SHARE YOUR PEACE
STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIP IN THE FIELD OF YOUTH

MODULE 1
UNDERSTANDING PEACE: VISIONS OF PEACE

This project has been funded with support from the European Commission. This publication reflects the views only of the author, and the Commission cannot be held responsible for any use which may be made of the information contained therein.
Content

I. Introduction ........................................................................................................................................... 3

II. What is Peace? ....................................................................................................................................... 4
   2.1. Definition of Peace .............................................................................................................................. 4
   2.2. Historical background of the peace ...................................................................................................... 5
   2.3. Components of peacebuilding ........................................................................................................... 7
   2.4. Peacebuilding and cultural heritage .................................................................................................. 8

III. Vision of peace in the theories ............................................................................................................. 8
   3.1. Democratic Peace Theory .................................................................................................................. 9
   3.2. Economic peace theory ...................................................................................................................... 10
   3.3. Trade Peace Theory ........................................................................................................................... 11
   3.4. Feminist peace and conflict theory ................................................................................................... 12
   3.5. Interpersonal Peace ............................................................................................................................ 13

IV. Organizations for peace ......................................................................................................................... 13
   4.1. Intergovernmental peace organizations .............................................................................................. 14
   4.2. State peace organizations .................................................................................................................. 15
   4.3. Non-governmental peace organizations ............................................................................................ 17
   4.4. Research institutions for peace ......................................................................................................... 18

V. Summary ............................................................................................................................................... 19
I. Introduction

Peacebuilding includes a multidimensional set of actions in society to reduce the risk of conflict. This is done by addressing both the causes and consequences of conflict. Violent conflicts are a major challenge to a country's development: Not only do they result in deaths, physical and psychological injuries, and significant damage to infrastructure. They also threaten development efforts and worsen poverty. Since the end of World War II, the number of violent conflicts has steadily increased. Most major violent conflicts are internal civil wars or rebellions. In 2004, there were only two out of 19 major armed conflicts between states; the others were internal, usually asymmetric conflicts such as civil wars, insurgencies, and terrorism. The conflicts can be caused by the political, economic, social, and security factors. The world peace organizations, both interstate, state and non-state, contribute greatly to peace in the world. How and through which instruments can be used to fight conflicts and create peace is presented below.

International Youth in the framework of the Erasmus + project on "Youth and Peace"
II. What is Peace?

There is no way to peace because peace is the way.

Mahatma Gandhi

2.1. Definition of Peace

The term "peace" originally means protection, security. During the history, various conceptions of peace were developed by Thomas Aquinas (13 century), Kant (18 century) and others.

Former philosophers such as THOMAS VON AQUIN (1224/25-1274) considered peace as a political good par excellence, as the purpose of the state, and distinguished between "true peace" and "bad peace". Bad peace is the expression of a bad and forcibly brought about order. Only true peace is worth striving for.

With the publication of IMMANUEL KANT’s (1724-1804) "On Perpetual Peace" (1795), a turning point occurred in the evaluation of peace in international law. War was morally outlawed and legal principles for interstate security measures and general conditions for a comprehensive legal and peace order were established.

Recent peace research comprehend no longer only condition, but as a process. This must be characterized by the fact that it is directed toward the prevention of the use of violence, the reduction of unfreedom and social injustice, both in domestic and in interstate relations. Civilization and peace form a unity. Therefore, the rule of law, democracy, social justice, tolerance, and the ability to engage in dialogue are fundamental conditions for lasting peace.

Applied to human society, peace is the state of a contractual and secure coexistence of people both within and between societies and states. The opposite of peace is war as the exercise of violence between social groups, states, groups of states.

In science distinguish two ways of peace:

1) Negative peace: Negative peace is the absence of war, i.e., personal violence.

"Peace is a state within a system of larger groups of people, especially nations, in which there is no organized, collective use or threat of violence" (JOHAN GALTUNG, b. 1930)."

2) Positive peace: Positive peace is the state that excludes personal violence as well as structural and cultural violence. Positive peace is characterized by
- economic and social development,
- justice,
- freedom.

It supposes the realization of human rights.

2.2. **Historical background of the peace**

The qualitative and quantitative change in global conflicts that began with the end of the Cold War also led to a rethinking of their solutions and to an adaptation and further development of peacemaking and peacekeeping strategies. Observations of peacekeeping efforts in the recent past revealed that, on average, one in two countries slipped back into violent crises five years after an armed conflict had been overcome (on the successes and limitations of peacekeeping missions, see Brzoska 2007). Rwanda and Angola were examples of the renewed outbreak of violent conflict in the 1990s. Above all, however, the observations showed: Military peacekeeping approaches and short-term reconstruction measures fall short when it comes to ensuring sustainable stabilization of peace.¹

When World War II ended in the mid-1940s, such international initiatives as the creation of the Bretton Woods institutions and the Marshall Plan grew out of long-term post-conflict intervention programs in Europe, through which the United States and its allies aimed to rebuild the continent from the destruction of World War II. The focus of these initiatives was on spreading peacekeeping and peacemaking.

After several decades, Norwegian sociologist Johan Galtung coined the term peace in his 1975 pioneering work "Three Approaches to Peace: Peacekeeping, Peacemaking, and Peacebuilding. The mechanisms on which peace is based should be structurally built in and in place as a reserve for the system. In particular, structures must be found that eliminate causes of war and offer alternatives to war in conflict situations.

Galtung's research analyses a major shift in the global shaping of peace after World War II by emphasizing how political, economic, and social systems must address the root causes of conflict and support local capacities for peace management and conflict resolution.

¹ [https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-3-531-92846-3_13](https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-3-531-92846-3_13)
As the Cold War and its various phenomena came to an end (e.g., civil wars between Third World countries, Reaganomics, "Bringing the State Back In"), American sociologist John Paul Lederach introduced the concept of peacebuilding through several publications from the 1990s that focused on involving local, NGO, international, and other actors to create a sustainable peace process, particularly in relation to cases of intractable deadly conflict where he actively mediated between warring parties.

Peacebuilding has since expanded to include many different dimensions, such as disarmament, demobilization and reintegration, and the rebuilding of state, economic and civil society institutions. The concept was popularized in the international community by UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali’s 1992 report to Agenda for Peace. The report defined post-conflict peacebuilding as "action to identify and support structures that tend to strengthen and consolidate peace in order to avoid relapse into conflict." At the 2005 World Summit, the United Nations began creating a peacebuilding architecture based on Kofi Annan proposals. The proposal called for three organizations: the UN Peacebuilding Commission, established in 2005; the UN Peacebuilding Fund, established in 2006; and the UN Peacebuilding Support Office, established in 2005. These three organizations enable the Secretary-General to coordinate UN peacebuilding efforts.
2.3. Components of peacebuilding

Peacebuilding processes vary depending on the situation. Successful peacebuilding approaches create an environment that supports a self-sustaining, lasting peace. These approaches include: Reconciling adversaries; Preventing conflict from restarting; Integrating civil society; Creating rule-of-law mechanisms; and Addressing underlying structural and societal problems. To achieve these goals, peacebuilding must consider functional structures, emotional conditions and social psychology, social stability, rule of law and ethics, and cultural sensitivity. Based on the conflicts, peacebuilding is divided into three dimensions:

1. **Stabilization of the post-conflict zone,**
2. **Restoration of state institutions,**
3. **Dealing with social and economic problems.**

Measures within the first dimension strengthen the stability of the post-conflict state and discourage former combatants from returning to war (disarmament, demobilization and reintegration, or DDR). Measures in the second dimension build state capacity to provide basic public goods and increase the legitimacy of the state. Programs in the third dimension promote
the capacity of a post-conflict society to manage conflict peacefully and promote socioeconomic development.³

2.4. Peacebuilding and cultural heritage

In the world, peacebuilding also means preserving and protecting the economic and cultural heritage of a people or population. The protection of culture and cultural assets is therefore becoming increasingly important nationally and internationally. The United Nations, UNESCO and Blue Shield International are concerned with the protection of cultural heritage and thus with peacebuilding. This also applies to the integration of United Nations peacekeeping. The United Nations and UNESCO tried to establish and enforce rules of international law. It is not about protecting the property of one person, but about preserving the cultural heritage of humanity, especially in the case of war and armed conflict. According to Karl von Habsburg, president of Blue Shield International, the destruction of cultural property is also part of psychological warfare. The goal is to recognize the identity of the opponent in order to be able to protect symbolic cultural assets.⁴

III. Vision of peace in the theories

Peace among nations is an elusive vision that, interestingly, is more common in democracies than in autocracies. This idea is represented by the theory of democratic peace researched by the German philosopher Immanuel Kant and other experts.

The theory is advanced by clarifying whether social justice on a global scale is necessary for peace. Other concerns in the discussion include regulation of trade and intellectual property rights, poverty, violence, and an equitable global distribution of wealth that

³ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Peacebuilding
⁴ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Peacebuilding
includes global influence security. Another important factor is how global economic ranking facilitates the continuation of dictatorships.

Although many concerns and factors have been neglected in discussions of peace theory, projects are being developed to create peace. The societal impact is significant and helps the EU and other liberal nations promote peace around the world. Democratic peace theories could help elaborate policies that would improve international security in all its complexity beyond simply promoting democracy, making the world we live in a better one.\(^7\)

### 3.1. Democratic Peace Theory

The theory of democratic peace must be viewed in the context of the schools of international relations, liberalism, and realism. While realism assumes a hostile, anarchic world of states and considers this to be the determining factor for states' foreign policy behaviour, liberalism assumes a world in which peace is possible in principle. Domestic and cultural factors are considered to promote peace. Democratic peace is a liberal theory. The first social-scientific discussion of the relationship between democracy and peace is considered to be the very short article "Elective Governments: A force for Peace" by the U.S. sociologist Dean Babst, which received little attention at the time. He noted that no wars had taken place between democracies in the period between 1789 and 1941 (Babst 1964). About ten years later, the article was revisited by political scientists David Singer and Melvin Small, who attributed interdemocratic peace to the spatial proximity between consolidated democracies (Small/Singer 1976). DP research used mainly statistical methods until the 1980s. It examined the relationship between regime type and war. The goal was to establish a broad foundation by using as many cases as possible (all states in the world). The result was the "not unanimous consensus that democracies have rarely (if ever) gone to war against each other, but that they have generally been involved in wars as frequently as other regime types" (George/Bennett 2005: 39). Case studies have been the primary tool of DP research. Many researchers accepted the axiom of Democratic Peace but noted that there could be different rationales for the peace and not only democracy itself, or its assumed inherent peacefulness.\(^8\)

---


3.2. Economic peace theory

The actors of government and civil society should cooperate economically, socially, and culturally on the ground to ensure stability and maintain peace. Solutions must be adopted by the top and middle leadership the grassroots (Lederach, 1997). The political peace process must be strengthened by opening up opportunities to communicate across conflict lines, understanding the interests and desires of the other party and confirming one's own interests, and exploring viable alternative approaches that meet the needs of both parties. Peacebuilding initiatives include cross-cutting or inclusive relationships, such as people-to-people, business-to-business, and institution-to-institution initiatives. Economic peace theory suggests this economic interdependence promotes peace and prevents conflict. Economic interdependence is conducive to peace because economic cooperation between private actors can generate national economic interest.

At the macro level, economic peace involves structural reforms to create an "environment" for peacebuilding, including low inflation and low budget deficits. At the micro level, private enterprise development as a tool to promote conflict resolution through collective action. Peacemaking, peacekeeping peacebuilding should be distinguished from peacemaking and peacekeeping (Galtung, 1975). Peacemaking deals with conflict resolution through negotiation
process in which the main apparent causes of the conflict are addressed and resolved over time. Peacemaking is the "diplomatic effort to end violence between conflicting parties, move them toward nonviolent dialogue, and eventually reach a peace agreement" (Maiese, 2003, para. 6). Peacemaking prevents friction and helps in implementing the results of the peace process.¹¹

3.3. Trade Peace Theory

The trust of peace through trade stems from the theory that growing trade leads to universal benefits. Trade enabled people to cooperate through mutual exchange and to remedy "deficiencies" of relations with each other.²²

Immanuel Kant’s publication "On Perpetual Peace" and Adam Smith’s liberal economic theory establish the peace-building effect of free trade. Within the OECD countries, peace seems to have been established in the sense of the liberal economists - from a pure cost/benefit point of view, peace definitely brings more than war for these countries. Thus, it can be said that free trade does not create peace, but fosters it; however, only if the same free trade rules apply to all and if peaceful profit and prosperity interests are not combined with power and domination interests. This is provided by functioning democracies and the League of Nations in Kant’s sense. However, various problems arise at this point: On the one hand, liberals and Kant assume that people act out of self-interest. What drives man, therefore, is pure egoism. This egoism drives states to trade with each other and this trade is supposed to create peace. Kant and Smith could not expect these developments - so it is questionable whether their thoughts can be applied to the world as it is today. And even if one is convinced, as the liberals were, that free trade promotes peace and that all trade barriers should therefore be dismantled: The freest market, the capital market, and the speculative transactions that take place within it are too highly complicit in global instabilities and contributed much to the numerous financial crises of the late 1990s. Also, the apparently valid "trade peace theorem" for OECD countries may be only partially valid. For even within OECD countries, the gap between rich and poor is visibly widening. This may not be a compelling. Consequence of free trade is related to the current capitalist economic system. Another point is related with the criticism that Kant’s and

¹¹ file:///C:/Users/coper/Downloads/TheEconomicReconciliationProcess_Mid2.pdf
²² https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1057/97811137439802_2
Smith's ideas may already be old: Kant has no place in his system for multinational corporations, which are enormously important today and have overtaken some states in importance. In some cases, these multinationals are outstripping states in the exercise of power. Peace through free trade thus seems comprehensible in theory, but in practice the theory is obviously only partially realizable.\(^\text{15}\)

### 3.4. Feminist peace and conflict theory

The genealogy of feminist peace and conflict theory comes - naturally - as a hybrid phenomenon. Feminist peace and conflict theory (FPCT) is fostered by a variety of disciplines and methodologies. For a feminist peace theory, the analysis of war and conflict plays essential roles. Historical reports about women in war are enough to understand the approaches. Critical writings by women in liberation movements in Latin America, Africa, and Asia, as well as critiques of Western feminism by working-class, black, and lesbian scholars, have further informed the discussion. Feminist peace and conflict theory reflects the need for women's visibility in conflict. FPCT introduced the interconnectedness of all forms of violence: domestic, societal, state and interstate, and gender dimensions. There was critical discussion about the collaboration of the "beautiful soul." The slogan of the women's movement of the 1960s is "personal is political" can still be seen as a common ground for FPCT, transforming the normative legitimacy of the use of violence.

The historical reference of the early 21st century to pacifist movements and gendered aspects claimed by feminists mainly refer to the two world wars. Pacifists such as Bertha von Suttner or revolutionaries, such as Rosa Luxemburg or Emma Goldman made explicit reference to the plight of women in war. The continuum of violence from domestic violence to war is therefore an essential paradigm for FPCT. The efforts of many women's policy NGOs led to the adoption of a Platform for Action at the 1995 UN Conference on Women in Beijing calling for institutional mechanisms to promote equal rights for women. States were urged therein to "work for the mainstreaming of a gender equity perspective in all policies and at all levels of government." Thus, gender mainstreaming has gained acceptance in international politics, the goal of which is

\(^{15}\) file:///C:/Users/coper/OneDrive/Desktop/se0405arbkopetz.pdf
to make the work of organizations gender equality oriented. See "Gender Mainstreaming." 

3.5. Interpersonal Peace

For being a really sustainable, peace should involve harmonious relationships at all levels of society, from large systems (nations, states) to groups (communities, workplaces) to relationships between families, couples and friends. Interpersonal peace is based on peace in all relationships between people and therefore includes everyday relationship problems (such as family and marital contexts), community and neighbourhood problems, and harmful patterns of interaction between friends, family, schoolmates and co-workers. Interpersonal peace is part of both sustainable peace and peacebuilding and prevents violence on a larger scale. We should care for interpersonal relationships in order to have sustainable peace. Interpersonal peacemakers need to learn and apply methods to identify the positive dynamics and conditions that lead to peace, such as social dynamics, tolerance, compassion, cooperation, and good communication. Traditional approaches to peace-making have focused on stopping or preventing major conflicts and systemic violence such as genocide. The conflict professions (conflict resolution, conflict management and conflict transformation) have a broader scope that includes couples, families, workplaces, communities, and international settings. However, they focus on conflict to solve the problem. Interpersonal peace is challenged to fill this gap through peace education, violence prevention and advocacy for social justice, in addition to conflict transformation. As interpersonal relationships are an important facet of human life and our everyday reality, interpersonal peace can become a central aspect in building sustainable peace in our society and our world.

IV. Organizations for peace

17 https://www.gwi-boell.de/index.php/de/2010/06/02/feministische-perspektiven-auf-frieden-und-sicherheit
18 https://www.academia.edu/2482232/Interpersonal_Peacemaking_and_Peace_by_Joanie_Connors_Ph_D_Interpersonal_Peacemaking_Reader_2011##:~:text=Interpersonal%20peace%3A%20a%20state%20of%20contexts%2C%20such%20as%20family%20and
4.1. Intergovernmental peace organizations

UN: The United Nations was established in 1945 after the devastation of World War II with one central mission: to maintain international peace and security. The United Nations works to prevent conflict. Helping parties to conflict make peace; peacekeeping; and creating the conditions for peace to endure and flourish. These activities often overlap and should reinforce each other to be effective. The UN Security Council has primary responsibility for international peace and security. The General Assembly and the Secretary-General, along with other United Nations offices and bodies, play important, significant, and complementary roles.²¹

The United Nations participates in many dimensions of peacebuilding. The peacebuilding architecture of intergovernmental peace has the following structure:

**UN Peacebuilding Commission (PBC):** this is an intergovernmental consulting body that brings together key stakeholders, gathers resources, advises on post-conflict peacebuilding strategies, and highlights issues that could undermine peace.

**UN Peacebuilding Fund (PBF):** PBF supports peacebuilding activities that directly promote post-conflict stabilization and strengthen state and institutional capacity.

**UN Peacebuilding Office (PBSO):** supports the Peacebuilding Commission with strategic policy advice and guidance, manages the Peacebuilding Fund, and assists the Secretary-General in coordinating the peacebuilding efforts of UN agencies.

Other agencies are working for peace between states: **UN Department of Political Affairs** (post-conflict peacebuilding) and **UN Development Program** (conflict prevention, peacebuilding, post-conflict recovery).

The World Bank supports post-conflict reconstruction and recovery by helping to rebuild the socioeconomic framework of society. The International Monetary Fund addresses post-conflict recovery and peacebuilding by taking action to restore assets and production levels.

The European Commission’s Conflict Prevention and Peacebuilding 2001-2010 has undergone a comprehensive external evaluation conducted by Aide a la Decisions Economique (ADE) with the European Centre for Development Policy Management, presented in 2011. The European External Action Service, established in 2010, also has a dedicated department for conflict prevention, peacebuilding, and mediation.23

4.2. State peace organizations

Major state organisations are located in France, Germany, Switzerland, the United Kingdom and the United States.

In France are considered the following peacemaking organizations:

French Ministry of Defense: Operations include peacekeeping, political and constitutional processes, democratization, administrative state capacity, technical assistance for public finance and fiscal policy, and support for independent media.

French Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs: Supports peacebuilding, including monitoring compliance with weapon embargoes, the deployment of peacekeepers, DDR and the deployment of police and gendarmerie in support of the rule of law.

French Development Agency: Focus on crisis prevention through humanitarian action and development.

In Germany, three main organizations are responsible for peace:

Federal Foreign Office support for conflict resolution and post-conflict peacebuilding, including the building of stable state structures (rule of law, democracy, human rights, and security) and the creation of the capacity for peace within civil society, the media and cultural affairs and education.

23 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Peacebuilding#Intergovernmental_organizations
Federal Ministry of Defence deals with the destruction of a country's infrastructure as a result of internal conflict, reform of the security forces, demobilisation of combatants, reconstruction of the judicial system and government structures, and preparations for elections.

Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development addresses economic, social, environmental, and political conditions in order to eliminate the structural causes of conflicts and promote peaceful conflict management; topics covered include poverty reduction, pro-poor sustainable economic growth, good governance and democracy.

In Switzerland, the Federal Department of Foreign Affairs (FDFA) is responsible for and supports civil peacebuilding and different measures related to strengthening human rights. Human Security Division (HSD) of the Federal Department of Foreign Affairs (FDFA) is responsible for implementing measures to promote human security around the world. It is the centre of competence for peace, human rights, and humanitarian policy as well as for Switzerland's foreign migration policy.

There are three organisations in the UK:

UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office carries out a range of reconstruction activities required immediately after a conflict.

British Ministry of Defence deals with long-term activities that address the underlying causes of conflict and the needs of people.

UK Department for International Development work on conflict prevention (short-term activities to prevent the outbreak or recurrence of violent conflict) and peacebuilding (medium- and long-term measures to address the factors underlying violent conflict).

In den Vereinigte Staaten sind drei Organisationen in dem aktiven Einsatz:

US Department of State helps post-conflict states build the foundation for lasting peace, good governance, and sustainable development.

United States Department of Defense: Reconstruction support, including humanitarian assistance, public health, infrastructure, economic development, rule of law, civilian administration, and media; and stabilisation.

United States Agency for International Development takes immediate action to build momentum in support of the peace process, including supporting peace negotiations; building citizen security; promoting reconciliation; and expanding democratic political processes.
4.3. Non-governmental peace organisations

Not only the state peace organisations, but also numerous non-governmental organisations are also working actively all over the world. The first seven are represented here:

**Catholic Relief Services**: Baltimore-based Catholic humanitarian organisation that provides emergency relief after disasters or conflicts and promotes long-term development through peacebuilding and other activities.

**Conscience: Taxes for Peace not War**: London-based organisation that promotes peacebuilding as an alternative to military security through a Peace Tax Act and £1 billion reform of the UK Conflict, Stability and Security Fund.

**Crisis Management Initiative**: Helsinki-based organisation that works to solve conflicts and build sustainable peace by bringing together international peacebuilding experts and local leaders.

**Generations for Peace**: An Amman-based global non-profit peacebuilding organization dedicated to sustainable grassroots conflict transformation with a focus on youth.
The IIDA Women's Development Organization is a Somali non-profit, politically independent non-governmental organisation founded by women to work for peacebuilding and the defence of women's rights in Somalia.

Initiatives of Change: Global organisation dedicated to "building trust across the world's boundaries" (culture, nationality, belief, and background) and has been involved in peacebuilding and peacebuilding since 1946 and currently in the Great Lakes region of Africa Sierra Leone and other conflict areas.

Institute for Conflict Transformation and Peacebuilding (ICP): Swiss-based NGO specialising in peacebuilding, non-violent conflict transformation, mediation, and training services.

4.4. Research institutions for peace

In addition to the numerous governmental and non-governmental peace organisations, there are also seven academic institutions for peace. Centre for Justice and Peacebuilding: This academic programme at Eastern Mennonite University promotes peacebuilding. The lessons are based on Mennonite Christianity. Centre for Peacebuilding and Development promotes cross-cultural development of research and practices in peace education, civil engagement, non-violent resistance, conflict resolution, religion and peace, and peacebuilding. Irish Peace Institute promotes peace and reconciliation in Ireland and works to apply lessons from Irish conflict resolution to other conflicts. Joan B. Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies is a degree-granting institute at the University of Notre Dame. It promotes research, education, and outreach on the causes of violent conflict and the conditions for sustainable peace. United States Institute of Peace works to prevent or end violent conflict around the world. University for Peace in Costa Rica strives to promote peace through teaching, research, training, and dissemination of knowledge needed to build peace.

Swisspeace is a practice-oriented peace research institute connected to the University of Basel in Switzerland. It analyses the causes of violent conflicts and develops strategies for their peaceful transformation.
V. Summary

Summarising it can be mentioned that peace is the most important component of social existence. Numerous organisations worldwide work for world peace and fight against war, conflicts, racism, discrimination, intolerance and for democracy, tolerance, understanding of nations, reconciliation, living together, integration, etc.

Peace is not only the absence of war, it is more than a state and society without war. It excludes cultural, structural and personal violence etc.⁵⁴

Peace means human security: a human dignity life for all, without hunger and need and with tolerance for others," says Peter Croll, Director of the Bonn International Center for Conversion (BICC).⁶⁵

---

²⁶ [https://www.tagesspiegel.de/politik/nach-innen-und-aussen-was-ist-frieden/3679710.html](https://www.tagesspiegel.de/politik/nach-innen-und-aussen-was-ist-frieden/3679710.html)