrov. The conference's focus aimed, among other topics, on the CSTO-NATO relations, arms control, on missile defense and new threats. Götz Neuneck participated in the panel "Developing a New Arms Control Mechanism. The Influence of Missile Defense" with a lecture. As part of the Hewlett-project the Friedrich Ebert Foundation organized the workshop "Engaging Russia on tactical nuclear weapons: Next steps on confidence building" together with the ACA, the BASIC and the IFSH on April 15, 2013, in Brussels.

Götz Neuneck also moderated several podium discussions as, on invitation of the Federal Government, the NPT-preparatory conference "Reducing the Role of Nuclear Weapons in Security Doctrines: Why it matters"

at the Palais des Nation on April 23, 2013. Among others, the former Australian Minister of Foreign Affairs Gareth Evans, George Perkovich (USA), Sergei Rogov (Russia) and Bruno Tertrais (FRS, Paris) participated in it. On May 6, 2013, the workshop "Transatlantic Risk Governance: New Security Risks" took place at the SWP in Berlin in cooperation with the "American Institute for Contemporary German Studies" of the John Hopkins University. Neuneck moderated the panel "Handling Risks in Space". As part of the 35<sup>th</sup> Annual Meeting of the "European Safeguards Research and Development Association", he also moderated a panel on "Disarmament Verification – A Dialogue on Technical and Transparency Issues" on May 30, 2013 in Bruges. Christian Alwardt participated in the seminar "Unmanned military systems – The challenges to arms control and warfare" on May 23, 2013. The internationally staffed panel dealt with questions on automation and proliferation of drones and discussed questions concerning arms control policies.

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### Jobday for students of the "Master of Peace and Security" program

On April 11, 2013, the association *Verein der Freunde, Förderer und ehemaligen Teilnehmer des Studiengangs "Master of Peace and Security Studies (M.P.S.)" an der Universität Hamburg e.V.* held its annual Jobday for the current students of the "Master of Peace and Security" program. Former MPS students spoke about the employment market and job opportunities in their field of work: Christoph Bleis (Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit GmbH), Daniel Holler (Internationale Gesellschaft für Menschenrechte), Anna-Karina Bayer (Geneva Centre for Security Policy), Franziska Baumann (Klaus Brandner office in Berlin), Katarzyna Kubiak (Internationales Parlaments-Stipendium des Deutschen Bundestages), Patric Salize (Greenpeace) and Maike Christiansen (UNECE). Beyond that and for the first time since the beginning of the Jobday series, a presentation was given on Ph.D. programs. Dr Wolfgang Röhr from the Department of Research Management and Funding at the University of Hamburg elaborated on the benefits and disadvantages of doing a Ph.D. The Jobday is organized annually and aims at exchanging experience with former MPS students on employment opportunities in the field of peace and security.

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## Publications

**Hans-Georg Ehrhart/ Kerstin Petretto/ Patricia Schneider/ Thorsten Blecker/ Hella Engerer/ Doris König: Piracy and Maritime Terrorism as Challenges for the Security of German Maritime Trade. Politics, Law, Economics, Technology. Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2013.**

Secure sea routes are the central requirement for the stability of supply chains. Incidents of piracy and terrorist attacks on international shipping lead to a need for risk minimization measures. As an export oriented economy, Germany is dependent on secure sea routes. German

managed ships have nonetheless been victim to maritime violence. This led, inter alia, to German participation in military missions such as Atalanta, to approval of new rules for the licensing of private security providers and the pirate trial in Hamburg. Based on a common risk model and the concept of Security Governance, the subject has been addressed conceptually, empirically and practically. German ship-owners and insurers were asked about their experiences; experts reviewed defense technologies; and using interviews, the responsibilities and roles of various state actors in the field of maritime security were identified for the first time. After a deficit analysis was conducted, recommendations for action from the areas of politics, law, economics and technology were developed by the 'PiraT' project network.

The book was edited by presenters from the following institutions: the Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy at the University of Hamburg (IFSH) (Project leader and coordination), the German Institute for Economic Research (DIW), Berlin, the Hamburg-Harburg University of Technology (TUHH), the Bucerius Law School (BLS), Hamburg.

The book is published by Nomos (in German), you find more information here:



<http://www.nomos-shop.de/Ehrhart-Petretto-Schneider-K%C3%B6nig-Blecker-Engerer-Piraterie-maritimer-Terrorismus-Herausforderungen-Seehandelssicherheit-Deutschl/productview.aspx?product=20523&toc=108&nC=Verteidigungs-+und+Sicherheitspo>

More information on the PiraT-project and partners can be found here: <http://www.maritimesecurity.eu>.

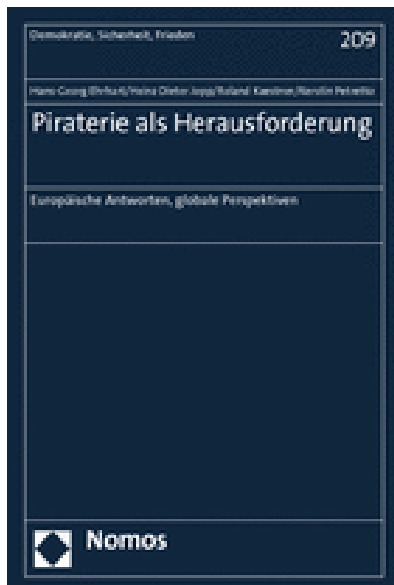
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**Hans-Georg Ehrhart/ Heinz Dieter Jopp/ Roland Kaestner/ Kerstin Petretto: Piraterie als Herausforderung. Europäische Antworten, globale Perspektiven. Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2013.**

Piracy is considered one of the scourges of mankind. The international community including the EU and Germany set themselves the goal to face this problem with a complex approach. To accompany this process scientifically is the aim of this book. The first part focuses on the questions how the relevant German players assess the challenge of piracy and who has which responsibilities. Based on the theoretical-conceptual approach of security governance as a critical tool of analysis, the authors analyse and evaluate the players, structures and practices of networked security in the fight against piracy. The second part deals with the "comprehensive approach", which the EU tries to apply on Somalia with the aim and declared intention to fight not only symptoms of piracy, but also its causes. The third part – based on scenarios – turns to the future of maritime violence.

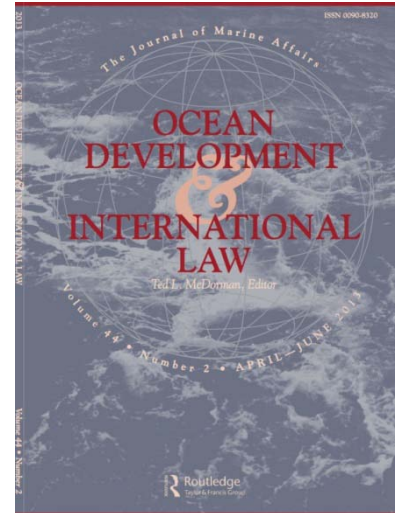
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**Patricia Schneider/Matthias Winkler (2013): The Robin Hood Narrative: A Discussion of Empirical and Ethical Legitimizations of Somali Pirates, in: Ocean Development & International Law (ODIL), 44:185-201.** (Double-blind peer-reviewed; the journal is listed by the Thomson Reuters (formerly ISI) Web of Knowledge.)

The pirates off Somalia pose a major challenge for the international community, both economically and morally. Somali pirates try to legitimize their actions by appealing to the international community's sense of justice. Allegedly, the illegal fishing and waste dumping in Somali waters were the triggers for piracy. Hence, the pirates want to protect their coastlines. These various strands of legitimacy form the so-called Robin Hood Narrative. In this article this narrative is critically examined. The analysis includes a discussion of justice theories and related claims based on John Rawls and Thomas Pogge. This is followed by a discussion of the justification of violence using Nicholas Fotion's Irregular Just War Theory.

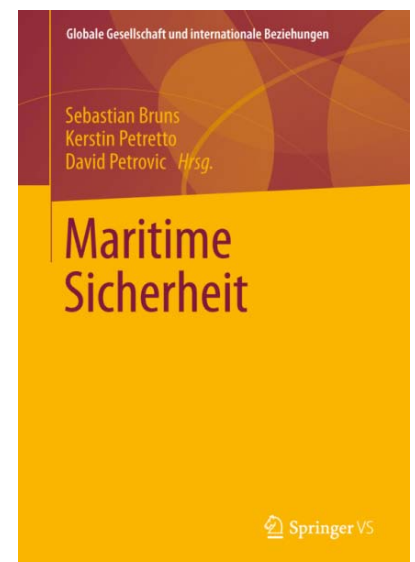


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**Bruns, Sebastian/ Petretto, Kerstin/ Petrovic, David (Hrsg.): Maritime Sicherheit. Wiesbaden: Springer VS, 2013.**

Kerstin Petretto, together with Sebastian Bruns (University of Kiel) and David Petrovic (University of Cologne), published an anthology on dimensions of maritime security. It contains analyses from diverse perspectives on the relatively new policy field of "maritime security" and closes a research gap in



Germany. In the first section, the authors analyze theoretical models for the research on maritime security and deal with economic, legal and geostrategic dimensions. The second section focuses on transnational challenges that cause maritime insecurity: organized crime, piracy, terrorism, competition for resources, environmental and climate changes. In the third and final part of the book, selected players, their strategies, capacities and problems in dealing with maritime (in-) security are considered. Apart from the USA, Great Britain, France, Russia and China the focus is also placed on Germany and the NATO.

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### Volume 1/2013 of „Security and Peace“ published



Volume 1/2013 of the journal „S+F. Sicherheit und Frieden, Security and Peace“, edited by Axel Krohn, focuses on the topic of “Conflicts in Africa: Regional and International Dimensions“. The following articles are included: Martin Pabst, “Staatliche Schwäche begünstigt Dschihadisten: Neuer Risikoraum Sahelzone“; Gerald Hainzl, “Rosenkrieg am Ende einer Zwangsehe - Die Entwicklungen im Sudan nach der Unabhängigkeit des Südsudan“; Isabel K. Düsterhöft and Antonia I. Gerlach, “The Successes and Failures of the Interventions of the European Union, the African Union and Neighbouring Powers in Somalia“; Judith Vorrath, “Wo steht die Afrikanische Friedens- und Sicherheitsarchitektur? Bilanz und Herausforderungen“; Janel B. Galvanek and Yvonne Kemper, “Testing the Paradigms of Humanitarian Dialogue with Non-State Armed Groups: The Unique Challenges of Ending the Use of Child Soldiers“. The Forum offers readers a discussion by Carlo Masala, Margret Johannsen and Moshe Zuckermann on the topic of “Iran’s nuclear program – Israel’s politics of intimidation – Germany’s responsibility?“

For more information please visit <http://www.sicherheit-und-frieden.nomos.de/1/archiv/2013/issue-1/>.

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