

P@X online bulletin

PEACE OPERATIONS,
INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND
SECURITY

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Editorial

This issue addresses peace operations as an intervention instrument contributing to the promotion of international peace and security. In the last decades, the growing complexity of the dynamics associated to rendering peace missions operational has raised several questions both at a conceptual level and at the level of their implementation. These questions include a broader scope of mandates with implications on missions' effectiveness; a larger involvement of non military actors raising issues of coordination; and issues of legitimacy and articulation between different international organisations involved in the creation and implementation of peace missions, as well as between these and local actors. As a result, this edition of P@x discusses different perspectives in the analysis of peace missions in conceptual and operational terms. Mike Pugh draws attention to the necessity of a differentiated look on international interventions, which are stuck to a neoliberal development model that encompasses fragilities and against which various resistances are felt every

day. And it is in this daily life that the author situates himself for a better understanding of development and intervention models, since it is these political economies of life that provide the basis on which any action plan should rest. On a political-operational dimension, Federico Santopinto underlines the inherent inconsistencies associated to the coherence principle that the Lisbon Treaty puts forward in its institutional reform and, particularly, regarding the common security and defense policy. The implications for European Union missions are evident and should be studied. Raquel Melo addresses the assumptions of what she calls an agenda for peace operations, presenting a perspective based on cumulative knowledge and the need for simultaneously inclusive and effective approaches. This issue still includes contributions associated to two research projects, one on literature mapping of European peace missions, offering a basic practical guide to in-depth studies on aspects associated to these missions, and another regarding the participation of Portuguese

armed forces in the Kosovo mission and the sociological implications of this involvement, constituting an innovative study with contributions towards the national political decision-making process. With this issue we hope to contribute to a deeper knowledge of the debates and issues on peace missions and also of the broader discussion on global interventionism.

*Maria Raquel Freire and
Paula Duarte Lopes*

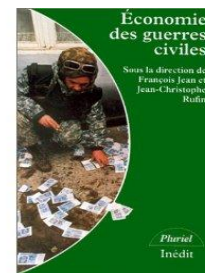
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Political Economies of Peace and Conflict

One of the most interesting developments, for me, in the study of peace and conflict over the past twenty years has been the inclusiveness of various academic disciplines and the corresponding broadening of approaches in International Relations (IR). Particularly significant I think has been the inclusion of political economy, long neglected but now in the forefront of studies on, and explanations for, contemporary conflicts. All my academic life I have been interested in the relationship between poverty, economic development, protest, political movements and war. The relationship has become even more relevant in the post-modern advanced capitalist world on account of what Foucault regards in *The Birth of Biopolitics* as the invasion of politics through the privileging of an economic regime of knowledge as truth.

But what inspired me to develop this area in the context of modern interventions and peace operations was an almost forgotten book, the first of its kind, published in 1996 by two French aid workers. François Jean and Jean-Christophe Rufin edited a collection of studies and called it *Economie des Guerres Civiles* (Paris, Hachette), based partly on experiences in the work of non-governmental organizations in war-torn societies. They were interested in how warriors engaged in the predation and exploitation of local populations, how trade changed, how markets were disrupted, taxes imposed, emergency aid diverted, and how diasporas lent financial support to combatants and how these fighters would often trade with each other. Regrettably the book was never translated from French into other languages. Other works, notably on the Balkans by Susan Woodward and Rwanda by Peter Uvin, were able to establish links between the structural adjustment policies imposed on developing countries by international financial institutions (IFIs) such as the IMF and World Bank and conflict still being imposed in the current casino crisis.

Since then my shelves have been groaning under the weight of UNDP reports, livelihood and household surveys, poverty reduction strategies, and of course academic work on 'greed and grievance' as causes of conflict, the political economies of reconstruction and on the aggressive neoliberal economic ideas promoted by donors in war-torn societies.



Cover of the book "Economies des guerres civiles", by François Jean and Jean-Cristophe Rufin

The journal I edit, *International Peacekeeping*, has also had its fair share of articles on the political economy of war and post-war environments. To gain a flavor of this mountain of research P@x readers could sample the 20 essays in *Whose Peace? Critical Perspectives on the Political Economy of Peacebuilding* (London: Routledge, in paperback for 2011) which I co-edited with Bradford University colleagues, Neil Cooper and Mandy Turner.

The main point that I want to make, however, is that a significant shift has occurred in peace studies that challenges the dominant liberal (and in economics neoliberal) paradigm that has been concerned with improving the techniques of building peace. In other words, the liberal hegemony – privatization and financialization of public goods, entrepreneurship through micro-finance and support to the 'free market', foreign investment, export-led growth and integration of societies with little comparative advantage into a global trading system – is in

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slow retreat. Clearly the casino crisis in capitalism has undermined the rationales of structural adjustment, though the donors and IFIs seem determined that 'local ownership' of peacebuilding should be located *within* the parameters of neoliberalism. The dominant paradigm of political economy is also challenged as a consequence of interventions by China and participation in UN operations by South American countries that have different economic approaches to the so-called free market doctrines originally fostered in Chicago in the 1970s.

Above all, resistance to, or adaptations of, western norms and values by populations in war-torn societies – from Bougainville and Timor Leste to Haiti and El Salvador – has led to hybridities in peace. Consequently the topic of local agency and the reclaiming of local traditions and informal economies, has become a burning issue for scholars as well.

The way that local people respond to interventions by external actors has been a fruitful terrain for exploration conducted by Oliver Richmond, Roger Mac Ginty among others, and a tribute to the earlier work of Jean and Rufin. In this respect, IR has broadened in an interdisciplinary way to acknowledge the empirical work of economists, development studies experts, sociologists, anthropologists and others. From theory, significant stimulus has arrived from critical economic geographers such as David Harvey, developmental economists such as Ha-Joon Chang and Mushtaq Khahn, and from historians of empire and colonialism such as Homi Bhabha. As western Europeans, including of course Portugal and Spain, were deeply engaged in previous centuries in trying to convert people to new ways of thinking and behaving, this development in contemporary IR is particularly relevant as a field of investigation. (Ironically, these same former imperialists have also been subjects of 'free market' empire, with serious consequences for development and social cohesion evidenced in the casino crisis since 2007).

From 'post-colonial studies' by Bhabha, Ilan Kapoor, Barkawi and Laffey scholars of

peacebuilding can see not replication, but echoes, of the imperial mind, another case of the 'backward' being developed in the image of the powerful. In a book on *Decolonising International Relations* (2006), Branwyn Gryffed Jones, contends, 'discourse about development – and its most recent agenda of "good governance" – has naturalized the structures of global inequality and exploitation that were the product of European expansion and formal colonialism'. Except as 'spoilers', romanticized victims, or western-trained allies, the voices and agency of the subalterns have been almost entirely missing from the liberal narrative and from international peacebuilding practice. But a growing and deep interest in the agency of the local and in the relationship between the local, the state and the international, has also been a hallmark of the turn towards the decolonization of peacebuilding, notably in work by Béatrice Pouligny, Oliver Richmond, Paul Higate and Marsha Henry. Such critics have begun to incorporate local voices, in effect speaking *with* the subaltern. Such critiques, however, have not necessarily solved the paradox of constructing subaltern accounts from privileged academia, so much as acknowledging, witnessing and recounting everyday life from local perspectives.

What seems clear is that foreign interventionists are unable to create stable identities or institutions with organic roots, and that resistances expose and exploit the contradictions in power that they wield, creating hybrid political economies of peace as people struggle to live their everyday lives. Thus it is the political economies of everyday life that need to be investigated in any conception of peace.

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EU missions after Lisbon

The elementary rules of administrative sociology teach us that, when bodies and institutions proliferate without their hierarchical relationships being clearly defined, they often enter into mutual competition, giving rise to a problem of coherence. The attempt to establish coordination procedures rarely represent a solution. Usually, everybody wants to coordinate, but nobody wants to be coordinated. This basic observation could be already an answer when asking if the Lisbon Treaty will bring a more coherent approach to the foreign policy of the European Union (EU), in particular when it send crisis management missions.

The problem of the coherence is a matter of integration, not coordination. It arose in 1993, with the establishment of the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and it intensified in 1999, when the European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP) was created. The launching of the CFSP and of ESDP reflects the Member States' wish to provide the EU with foreign and defense policies' competences going beyond the traditional dimensions of economic affairs and development cooperation, without ceding control to the supranational sphere of the EU. In other words, the CFSP/ESDP was created with a view to marginalizing the European Commission (together with the European Parliament and the European Court of Justice), to the benefit of the Council.

However, while the EU Member States were busy putting the CFSP/ESDP in place, clearly separating it from the Commission powerful cooperation policy, international developments suddenly changed the name of the game. The emergence of the so called "new threats" (terrorism, failed states, transnational crime, uncontrolled immigration), did indeed alter the nature of development cooperation, transforming it into an increasingly important strategic, "geopolitical" instrument. Aid therefore asserted itself as a central plank of any foreign policy [1].

Inevitably, this development in the role of aid led to a growing problem with the coherence of the EU's action worldwide, as the Union's strategic instruments (development cooperation on the one hand and the CFSP/ESDP on the other) ended up being split between different institutions and procedures.

In such a context, the goal explicitly flagged up in the Lisbon Treaty was to improve the coherence of the Union's external action. Implicitly, this was mainly about ending the Council-Commission dualism. To tackle this issue, two main reforms have been introduced: the creation of the new post of High Representative of the Union / Vice-President of the Commission (HRU), assigned to Catherine Ashton, and the institution of a European External Action Service (EEAS). The HRU merges the former intergovernmental representation of the foreign and defence policy (embodied in the past by Javier Solana), with a part of the Commission cooperation competences addressed to conflict prevention and resolution activities. In order to back up the HRU, the EEAS has been placed in a sort of limbo in between the Commission and the Council. Some compare it to a sort of new institution [2].



Cartoon EU-NATO,

http://www.toonpool.com/cartoons/eu-nato_9428

These novelties, however, do not in any way modify the distinction between the supranational competences of the Commission and the intergovernmental ones of the Council.

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When, for example, Lady Ashton will intervene in the field of conflict prevention and resolution through development cooperation tools (mainly the financial Instrument for Stability), she will do so in the framework of the European Commission's traditional competences based on semi-supranational procedures. When she will take action in the field of politics, diplomacy and security, she will switch hats and will become what Javier Solana was before: a representative of the Council and the Member States, and not a political decision-maker [3]. So, the new provisions do not point towards a more integrated Europe: they do not strengthen the EU's competences in the field of external affairs. They just build a bridge between the two spheres of the European action, keeping nevertheless intact the dualism between the Council and the Commission [4].



Cimeira de Lisboa, 2007.

Will this new architecture lead to a more coherent approach when sending crisis management missions abroad? At this stage it is too early to draw conclusions, as the External Service is still not fully in place and just started to work. Placing different tools under the same umbrella could certainly lead to a more comprehensive and holistic approach. Nevertheless, when looking at the organizational chart of the EEAS, it has to be noted that the crisis management administration bodies have been completely separated from the main structure of the External Service. They appear as a distinct institution inside the Service.

This choice has been made in order to secure the Member States control of defense and security policies in case the EEAS would become a less controllable administration. As before Lisbon, the crisis management structures will thus bypass the classical EU "middle hierarchy", answering directly to the HRU, who of course answers directly to Member States.

Therefore, in this framework, coordinating crisis management missions with other structural tools at the EU disposal may remain a difficult challenge. Without a real integration process, the mere juxtaposition of different jobs under the same roof will not bring automatically more coherence [5].

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Notes

[1] See F. Nkundabagenzi and F. Santopinto (2003) *Le développement, une arme de paix – La coopération de l'UE et la prévention des conflits*, Brussels, Éditions Complexe / GRIP.

[2] A. Missiorli (2010) "The EU Foreign Service: Under Construction", *EUI Working Papers*, European University Institute (Florence) and Robert Schumann Centre for Advanced Studies.

[3] F. Santopinto (2007) "The Treaty of Lisbon and the EU's External Action", *Les Rapports du GRIP* (www.grip.org).

[4] See N. Nuttall (2004) "On Fuzzy Pillars: Criteria for the Continued Existence of Pillars in the Draft Constitution", *CFSP Forum*, Vol. 4, No. 2.

[5] This observation comes from Lloveras Soler (2011), "The New EU Diplomacy: Learning to Add Value", *EUI Working Papers*, European University Institute (Florence) and Robert Schumann Centre for Advanced Studies.

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An Agenda for Peace Operations

The objective of this article is to examine the development of a doctrine for United Nations (UN) peace operations leading to the eventual consolidation of peace in post-conflict states.

Lacking a precedent in the Charter, peace operations arose as an *ad-hoc* mechanism, “invented” [1] by the Organization’s Secretariat. The demands of the time explain, in part, the development of this instrument in a manner viewed more as “organic” than systematic. During the Cold War, the role originally conceived for the UN in this field was significantly restricted and its mechanism for collective security paralyzed [2] due to irreconcilable differences between the member states and the Security Council. Nonetheless, the need to avoid the escalation of conflicts of negligible and intermediate dimensions, and the risk of direct involvement by the superpowers, led to the creation of peacekeeping efforts as an alternative means. The aims were to dissuade armed conflict between the aggrieved parties, and thus promote a more auspicious resolution to the conflict at hand.

Among the guiding principles of these missions, impartiality stands out (defined as the political neutrality of the combatant forces); its widespread and voluntary make-up by units from the member states of the Organization (with the exclusion of the permanent members of the Security Council or other states with a strategic interest in the matter); the tacit consent of the various parties; and the non-use of force except in self-defense. The current logic is that the capacity of the operations to accomplish their objectives resides much more in their respective mandates than in the use of force.

The post-Cold War changes in the international order had a large impact in the reinvigoration of the UN’s role in the area of security (Baer and Gordenker, 1994: 148). The end of the East-West conflict and the failure of Marxist socialism created a space for the

growing international consensus revolving around liberal democracy (Paris, 2004) and human rights standards.



UNPROFOR patrolling, Bósnia Hercegovina, 1994.

Within a scenario wherein the interests of states which formerly ‘occupied’ rival blocs were no longer diametrically opposed, multilateralism became generically understood as a legitimizing factor for international action (Finnemore, 2003; Ruggie, 1992).

Parallel to this, with the shrinking of the risk of confrontation between the great powers, intra-state conflicts rose to the fore in the international agenda, in part due to their transnational consequences. This, coupled with the growing legitimacy of human rights, resulted in an expansion of the concept of security and the perception that the gross violations of these rights constituted an international threat. This perspective has led to interventions based on humanitarian justifications under the auspices of the UN (Finnemore, 2003; Rodrigues, 2000).

The need to deter such crises, which were associated in great measure to failed or collapsed states, required an effort to rebuild them as a means of avoiding the rekindling of conflicts. The predominance of the Western liberal paradigm resulted, in practice, in the adoption by the UN of a model of democratic state based on the rule of law as the reference point in this endeavor.

To undertake such efforts peace operations of multidimensional scope were

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developed. Here, multidimensional is taken to mean the variety of components needed for the carrying-out of the military and civil activities. Those operations took a step beyond the traditional missions in terms of structure, functions, goals, and principles on which they are based (Doyle, 2001).

Hence, beginning with the 1990s it is possible to identify at least three generations of peace operations (Doyle, 2001) [3]. The first consists of the traditional missions previously discussed. At the opposite end are the more robust operations which aim to impose peace and which are characterized by the absence of agreement by one or more parties. Included here are military operations with limited aims, which look to guarantee humanitarian assistance in armed conflicts (UNOSOM II, Somalia; UNPROFOR, Bosnia), those with a mandate to impose a cease-fire, and multidimensional operations where it is thought to require a vigorous authority on the part of the UN (MINUSTAH, Haiti).

In between are the second generation multidimensional peace operations. Just like the traditional ones, these are based on consensus. However, the use of force may be allowed beyond self-defense needs: e.g., the protection of civilians under imminent threat of physical violence. This tendency is the reflection of the current interpretation of the notion of impartiality, which is now defined in terms of objectivity in the execution of the mandate (Chopra, 1998) and which is not always consistent with the neutral treatment of the parties.

The functions used in the process of peacebuilding thus create different dimensions of transitory authority for the UN (Doyle, 2001: 546). On a progressive scale, one would find the authority for monitoring and investigating (ONUSAL, El Salvador; UNTAG, Namibia) limited solely to increasing confidence among the parties and on the signed peace treaty; the administrative authority (UNTAES, Eastern Slovenia), to implement the peace treaty, independently of the agreement of the local authorities; and the supervisory one, when the UN the facto governs the country or territory as

a caretaker (UNTAET, East Timor).

In order for the transient authority to be successful, it is important to equate it to the matter, considering the causes of the conflict and the local capacity to promote the necessary changes and the level of international participation to assist in this process (Doyle, 2001).



Brazilian contingent, MINUSTAH, Port-au-Prince, 2005.

It is noted that the development of peace operations, notably beginning with the 1990s, includes a process of dynamic institutionalization of a normative point-of-reference, although not compulsory, whose sources are the peace treaties celebrated among the parties, the mandates of the operations, the experiences in the field and, the expertise brought to bear by the Secretariat of the UN; all of these considered in a larger normative context.

Nonetheless, it is important to note that even though liberal democracy has become the allegedly more desirable alternative for the development of a statebuilding strategy, this does not guarantee the consolidation of peace, nor does it minimize the chances for reigniting violence at the domestic level.

The different variations of the liberal democratic model, the instability of the regimes in democratic transition (Mansfield and Snyder, 1999), and democratization imposed from the outside with the participation of the local population and the recognition of the UN authority, greatly weaken the reconstruction process, even possibly compromising the peace

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consolidation effort and regional stability.

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Notes

[1] It is worth citing some precedents for these operations in some experiences of the League of Nations, notably the temporary administration of the territory of the Sarre, between 1920 and 1935, and the UN observation missions prior to 1956.

[2] The exception was the Korean War in 1950.

[3] The typology of peace-keeping operations varies from author to author. Thakur (2001), for example, categorizes peace-keeping operations in six different generations.

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Resources on Peace Missions, International Peace and Security

UCDP Database

www.ucdp.uu.se/gpdatabase/

Uppsala Conflict Data Program Database collects information on a large number of aspects of armed violence since 1946.

CrisisWatch Database

www.crisisgroup.org/en/key-issues/research-resources.aspx

CrisisWatch is a 12-page monthly bulletin designed to provide busy readers in the policy community, media, business and interested general public with a succinct regular update on the state of play in all the most significant situations of conflict or potential conflict around the world. You can use the [CrisisWatch database](#) to follow developments in any conflict situation covered by CrisisWatch for any month from 1 September 2003.

SIPRI Multilateral Peace Operations Database

www.sipri.org/databases/pko

The Stockholm International Peace Institute Multilateral Peace Operations Database provides comprehensive, reliable and authoritative data on all multilateral peace operations (both UN and non-UN) conducted around the world. It currently includes nearly 600 peace operations within the period 2000-2009 and is updated on a continual basis.

CPASS Database on National Troop Contributions to Peace Operations

<http://cpass.georgetown.edu/43147.html>

The Center for Peace And Security Studies Database (Georgetown University) is a result of a project intended to analyze what countries have been involved and to where have countries' troop contributions been directed during peacekeeping operations (2001-2008).

Social Conflict in Africa Database

ccaps.strauscenter.org/scad/conflicts

The Social Conflict in Africa Database (SCAD) is a resource for conducting research and analysis on various forms of social and political unrest in Africa. It includes over 6,000 social conflict events across Africa from 1990 to 2009, including riots, strikes, protests, coups, and communal violence. By tracking forms of conflict not covered in traditional datasets on civil and interstate war, SCAD gives policymakers and researchers new tools to analyze conflict patterns.

United Nations Documentation: Research Guide – Peacekeeping: Frequently Requested Documents

<http://www.un.org/Depts/dhl/resguide/pkdoc.htm>

One can find all the resolutions, decisions, presidential statements, reports and letters of the Secretary-General for each United Nations mission.

Common Security and Defence Policy Mission Analysis Partnership (CSDP MAP)

<http://www.csdpmap.eu/>

CSDP MAP collates the expanse of already existing information on CSDP missions and the regions where missions are conducted, to contribute to better understanding of CSDP process and planning for civil society, NGOs, as well as the staff in EU institutions, EU delegations and governments – policy makers and policy making recipients. The web portal hence enhances understanding of CSDP policy and mission planning and helps to improve relations between the EU institutions, governments and the mission ‘recipients’ (including civil society) alike, as well as linking impact on the ground with the aim of CSDP missions.

Book reviews

Center on International Cooperation (2010), *Review of Political Missions 2010*. Nova York: Center on International Cooperation. 288p. ISBN 978-1-4507-3345-8.

The vast bibliography on peace missions produced by academia and specialized think tanks – e.g. *International Peacekeeping* and the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute database on peace operations – focuses primarily on peacekeeping operations and, more recently, on peacebuilding. Missions which main activities focus on, inter alia, mediation and support of political processes are given lower priority.

They were given lower priority, judging by the *Review of Political Missions 2010*, recently published by the Center on International Cooperation at the New York University (CIC-NYU). Reviewing more than fifty “political missions”, especially those led by the United Nations (UN) and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), the publication provides an unprecedented picture about this less visible – and less studied – facet of the role of international organizations in armed conflicts and post-armed conflict situations.

CIC identifies three central aspects of so-called political missions (“special political missions” in the UN jargon): they are created by *political decisions* of multilateral forums, with *primarily political means* and *objectives* – not security, humanitarian or development-related. The term, therefore, would include from good offices missions, such as the one conducted by the Organization of American States (OAS) in Colombia and Ecuador, to missions with multiple and relatively diffuse goals, such as the UN current mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA).

One of the major contributions of the book is, plainly stated, to identify and to list the UN political missions, since the Department of Political Affairs (DPA), responsible for such missions, does not seem to follow the same policy regarding transparency of information as the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO). But the *Review of Political Missions 2010* goes even further, providing detailed data and statistics on the UN and OSCE political missions (number of personnel and vehicles, approved budget, disbursements, among others), as well as analyses of missions aggregated by regions and specific countries.

The volume also contains three thematic essays. In the first one, Ian Martin, once the Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General for Nepal, criticizes the artificial distinction between peacekeeping operations and political missions – after all, “all peace operations are political” – and suggests the creation of a unified department of peace and security, merging DPA and DPKO. Then, supported by an analysis of mandates, Ian Johnstone, who worked at the UN Secretariat, identifies some guiding principles and presents what he calls an “emerging doctrine” for special missions. Finally, Teresa Whitfield, who worked at DPA and has extensive experience in mediation, discusses the varied ways in which political missions carry out good offices and mediation activities, suggesting that their presence is often beneficial.

The volume, whose edition and main research was led by Richard Gowan, carries on and adds to the already reputed *Annual Review of Global Peace Operations* – published by CIC since 2006, essentially discussing peacekeeping operations. *Review of Political Missions* is undoubtedly a highly relevant contribution to scholars, practitioners and policymakers interested in peace operations and in the role played by international organizations in armed conflict and post-armed conflict situations.

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Benedek, Wolfgang; Daase, Christopher; Dimitrijevic, Vojin and van Duyne, Petrus (eds.) (2010), *Transnational terrorism, organized crime and peace-building – Human security in the Western Balkans*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. ISBN 978-0-230-23462-8.

This edited book is the result of the cooperation between 16 European universities and research centres during three years, under the coordination of the Centre for Human Rights and Democracy (Graz). It includes the main conclusions of this joint research, which was raised by the idea that organised crime, international terrorism and corruption in the Western Balkans jeopardize the efforts of post-conflict transition and peacebuilding.

After a short historical and conceptual contextualization of human security (Wolfgang Benedek), the concept is introduced in the first part of the book as central to the goals of peacebuilding and opposed to a more *statebuilding* perspective (Svetlana Djurdjevic-Lujic and Vojin Dimitrijevic). The weakness of state institutions and the transformation of economic structures during the war are then discussed as structural causes of *human insecurity* (Denisa Kostovicova and Vesna Bojicic-Dzelilovic). Christopher Daase reviews the literature on the connection between terrorism and organized crime, stressing the relevance of a conceptual and analytical match between these two phenomena. Other issues are also raised, such as gender differences in coping with terrorism (Sarah Ben-David and Keren Cohen-Louck), the shortcoming of analyzing criminal and terrorist actors as a network, stressing a complementary analysis of these *in* networks (Georgios Kolliarakis), as well as a study on the legal distinction between money laundering and the financing of terrorism (Marianne Hilf).

The second part of the book starts with the state of the art of the research on the connection between terrorism and organized crime in Southeastern Europe (Hans-Jörg Albrecht and Anna-Maria Getos) and a mapping essay of the actors involved in practices related to organized crime (Dejan Anastasijevic). Lyubov G. Mincheva and Ted R. Gurr analyze the connection between terrorist movements and international crime networks, stating that even though this connection has been real, it has faded out after the Dayton Agreements. Finally, Peter Andreas provides a descriptive chapter on the siege of Sarajevo and Iztok Prezelj an analysis on the fight against the proliferation of small arms and light weapons during the past ten years.

The third part begins with a mapping of the armed non-state actors and the different strategies to counter them, since they undermine the presence of external peacebuilders (Ulrich Schneckener) and are spoilers to regional security and to the promotion of a stable democracy in Bosnia-Herzegovina (Lada Sadikovic). The current status of the fight against organized crime in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the involvement of the international community are introduced by Cornelius Friesendorf, Ursula C. Schroeder and Irma Deljkic. Human rights are at the core of the final essays: first, on the current fight against corruption having a perverse effect in the application of human rights (Nicholas Dorn); second, focusing on the evolution of the role of the victims in the international criminal system and on the controversy of the therapeutic effects of these judicial procedures (Alline P. Jorge-Birol); third, with an analysis of the appearance of extremist right-wing movements in Serbia and on how the state and civil society have been reacting (Sarah Correia).

The main obstacle of this analysis was pointed out by Benedek in his final conclusion, where he stresses a disproportionate attention to terrorist threats, a direct result of superficial analyses, since reliable data collection has been difficult. The author also states as major problems corruption and economic crimes, and that the strengthening of state institutions will not be sufficient if it does not involve civil society. Yet, this book provides a helpful multidisciplinary and complex analysis of the current political and social situation in the Western Balkans, offering more than just a macro-analysis of the international security situation by coming closer to a problem-solving perspective linked to the concept of human security.

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Mapping research on European peace missions

The project “Mapping research on European peace missions” under COST Action IS0805 “New Challenges of Peacekeeping and European Union’s Role in Multilateral Crisis Management” resulted in the publication of a book mapping the existing literature on European peace missions since the 1990s until the Lisbon Treaty (2010). It starts with the early debates on European security and defense and builds on the thematic focuses defined by this COST Action: European Union (EU) cooperation with other International Organizations in crisis management; decision and planning; and missions’ evaluation. The literature from 1999 onwards is systematized according to these broad thematic lines, identifying core issues addressed in the bibliography and main trends associated to these.

It should be noted that the objective of this mapping was not just the identification of existing literature on European peace missions, nor was it limited to its review. This exercise further includes an informed analysis and group reflection on the issues and dynamics identified.



Mapping research on European Peace Missions

Additionally, the research team felt the need to identify emergent, underdeveloped and neglected areas of research as eventually constituting interesting avenues for future research. In a nutshell, the project is an exercise of collection, revision and analysis of a

significant and diverse number of bibliographical references on European peace missions.

The book starts by identifying the early debates related to European peace missions, starting with the Western European Union (WEU) role in the promotion of international peace and security as the ‘military arm’ of the EU. It then focuses on issues associated with the inclusion of the WEU tasks and capabilities within the EU and the gradual development of the European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP), its consolidation and its recent strengthening as Common Security and Defense Policy (CSDP) with the Lisbon Treaty. This first chapter focuses on geopolitical issues, member states visions, institutional dynamics in Europe and capabilities and missions between 1992 and 1999.

The second chapter addresses the role of the EU as an international actor, specifically focusing on the EU’s cooperation with other international organizations, namely the Atlantic Alliance, the United Nations, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe and the African Union. Decision making and planning processes within the EU are the focus of chapter three, highlighting as fundamental aspects identified in the literature the institutional framework and interactions, political will, strategic culture and development, capability building and normative debates associated to these processes. The literature on missions’ evaluation is reviewed in chapter four. It looks at the conceptualization of evaluation, at content and methodological aspects. The conclusion departs from the literature review providing a critical assessment of emerging trends, underdeveloped issues and neglected aspects that the team has identified throughout the project’s development.

This mapping exercise allowed for an extensive and intensive identification of references on European peace missions. The issues mapped provided a general overview of the main dynamics associated with European missions, both within the EU and in relation to other actors. This constitutes a solid basis to advance possible future research avenues, mainly focusing on the changes the Lisbon Treaty envisages.

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Some of the issues the Treaty raises are linked to decision making and inter-institutional coordination as well as the EU's relation with other actors, with clear potential impacts on ESDP/CSDP. The replacement of 'European' by 'Common' is such an example of how the new institutional dynamics concerning CSDP will reflect an effective change of decision-making processes.

Some avenues have already been the object of analysis as reflected in this mapping exercise, such as the relation of the EU with other international organizations. Nevertheless, the relevance of this issue demands more in-depth research focusing on the conceptualization and different possible scenarios of these relations. Additionally, another issue already addressed in the reviewed literature is evaluation. It requires, nevertheless, a different focus of analysis and a more sound methodological approach. The local dimension of European peace missions has not been fully investigated, particularly regarding the impact these missions have on local dynamics including institutions, leadership, power politics and civil society. This type of impact requires an understanding of the difference between short- and long-term analyses. Consequently, beyond evaluating for EU's internal dynamics objectives, it is crucial to evaluate for the mandates' broader goals on the ground. For this purpose, two methodological aspects are crucial: a common and adequate definition of evaluation criteria and a systematic comparative effort in the study of European peace missions.

Associated to these different lanes in this broader research avenue is the issue of exit-strategies. These are crucial for any serious assessment of peace interventions and are closely related with the results of evaluation and the impacts on local dynamics. In the literature reviewed gender issues were mainly neglected, not following the literature trend concerning military and gender issues. Therefore, this also seems a worthwhile research avenue.

This project was an enriching experience due to the diverse backgrounds of the team members, which brought distinct approaches, visions, concerns, focuses and suggestions to the exercise.

The research was conducted by an international team: Maria Raquel Freire (CES), Paula Duarte Lopes (CES), Fernando Cavalcante (CES), Markus Gauster (Institute for Peace Support and Conflict Management, National Defense Academy, Austria), Livia Fay Lucianetti (*Archivio Disarmo*, Italy), Pascoal Pereira (CES), Valterri Vuorisalo (Tampere University, Finland) and Rafaela Rodrigues de Brito (CES). This resulted in an innovative exercise, collecting, systematizing and reviewing core bibliographical references on ESDP/CSDP. The results include an extensive bibliographical database and an intensive revision of the main literature, which constitute both a useful research tool and a valuable resource for policy-oriented actors, researchers and practitioners alike providing an overview of issues and trends on European peace missions.

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P@X Studies

Life in Mission – the Case study of a Portuguese Military contingent in Kosovo

International peace missions, in the framework of organizations such as the Atlantic Alliance, the European Union and the United Nations, constitute a growing component of armed forces' missions in the world. The same trend is visible in Portuguese Armed Forces, called to intervene in crises and armed conflict scenarios far from national borders. In 2010, more than 30 000 Portuguese military personnel had participated in missions of the so-called Dislocated National Forces.

These military officers came to act in contexts different from traditional ones regarding the use of military force. Dislocated and separated from their families for relatively long periods, in the context of multinational forces, under the command of authorities that are beyond the national state, required to interact with a wide diversity of actors in conflict (or post-conflict) scenarios, they are embedded in the deep transformation of the sociological reality of military forces.

Becoming increasingly more common in the operational possibilities of the Armed Forces, these new missions are also contexts where the construction of legitimacy and social recognition of armed forces are played in the societies where they become involved.

Similarly to what has become current practice in other countries, we wanted in Portugal, and within the framing of the research project "Portuguese Armed Forces in the Post-Cold War" developed at CIES-IUL and funded by FCT (PTDC/SDE/70916/2006), to follow closely a military contingent in a peace mission.

Underlying this project two ideas have been anchored in the results of various sociological studies conducted on international peace support missions. On the one hand, that the definition and success of these types of operations depend strongly on the way the actors involved, from civil society and the political sphere, but especially the military themselves, construct their meaning and legitimacy. On the other hand, the conviction

that a better understanding of the factors that affect the behavior of military forces in these increasingly more complex scenarios of intervention will contribute to the future stability of operations.

In face of a relative underdevelopment in sociological studies about Portuguese military in international peace missions [1], this study sought to contribute to a better understanding of these new realities and their central actors, clarifying questions such as the following:

- In which way are these situations of dislocation experienced by the military?
- How do these living experiences articulate with the sense attributed by the military to the work and objectives of the military institution?
- What impacts do these have and which adjustments are necessary in the private and family lives of the military officers?
- What kind of contact and relationships do our military establish with other forces, with local population, with community leaders, and with organizations present in the theatre of operations?
- Which is, for these military, the meaning of internationalization in organizational and personal terms?
- How does civil-military cooperation take place? What difficulties and potentialities are identified?

In this way, between February and October 2009 we have closely accompanied 1BI/BrigINT/KFOR, a reserve force of KFOR commander, formed by 290 Portuguese military officers (including 33 women) whose mission took place in Kosovo between March and September 2009. Among the tasks that were attributed to this force there was the reinforcement of the *Multinational Task Forces* through the conduct of static operations, patrolling, mobile control posts, siege and rescue operations, information gathering, operations to control riots, interdiction and anti-

- trafficking, as well as acting as forces' multiplier, executing tasks of surveillance, escort and protection operations. The methodological approach for this study included a variety of instruments, used in different stages of the research.

In the preparatory period (February 2009), at the Infantry Regiment of Vila Real, the unit of origin of most of the military officers, we established a first contact with the battalion and its command, and gathered information about the type and characteristics of the training as well as the context and development of the mission. In that occasion, a questionnaire was applied and semi-directed interviews took place with military officials in different ranks.

The questionnaire allowed the gathering of data about sociographic characterization, trajectory and military experience, perception by the military about their work/military institution, about international missions and peace missions, about motivations, and expectations regarding the mission in Kosovo, as well as about the perspectives of military officials over family relations in this context. In the following months, we also made interviews with the husbands/wives/partners of some of the military officials aiming to deepen the topic on family/military institution relations.

During the mission period, in June 2009, 3 team members participated in the mission, at 'Slim Lines' in Pristina. This experience allowed an informal involvement with the military in the field, direct observation/participation in their activities and the conduction of dozens of interviews. For two weeks, doing field work, we accompanied the day-to-day of the contingent, shared facilities, meals, time of work and leisure. We also accompanied them in outings and contacts with the population, military and local authorities and with other forces, and talked formally and informally with many of them.

After the return to Portugal, a new questionnaire was applied regarding the

evaluation of the experience in mission (including aspects as level of satisfaction, assessment of the contingent's work and the organization of the mission, difficulties felt, positive and negative aspects), leisure activities and communication, family relationships, perspectives about future participation in missions and the role of women in peace support operations.

The results of this research work will be published expecting that, despite constituting a case study, the deeper knowledge of the sociological dynamics generated in mission context, of which this is an example, might help to understand similar situations, supporting, in this way, the decision-making process regarding future missions.

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Notes

[1] See Carreiras, Helena (1999), "O que Pensam os Militares Portugueses do Peacekeeping?", *Estratégia*, 14: 65-95; Carreiras, Helena (2010), "Soldados sem inimigos? Um olhar sociológico sobre os militares Portugueses em missões de paz", in Branco, Carlos M. and Garcia, Francisco Proença (eds.), *A Participação de Portugal em Missões de Paz*. Lisbon, Prefácio.

GEP's Attic

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Freire, Maria Raquel (2011) (org.), *Política Externa: As Relações Internacionais em Mudança*. Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra.

Freire, Maria Raquel (2011), "USSR/Russian Federation Major Power Status Inconsistencies", in Thomas Volgy, Renato Corbetta, Keith Grant e Ryan Baird (org.), *Major Powers and the Quest for Status in International Politics: Global and Regional Perspectives*. Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan.

Freire, Maria Raquel; Simão, Licínia (2011), "ENP and Post-Soviet Transition in the South Caucasus: Triangulating Democracy, Security and Stability", in David Bosold, Petr Drulák e Nik Hynek (org.), *Democratization and Security in Central and Eastern Europe and the Post-Soviet States*. Berlin: Nomos Verlag.

Freire, Maria Raquel (2010), *A Externalização da Abordagem Compreensiva: O Caso UE-Rússia*, in Ana Paula Brandão (org.), *A União Europeia e o Terrorismo Transnacional*. Coimbra: Almedina.

Freire, Maria Raquel; Lopes, Paula Duarte (2010), "It's not the What But the How: A critical approach to peace and violence", *Oficina do CES*, 343.

Madeira, Luís Filipe; Laurent, Stéphane; **Roque, Sílvia** (2011), "The international cocaine trade in Guinea-Bissau: current trends and risks", *NOREF Working Paper*.

Moura, Tatiana; Santos, Rita (2011), "No body, no crime? The Mothers of Acari and the struggle against impunity and human rights violations", in O'Reilly, Andrea (ed.) (org.), *You Say You Want a Revolution: The 21st Century Motherhood Movement*. York: Demeter Press.

Nascimento, Daniela (2010), "Humanitarismo e a 'guerra contra o terrorismo': de dilemas complexos a oportunidades perdidas?", *Oficina do CES*, 358.

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Nascimento, Daniela; Lopes, Paula Duarte (2011), "República Federal da Nigéria", in Freire, Maria Raquel (org.), *Política Externa: As Relações Internacionais em Mudança*. Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, 287-312.

Roque, Sílvia (2010), *Violências contra mulheres na Guiné-Bissau: uma análise de percepções e de regras sociais de sexo e seu papel na legitimação da violência*, Bissau: PNUD/FNUAP Guiné-Bissau.

Roque, Sílvia; Cardoso, Katia (2011), "Entre a marginalização e a securitização: jovens e violências em Cabo Verde e na Guiné-Bissau", in Centro de Estudos Africanos, (org.) Lisboa: CEA.

Santos, Rita (2011), "Perspectivas feministas e pensamento sobre e para a paz: (re)conhecer as violências e resgatar as pazes", *Oficina do CES*, 363.

APRIL

Carla Afonso, Rita Santos, Sílvia Roque and Tatiana Moura (NHUMEP e OGIVA/CES) organized the seminar “Youth, gender and security”, Pontifícia Universidade Católica - SP, São Paulo, Brazil, 12 April 2011.

MARCH

Daniela Nascimento participated in the III Meeting of the National Commission of Human Rights, in representation of OGIVA/CES, NHUMEP and the School of Economics of the University of Coimbra, 31 March 2011.

Daniela Nascimento presented the communication “Humanitarianism at the crossroads: dilemmas and opportunities of the ‘war on terror’”, 52nd Annual Convention of the International Studies Association, Montreal, Canada, 18 March 2011.

Daniela Nascimento presented the communication “The (in)visibilities of war and peace: an analysis of dominant conflict prevention and peacebuilding strategies”, 52nd Annual Convention of the International Studies Association, Montreal, Canada, 18 March 2011.

Maria Raquel Freire presented the communication “Foreign Policy Shaping and Making: Russian Politics between Discourse and Practice”, 52nd Annual Convention of the International Studies Association, Montreal, Canada, 18 March 2011.

Paula Duarte Lopes presented the communication “Even if water is securitized, so what?”, 52nd Annual Convention of the International Studies Association, Montreal, Canada, 18 March 2011.

Maria Raquel Freire presented the communication “Seguridad y inseguridad en las relaciones UE-Rusia: percepciones, discursos e prácticas en la ‘guerra contra el terror’”, International Seminar *La prevención y lucha contra el terrorismo en la Unión Europea: Un abordaje bilateral de los problemas políticos y jurídicos*, Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia (UNED), Madrid, Spain, 2 March 2011.

FEBRUARY

Maria Raquel Freire presented the communication “A Rússia no Conselho de Segurança das Nações Unidas”, Working Group ‘Portugal no Conselho de Segurança da ONU (2011-12)’, Fundação Luso-Americana para o Desenvolvimento (FLAD), Lisbon, 25 February 2011.

Maria Raquel Freire presented the communication “Política Externa Russa e Segurança Europeia: Linhas de da República Portuguesa (SIRP), Lisbon, 18 February 2011.

Tatiana Moura and **Rita Santos** presented the communication “Violência e Armas de Fogo: um Retrato português”, Seminar “Portugal entre desassossegos e desafios”, School of Economics, University of Coimbra, 17 February 2011.

Paula Duarte Lopes presented the communication “A Água ibérica: da gestão nacional à governação transnacional”, Seminar ‘Portugal entre desassossegos e desafios’, School of Economics, University of Coimbra, 17 February 2011.

Tatiana Moura presented the communication “Factores de violencia y de pacificación en las aglomeraciones urbanas”, Conference “Las paces de cada día”, Zaragoza, Spain, 11 -12 February 2011.

DECEMBER

Sofia José Santos and Cristina Sala coordinated the “Workshop on Peace Journalism”, Foro Mundial de Educação Temático 2010, Santiago de Compostela, Spain, 10- 13 December 2011.

NOVEMBER

Rita Santos presented the communication "A sociedade civil portuguesa e o controlo de armas e desarmamento", International Conference "Desarmamento civil e Cultura de Paz", Rede Desarma Brasil, Brasília, Brazil, 21-22 November 2011.

Katia Cardoso presented the communication "Regresso a casa" = perpetuação do estigma? A representação dos deportados cabo-verdianos, Centre for Social Studies/CES, Coimbra, 11 November 2011.

Katia Cardoso participated in the organization of the International Conference "As Mulheres em Cabo Verde: Experiências e Perspectivas", Cabo Verde University, Cidade da Praia, Cape Verde, 9-10 November 2011.