

P@X online bulletin

NEW HORIZONS IN THE
FIELD OF PEACE STUDIES

SUMMARY:

Editorial	1
<i>Raquel Freire</i>	
P@X theory	2-4
"Aesthetic margins in Peace Studies"	
<i>Gilberto C. Oliveira</i>	
Self-determination in Western Sahara: a desert of hope?	
<i>Mateus Kowalski</i>	5-7
P@x Observatory	8
P@x Studies	
"The future of statebuilding: a critical commentary"	
<i>Daniela Nascimento, Maria Raquel Freire, Paula Duarte Lopes</i>	9-10
Interview with Oliver Richmond	
"The local-liberal hybridity modifies the great empire of the liberal state"	
<i>Fernando Cavalcante and Ramon Blanco</i>	11-14
Book review	
<i>Empire, Development & Colonialism – The Past in the Present</i>	
<i>Ramon Blanco</i>	15-17
NEP's attic	18-19

P@X

Peace Studies Group Coordination:
Maria Raquel Freire and Tatiana Moura

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P@X Coordination:
Rita Santos and Sofia Santos

Editing and translation:
Rita Santos and Marta Peça

Peace Studies Group
Centre for Social Studies
School of Economics
University of Coimbra
Colégio S. Jerónimo, Apartado 3087
3001-401 Coimbra
Portugal
Tel: + 351 239 855593
Fax: + 351 239 855589
<http://www.ces.uc.pt/nucleos/nep>

Editorial

This edition of P@x marks the beginning of the active involvement of the students of the Doctoral Programme on International Politics and Conflict Resolution (CES/FEUC) in one of the elements of higher visibility and projection of the Peace Studies Group (NEP/CES) – the online bulletin P@x.

PhD students (2008/2009 edition) were in charge of the planning, organisation and revision of the articles. This exercise revealed itself crucial in three different dimensions: first, the opportunity to put to good use creativity and analytical skills; second, the possibility of participating in the editorial process and, third, the experience of integrating a working team where the coordination of efforts and the compliance with the deadlines merge into a demanding but stimulating experience.

For these reasons, we intend to put forward an annual special edition of P@x, under the responsibility of the PhD

candidates of the practice of peace studies. Programme on The book review of International Politics and Duffield, Mark; Hewitt, Conflict Resolution, which Vernon (Eds.) (2009), is a programme oriented towards advanced skills in reading contemporary international politics, with special emphasis on *Empire, Development & Colonialism – The Past in the Present*, by Ramon Blanco, and the testimony of a heated debate on the future of international strife, be it statebuilding, by Daniela Nascimento, Maria Raquel Freire and Paula Duarte Lopes, complete from the viewpoint of the analytical framework that this edition seeks to amplify. On the behalf of the PhD programme, I endeavouring to combine the agendas of research in *conflict studies* and those of *peace studies*. An agenda made visible in this edition of P@x, entitled "New horizons in the field of Peace Studies", made up of the contributions of Gilberto Oliveira, on the aesthetic turn in Peace Studies, of Mateus Kowalski, on the (im)possibilities of the Western Sahara conflict resolution, and of Fernando Cavalcante and Ramon Blanco, who interviewed Professor Oliver Richmond, University of St. Andrews, United Kingdom, on the conjugation of theory and

Maria Raquel Freire (coordinator of the PhD Programme on International Politics and Conflict Resolution)

P@X theory

Aesthetic margins in Peace Studies

In the last decade, International Relations scholars have explored alternative and experimental sources – visual arts, music, photography, cinema and literature – to think world politics [1], launching what has been called an “aesthetic turn in international political theory” (Bleiker, 2001).

This aesthetic turn, however, is not intended to overcome academic scientific knowledge. Its proposition is more subtle and balanced: it advocates the validation of “the whole register of human perceptions”, highlighting sensitive practices that have been marginalised by the rationality that dominates the production of knowledge in International Relations (Bleiker, 2001: 510-3). Thus, an aesthetic turn has to do with facilitating more productive interactions across “sensitivity, imagination and reason” and not to claim the supremacy of one of these faculties in relation to the other (*Ibid*: 511).

Following the paths opened by this aesthetic turn, this article begins by exploring a brief case study focused on a conceptualist tendency of contemporary art called “dialogical art”. Then, it examines how the emancipatory concerns of this kind of art can contribute to the current agenda of Peace Studies.

An Aesthetic Argumentation in Contemporary Art

Case 1: “Boat Colloquies”

A small boat sails on Lake Zurich, taking politicians, journalists, prostitutes and social activists into its cabin. The purpose of this performance, created by the Austrian artist WochenKlausur in 1994, was to establish a space for discussions around the difficulties to support the drug addiction of women who had turned to prostitution and, therefore, became victims of constant violence committed by customers and police (Kester, 2004: 1-2).



Emancipation (Fonte: www.avant-garde-capital.com)

Case 2: “The ROUTES project”

In Belfast, bus drivers are encouraged to talk about their experiences in the past thirty years. The purpose of this performance, created collectively by Northern Irish artists in 2001, was to give voice to transport workers from Belfast who had made the decision to drive on all routes in the city in 1970, regardless of their religious and political affiliations. Because of this decision, the public transportation in Belfast had become one of the few areas where Protestants and Catholics continued to work together, which submitted the drivers to high levels of violence caused by hijacking, stoning and bombings (*Ibid*: 7).

Notwithstanding great differences in each project, the cases have key points in common. Firstly, the projects do not present themselves as political or social activism tools, but rather as works of art. Secondly, the projects’ focus is the human interaction rather than the production of a physical object in order to stimulate some form of visual delight. The conversation is the essence of the works and the artists merely provide a context that facilitates the intercommunication between individuals placed in opposite sides.

According to Kester, “the ritualistic context of an art event” created by this type of

P@X theory

“dialogical art” [2] encourages people “to speak and imagine beyond the limits of fixed identities, official discourse, and the perceived inevitability of partisan political conflict” (*Ibid*: 2, 8). Suzanne Lacy, an American artist engaged in this kind of performance, says that her works seek to produce a creative discursive space where “differences and conflicts can be examined without violence” (cited by Kester, 2004: 116).

With such characteristics, these cases of dialogical art fall within the performative heritage of Dadaism and follow the path opened by a key member of that movement, Marcel Duchamp, for whom art was a concept rather than the production of some object by the artist’s craft skills (Ades, 1975: 6-7). It is therefore within this conceptualist perspective – “an art of ideas rather than products” (Goldberg, 2007: 7) – that dialogical art works.



Peace dove

(Fonte: <http://imagoverbalis.files.wordpress.com>)

By using performances – an unmarketable medium of art – to examine several forms of violence in an aestheticised context of a habermasian communicative ethics [3], the dialogical art takes a favourable critical position to reflect on some key concerns of contemporary art: how to recover the original revolutionary strength of avant-garde movements, now transformed into orthodoxy? How to make art less self-referential and bring it closer to people’s lives? How to produce an emancipatory art committed to silenced people? These are complex issues that these performances attempt to answer.

Aesthetic Margins in Peace Studies

Pureza (2008) emphasises that Peace Studies were incorporated into public policies, becoming thus “useful knowledge for the pacification of a structurally violent system”. Hence, their revolutionary insights have become the orthodoxy and lost their original emancipatory meaning. Richmond (2007) argues that the orthodoxy of International Relations is anti-peace because it emphasises sovereignty, states and institutions and thus neglects the everyday life (*Ibid*: 447). Based on these concerns, both authors converge on one key point: the need to find critical margins to bypass orthodoxy and through those margins reach an emancipatory vision of peace that comes close to people’s daily lives.

Searching for those margins, Richmond (2007) suggests an aesthetic turn inspired by Dadaism and other avant-garde art movements that shook the foundations of academic art in the early decades of the twentieth century. In this way, Richmond defends a Dadaist moment in International Relations Theory and proposes experimental, eclectic and creative methods and approaches that challenge the traditional thinking and lead to changes in the anti-peace perspective that characterises the orthodoxy of International Relations (*Ibid*: 446-7).

In the Dadaist sense suggested by Richmond, the contributions of art to Peace Studies come in two ways: the method – experimental and eclectic – and the normative guidance – anti-war and anti-bourgeois – of the vanguards considered by the author. In the case of the dialogical art examined in this article, a third way becomes prominent: the questions themselves seem relevant to Peace Studies. By challenging the orthodoxy of institutionalised forms of art, by placing direct, structural and cultural violence in the centre of their works, by bringing the art closer to the ordinary people’s lives, and by giving voice to silenced minorities, dialogical art deals with issues that are very close to the current emancipatory concerns of Peace Studies, as shown in the following agenda:

P@x theory

- Criticism of the submission of Peace Studies to the orthodoxy of the liberal peace (Pureza, 2008; Richmond, 2007);
- Strengthening and radicalisation of the study of structural and cultural violence, especially of that which is now “the most complex and hardest form of violence: the precariousness of the lives” (Pureza, 2008);
- Emphasis on the everyday aspects of peace (Richmond, 2007); and
- Extension of the boundaries of Peace Studies, disregarding the “war and peace” dichotomy to incorporate the concept of *continuums* of violence – in which it is inserted the “war trivialised in the daily life” of the great urban centres (Pureza and Moura, 2005) and the marginalisation and silencing of experiences from several sectors of society, particularly women (Moura, 2007).

Based on these common emancipatory concerns between dialogical artists and peace researchers, we conclude that an exchange between art and Peace Studies not only indicates eclectic, experimental and creative methods and approaches, as suggested by the Dadaist claim made by Richmond, but also suggests fruitful margins of thinking, as it disrupts the boundary between the two areas of knowledge and leads to an interdisciplinary perspective that makes possible the comparative analysis of similar issues within different epistemologies.

Gilberto C. Oliveira

gilbertooliv@gmail.com

PhD student in International Politics and Conflict Resolution at the School of Economics, University of Coimbra.

Notes

[1] See thematic issues of the following publications: *Alternatives*, 2000, 25 (3), *Social Alternatives*, 2001, 20 (4), *Peace Review*, 2001, 13 (2), *Millennium*, 2001, 30 (3), *Millennium*, 2006, 34 (3), *Security Dialogue*, 2007, 38 (3), *Review of International Studies*, 2009, 35 (4).

[2] In this article, we use the term dialogical art created by Kester (2004), albeit other terms have been assigned to this type of art: public art, landscape art, relational aesthetics, conversational art, dialogue-based public art (*ibid*: 9-10).

[3] Based on the notion that the structure of the dialogue offers a margin for human interaction that is free from the distortions of power relations (Habermas, 1984).

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P@x theory

Self-determination in Western Sahara: a desert of hope?[1]

Western Sahara was for much of the twentieth century a Spanish province. It was only after Franco's death in November 1975 that the new Spanish government decided to abandon that territory. However, both Morocco and Mauritania claimed sovereignty over the territory.

The International Court of Justice, at the request of the General Assembly of the United Nations, on 16 October 1975 issued an advisory opinion on the situation in Western Sahara (ICJ, 1975). Morocco claimed that it had links of sovereignty to the territory based on "immemorial possession" of the area and uninterrupted exercise of its authority. It argued that it should be taken into account the special structure of the Moroccan state, which was established not so much with respect to a notion of territory but more on common religious bonds and the allegiance of various tribes to the Sultan. On the other hand, Mauritania claimed that at the time of colonisation the 'Mauritanian entity' [2] included the territory stretching from the Senegal River to the *Wad Sakiet El Hamra*. Thus, Mauritania argued that the territory of Western Sahara, then under Spanish administration, and the territory of Mauritania were indivisible parts of a single territorial unit subject to the sovereignty of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania.

The Court, after stating its opinion on how the Western Sahara at the time of Spanish colonisation was not *terra nullius*, concluded that there was no sovereign connection between the territory of Western Sahara and Morocco or Mauritania. The Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples would apply to the decolonisation of Western Sahara. It was thus recognised the Sahrawi people's right to self-determination. Under that Declaration "immediate actions should be taken in trust territories and non-autonomous territories or other areas that still are not independent, to transfer all powers to the peoples of those territories, without condition or reservation, according to its will and desire freely



Western Sahara flag

(Source: <http://pimentanegra.blogspot.com>)

expressed, without distinction of race, creed or colour, to allow enjoying complete independence and freedom" (UNGA, 1960).

However, on the 6 November 1975 began what became known as the 'green march': around 350,000 unarmed Moroccans converged on the south of Morocco in order to enter the Western Sahara and form the 'Great Morocco'. At the time, the Security Council condemned the 'green march' and called on Morocco to withdraw immediately from the territory of Western Sahara all the participants in the march [3]. After the death of Franco, Morocco annexed two-thirds of the territory, while Mauritania annexed the other third. In 1979, after a guerrilla war with the Polisario Front supported by Algeria, Mauritania left that third of the territory immediately occupied by Morocco.

In 1991, under the supervision of the United Nations, it was declared a cease-fire. Morocco continued to occupy the whole of Western Sahara. The Security Council then decided to establish the United Nations Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara (MINURSO) for the holding of a referendum on the self-determination of the territory to be organized by the United Nations, in cooperation with the African Union [4].

The question, however, is still far from being settled. There is still a deadlock on the

P@x theory

exercise of the right to self-determination. On the one hand, Morocco has reiterated its position to not accept a referendum on the independence of Western Sahara as an option. Instead, the Polisario Front, supported by Algeria, maintains that independence should be an option to endorse. The latter is also the position of principle of the United Nations (UNS, 2006).

The Western Sahara has been called the 'last colony in Africa' (Toby, 2004). Precisely, the actions of the United Nations were always taken from the view that the situation in Western Sahara is a case of decolonisation. Consequently, the future of Western Sahara should be resolved by the exercise of the right to self-determination through a referendum held by the United Nations with two options: integration into Morocco or independence. However, in this case, the United Nations has failed to put its doctrine into practice and to organise a referendum. Moreover, this inability of the United Nations has been fuelled by its own dubious attitude when encouraging the parties (Morocco, Polisario Front and Algeria) to negotiate (CG, 2007).



Western Sahara map

(Source: <http://www.paginavermelha.org/>)

This reveals a realist detachment from its usual position to deal with the situation as a case of decolonisation, in which the Saharawi people have the right to self-determination.

Furthermore, the mandate of MINURSO is based on resolutions adopted under Chapter VI of the UN Charter, thus granting it with limited authority. To that extent, MINURSO has been unable to fulfil its mandate to hold the referendum, and there is no assurance about when it will be able to do so.

The impasse continues and the question is not on the political agenda of countries with influence in the region. The regional enmities, different foreign policy priorities of regional powers or the fact that the territory is rich in minerals such as titanium, uranium and iron, and has the largest deposits of phosphates in the world are not conducive to the overcoming of the conflict (Haugen, 2007), although, paradoxically, those minerals are essential to the future of the people of an independent Western Sahara. The foreign economic interests in the region help a convenient inaction. Still, it has been argued, controversially, that difficulties in identifying a local group with consolidated identity that can be called a 'Sahrawi people' make it impossible to find the subject of the right to self-determination (Daadaoui, 2008).

It is also worth reflecting on the importance of political commitment of the international society. A possible resolution of the situation in Western Sahara can create a precedent for the claims of Palestinian self-determination against the occupied territories or identical claims of the Kurds in relation to Turkey, Syria and even Iraq (Spector, 2009). A precedent that not everyone will be willing to accept. Moreover, it is instructive to note that East Timor people got their independence only when there was a real commitment from most of the international society, an independence that was based on a right to self-determination already recognised by the United Nations. In Western Sahara the cadence of the impasse seems to be determined by the desire for *status quo* of states with interests in the region. Thus, in a more general framework, it is worth wondering about the ability of the United Nations to enforce a clear mandate regarding the exercise of self-determination when, by contrast, there are conflicting interests of states with influence in a given territory.

P@x theory

This paper does not intend to offer a fast answer to the problem. In any event, it could be argued, first, that the success of the United Nations operations demands a strong and detailed mandate, preferably on the basis of a resolution under Chapter VII of the UN Charter. Then, the individual power of states appears to be able to supersede the collective power of the United Nations. An apparent paradox with clear reflection in the Western Sahara situation.

Mateus Kowalski[†]

mateus.kowalski@gmail.com

PhD student in International Politics and Conflict Resolution at the School of Economics, University of Coimbra.

Notes

[1] The author acknowledges the support given by the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation for the achievement of his PhD. The author also wishes to thank Inês Coroa for her contribution to this paper.

[2] The *Bilad Shinguitti*.

[3] Resolution 380 (1975), 6 November 1975.

[4] Resolution 690 (1991), 29 April 1991.

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P@x Observatory

RESOURCES ON NEW HORIZONS IN THE FIELD OF PEACE STUDIES

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P@x builders

Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies (United Kingdom)

<http://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/intrel/cpcs/>

The Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies (CPCS) aims to establish and maintain a forum committed to advancing critical theoretical, conceptual and empirical understandings of the development of responses to conflict and the construction of peace. In particular it aims to interrogate the relationship between conflict and the forms of 'peace' - often the liberal peace and its local hybrids - being created in conflict zones mainly in the developing world today. The expertise of the Centre's members ranges across the following areas: peace and conflict theory; peacebuilding; liberal peace; local contextuality in peacebuilding; the attempted construction of the liberal state in Africa; Terrorism and conflict theory; UN Peace Operations and state-building.

The Ethnography of Peace

<http://www.peacefulsocieties.org/index.html>

This website, created in 2005, aims to introduce peaceful societies as contemporary groups of people who effectively foster interpersonal harmony and who rarely permit violence or warfare to interfere with their lives, to students, peace activists, scholars and citizens who are interested in the conditions that promote peacefulness. It includes information on the beliefs of these peoples, the ways they maintain their nonviolence, and the factors that challenge their lifestyles.

The future of statebuilding: A critical commentary

The future of statebuilding was the theme of the recent new school year opening conference of the University of Westminster. Roland Paris (University of Ottawa), Oliver Richmond (University of St. Andrews) and David Chandler (University of Westminster) were some of the key-speakers. Roland Paris [1] reflected on the challenges faced by international statebuilding, with particular focus on the risks driven by exaggerated critique towards liberal peacebuilding, mainly put forward by critical studies. According to Paris, there are four main ideas to be considered in order to overcome this situation. First, academics should promote a balanced and rigorous debate of the liberal peace. Up until now, it has been too focused on the intervention *per se*, perceiving different kinds of intervention, such as the ones in Iraq and Afghanistan and the ones led by the UN in the same way, regardless their differences. As such, he believes that peacebuilding risks losing credibility. Secondly, statebuilding analysis should include onwards the relationship between formal and informal institutions as the dominant institutional approach has led to the creation of formal institutions detached from local dynamics.

As such, Paris suggests that “the chief organisation to understand the different local and informal ways of governance would be the American army”. Thirdly, the need for a greater interdisciplinarity should be recognised by the academia in order to include local knowledge (anthropological and ethnographic studies) and comparative experiences regarding peacebuilding intervention analysis. Fourthly, the creation of practical knowledge, based on the definition of the “DOs and DON’T’S” in assisting countries at risk should also be considered. Paris concluded his communication stating that “fragile states or states at risk are a human well-fare challenge, just as the one set up by climate change”.

In turn, Oliver Richmond distanced himself from Paris critical analysis, believing it to be circular and unproductive. Richmond argued that critical thinking is essential to step forward. However, according to him, this critical analysis should be centered instead (1) on the impact of these interventions regarding institutions, (2) the resources allocated for the missions, (3) the lack of preparation concerning the responses drawn and (4) the deficient knowledge of local dynamics. This would constitute, thus, a different critical approach. Richmond questions the experimental logic underlying Paris critique, highlighting that these interventions have direct impacts on people’s daily lives. Furthermore, the core agendas which inform decisions and intervention methods shouldn’t be ignored. Finally, David Chandler stressed that Paris critique doesn’t address the core question, since it is centred on excusing intervention failures. Hence, this critical analysis becomes contradictory in ontological terms: interventions presuppose that local actors’ autonomy has a negative impact on statebuilding processes and, at the same time, liberal discourse departs precisely from the idea of autonomy.

Based on these comments, there are two main points within the debate: critical approach towards statebuilding and the liberal nature of this kind of intervention. Regarding the first idea, Paris believes that critical approaches are exaggerated, hence, not contributing to improvements on the ground; the alternative would be not to intervene, which, in his opinion, is not acceptable. In turn, Richmond highlights the importance of critical analysis as a way to overcome existing difficulties, underlying the importance of local impacts. Finally, Chandler considers Paris’ critique a way to justify intervention’s unsatisfactory results.

Concerning the second idea, Paris states that in contrast to the critiques put forward by the critical studies proponents, the insufficient liberalism of

P@X Studies

the interventions in place is what explains their failure. Richmond distances himself completely from this position suggesting instead a critical post-liberal approach, where liberalism constitutes itself as reflexive and in dialogue with local and informal dimensions. Finally, Chandler considers that liberal statebuilding is characterised by an intractable contradiction since liberal approaches presuppose the autonomy of local actors while liberal interventions envisage this autonomy as a problem regarding statebuilding goals.

This debate shows the dynamism and the richness of this field of study and intervention. All the panelists highlighted the importance of informal institutions and local dynamics within the statebuilding equation, as well as the diversity of perspectives within this area, underlying the long path still lying ahead.

Daniela Nascimento

danielan@fe.uc.pt

Maria Raquel Freire

rfreire@fe.uc.pt

Paula Duarte Lopes

pdl@fe.uc.pt

Peace Studies Group (NEP/CES)

University Press); and, most recently, in *Dilemmas of Statebuilding: Confronting the Contradictions of Postwar Peace Operations*, where he defines statebuilding as “a particular approach to peacebuilding emphasizing the construction or strengthening of legitimate governmental institutions in countries emerging from civil conflict” (2009: 1. Routledge, co-edition with Timothy Sisk).

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Notes

[1] In his presentation, Paris didn't make a distinction between statebuilding and peacebuilding, presenting both concepts as synonyms. This distinction is much clearer in some of his books, namely *At War's End: Building Peace after Violence*, where Paris describes peacebuilding as “the attempt to identify and support structures which will tend to strengthen and solidify peace in order to avoid a relapse into conflict” (2004: 2-3. Cambridge

“The local-liberal hybridity modifies the great empire of the liberal state”

Professor Oliver P. Richmond, from the University of St. Andrews, UK, is one of the most authoritative researchers in contemporary peace and conflict studies. In his academic career, he has focused his attention on how different theoretical conceptions, especially in International Relations (IR), affect debates about peace and conflict issues. In continuing his critical research work on the liberal peace, Richmond is now pushing peace and conflict studies ahead by studying the prospects for a “post-liberal peace” and by analysing how it is affected by local agency – an issue often neglected by mainstream researchers. We have interviewed Professor Richmond on his current research works.

FC/RB: In one of your latest works, Peace in International Relations, you have analysed how peace has been studied by different theoretical schools or traditions in the field of IR. In the book, you showed that IR theory has been silent about peace, often hiding itself behind debates on issues such as states, institutions and national sovereignty. Although this is probably too soon to tell, how would you describe the impact of that book in IR scholarship?

Oliver Richmond (OR): That book developed from my *The Transformation of Peace* book, which was, I think, a more substantive contribution to IR, both theoretically and empirically. As I was writing *The Transformation of Peace*, I realized that very few works have been written specifically on the question of peace in IR, on how peace should be understood, contextualized and projected in IR theory. I felt International Relations was not addressing peace anymore and had lost touch with its early ideas from the period right after the WW I. Hence, in *Peace in IR* I tried to draw out the implications of IR theories for peace. And yes, I did conclude that IR was now relatively silent about peace, although there were different historical and contemporary debates that

have been heroically maintained, such as peace research and conflict studies. I think the book got some good reviews and it has been noticed. It has become fairly a common place to include the question of peace in calculations about international relations and foreign policy again. I cannot, however, say that such trend is a result of my book. I was really just tapping in to a discussion that perhaps more radical critical thinkers were also thinking around the same time. Hence, I am not sure about the book's overall impact, but I hope it will have some.

FC/RB: And currently, what is the primary research question in your research works? That kind of question that prevents you from sleeping or awakes you during the night...

OR: One of the questions is a retrospective question: why did peace become hidden? Why the theory became silenced, why did we accept all of the assumptions that are associated with the modern liberal state – the liberal state in its neo-liberal, quite realist formulation, rather than its emancipatory and critical form? Why did this become so dominant? And another question that is fascinating me is how all of these supposedly incapable, hidden and disabled local agencies that do not have access to the same huge resources that the liberal state has access to, have managed to insert themselves into this liberal peace paradigm and to modify it. I am fascinated by the relationship of these different types of agencies that occur outside the liberal, secular, modern state, and how they are modifying liberalism itself. That is the whole post-liberal agenda that I am trying to map out in my current works.

FC/RB: You have been suggesting an approach to the investigation of peace that you have termed “eirenist”. You have also been writing about hybridity and advocating for a reflection about peace beyond Northern epistemologies. The term “eirenist”, however, goes back to ancient Greece, which is considered by many postcolonialists and decolonialists as the birthplace of an epistemology that is the very root of the violence against the Other. Is there any reason

P@X studies

Interview with Oliver Richmond, by Fernando Galvante and Ramon Lancio

for rescuing an ancient Greek concept, instead of one from another region, such as China or the Middle East, for instance? How can such an “eirenist approach” go beyond Northern epistemologies?

OR: Eirenism is really just a way of asking the mainstream academy in Western universities and to those for who are outside the liberal paradigm what theory and methodology might imply for a work on peace. I certainly was not trying to concur with any kind of epistemic violence or the reconstruction of any particular boundaries or hierarchies between Western and non-Western thoughts or dynamics. In suggesting such an approach, I was really just drawing on Erasmus’ position that there was chauvinism against the different sects within Christianity. He was calling for a more ecumenical approach, where discrimination would not arise in actions and policies. So, it is to avoid the same kind of epistemic violence that I am referring to postcolonial theory. On the second part of the question, I think that looking to the Middle East, India or South America for new epistemologies is valuable, but you may run the risk of putting yourself in the same kind of “-centric” position. And I think this is problematic, whether it is centered in Europe or in South East Asia or anywhere else. I try to move beyond that kind of territorial reduction of thought that prevails in IR theory. It is a move that tries to uncover the structural violence rather than trying to reaffirm it, and any move to an alterity – let us say postcolonial thinking, for instance – has to follow the same aim, has to avoid imposing any structural violence.

FC/RB: The field of “peace studies” or “peace research” has been marked by a critical impetus against more traditional approaches, such as realism. In your most recent works, you have called for interdisciplinary approaches to peace, both in terms of theories and methods. How could we improve our understanding of peace by merging such different approaches as peace research and arts, or peace research and anthropology, for

instance?

OR: I was just trying to bring together some of the work carried out on development studies, sociology, anthropology, political philosophy, etc, and show that the question of peace is one of the most interdisciplinary areas that we have. Such a point is not always recognized. If you think about formal IR – and this is the way I think about it – it goes back to a Foucauldian governmentality, it is just about persuading people via the art of being governed, about the type of governance you have and about persuading people to comply with it. Bringing in political theory, philosophy, anthropology – in particular its ethnographic techniques, sociology, international law, and a range of other disciplines allow us to begin to conceptualize that enormous space where peace takes its form. In my view, IR alone misses this point, but making it more interdisciplinary will enable us to understand peace better. The other side of governmentality is the art of not being governed. Foucault wrote an essay called “What is Critique” in which he said that in the space below institutions, what normal people do, what individuals and communities are doing, is developing the art of not being governed, or not being governed quite so much. I think that is a brilliant insight. It opens a wide range of different areas in which we start to understand a situation wherein agency is being enabled, wherein people are self-determining and control their own institutions. We have to understand all the other things that go on – the resistances, the reactions, the acceptances, and so forth – and I think to get to that, we have to engage in a more interdisciplinary work. IR is only a small part of a bigger story.

FC/RB: Authors such as José M. Pureza and Håkan Wiberg have showed some concern with the last developments of peace research in the last decades. They mainly argue that, from a marginal critical impetus in the 1950s-1960s, peace research has somehow suffered a process of mainstreaming in the 1990s.

According to Pureza, after having some of its ideas and concepts incorporated into public policies – such as “statebuilding” and “good governance” – peace research has become “knowledge useful to the pacification of a structurally violent system”. More recently, the so-called post-colonialists have demonstrated a critical impetus that resembles the early peace researchers. Do you think that post-colonialism, as a critical school of thought, could follow the same path and become “knowledge to pacification”? How could post-colonialists avoid such a trap?

OR: I agree. I think we have been very careless in Western universities – and I am speaking particularly about Britain – about the way in which governments jumped on to certain critical approaches that were seemingly cutting-edge at the end of the cold war and then instrumentalised such approaches. As many academic thinkers were careless about policy-relevance, consultancies and the like, they lost their sense of autonomy – both research and the university’s autonomy. Some people became very close to governments agendas, which were of course pushing to certain ways, to specific national interests. I think it is always a danger when research, consultancy, academics, government and national interest become too closely aligned. But my reading of the latest generation of postcolonial thinkers is that they take themselves out of this very quickly when there is any danger of this sort of thing happening. I think postcolonialists have done a very good job in recognising such dangers and trying to avoid them. I do not know how this will progress or what could happen, for example, if an essentialised postcolonial theory was picked on by any of the BRICs and got instrumentalised in the same way the liberal peace got picked up by the US and Britain. Then we could be in for a tricky time. And I have to say there are already some signs of that already happening.

And the other side of the “knowledge to pacification” question, of course, is “knowledge to liberation”. However, we have to be careful that this liberation and agency will not produce in itself unintended consequences.

FC/RB: Where exactly do you see signs of the BRICs already instrumentalising postcolonial thinking?

OR: I would mention the America’s engagement in Haiti, for example. You can also look at India’s engagement in a number of conflicts around its territories – and obviously, Kashmir would be an important case. Moreover, you can see it in the way China engages with internal liberation movements. Those examples represent a kind of ramification of the Eurocentric strategy that defends the position that they are the “best” a priori, and that the engagement with difference cannot occur because it is just so challenging. I would say some supposedly postcolonial theorists are concurring with some of those strategies in the same that many liberal peace theorists concurred with Western governments’ instrumentalisation of their work. It only takes a few theorists to become close to governments and to create new buzzwords, to create new policies, and then we have the beginnings of the instrumentalisation we are talking about.

FC/RB: Recently, you spent some time at CES delivering lectures and finishing your most recent book. Could you comment something about this latest work?

OR: The book is more or less finished and it is now being reviewed by publishers. To cut a long story short, the book basically shows how the liberal peace became a kind of instrumentalist solution, a simple policy dealing with all issues – development problems, corruption, conflicts, human rights abuses, genocide, etc. – and how the liberal peace became a very top-down process of governmentalism, since it requires great distance from the subjects. Hence, in many

ways, the book is a critique and shows how the liberal peace is seen by its subjects as a kind of a colonial project – I am not saying it is or not a colonial project, I am just saying that the liberal peace is thus perceived on the ground. That is the first part of the book and focuses specific contexts such as Bosnia, Kosovo, Timor, Cambodia, and to a lesser extent Afghanistan. The second part of the book aims to discuss the question of “and what do we do about this?” It is all about how the liberal peace system can be mediated by the many different contexts. This part is really about local-liberal hybridity, about how such local realities modify the great empire of the liberal state.

FC/RB: As an experienced researcher, what do you know now that you really wish you had known, or had been taught when you were at the early stages of your researches? Is there anything that you have learned during your career that would have substantially improved your past researches or would have prevented you from following the same path?

OR: I think, for one, I have always been quite awkward! I never really expected to do what I was told. And fortunately I had a PhD supervisor, John Groom, who gave me a great deal of autonomy. He believed that research autonomy was the basis of all enquiries in critical thinking. At the same time, he was very rigorous in his expectations, in the way he wanted me to use methods, to engage with theories, to review the literature and to really put my nose to the grindstone in the field – which he made me do! The great thing about our relationship was that he was happy to me to do a lot of fieldwork, so I spent a long time during my PhD researching alone, doing fieldwork. During that time, I realised that in the area in which we work we cannot just do theory at a desk in a library. We cannot just do fieldwork either: there has to be a kind of a synthesis of the two. I think that these two things combined – the kind of theoretical-methodological sophistication I got from my supervisor and colleagues, and the access to

fieldwork during my early research – has really been the essence of my work ever since. I think I have been very lucky.

FC/RB: Thank you very much for your time and attention, Professor Richmond. It has been a pleasure for us.

Latest publications by Oliver P. Richmond:

(forthcoming) *The Birth of the Post-Liberal Peace*.

(2009) *Liberal Peace Transitions: Between Peacebuilding and Statebuilding* (co-authored with Jason Franks). Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

(2008) *Peace in International Relations*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Fernando Cavalcante

fcavalcante@ces.uc.pt

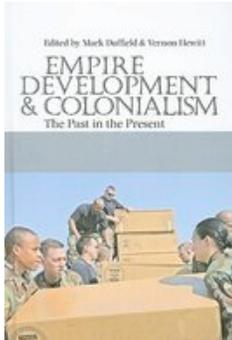
Ramon Blanco

ramon@ces.uc.pt

PhD students in International Politics and Conflict Resolution at the School of Economics, University of Coimbra.

P@X studies

Book review



Duffield, Mark; Hewitt, Vernon (eds.) (2009), *Empire, Development and Colonialism: The Past in the Present*. London: James Currey Publishers.

In a discipline highly marked by the concerns of the north of the international system, such as is the case of International Relations, the book edited by Mark Duffield and Vernon Hewitt fills two important gaps. On the one hand, it vocalises a deafly silence inside the discipline when it focuses on the themes of colonialism and imperialism. On the other hand, it explores precisely the similarities and differences of these themes, namely regarding the artefacts of the European empire, and the contemporary debates about humanitarian interventions, socio-economic development and foreign aid.

At first, colonialism and development are not easily compared, being inclusively, antithetic for many people, according to the authors. For them, the former usually comes associated with a violent territorial annexation, while the latter, on the contrary, not only repudiates it but is also based on voluntarism and in the attempt to better people's lives. However, to Duffield and Hewitt, a more careful look would quickly observe some superficial and initial contact points, like the civilisational justification for humanitarian interventions, or even the clear parallels between the current NGOs and past missionaries. The book, however, goes further. Its thirteen chapters, and an introduction, seek to compare and contrast imperial techniques and colonial governmentalities of the nineteenth century

with current technologies of the humanitarian interventions and development techniques.

In his chapter, Matthew Merefield examines how the British liberalism of the mid-nineteenth century handled the Rebellion of Morant Bay. He uses this episode to reflect upon the existing tensions within the liberal government between the promotion of freedom, including liberty of movement, and development capacities, and its pursuit of security. He concludes, tracing parallels with current debates about immigration policies and strategies of international development. Like Merefield, Patricia Noxolo is concerned with the relationship between security and liberty within the liberal project. She observes the securitisation as a form of global governmentality and aims, in her chapter, to explore an approach to analyse the role of the NGOs in this process. This is done using the conceptual apparatus developed by Foucault, like Merefield as well, and the reflections and thoughts of Wilson Harris.

Vernon Hewitt examines the historicity of the term *good government* intending to expose its origins. Hewitt shows striking parallels between the use of the term during the period of the British Empire, used as a strategy for imperial control, and its use in the current international context by institutions, such as, the World Bank. Also finding remarkable similarities between the reflections of the colonial period and current thinking, David Williams and Tom Young expose, in their chapter, ideas that were articulated in the end of the nineteenth century, in relation to how the social progress in the colonies should be performed, within the post Second World War development thinking. They observe, for example, that the transfer of social orders is reconfigured into contemporary ideas of imposing one kind of development, performed 'at distance', through the instruments of conditionalities imposed by the IMF and World Bank, NGOs, and international agencies and professionals.

The chapter of Richard Sheldon presents various resemblances between the British colonial thinking and current development theories and intervention strategies. Sheldon focuses on poverty and hunger, and try to

P@X studies

understand them inside the colonial development thinking evidencing their dual role, operating both as a strategy of domination, and as a legitimising element of the colonialism. Sheldon shows how the Indian 'propensity' to suffer from hungry and its 'incapacity' to deal with it, justified the colonial presence that, actually, caused it in the first place. It is evident here the parallels with the 'post-development' thinking, a reflection that sees the intervention itself as the very cause of the current poverty and not as the process which eliminates it.

The chapter of Henrik Aspengren observes how colonial modes of government were transformed from a repressive control to a relationship based on the discourse of social reform. He uses the situation of Bombay, in the beginning of the twentieth century, as his case study. Aspengren shows that the reform did not change anything regarding the restrictions to the political participation of Indians. On the contrary, such reforms under the colonial government were still seen as a path toward India's progress, from the administrator's point of view. Initially, Aspengren analyses the reflections and the political language that allowed such change. Afterwards, he focuses on the dynamics they took shape, namely housing and education policies.

Suthaharan Nadarajah considers, in his chapter, the contradictory effects that follow 'well-meaning' interventions, in areas of instability or civil war. Analysing Sri Lanka, in particular the post-cease fire period of 2002, Nadarajah observes how the interventions led by western donor states, even being shaped by the codes of the so-called 'conflict sensitive' practices, end up perpetuating the initial logic of the conflict. Nadarajah observes that such practices often bring the donor's own view of the causes of the conflict, seek to secure the local results they want and, additionally, see the state as a key entity in this process, ignoring the contribution of these dynamics to the continuation of the conflict.

In her chapter, Lisa Smirl, by focusing on how the professionals, who work in humanitarian and aid the professionals, who work in humanitarian and aid interventions, move and

live in the field, traces interesting parallels with the life and spatial geography of the colonial administration. Smirl is concerned with the construction and the reorganisation of space, both physically and inside the humanitarian imaginary. It is observed, for example, the impact of the architecture in terms of status and power among NGO's workers, humanitarian organisations and volunteers and local habitants. Also focusing on the spatiality to examine the colonial and post-colonial power and discourse, Uma Kothari explores similarities between the discursive and performative imaginary of British colonial officials and that of the professionals who work in development interventions. She concludes observing that these interventions represent just a reconfiguration of many of the same ideas, spaces and people, instead of a complete transformation in the relationship between the core and the periphery.

Mark Duffield argues that the discourse of failed states reproduces some of the key assumptions and relationships of the colonial period, especially the indirect rule. Observing, at a first moment, the semantic change inside the interventionist rhetoric, from failed to fragile states, Duffield exposes such discourse inside the narrative of the Native Administration. For Duffield, both have the role of contention inside the liberal problematic of security. Whilst the Native Administration, in the past, tried to mobilise the rural population in order to contain nationalist urban forces, the fragile states, in the present, work as places inside the external western frontier in the fight against political instability and global terrorism.

The chapter of April Biccum seeks to theorise the empire as a central form of politics of the nineteenth century, but with high relevance to the political practices of development of the beginning of the twenty-first century. Biccum aims to observe the continuities, instead of discontinuities, represented by decolonisation. In this way, to Biccum, the colonial and the imperial history becomes not marginal to the analysis of the contemporary politics, but central to its understanding, instead. Also aiming to search for continuities, the chapter of Douglas Johnson focuses on the relationship between the way the question of

P@X studies

land was managed during the colonial period and the national development in Sudan in the present. Johnson observes the similarities between the British colonial practices of mapping and creation of ethnic frontiers and the current dynamics of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA). Even allowing the non-Islamic south to hold a referendum, the 'national state' redefines the southern frontiers in a way that prevents them from having access to the natural resources, like oil and minerals.

Paul Kelemen reflects about the British labour party and how it translated its aspirations to its policies regarding Africa during the colonial period. Kelemen notes that many of the critiques regarding the empire within the party were not based on the question of whether the imperial practice should be abandoned, but on how the empire should be managed. Kelemen observes the acceptance, by these critiques, of the moral purpose of the empire in 'modernising' and 'transforming' societies towards a 'better' and universal way of life, enhancing the empire security, improving people's lives and generating regional and global stability. It is clear, therefore, the close relationships between security, humanitarianism and order, which is something that highly defines the contemporary development debates as well.

In summary, the book brings an excellent reflection about the practices of development and humanitarian aid, by comparing them with the imperial and colonial ideas and dynamics. It helps, thus, in the observation and thinking regarding the fact that many of the former dynamics might be seen as continuities and reconfigurations of the latter. Thus, this is an essential book to those who seek not only to reflect about the current scenarios of international relations, but who are also particularly concerned in seeing that past practices of domination are not only alive but, above all, operating in the present.

Ramon Blanco

ramon@ces.uc.pt

PhD student in International Politics and Conflict Resolution at the School of Economics, University of Coimbra.

P@X studies

NEP's attic

PublicationsNEP

Cardoso, Katia (2010), "O que há de global na violência colectiva juvenil na cidade da Praia? Algumas pistas iniciais de reflexão", *Revista de Estudos Cabo-Verdianos*, 3, 7-21.

Freire, Maria Raquel; Kanet, Roger E. (orgs.) (2010), *Key Players and Regional Dynamics in Eurasia: The Return of the 'Great Game'*. Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan (forthcoming).

Freire, Maria Raquel; Lopes, Paula Duarte (2010), "Peace and Conflict Resolution Organizations", in Helmut K. Anheier e Stefan Toepler (org.), *International Encyclopedia of Civil Society*. New York: Springer, 1139-1141.

Freire, Maria Raquel; Lopes, Paula Duarte (2010), "ESDP Missions and the Promotion of International Security", in International Studies Association (ISA) (org.), *Theory versus policy? Connecting scholars and practitioners*. United States of America: International Studies Association (ISA).

Freire, Maria Raquel (2010), "Security and Insecurity in EU-Russia Relations: Perceptions, Discourses and Practice in the 'War on Terror'" in International Studies Association (ISA) (org.), *Theory versus policy? Connecting scholars and practitioners*. United States of America: International Studies Association (ISA).

Lopes, Paula Duarte (2010), "Água e Violência", in Reginaldo Mattar Nasser (org.), *Os Conflitos Internacionais*. São Paulo: Editora UNESP.

Lopes, Paula Duarte (2010), "Governança Internacional de Água: evolução e implicações", in Laura Ferreira Pereira (org.), *Relações Internacionais: Actores, Dinâmicas e Desafios*. Lisbon: Prefácio.

Lopes, Paula Duarte (2010), "The Politics of a Human Right to Water", in International Studies Association (org.) United States of America: ISA.

Santos, Rita; Moura, Tatiana (2010), "UNSCR 1325: is it only about war? Armed violence in non-war contexts", *Oficina do CES* (forthcoming).

ActivitiesNEP

In the course of the Doctoral Programme on International Relations “International Politics and Conflict Resolution”, **NEP/CES** organised the seminar “**Dinâmicas actuais de construção da paz e apoio às vítimas na Colômbia**” [“**Current dynamics of peacebuilding and victims’ support in Colombia**”], with Luís Javier Garavito and Miguel Barreto, Centre for Social Studies, Coimbra, 22 January 2010.

NEP/CES organised the seminar “**Estudos sobre Masculinidades e Violência de Género em El Salvador, América Central**” [“**Studies on Masculinities and Gender Violence in El Salvador, Central America**”], by Hector Nuñez, Centre for Social Studies, Coimbra, 18 February 2010.

Maria Raquel Freire and **Paula Duarte Lopes** coordinated the course “**Human Security and Civil-Military Coordination**” (CIMIC), CES-Lisboa, Centre for Social Studies and Peace Operations Training Institute (POTI), Lisbon, 25-26 February 2010.

The Association Movimento Cívico Não Apaguem a Memória and **NEP/CES** organised the seminar “**Que fazer com estas memórias?**” [“**What should we do with these memories?**”], CES-Lisboa, Centre for Social Studies, Lisbon, 5-6 March 2010.