

im 21. Jahrhundert: Wissenschaft und Praxis im Dialog, Baden-Baden (Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft) 2017.

7. Sonstiges – Miscellaneous

Bazaluk, Oleg: The Theory of War and Peace. The Geophilosophy of Europe,

Newcastle upon Tyne (Cambridge Scholars Publishing) 2017.

Fazzi, Dario: Eleanor Roosevelt and the Anti-Nuclear Movement. The Voice of Conscience, Cham (Palgrave Macmillan) 2017.

Gat, Azar: The Causes of War and the Spread of Peace. But Will War Rebound?, Oxford (Oxford University Press) 2017.

Holik, Josef: Abrüstung als Wegbereiter der Wende in Europa, Berlin (Duncker & Humblot) 2017.

Kemper, Claudia: Gespannte Verhältnisse. Frieden und Protest in Europa während der 1970er und 1980er Jahre, Essen (Klartext) 2017.

BESPRECHUNGEN

Daniel Köhler, Understanding Deradicalization. Methods, tools and programs for countering violent extremism. (Routledge, Contemporary Terrorism Studies) 2017.

A truck being driven through a Christmas market in Berlin in December 2016, a gunman shooting dozens in a night club in Istanbul on New Year's Day 2017, a bomb exploding on a metro line in St. Petersburg in April 2017, a suicide bomber taking the lives of concertgoers in Manchester, UK, in May 2017... Further from home, attacks in Baghdad, Kabul, Quebec, and many other places paint a picture of growing and increasingly indiscriminate, terrorizing violence being applied across the world. Processes of radicalization and potential de-radicalization hence recently have been dominating the news as well as many political and academic discussions. Rare is the multilateral organization or think tank which does not, in the form of conferences, papers, projects, etc. endeavour to understand the motives behind and causes for violent extremism, as well as map ways to curb the violence and address root causes which drive its strategic acceptance.

The book "Understanding Deradicalization" by Daniel Köhler, director of the small German Institute on Radicalization and De-radicalization Studies (GIRDS), therefore falls onto fertile ground, and must be welcomed by those in the various fields interested in preventing, countering or transforming violent extremism with great curiosity and expectation.

Köhler's monograph, which builds on his previous writing and practice as, among

others, de-radicalization and family counsellor, is ambitious in its positioning as a bridge between academic and practical perspectives, and its purpose "to help practitioners and researchers to understand the field of deradicalization better and to make their work easier" (p. 8). The book is intended as a guidebook for practice, to enable a full harnessing of the potential of de-radicalization programmes "for increasing resilience against terrorism and improving security" (ibid.). The book's initial assessment is widely shared in academic and policy circles, namely, that there is – more acutely felt because of its political and community urgency – a notable lack of conceptual clarity and unified theoretical understanding about pathways of radicalization and de-radicalization, which is seen to severely hamper any effective work in dealing with the violence of extremists.

Following the Introduction which presents the core focus of the book (on programming in de-radicalization), chapter 2 delineates the state of the art, setting out the methodological background and sources. It looks at push and pull factors for disengagement/de-radicalization and distils a variety of factors and processes which may qualify de-radicalization, e.g. voluntary/involuntary; individual/group level; physical/psychological removal; permanent/temporary or affective, continuance (pragmatic) or normative (ideological) de-commitment. De-radicalization programming is understood as "any method, activity, or program designed to reduce individual or collective physical and ideological commitment to a group, milieu or movements designat-

ed as 'extremist' or violently radical" (p. 29). With regards to promising de-radicalization strategies, the importance of pro-social ties, such as family and friends as well as alternative identity groups, is highlighted throughout the book (p. 51). Chapter 3 provides an extensive literature review, drawing on relevant works also from related fields, such as criminology, the study of new religious movements, violent youth gangs and general role change. (While works from the DDR arena are considered, less attention is paid to the emerging work on non-state armed groups and their transformation from violent into political actors, a gap that might be usefully filled especially as the dis-engagement of groups appears as the next bigger challenge beyond the dis-engagement of individuals.) Across all fields, the author asserts that the reasons for ending a 'radical career' are often closely linked to the motives for becoming radicalised in the first place, and rightly places emphasis on understanding the process of radicalization as a pre-requisite for being able to provide effective programmes for de-radicalization: "... violent radicalization is essentially understood as a process of de-pluralization of political values and concepts, while de-radicalization consequently is a process of re-pluralization" (p. 65). Ideology, albeit a pragmatic version of it, is seen to play a central role in such processes (along, it should be noted, with psychological, social and organisational factors). Chapter 4 crosses into the terrain of de-radicalization programming, discussing programme goals and effectiveness, of which to date there is anecdotal rather than systemat-

ic evidence. However, it is affirmed that “... strongly securitized deradicalization programmes have the risk of increasing radicalization processes” (p. 96) and may further alienate families or communities which need to be allies in order to reduce the risk of their members becoming radicalized into violence. Chapters 5 and 6 deepen the topic of de-radicalization programming, with chapter 5 proposing a typology (with 3 impact scales: micro, meso, macro and 3 classes of tools: prevention, repression, intervention, as well as differentiation according to actors (governmental-non-governmental), role of ideology (included or not included) and contact approach (active vs. passive)). Chapter 6 is looking more closely at family counselling programmes, which hold a particular promise if one accepts the premise that family and social bonds are crucial in breaking radicalization tendencies. Chapter 7 and 8 change tack in that they address conceptual-practical problems (of determining effectiveness and success and of inherent moral problems in programming for de-radicalization, for example the tension between de-radicalization and the granting of freedom of thought and speech). Chapters 9 and 10 provide rich case studies and referencing material by presenting overviews on the most important practical methods being used and on different national programmes, debates and legislation. Chapter 11 sums up the book by pointing out lessons learned, future research directions, and useful resources.

“Understanding de-radicalization” does provide a rich starting point for evaluating de-radicalization programming, giving practitioners and researchers ample food for further thought and practice. The breadth of ideas covered, and their folding into a single conceptual, programmatic and methodological stock-taking exercise, however, occasionally overwhelms the focus and coherence of the core argument. Interesting and relevant analytical parameters, for example, are found throughout different chapters the book and could, in a next step, be usefully brought together into one framework. Such a framework, however, does take the back-seat to the foremost practically orientated impetus of the work (i.e. how to improve programming in de-radicalization).

Having said that, the monograph is undoubtedly an important achievement and stepping stone. From it, the author points to three pathways ahead:

1) More research and critical-conceptual work is needed: “deradicalization remains one of the most under-researched fields, which is even more surprising as the connection to successful counter-terrorism, peacekeeping and counter-radicalization policies is obvious” (p. 290) – “empirically based research on the mechanisms and paths out of violent extremism will be key” (ibid.). Such systematic, long-term research should also critically contextualise the debates on counter-terrorism and de-radicalization, and shed light on the ideology, psychology, sociology and organisational factors underpinning the choice between violence and non-violence.

2) More evaluation and comparative, transparent learning from successes and failures are necessary: Köhler calls evaluation “easily the most pressing and important issue in the field” (p.183).

3) The ongoing and burgeoning practical work needs to be closely accompanied and informed by such research and evaluation, increasing transparency and access. Critical practical points appear to be a better understanding of group-based vs. individual-based approaches; proactive/preventative vs. reactive/defensive approaches; and the ever important reminder that there are no ‘one-size-fits-all’ solutions.

In continuing the discussion, it seems particularly important that the purpose of this book “to improve and further spread deradicalization programs around the world” (p. 295) should be expanded to provide a contextualised understanding of the root causes and global dynamics of radicalization and de-radicalization.

Beatrix Austin

Claus Kreß and Stefan Barriga (eds.), The Crime of Aggression: A Commentary, Cambridge, Vol. I+II, UK (Cambridge University Press) 2017.

After World War II, the victorious Allied Powers set out on prosecuting the German leadership for crimes committed by the European Axis. While the atrocities

of the Holocaust are more present on the mind of the 21st century observer, it was the crime against peace (Article 6 a) of the IMT Charter) that was in the centre of the case brought forward by the Chief Prosecutor Robert H. Jackson in 1948. The crime against peace then disappeared from the international scene and was neither included in the statutes of the *ad hoc* UN tribunals (ICTY, ICTR) nor in the hybrid criminal justice institutions that followed (ECCC, SCSL). The Rome Conference, establishing the International Criminal Court (ICC), was also unable to agree on a definition that would allow the court to enforce violations of the *ius ad bellum*. Seventy years on, the crime against peace – now called the crime of aggression – has re-entered the scene. The Kampala Conference of 11 June 2010 decided to incorporate the definition of the crime of aggression in Article 8*bis* into the Rome Statute and to allow the Prosecution – subject to the conditions established in Articles 15*bis* and 15*ter* – to prosecute individuals in a leadership position for “act[s] of aggression which, by its character, gravity and scale, constitute[s] a manifest violation of the Charter of the United Nations”, independent of a prior determination by the UN Security Council. The provision is not yet fully operational, however 34 States, including *inter alia* Germany, Poland, Georgia, and Palestine, have already decided to ratify the amendment and to push for a full implementation of the crime of aggression. Many states have incorporated similar provisions into their domestic criminal law. This progress notwithstanding, a lot remains to be done to fully understand the contours of the new provisions and to operationalize these in order to allow for an effective prosecution of acts of aggression.

The Crime of Aggression Commentary is an outstanding contribution to the field and provides in-depth analysis that is of value to academics and practitioners alike. The two volumes are supplemented by the Travaux Préparatoires of the Crime of Aggression (Cambridge University Press, 2011). The Crime of Aggression Commentary is already – and will undoubtedly remain – the reference work for international (criminal) lawyers as well as political scientists. It contains contributions by over 50 experts known for their extensive knowledge of the field

and its day-to-day intricacies. The contributions cover questions of international law, substantive and procedural criminal law as well as critical reflections on the *raison d'être* of the criminalization of violations of the prohibition of the use of force in international relations.

An excellent introduction to the (alleged) specificities of the crime of aggression is provided by *Reisinger Coracini* and *Wrange* (pp. 307 et seq.), wherein they demonstrate that the criminalization of acts of aggression is not as unique and distinct as some commentators purport it to be. While the definition of the crime and the jurisdictional regime certainly differ from the other crimes enumerated in Article 5 of the Rome Statute (genocide, crimes against humanity, war crimes), it would be wrong to ignore the existing similarities (e.g. focus on leadership, possibility of interference with the UN Security Council's mandate, political dimension of international crimes as well as the prosecution of such crimes). The fact that Article 17 (1)(d) of the Statute requires the ICC Prosecutor to take the gravity of the case into account and given the budgetary constraints of the ICC and the number of on-going (preliminary) investigations militate for a focus on (politically sensitive) leadership cases in all investigations.

An important and practically relevant difference is highlighted and meticulously described by *Barriga* and *Blokker* (pp. 621 et seq.) in their contributions dealing with the entry into force and the conditions for the exercise of jurisdiction. Article 15bis (4) of the Rome Statute allows for an opt-out by States Parties, and Article 15bis (5) further specifies that the Court has no jurisdiction over crimes committed by nationals of Non-States Parties or on their territory. The Rome Statute thereby grants an extensive protection to States unwilling to accept the new legal regime. However, *Barriga* and *Blokker* rightly note that an opt-in by individual States Parties is not required if the necessary majority of States decide to activate the crime of aggression provisions (pp. 662 et seq.). States Parties have to take a decision, subject to public scrutiny, to actively object in order to protect themselves from prosecution by an international court. Objection to the new regime, therefore, comes at a poten-

tial political cost and should be reviewed by the respective State within three years.

The intricate (political) implications of defining a crime of aggression are masterfully addressed by *Koskenniemi*, who reminds us of the "*paradoxically perverse consequences of any definition of aggression: that it will limit the room of manoeuvre of the 'good' state [...] while liberating the 'bad' state that has no sympathy with the definition or the forces or values represented by it*" (pp. 1359 et seq.). The paradox he describes goes far beyond the obvious examples of "humanitarian intervention" or "self-defence". He rightly points out the existing fear that the criminalisation of an "unjust" war might be (mis)used in the future and that, with an issue so fundamentally at stake as this one, it is difficult to imagine that the party losing its argument in Court will readily accept the verdict. *Koskenniemi* cautions that any decision on the issue might be seen as "lawfare" (p. 1379). This leads him to an appeal for self-reflection (p. 1383) that practitioners and academics dealing with the issue of international criminal justice should engage in: "*There is not final certainty that our side is in the right. Hence, the position must be adopted only in a modest fashion. And if we have won, and we have set up a tribunal, and all the benches and the robes and the translators and glass booths are there, we must still remind ourselves that we are on this side not because we are 'just', but because we were stronger.*"

It is an important accomplishment of the Crime of Aggression Commentary that it presents, recognizes and reflects the diversity of opinions on the issue and that it engages in a highly constructive dialogue to address both technical issues and fundamental concerns. The "project ICC" requires constructive criticism as much as it needs inspiration and the, at times enthusiastic, support by governments, NGOs, legal practitioners, etc. This commentary combines these elements perfectly. In the introduction to the book, *Kreß* notes (p. 13): "*[...] the Kampala consensus agreement on the crime of aggression is 'remarkable and astonishing'. But what about the quality of the complex and delicate compromise that was achieved in the night of 11/12 June 2010?*" The answer to this question is to be found in these two volumes.

Dr. Mayeul Hiéramente

Margret Johannsen, Der Nahost-Konflikt: Eine Einführung, Wiesbaden (Springer VS), 4. Auflage, 2017.

Annäherung und Eskalation wechseln sich im Nahostkonflikt, dem „ältesten ungelösten Regionalkonflikt“ (S. 1), stetig ab. Aufgrund seiner Komplexität sind der Konflikt und seine Hintergründe nicht leicht zu verstehen. In ihrem Lehrbuch *Der Nahost-Konflikt: Eine Einführung* beleuchtet die Autorin Margret Johannsen in der nunmehr 4. Auflage seine Ursachen und Entwicklung, stellt die beteiligten Akteure und ihre Interessen vor und analysiert die Aussichten auf einen dauerhaften Frieden unter Berücksichtigung der aktuellen regionalen Ereignisse.

In der kurzen Einleitung in Kapitel 1 legt die Autorin zunächst die Relevanz des Nahostkonflikts für die Region und seine Auswirkungen auf die internationale Politik dar, um dann den Aufbau und die Kernthemen des Buches vorzustellen. Bereits in der Einleitung fallen die präzise und eingängige Sprache des Buches sowie seine durchdachte Struktur auf.

Das zweite und dritte Kapitel bilden den historisch-chronologischen Teil des Buches. Dabei setzt die Verfasserin keine Vorkenntnisse voraus; auch gängige Begriffe wie „Naher Osten“, „Antisemitismus“ und „Friedensprozess“ werden definiert und kontextualisiert. Das Kernthema der einzelnen Kapitel wird einleitend genau identifiziert, so zum Beispiel der Nahostkonflikt als Auseinandersetzung zweier Völker, der Palästinenser und der Juden, die ein und dasselbe Territorium beanspruchen (S. 6).

Das zweite Kapitel zeigt, dass der europäische Antisemitismus des 19. Jahrhunderts sowie der Nationalsozialismus die Auslöser für die massenhafte jüdische Einwanderung nach Palästina waren und die zwiespältige Rolle Großbritanniens als Mandatsmacht Palästinas den Keim für die jüngste jüdisch-arabische Konfrontation säte: Beiden Völkern wurde in verschiedenen offiziellen Dokumenten die Gründung eines unabhängigen Nationalstaates zugesichert. Die Teilung Palästinas und die Ausrufung des Staates Israel führten 1948 zum ersten offenen Krieg zwischen Israel und den Palästinensern sowie den benachbarten arabischen Staaten. Darauf folgten noch fünf weitere.

Diese Kriege und bewaffneten Auseinandersetzungen belegen Johannsen zufolge, dass „eine Befriedung des Konflikts nur auf der Grundlage des territorialen Status quo zwischen Israel und den arabischen Staaten sowie eines territorialen Kompromisses zwischen Israel und den Palästinensern möglich sein würde“ (S. 21). In Folge der verheerenden arabischen Niederlage im Sechs-Tage-Krieg 1967 wurde die Palästinensische Befreiungsorganisation (PLO) als Dachverband gewaltloser und bewaffneter Widerstandsgruppen gegründet. Der palästinensische Widerstand gegen Israel kulminierte in der ersten Intifada, die den Weg für die Friedensverhandlungen bereitete.

Der Verlauf des Friedensprozesses seit 1991 wird im dritten Kapitel behandelt. Die Verfasserin identifiziert vier Ereignisse, die zu einem Umdenken der Parteien führten und Verhandlungsbereitschaft weckten. Dazu zählt sie das Ende des Ost-West-Konflikts, den Golfkrieg, finanzielle Probleme der PLO und die moralische Krise in Israel. Die divergierenden Ziele der Kontrahenten ließen die Verhandlungen jedoch scheitern. Die Autorin verdeutlicht, dass es „eines Staates Palästinas mit gleichen Rechten und Pflichten wie sein Nachbar Israel“ bedarf, „um den Jahrhundertkonflikt zwischen beiden Völkern beizulegen“ (S. 51). Von dieser Position aus erläutert sie die verschiedenen Stationen des Friedensprozesses von den Madrider Friedensverhandlungen, über die gegenseitige Anerkennung zwischen Israel und Palästina, der Übergangsregelung palästinensischer Autonomie bis zur Stagnation der Verhandlungen bei der Frage des endgültigen Status Palästinas. Gründe für die Stagnation sind neben den konträren Agenden auch das Machtungleichgewicht zwischen den Parteien sowie die Machtkalküle der Führungen und radikaler Gruppierungen. Der historische Teil schildert abschließend die Rückkehr zur Gewalt mit der Al-Aqsa-Intifada und dem Kampf um Gaza.

Wie von einem Lehrbuch zu erwarten, werden in diesem Teil des Buches keine neuen Thesen aufgestellt, es handelt sich vielmehr um eine erläuternde Darstellung historischer Entwicklungen, die illustrativ durch Auszüge aus Primärtexten, zum Beispiel Theodor Herzls „Der Judenstaat“, der Balfour-Erklärung, des

McMahon-Briefes oder einschlägigen VN-Resolutionen ergänzt wird. Darüber hinaus helfen Karten und Tabellen, den Themenkomplex zu veranschaulichen. Die Interessen, Argumente und Motive der beteiligten Parteien werden dabei aus verschiedenen Perspektiven behandelt. Eine Wertung der Ereignisse wird nur hinsichtlich ihrer unmittelbaren Auswirkungen auf den weiteren Verlauf des Konflikts vorgenommen.

Das vierte und fünfte Kapitel bilden den systematisch-analytischen Teil des Buches. Dazu werden die wichtigsten Streitfragen sowie die Hauptakteure und ihr Einfluss auf die Dynamik des Konflikts besprochen. Abschließend werden Perspektiven für die zukünftige Entwicklung und mögliche Lösungsansätze des Konflikts vorgestellt.

Wichtige Streitpunkte sind Staatlichkeit und Autonomie. Obwohl das palästinensische Gemeinwesen dessen zentrale Charakteristika für Staatlichkeit, nämlich Staatsgewalt, Staatsvolk und Territorium, aufweist, so sind diese nicht voll ausgeprägt. Dies wird auch so lange nicht möglich sein, wie die Konfliktparteien sich nicht über den territorialen Zuschnitt eines unabhängigen Staates Palästina einigen und die Besatzung andauert. Die gerechte Verteilung der knappen Ressource Wasser, die jüdischen Siedlungen im Westjordanland, die symbolträchtige Stadt Jerusalem, die Rückkehr palästinensischer Flüchtlinge sowie wirtschaftliche Autonomie stellen Johannsen zufolge weitere Konfliktpunkte dar. Über die Analyse dieser Sachfragen hinaus zeigt die Autorin Ansätze und Maßnahmen auf, die für eine Lösung der Streitfrage notwendig sind. Die Vorstellung der Hauptakteure, d.h. Regierungen, oppositionelle Gruppen, Parteien und bewaffnete Bewegungen, vertieft die Darstellung. Auch die Rolle und die Handlungsmöglichkeiten der USA, der EU sowie der Vereinten Nationen werden diskutiert. Die multiperspektivische Analyse erörtert ihre Interessen und zeigt ihre Grenzen als Friedensvermittler auf.

Abschließend fasst die Autorin die wichtigsten Entwicklungen und Erkenntnisse zusammen und konstatiert, dass, obwohl der Konflikt noch immer nicht gelöst ist, durch die Friedensverhandlungen wenigstens Teilergebnisse erzielt wurden. Daraufhin werden mögliche zukünftige

Entwicklungen, etwa Trennung und Anexion, die Zwei-Staaten-Lösung oder ein Staat für zwei Völker vorgestellt, und auf ihre Umsetzbarkeit geprüft. Erwähnenswert ist, dass das Buch auch Umfragen der israelischen und palästinensischen Bevölkerung zur Einschätzung und Popularität der jeweiligen Lösungsansätze vorstellt.

Insgesamt erhalten die Leserinnen und Leser einen detaillierten Einblick in die Verhandlungspositionen der Parteien, ihre Rolle bei den Friedensverhandlungen sowie ihre Interessenschwerpunkte. Dabei wird die Sachlage multiperspektivisch und ausgewogen beleuchtet. Dies schließt aber auch Hinweise auf bestehende Asymmetrien, insbesondere zuungunsten der Palästinenser, nicht aus.

Das Lehrbuch erfüllt sein Ziel, einen umfassenden, aber übersichtlichen Überblick über den vielschichtigen Nahostkonflikt zu bieten, in vollem Umfang. Der logische Aufbau der Kapitel, der gut strukturierte Inhalt, die eingängige Sprache sowie klare Definitionen von Regionen, Begriffen und Konzepten helfen, den Konflikt zu verstehen. Eine etwas kleinschrittige Unterteilung der Kapitel stört jedoch ab und an den Lesefluss. *Der Nahost-Konflikt: Eine Einführung* bietet eine gelungene Einstiegslektüre für Studierende der Politikwissenschaft sowie für die Oberstufe von Gymnasien und politisch Interessierte. Das Buch kann darüber hinaus als Nachschlagewerk genutzt werden. Hilfreich sind auch die kommentierten Literaturhinweise.

Joana Westphal