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**Assessing EU's commitment to multilateralism.
A data analysis of CSDP operations and member countries propensity to peacekeeping and
peace building.**

Abstract. This paper demonstrates that the CSDP operations are influencing both the growth in number and the multiplication of tasks of the peace operation mechanism in the global system. At the same time, the paper purports the thesis that CSDP operations are a mechanism for socialization of the new EU member countries to the practice of multilateral security in general and the EU's operation practice. Section one examines the overall growth and expansion of the peace operation practice in the last twenty years. Section two reviews the main attributes of the CSDP operations. Section three assesses the contribution of the old and new member states to CSDP in terms of frequency of presence in operations. The concluding section summarizes the research findings, and reviews the main challenges to EU's peace missions in the present time.

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The time period of the building of the EU's military and civilian capabilities of peace operations and post-conflict reconstruction, i.e. the past twelve years, partially overlaps the time, approximately the past twenty-five years, of the change of the practice of peace operation at the world level. During this period, the peace operations of the European Union contributed to some extent to the growth of multilateral security in the world system. However, it was a qualitative rather than quantitative contribution. It influenced the nature of the security and peace operations tasks by sustaining the growth of non-military operations rather than the overall growth in number of the operations. This paper, then, analyzes the issues and trends of peace operations to highlight the main aspects of the European contribution to them. In 2004 and 2007 the EU membership was extended to ten Central and East European countries and two Mediterranean island-states. Consequently, these countries have been familiarized to the EU-styled mission practice while the EU peace operations have been strengthened by the additional military and civilian resources provided by these countries.

Section one of this paper examines the overall growth and task expansion of the peace operation practice, and highlights the ascendance of the post-conflict reconstruction goal. Section two reviews the chief characters and main trends of the CSDP operations and demonstrates the importance of the EU's contribution to the advancement of that goal. Section three assesses the contribution of the member states to CSDP upon the rate of each state presence in the EU's operations, and hints at knowing how mission costs and leadership are distributed among the EU member countries. The concluding section briefly records the main characters of the CSDP operations that have been highlighted by the analysis of this paper, and points to the main challenges the EU's peace missions have to cope with in the present and future time.

This paper relies on the *CSDP operations 2010 dataset* of the ADISM Project¹. It contains data regarding 26 multilateral missions the European Union organized from 2003-2010. In this dataset a peace operation is the action of a group of states, normally legitimated by an international organisation, that employs military, police and civil personnel of the participating states with a

¹ See <http://www.fscpo.unict.it/adism/adism.htm>. ADISM is the Italian acronym of Data Archive on Italy and Multilateral Security, a research project of the Department of Political Studies of the University of Catania. The project seeks to collect, disseminate, and use quantitative data for the study of international security, multilateralism, and the foreign policy of Italy. The chief ADISM dataset contains the data of 205 multilateral peace operations organized by the United Nations, international organisations and ad-hoc coalitions in the time period October 1st, 1947 to September 1st, 2008.

mandate for either one or multiple tasks which are commonly recorded as peacekeeping, peace building, and peace enforcement.

CSDP and the change of peace operations in recent past years

The authorities of the European Union firmly claim that multilateralism is the foundation of all European international actions. In the field of security, this claim is put into practice by means of military and civilian capabilities of crisis management, conflict resolution and state post-conflict reconstruction in the frame of the Common security and defence policy or CSDP as the Lisbon Treaty renamed the earlier existent European security and defence policy (ESDP).

The literature on the EU operations is large and growing. The 1999 Helsinki European Council's Headline Goals that aimed at building the European capabilities of crisis management and the subsequent introduction of military and civilian operations, has inspired the research of many EU analysts. CSDP operation analysts focus their research work either on the organisation of this instrument of the EU foreign policy or on the detailed analysis of selected mission cases. Their main concern is to learn lessons from the existing cases in order to advise about common actions and policies in the security arena. This inclination of the CSDP specialists to concentrate on the building of the CSDP operations and deal with this experience as a *sui generis* phenomenon is based on the special nature and goal of the CSDP military and civilian capabilities. These are not only the instrument a group of countries makes use of to solve distinct cases of conflict in close and distant geographical areas. In addition to that, they are the building blocks of the EU defence policy. Privileging the study of the internal aspects of the preparation and organisation of the European peace missions is important both from the scientific and practical point of view. It is of outmost importance to know all the aspects of the EU negotiation and decision-making process for facilitating the intervention of the European countries and the deployment of the EU common force in distinct crises. Normally, this action means assembling a delicate blend of the military and civilian resources of the member states as well as balancing different national practices, cultures, interests, and aspirations. However, CSDP operations are to be appraised and assessed against the large body of knowledge existing on the change of the different aspects of the multilateral operation mechanism as practised by many security organisations in current times.

Nowadays, *peace building missions*, mandated to halt international and domestic violence and accomplish assignments like protecting minorities, transferring refugees, and reconstructing the political, civil and administrative structures of the target state, have superseded in number and importance the *peacekeeping missions* which are mandated only to watch over truces and cease-fires. However, the most common case today is the deployment of *integrated peace missions*, i.e.

multi-task missions aimed at carrying out simultaneously military, political, civil, administrative, and police tasks.

Along with change in peace operation tasks, change in the demand and supply factors of operations also took place in the past years. Factors like the increased number of violent conflicts in the 1980s and 1990s, and the devolution of violence control to the United Nations and regional security organizations after the Soviet–American rivalry came to an end, declined in importance. In brief, the new peace mission demand and supply factors are the worsening of social conflict conditions in a number of countries anguished by economic backwardness, political repression and social quarrel, and the rising pressure on, and inclination of, the well-off states, the United Nations and inter-governmental organisations of Europe and Africa to take on themselves the organisation and costs of “defending and re-building” to give execution to the newly consented principle of the responsibility to protect. Non-Western countries, especially the large states of Asia, contribute large numbers of military personnel to the United Nations peace missions, however this transformation of the tasks and the demand/supply factors of the peace operations have reinforced the belief of the analysts that perceive these operations as the tool of the dominant countries of the world system for transmitting norms and practices from the centre to the peripheries of the system. A number of analysts believe that multilateral security missions are both the tool of the world institutions for managing conflicts and reducing violence, and the instrument of the coalition of the dominant countries for diffusing the ‘Western model’ to the rest of the world (see, for example, Legaré, 2010).

Appraising the reasons for growth in number and change in task of the security operations, however, does not regard the issue of efficacy and true results of multilateral intervention. The peace mission mechanism normally affects the symptoms, i.e. the eruption and use of violence, not the deep causes of the conflict that multilateral intervention aims to solve, like hostility between states and repression in domestic politics. Action on the symptoms may, and frequently does, bring in unwanted, negative results like the breakdown of the social structure of the target state, and the introduction of new forms of crime. Lastly, the process of change wished for by the actors of multilateral intervention is laden by inherent limitations because the missions are usually under-resourced and too short in duration to provide and maintain for a long period of time the conditions that bring order and stability to the receiving states. Multilateral intervention usually achieves the immediate interruption of violence but hardly causes the long-term effect of the political, hopefully democratic, stabilization of the target country because very long effort and large resource allocation are needed to produce considerable political, economic and cultural changes.

Change in the peace operation agency is also a very much debated issue in the community of students of multilateral security (Bellamy and Williams, 2005; McDougall, 2010; Riesche, 2010; Sidhu, 2006; Wallensteen and Heldt, 2008; Wilson, 2003). It concerns questions like the following ones. Are the missions organized at the region level suited to accomplish the peace building task better than the UN-led ones? Have Non-UN operations a detrimental effect on the UN security role? Is the growth of minilateralism as a mounting form of crisis management in the world system, around the corner? Non-UN-led operations have been always organised by international organizations and state coalitions but their incidence has been increasing considerably since the early 1990s. However, the change has been far from neat. UN-led operations coexist with UN-authorized/endorsed regional organisation operations as well as with minilateral operations, i.e. the operations of international organizations and coalitions of states which have no UN authorization and endorsement. This change is the consequence of the erosion of the global leadership of the United States and Western countries (Attinà, 2010a). Consequently, the build-up of the CSDP operations is explained as the political choice of the EU's policymakers for acting autonomously in multilateral security and for playing out primarily the role of the civilian (rather than military) actor of conflict resolution and peace building.

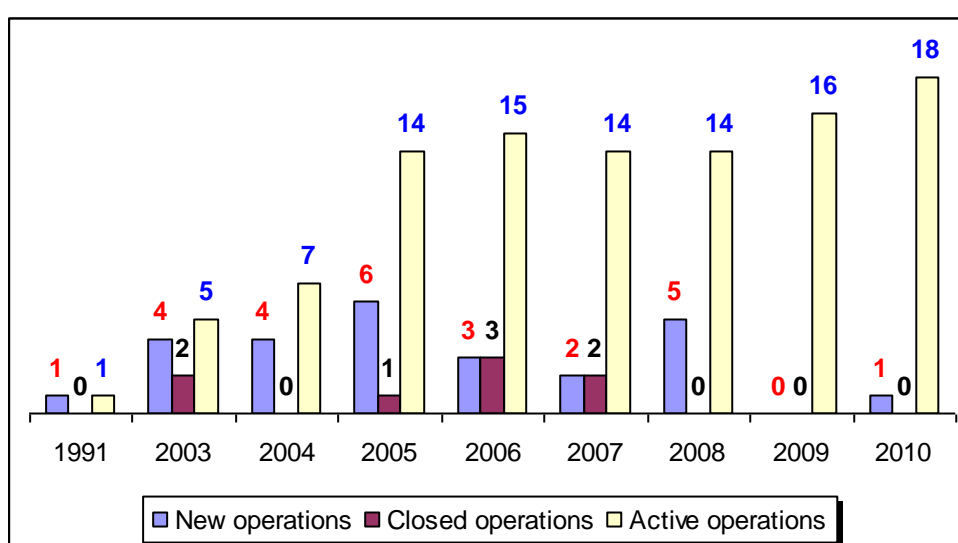
The complexity of the integrated peace operations caused by these concomitant changes notwithstanding, the preliminary condition for putting peace operations in place remains the propensity of the states to take on themselves the costs of intervention in international and civil wars. The empirical analysis of countries like France, Italy, Spain, and Sweden (Attinà, 2010 b) demonstrated that the factors that increase the state propensity to participate in peace operations – i.e. the democratic status and culture of the state as well as the economic wealth and the large size of the population and army, and the Western or pro-Western international position – belong to the European countries, and confirm the favourable inclination of the EU states to bear the costs of peace operations. The core sections of this paper analyze this claim and draw the attention of the reader to aspects concerning the EU member states involvement in CSDP operations.

CSDP operations: an overview

26 EU peace operations are counted as of September 30, 2010. In 1991, the European Community set up the monitoring mission in the Balkans, ECMM. Later, this pre-ESDP mission was converted in the EUMM within the CSDP frame. In January 2003, the first civilian (police) mission, EUPM BiH, was deployed in Bosnia-Herzegovina. In the same year two military missions were put on the ground in Macedonia-FYROM, Concordia, and the Democratic Republic of Congo, Artemis. In December 2003, Concordia was replaced by the civilian mission Proxima, and this one

in June 2005 by EUPAT. Out of the twenty-six, seven are military, seventeen civilian, and two mixed missions. The last ones - the EU support operation mission to AMIS II in Darfur and EUSEC in DRC – accomplish both military and civilian tasks. The civilian operations are assigned to collaborate with the local authorities to accomplish tasks like police and judicial reform, border training, and reform of the army according to human rights and democratic standards. At least fourteen operations have been active in a year from 2005. In 2010, the number of active operations grew to eighteen (Graph 1). Four of them are military and one mixed operation. CSDP main effort, then, is in the civilian sector².

Graph 1: New, completed and active CSDP operations by year



Source: ADISM <http://www.fscpo.unict.it/adism/adism.htm>

The four completed civilian missions acted in Europe (Proxima-EUPAT in FYROM on police reform, and EUJUST Themis in Georgia on judicial reform), Africa (EUPOL Kinshasa on police reform), and South-East Asia (AMM in Aceh). The thirteen civilian missions active in 2010 were placed in Europe, namely in the Balkans (EUMM and EUPM BiH in Bosnia, EUSR BST and EUMM in Georgia, EUPT and EULEX in Kosovo, and EUBAM in Moldova/Ukraine), in the Middle East (EUJUST Lex in Iraq, and EUBAM Rafah and EUPOL-COPPS in Palestine Territories), in Africa (EUPOL RD Congo and EUSSR Guinea-Bissau) and in Asia (EUPOL Afghanistan).

As far as the EU military missions are concerned, five were deployed in Africa, including the two short completed missions, named Artemis and EUFOR, that were dispatched to RD Congo

² See the complete list of the missions and data here analyzed at the ADISM website <http://www.fscpo.unict.it/adism/adism.htm>

in accordance with the United Nations. The three EU military missions active in Africa in 2010 are the EUFOR mission in Chad and the EUNAVFOR/Atalanta and EUTM in Somalia. The remaining military missions are the completed Concordia mission in FYROM and the active EUFOR-Althea mission in Bosnia.

The military and civilian capabilities of crisis management, conflict resolution and state rebuilding have been created to serve the aspiration of the European Union to act as a global actor, i.e. as actor capable of intervening in all the theatres of the world and of playing responsibly in all the major global institutions. However, as of today, Europe and Africa are the prominent regions of the EU's peace building operations. The CSDP capabilities are employed firstly to curb crises and conflicts in the EU's own region, and secondly in Africa (see Table 1). This conclusion is supported by taking respect of the number of missions, the mission size measured by the peak number of the personnel units, and the mission time length measured by the number of mission years (Table 1, Column A, C and D).

Table 1: CSDP operations

	(A) Number of operations	(B) No. of active operations in 2010	(C) Total of personnel: peak numbers	(D) Total time length (years)	(E) Mean time- length (years)
Europe	11	8	11505	55,8	5,1
Africa	10	6	9935	19,9	2,0
Middle East	3	3	175	14,6	4,9
Asia	2	1	544	4,5	2,3
	26	18	22159	94,3	3,6

Source: ADISM <http://www.fscpo.unict.it/adism/adism.htm>

In the past seven years, armed conflicts in Asia have been more numerous than in Africa (Table 2). However, the European Union and the world system institutions have been much more disposed and able to set up multilateral intervention in Africa than in Asia. In fact, from 2003-2008, 36 UN-led, Non-UN-led and ad hoc coalition operations were dispatched to Africa, 11 to Europe, 9 to Asia, and 6 to the Middle East³. However, almost no attention has been given by the peace operation scientists to explain the difference in the recourse to multilateral intervention to curb violence and armed conflicts in Asia and Africa. On the contrary, very much has been written about the European Union as the main actor of peacekeeping and peace building in Europe. As argued

³ See the ADISM *Dataset of 205 multilateral peace/security operations, 1947 - 2008* Codebook Version 2.2008 <http://www.fscpo.unict.it/adism/adism.htm>

elsewhere (Attinà 2010 a, b), the high number of CSDP operations in Europe is consistent with the advanced stage of the European regional security partnership.

Table 2: Armed conflicts by region, 2003-2009

Region	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Asia	16	14	16	15	14	15	15
Africa	9	10	7	10	12	13	12
Middle East	2	3	5	5	4	4	5
Europe	1	2	2	1	2	2	1

Source: Table II in Harbom & Wallensteen (2010).

It is worth drawing attention to the difference in the mean time-length of the CSDP operations of the four areas (see Table 1 column E) because this difference hints at an important feature of the EU's peace building action, that is the strong association of the short time length to the mission military mandate. The numerous and large in personnel missions deployed in Africa are short and mainly military missions, namely seven out of ten, including the two mixed ones. In Africa, then, the European Union accomplished mainly the task of interrupting violence and barely engaged in the ambitious task of peace building and state reconstruction. On the contrary, the peak number of CSDP missions for peace building by means of civilian personnel and know-how, namely 9 out of 17, belongs to the group of the missions deployed in Europe.

For the time being, then, the EU, as a global actor with a strong penchant for multilateralism, plays this capability in the backyard (the Balkans), the near-abroad (the Caucasus and the Middle East) and the Sub-Saharan Africa, an area known by member countries like France, United Kingdom and Belgium. The EU involvement in the Asian continent operations, instead, is small but not a low-profile one as demonstrated by the Aceh Monitoring Mission and, especially, the important EUPOL Afghanistan mission. This can be explained by conditions like the following ones. The societies and states of the distant Asia are rather less familiar to the Europeans; the deployment of missions is difficult and expensive due to logistics, transportation and communication factors; and the conduct of operations is heavily conditioned by the interest and preference of regional actors like China and India, and the United States.

However, these remarks on the uneven involvement of the EU in different continents do not want to downgrade the overall importance of the contribution of the CDSP operations to the advancement of multilateral security and the hard work of the authorities of the EU and member countries to enhance the European peace building capabilities. The next section of this paper examines the data of the member state participation in CDSP operations to assess the EU states resolve on multilateral security. The relevant data highlight issues like the extensiveness/narrowness

of the propensity of the states of the EU to carry the human and political costs of peace building operations, the circulation/restrictedness of mission top-positions among the EU member countries, and the engagement of the new member countries in the EU peace building policy, which in some cases started before their entry into the Union.

EU member state participation in CDSP operations

Generally speaking, participation in multilateral operations brings benefit to the national and collective interests of the involved states. Stability in a geopolitical area of national concern, the enhancement of the state military and civilian capabilities, and the role promotion of the state in the structure of government of the world system are examples of the national interest pursued by the government that engages its country in multilateral peace operations. The defence of peace, security, law, and humanitarian principles in the world system, instead, is the overall collective interest the single state produces by participating in multilateral operations. Whatever the interest served by the participants, multilateralism is reinforced as international norm and practice and becomes the constitutive part of the foreign policy culture of the participating states. However, states have different inclination towards taking on themselves the costs of direct participation in peace operations. There are frequent, medium and low participants as well as free rider of multilateral security.

Data analysis demonstrates that democracy makes states highly disposed to take part in peace operations (Andersson 2002, 2006, Daniel and Caraher 2006, Lebovic 2004). The same is true for economic wealth. The analysis of the participation of France, Italy, Spain, and Sweden in the UN and Non-UN peace operations during the time of the current world system (Attinà, 2010b) confirms the link existing between the democratic status and propensity to participate in multilateral operations of the states. This association has been empirically ascertained also by other peace operation researchers (Andersson 2002, 2006, Daniel and Caraher 2006, Lebovic 2004). However, the analysis of the four European countries demonstrated that factors like the size of the population, the level of the economic wealth, and the international position and foreign policy orientation have significant influence on aspects like the frequency of participation and the size of the contribution to the operation resources and capabilities.

However, during the past years the number of not rich and not democratic countries that contribute personnel to peace operations has been growing. Consequently, the growth in number of peace operations in the last twenty-five years, has been supported by adding new participants to the number of customary participants, namely the rich and democratic countries. The UN mechanism of funding participation by paying a daily sum to the government of the participating states for each

military is also a reason for contributing to peace operations. However, socialization to multilateralism occurs because the government and military of the participating countries experience the condition of working in a collective setting and are affected by the common practices of violence control. Regarding the EU, instead, only the common expenditures of the CSDP military missions are funded by the EU through the Athena mechanism if the Council so decides. The EU and non-EU member countries in the CSDP operations hold the costs and expenditures of their participation in the other cases of operations.

Studying the participation of the EU member countries in the CSDP operations is also a way to study socialization to multilateralism. Although a number of the new EU member countries participated in UN and NATO peace operations, and some of them were involved in EU peace missions before their entry into the Union, to be a member of the CSDP operation machine is an experience of its own. The EU, like all the international organisations that put in place peace operations, develops its own practice of organising peace operations in addition to specific rules of conduct during the operation activities. Consequently, the new participating countries have to cope with the existing ways of doing things, accept pre-ordered priorities and conform to pre-established restrictions. This socialization and learning is necessary to form the EU common capabilities of crisis management, conflict resolution and state reconstruction.

The following brief analysis of the presence of the EU member states in the CSDP operations renders an image of the peace mission actor-ship in the formative years of the CSDP. The data of the presence of the EU member countries, available for 19 out of 26 operations, rank the new member states in the lowest echelons (Table 3). The history of these countries in the last sixty years made them scarcely engaged in developing peace operation capabilities. The process of democracy-building after the fall of the socialist regime promoted the learning of the culture of multilateralism and the practice of peace operations. However, the low rank in the characteristics that are associated to frequent participation in peace operations, i.e. demographic size, military power and economic wealth (see Table 3), accounts for the low presence of these countries in the CSDP operations. Denmark's special position on the CSDP is the cause of the Danish membership in the "low presence group" together with the new EU member countries. Hungary is the only new member country that has been given the task of guiding one CSDP mission of those recorded with the available data (Table 4). All the operations have a Head of Mission and, in case of military and mixed missions, a Commander. Other chief positions also exist but of less importance. Turn-over of the people and country in charge of the head/commander position occurs regularly in the life of the missions. But it is rather *biased* towards the nationals of a small group of countries, namely France, Germany and UK (see Table 4). These countries are the members of the "frequent participant"

group as well as of the group of the large and rich countries of the Union. Possibly, they have considerable knowledge of the organisation of military and civilian missions. Italy, a large country, and Sweden, a rich one, are left out of the “head/commander group” in spite of belonging to the rank top of the “frequent participant” group.

Table 3: EU member country presence in CSDP operations

(A) Country name	(B) Population (millions) 2007	(C) Military expenditures (million \$) 2009	(D) GDP (million Euro) 2009	(E) Presence in 11 civilian missions	(F) Presence in the 7 military and 1 mixed missions	(G) Total presence in 19 out of 26 CSDP operations
France	63,4	67.316	29.600	10	8	18
Italy	59,1	37.427	25.200	10	6	16
Sweden	9,0	6.135	31.300	9	7	16
Germany	82,3	48.022	29.300	9	6	15
Belgium	10,6	5.674	31.400	7	7	14
Finland	5,3	3.768	32.100	9	5	14
Portugal	10,6	4.884	15.800	8	6	14
Spain	44,5	19.409	22.900	8	6	14
United Kingdom	60,9	69.271	25.300	7	7	14
Netherland	16,3	12.642	34.600	8	5	13
Austria	8,3	3.650	32.800	7	5	12
Hungary	10,1	1.900,	9.300	6	6	12
Greece	11,2	13.917	20.700	5	6	11
Ireland	4,3	1.581	35.700	6	4	10
Luxembourg	0,5	406	76.500	4	6	10
Poland	38,2	10.860	8.100	6	4	10
Czech Republic	10,3	3.246	13.100	7	2	9
Slovakia	5,4	1.316	11.700	5	4	9
Estonia	1,2	460	10.300	6	2	8
Lithuania	3,4	648	7.900	5	3	8
Romania	21,6	2.616	5.400	6	2	8
Slovenia	2,0	888	17.300	5	3	8
Denmark	5,4	4.476	40.400	7	0	7
Latvia	2,3	692	8.200	5	2	7
Cyprus	0,8	550	21.200	4	2	6
Bulgaria	7,7	1.127	4.700	3	2	5
Malta	0,4	51	13.900	4	1	5

Sources: Population and GDP: EUROSTAT. Military expenditures: SIPRI military expenditures database. Participation in CSDP operations: ADISM <http://www.fscpo.unict.it/adism/adism.htm>.

Bold character in column (A) indicates the new member countries, in columns (B) (C) (D) the numbers above the mean value.

Table 4: EU member country presence and head/commander position in CSDP operations

(A) Country name	(B) Population (millions) 2007	(C) Military expenditures (million \$) 2009	(D) GDP (million Euro) 2009	(E) Presence in CSDP missions	(F) Head/commander position
France	63,4	67.316	29.600	18	9
Germany	82,3	48.022	29.300	15	7
United Kingdom	60,9	69.271	25.300	14	6
Spain	44,5	19.409	22.900	14	4

Sweden	9,0	6.135	31.300	16	4
Italy	59,1	37.427	25.200	16	3
Portugal	10,6	4.884	15.800	14	3
Denmark	5,4	4.476	40.400	7	2
Ireland	4,3	1.581	35.700	10	2
Netherland	16,3	12.642	34.600	13	1
Belgium	10,6	5.674	31.400	14	1
Austria	8,3	3.650	32.800	12	1
Hungary	10,1	1.900	9.300	12	1

Data available on 25 missions. Source: ADISM <http://www.fscpo.unict.it/adism/adism.htm>

Bold character in column (A) indicates the new member countries, in columns (B) (C) (D) the numbers above the mean value.

Concluding remarks

The European Union is keen in acting as a responsible actor in global politics. To this end, it has been particularly concerned with developing common civilian capabilities of conflict resolution and post-conflict reconstruction. The present analysis largely confirms that this objective is sustained by consequential decisions regarding multilateral security cooperation. In particular, the present analysis has demonstrated that

1. the European Union has deployed a large number of civilian missions in countries in need of assistance;
2. however, it engaged common civilian capabilities in missions dispatched mainly to countries in Europe, the periphery of Europe, and Africa rather than in distant areas from Europe;
3. the economic costs of these missions are held by the EU to a small extent as common expenditures and to a large extent distributed among the member countries largely on the base of the country size and wealth;
4. on the whole, the old member countries have taken on themselves the largest amount of the costs and expenditures of the missions;
5. however, the new member countries have been fully admitted and socialized to CSDP operations;
6. but the leading position in the EU peace missions has been attributed for the most part to a small group of old member countries.

The increasing number of CSDP operations deployed in and out of Europe since 2003 demonstrates the increasing will and capability of the European Union to act as both regional (i.e. European) security organizer and global security player. Is Europe in tune with the current peace operation practice and apt to play effectively as a civilian mission actor?

CSDP success depends on apposite capabilities to carry out peace building missions. The substance of this task, however, is a controversial one. Post-conflict reconstruction is censured by

many state governments and concerned people as being the tool of the mission organizers for exporting their political and economic project. The re-building of a state broken by civil war implies to some extent the restriction on its sovereignty. Therefore, the European policy-makers have to take into serious consideration existing discontent towards this implication. Less intrusive ways of supporting peace and re-building stability in the countries of CSDP operations must be accurately prepared in order to enhance the future development of the EU's capabilities of crisis and conflict management. For instance, analysts point to the positive role nongovernmental organizations play in the mission-receiving country and the consequent strengthening of the legitimacy and efficiency of the mission because NGOs are seriously committed to amplifying the local actors' expectations on social, political, and practical needs (Irrera, 2010). In moving towards less intrusive methods of crisis management, the EU has to expand the participation of nongovernmental groups in CSDP missions.

The Security Sector Reform (SSR) has become one of the most important tasks in mission-receiving countries. It deals with police reform, judicial backing, border training and alike actions. The EU, as one of the most proactive actors in the SSR area, must be aware of the need for mandating these tasks to well-trained experts. Moreover, the reform of the defence sector and the transformation of police and the judiciary of the receiving states have to take in due consideration the need for the democratic control of these sectors.

Lastly, it is to remind that supporting mission costs must be the firm engagement of the rulers and public of the participating countries because the peace building missions normally last for a long time. Experts underline the need for mission actors to have a clear agenda and adamantly uphold the commitment to go through with the whole operation. The EU and the member countries, like all the mission-participating countries, have to overcome obstacles and set-backs like unexpected casualties and rising financial costs. The influence of domestic political competition may hamper the resolve of the European states, like that of all democratic states, to complete an operation.

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