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The International Construction, Governance and Outcome of Intrastate Conflict – The EU's Role in the Democratic Republic of the Congo

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Abstract

This thesis seeks to explore the role of the EU as a peacekeeper in the DRC. More specifically, the thesis investigates how the EU perception of the conflict has shaped the instruments used in the intervention and analyzes the difference in impact between civil and military interventions. Building on securitization theory and theory of security governance this thesis analytically separates the subjective construction of the conflict, the governance of the intervention – how the EU links the instrument to the current phase of the conflict – and the impact of the intervention. The conclusion suggests that the military interventions have advantages in an early stage of the intervention and that structural reformation is dependant on the local security situation.

Keywords: *Peacekeeping, Peace enforcing, Intervention, EU, DRC, Securitization*

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1. Introduction

Modern conflicts are seldom national. Conflicts have during the post-modern era transformed beyond the nation-state into an intra-state venue. The nation-state is not necessarily the major actor in political violence and the interests of the nation state are no longer the main reasons for hostilities. Some researchers have emphasized that decentralized actors and conflicts characterize modern conflict even though the centralized nation-state still is the basis of political interaction on the global arena. Refugee flows, economic destabilization and parties of conflict are now cross-border phenomenon and the nation-state's traditional monopoly of legitimate violence has in some regions become diluted if not extinct (Kaldor 1999).

The cross-border characteristics of today's conflicts may threaten to destabilize the political, economical and humanitarian situation of entire regions. An instability that in addition may, directly or indirectly, spill over to neighbouring regions. To cope with the change in nature of conflicts the international community has intervened in several countries and regions. The internationalization of internal or regional conflict can thus be viewed, in part, as a product of the increasing willingness by the international community to intervene. The EU is, as part of that community, one of the world's major international actors.

There are different strategies available to the international community, e.g. civilian intervention through economic aid and observers or military intervention with peace keeping/enforcing operations. This thesis explores whether these two categories of interventions come with different consequences. Furthermore, there exists an important political dimension to this discussion. The choice of strategy has a potential explosiveness to it. In the eyes of the voters there is a slim political line between disregarding the outcries of help by war-ridden societies and mindlessly sacrificing the lives of the nation's young to another country's war. The choice between civilian aid and military intervention is always a topic on the political agenda of a country engaged in peace efforts. Given that modern conflict has transformed and that the world community still is engaged in peace operations, objective scrutinizing of the

motives for intervention and the implemented strategies is now more important than ever.

1.1 Purpose of Study

The purpose of the thesis is to explore the role of EU as a peacekeeper in Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). More specifically, the thesis aims at analyzing how the EU's perception of a conflict affect the instrument used in an intervention. Secondly, the thesis investigates the difference between instruments regarding the impact on a conflict.

To accomplish this I will use a case study of the EU involvement in the conflict in the DRC, where the EU has used both civilian and military strategies. Building on the theoretical framework presented in chapter two this thesis argues that in order to analyze how and with what result the EU intervened in the DRC it is essential to problematize the perception the EU had of the conflict in the Great Lakes Region.

By analyzing how the EU was involved in the conflict (e.g. which institutions and nations), by what means (e.g. intervention instruments) and the impact of the operations (e.g. recipients, objectives) the thesis will connect the empirical research of the intervention in the DRC to securitization theory.

However, this thesis does not have as objective to make any normative claims regarding peace interventions but rather to present a perspective on the processes behind the interventions and what the consequences of different strategies are.

1.2 Research Questions

Following the purpose of the thesis the research questions are divided into three categories – construction, governance and impact. The construction category relates to why the conflict in the DRC became subject to an intervention from the EU. The governance category will depict how the EU was involved in the intervention as well as which instruments that were used. In the concluding category, impact, the focus shifts to the intervention objectives and the final product (consequences) of the intervention as well as how the intervention relates to a wider context.

i) Construction

- What was the EU perception of the conflict in the DRC?

ii) Governance

- How was the intervention instrument linked to the perceived phase of the conflict?

iii) Impact

- What was the product of the intervention, i.e. the consequences of the intervention?
- Was there a difference in the contribution to the peace process between the civil and military operations?

1.3 Structure of the Thesis

After the introductory chapter the theoretical background is presented in chapter two. The first part a gives the reader a review of the securitization process and the security governance international actors employ in order to regulate conflict and respond to the modern security situation. The second part outlines the critique of Christou et al. and presents their contribution to the field of security studies. The third part develop the analytical framework and the operationalization by Schulz & Söderbaum. The aim of the chapter is to give the reader a framework of reference, thus placing the thesis in a wider academic and theoretical context as well as to present the theoretical backbone of the thesis and the bridge between the theory and the empirical research.

The third chapter outlines the methodology and delimitations for the thesis. The fourth chapter presents the analysis of the conflict and intervention in the DRC and implement the analytical tool of the thesis on the conflict and the EU intervention. The first part briefly explains the process leading up to the first EU intervention; it also explains the context surrounding the conflict and the major relevant actors. The second part analyses the EU's perception of the conflict and how the security issue has been constructed. In the third part it chronologically outlines the EU peace operations in the DRC, both military and civilian and analyses them as instruments of security governance. The fourth part evaluates the impact of the military and civilian operations. The fifth, and final chapter

summarizes, presents the conclusions and reconnects the analysis to the research questions.

2. Theoretical framework

As stated in the introduction conflict patterns have in the post-modern era undergone a process of transformation. This is also true for securitization theory and theory of security governance. Moving away from the state-centric perspective that was prevailing during the Cold War we now find ourselves in an era when security is above all a subjective phenomenon. What is, and what is not, a security matter is now in the eye of the beholder.

Considered by many as a significant threat to the security of the larger community in a globalized world, intrastate conflicts are now increasingly viewed as international conflicts. A local conflict in Africa might not directly make up a security issue to a EU. But indirectly the very same conflict might have several consequences to the EU that constitutes a threat. For example through an increased flow of immigrants trying to enter the EU, or a failed state that offers an excellent opportunity for non-state actors to use the territory as a base of operations when conducting attacks on the EU commercial activities in the vicinity of, or within, the region. As a result, a large number of international organizations are now involved in peacekeeping efforts in intrastate conflicts. Following the purpose of the thesis, this chapter develops the theoretical framework of the study.

2.1 Securitization and Security Governance

What is security then? The traditionalist answer to that question would be a state-centric view that emphasizes military conflict or "the threat, use and control of military force" (Walt 1991 in Buzan et al. 1998: 3). Because of the obsession with nuclear war and military might of the Cold War a debate regarding what should constitute as security surfaced. Environmental and economic issues rose to the agenda and challenged the traditionalist perspective. Those in favour of a widening of the definition of security argued for an issue-centred perspective that included non-military causes of conflict. When widening the concept of security the scope of security studies grew immensely, but not

without complications. How should the area of security studies be defined if everything from trade negotiations, ozone-holes and fishing rights could possibly form a cause of conflict and thus a security issue? Using the traditionalist definition of a security issue: as an existential threat to the referent object, the wider perspective of security implies that a threat will vary across different levels and sectors to the same extent as existence itself. There is no universal existence and as a consequence there cannot be a universal method of defining a threat. However, when the constituents of the referent have intersubjectively interpreted an issue as a threat its special nature justifies the extraordinary use of force to handle it (Buzan et al. 1998: 21-22). The discursive transformation of an issue from the realm of politics to the realm of security – a securitizing move – is completed when the audience accepts the new position of the issue. When the process is completed an actor normally will have the legitimate right to break the normal rules of how to handle a problem, at least in the eyes of the public that has accepted the securitization. In extreme cases lethal violence is accepted as a coercive action intended to change the attitude or intent of an adversary (Buzan et al 1998: 26-26). The securitization processes therefore has a dual objective. Firstly it is aimed at the transformation of an issue, secondly it serves the purpose of legitimizing whatever means are that are deemed adequate to the perceived threat.

The fundamental problem with international politics is how to manage the constant securitization by the world's actors – how to provide "regulation of conflict without the resort to war" (Sperling 2009: 4, 6). Security governance is, in the eyes of James A. Sperling, the theory that serves nations in order to manage "the different patterns of interstate interaction, the rising number of non-state security actors, the expansion of the security agenda and conflict resolution and regulation". Sperling argues that nations in the post-Westphalian era, which has diluted the state-centric monopoly on defence of the national territory as well as the very need of defence of the national territory, have subcontracted many of the tasks that traditionally were the responsibility of nation-states to supra- or international institutions (ibid: 5).

In a European context Webber et al. (2004) defines security governance as "the coordinated management and regulation of issues by multiple and separate authorities, the interventions of both public and private actors (depending upon the issue), formal and informal arrangements, in turn structured by discourse and norms, and purposefully directed toward particular policy outcomes" (Webber et al. 2004: 4).

Not only has the traditional security referent, e.g. the state, and how the state act in respect to current security issues changed. So have the agents of threat and actual threats. As we have seen, threats from a traditionalistic perspective were targeting the existence, or functioning, of the state. From the widened perspective a broad spectra of issues have been added to the list of possible securitization. Characteristically, threats now aim at targets "above and below" the state. Even though the state still exists as a possible target of threat the military and economic capacity of the developed world together with economic interdependence among them make conventional warfare an unlikely scenario. With a state as the agent of threat the targets of threat may more likely vary from economic or technical infrastructure to the macroeconomic stability. However, the emergence of failed states and powerful non-state actors poses a parallel track to the normal security issues. These new threats range from terrorism targeting the state to migratory flows, trafficking, drug smuggling, arms smuggling, piracy and environmental disasters targeting or threatening the national society or regional situation (Sperling 2009: 6). Accordingly, all the elements of the governance of securitization have changed dramatically in the post-modern/post-Westphalian era, the referents of threat, the agents of threat and the threats themselves.

This change has created numerous examples of supranational institutions that influence or manage the modern political, economical and military security agendas of sovereign nations; e.g. the UN, NATO, EU, AU, ASEAN and NAFTA. The political control of securitization – security governance – has thus made an evolutionary leap. For how can the existence of an institution be threatened when it is not tied down by the boundaries of territoriality, when its existence is based on conventions, trust and affinity? The cross-border phenomenon of modern conflict and security has forced the security governance of the

developed world to become fully globalized, or at least fully regionalized (Buzan et al 1998: 42-45).

2.2 A New Approach to Security Governance

In the article "EU Security Governance – Putting the 'Security' back in" Christou et al. (2010) present their critique of the current security- and security governance theory in relation to the EU as an actor. They find that the literature and research, to a great extent, focus on actor and instrument perspectives "rather than the complexity of security and the implications varied meanings of security have for our understanding of the EU as a security actor". Treating security as objective aspects of reality fails, in their opinion, to problematize the theoretical aspect of security. (Christou et al. 2009: 7-8). They argue that a theoretical approach to security would bring a deeper understandings of the processes related to the subjective and intersubjective construction of security, which in turn would contribute greatly to the analysis of the involved actors, governance strategies and policy practice and outcome.

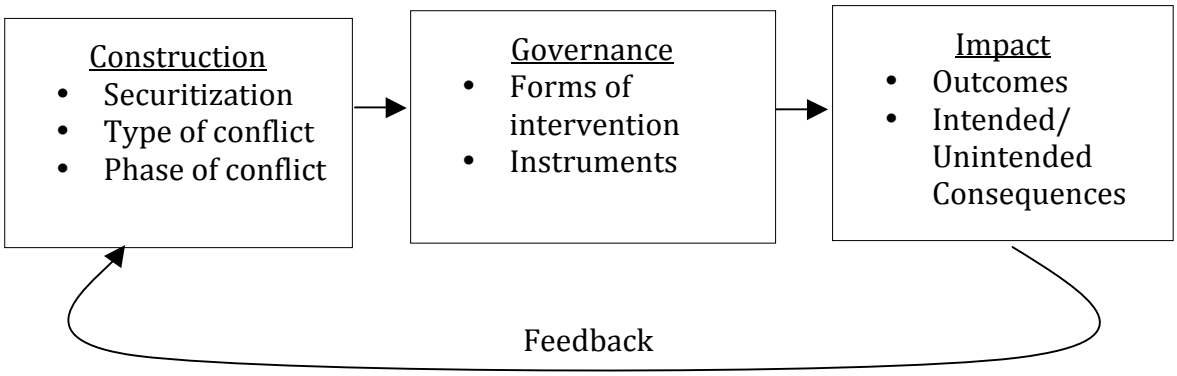
One may notice the resemblance with the earlier discussion in respect to the widening of the concept of security. There is one crucial difference though. Cristou et al. argues that the concept of security not only needs to be widened, i.e. opened up to include different issues as security matters. They contend that security studies have to implement constructivist logic in order to fully comprehend how security is interpreted, realized and upheld. Constructivist logic would, in their view, incorporate discourse as the focal point of the analysis as well as the consolidating aspect of socialization processes connected to discourse. The importance of the construction of security relates to the relationship between "discourse, reception, legitimization and actualization of policy" (ibid: 9-10, 12-13). Through the understanding of how the EU securitizes issues like regional conflict outside the EU, migration and human rights a more thorough analysis of EU security governance and the impact of its actions is achievable. In respect to peace keeping/enforcing operations a analytical methodology that divides the analysis in (i) construction, (ii) governance and (iii) impact places the different stages of the process in relation to the others thus creating a complete picture of the intervention (ibid: 20-23).

2.3 Analytical framework

Michael Schultz and Fredrik Söderbaum (2010) have operationalized the approach by Christou et al. in order to create a framework suitable for analysing the EU as a peace and security actor in regional conflict. Drawing from securitization theory and the criticism by Christou et al., their operationalization captures the constructive phase where the referent intersubjectively interprets, or securitizes, an event or issue as a threat or security issue, the governance phase where the referent links an adequate instrument of response to its perception of the threat, and finally the actual impact the instrument has on the threat or security issue.

In respect to peace interventions, such as the EU intervention in the DRC, the operationalization brings us the possibility to dissect the complex relationship between the different phases and gives us the potential of understanding how they relate to each other. Figure 1 below shows the relationship as well as the analytical steps that will be taken in chapter four.

Fig 1. The analytical scheme



2.3.1 Construction

The construction dimension corresponds to the political processes active in the pre-intervention phase. As have been discussed above, Christou et al. emphasizes the close relationship between how the actor perceives a security issue and the following actions taken in response to the perceived need. Regarding peace operations this entails not only the securitization of an issue but also the

interpretation of the current phase of a distant conflict. For instance, it is plausible to assume that an actor committed to intervene in a conflict of some kind will adapt the intervention to the current phase of the conflict – it's location in the conflict cycle – and the threat that the conflict implies to the actor. The placement in the cycle depends on the actor's subjective perception of the conflict. But recognizing and evaluating a conflict is not sufficient. The key issue is how a conflict that doesn't involve the EU becomes a security question to the EU. Hence, by analysing the EU's understanding of a conflict it will be possible to better understand the commitment to intervention and the role accepted by the intervener.

2.3.2 Governance

This dimension bridges the EU conceptualization of the conflict to the forms of intervention and the instrument used. The crucial issue is to investigate how the EU links the intervention to the current phase of the conflict and if the intervention includes the possibility of adapting to a transformation of the conflict, i.e. a short-term perspective vs. a long-term perspective (Christou et al. 2009: 22, Schulz & Söderbaum 2010: 4). The secondary aspect of the governance dimension is the intervention instrument. Military and civilian instruments each constitute separate sides of the intervention coin. However, the consequences of the intervention instrument might be of significant difference. If the instrument of choice does not correspond to the proposed form of intervention the mission runs the risk of failure and/or resulting in unintended consequences (Schulz & Söderbaum 2010: 9).

Tab 1. Examples of conflict phases and intervention instruments

Phase	Military instruments of interventions	Civilian instruments of interventions
Prevention	Military presence/observers	Socio-economic stabilization, diplomacy, confidence building measures, early warning systems, fact-finding missions, human rights clauses
Peace Enforcement	Military presence/observers, military interventions, blockades	Non-military interventions, blockades, diplomatic pressures, rapid reaction mechanism
Peace Keeping	Ceasefire agreements, military presence/observers, military interventions	Ceasefire agreements, rapid reaction mechanism, humanitarian aid, observers, diplomatic relations, civilian instruments, peace agreements/settlements, conflict resolution
Peace Building	Military presence/observers	Peace agreement, reconstruction, rehabilitation, reconciliation (transitional justice, truth commissions etc.)

Source: Schulz & Söderbaum 2010: 4

2.3.3 Impact

The final dimension, impact, considers the consequences of the intervention and how those relate to the initial objectives. When evaluating the impact of a peace operation there exists, as Schulz and Söderbaum identifies, some ambiguity of how to fit the operation in the big picture (ibid: 9). Even though any small-scale operation forms a part of the broader intervention and by that constitutes an impact on the conflict, the relationship between different actors and their operations is "too complex in order to make a clear peace impact assessment of small-scale operations" (ibid: 9). In the case of the EU involvement in the DRC however, the magnitude of the operations and clear objectives of the intervention makes it possible to separate the EU effort from other actors, and to evaluate the consequences separately. Consequence evaluation relates to assessing the intended and unintended consequences of the intervention. An

intervention may, as previously stated, form a part of a greater joint effort by numerous actors. One challenge is therefore to evaluate how the EU intervention relates to the wider conflict and intervention context. Can we attribute observable changes in the conflict context to the EU intervention and is the impact of the intervention sustainable?

3. Methodology and delimitations

To analyze the perception the EU had of the conflict in the DRC the case will be analyzed through the lens of recent securitization and security governance theory. Using official documents, agreements and press releases the thesis will present a comprehensive conclusion of the reasons behind an intervention as well as the EU interpretation of the conflict in the DRC and context of the surrounding region.

The thesis will use a case study of the EU ESDP/CSFP[1] peace operations in the Democratic Republic of Congo to analyze the relationship between operational strategies and conflict evolution. The EU has been involved in the Great Lakes Region with several military and civilian operations and in the DRC with ARTEMIS, EUFOR RD CONGO, EUPOL Kinshasa and EUSEC RD CONGO. Given that the DRC has been the scene of the major peacekeeping intervention the EU has been involved in and that it has been comprised of several different operations, this makes it possible to maintain the surrounding context and actors constant, thereby solely analysing the impact of the operational strategies and the relationship between the phase of the conflict and the implemented intervention instrument. Furthermore the three-levelled analytical tool makes it possible to separate the different aspects of the intervention, thus investigating how the preconditions of the intervention affect the actual instrument and ultimately the what impact the instrument had in the conflict zone.

In correspondence to the overarching research questions the analysis will make use of a set of detailed questions divided in the same categories. These

[1] European Security and Defence Policy has now changed into Common Security and Defence Policy. It forms a major part of the Common Foreign and Security Policy. The author has chosen to keep the names used at the time of the intervention.

questions are more specific and will serve as a guideline in the analysis of the intervention.

i) Construction

- Why and how has this issue been constructed by the EU as a security issue?

ii) Governance

- At what conflict phase did the EU place the conflict in the DRC?
- What instruments were used – civil/military?

iii) Impact

- Who did the intervention reach?
- Were the objectives of the operations achieved?
- What changes were produced as a result of the intervention?
- How did the intervention relate to the wider peace-building context?

There are two expected methodological problems related to the analysis. The first would be the separation of the impact corresponding on one hand to military and civilian operations and on the other to humanitarian aid. Especially since these operations often take place at the same time. Even though the EU Council separates its involvement in civilian and military operations the study still has to take in account the humanitarian operations/support conducted by European Commission Humanitarian Aid Organization (ECHO). However, in the case of the DRC the humanitarian aid corresponding to the European Commission was suspended between 1992 and 2002 due to the insecurity in the area (Kobia 2002: 432, Hoebeke 2007: 5). With reference to the long-term nature of humanitarian aid, dramatic structural or situational changes in the conflict zone due to this type of aid is, at the time of the intervention, improbable. This makes it possible for the thesis to focus solely on the military and civil ESDP/CFSP missions.

The second is the separation of the impact from EU and UN operations in the DRC. One feasible argument for the delimitations made by the thesis is that the EU and the UN operations were of similar nature and bilaterally coordinated. Both actors implement military and civil instruments aimed at the same

objectives: preventing conflict, enforcing peace, keeping peace and/or supporting a sustainable peace and development process. Furthermore, in the case of the intervention in the DRC the EU was acting on a UN mandate universal for both EU and UN forces, which regulated time-lines, rules of engagement (ROE) and mission objectives. This would make the difference between the different efforts a matter of quantity rather than quality. However, it should be duly noted that the military intervention of the EU had a higher military capacity, which could be argued as a qualitative difference. The meaning of qualitative difference here is a difference where the objective of the intervention is dramatically different. If that had been the case, then the separation between impacts would have been radically more difficult.

3.1 Research material

For the analysis of the EU construction of the conflict the thesis will use official documents such as *The Cotonou Agreement, The European Security Strategy* (ESS) and several *EU Council Joint Action (CJA)* declarations. Throughout the thesis the research will in addition employ secondary sources regarding the case. These sources are acknowledged researchers either in the theoretical realm of securitization theory or regional studies. A number of articles from the Swedish Defence Research Agency will also be included in the material.

The researcher has, as always, to be aware of possible validity problems regarding the use of secondary sources. The ultimate solution to this would have been primary sources, e.g. interviews, but is regrettable not available within the scope of this thesis.

Having the issue of validity in mind, the author will balance the use of the sources and compare descriptions of actual events throughout the thesis. This will be of particular importance when evaluating the EU operations in the governance and impact sections of the thesis.

However, the sources that will be used are considered to show an adequate image of EU standpoints and attitudes regarding the discussed subjects especially since they are, in some instances, laws and conventions regulating the work of the EU institutions or international or inter-institutional relations. By, not only using official EU documents but also representative voices of other

fields of research the thesis will through a system of source triangulation strive to present a representative analysis of the complex political, military and social systems in play.

3.2 Conceptual definitions

Intervention is here defined as the sum of one actor's effort to change behaviour (violence, corruption, exploitation etc.), attitude (hostility, reluctance to negotiate etc.) or conditions (famine, poor living conditions, health etc.) at the scene of conflict with the ambition to promote peace.

Operation is defined as a part of an intervention and can be constituted by civil or military actions with the objective to support the current intervention.

Conflict will not be restricted to the concept of conflict between states or between politically motivated non-state actors and a state. It includes here ethnical, religious and cultural aspects in order to capture the complexity of modern conflicts or a situation between two, or several actors, which may threaten the humanitarian situation and/or stability of a region or country.

4. Analysis

This chapter has two main objectives. First, it will give a brief introduction to the history of the conflict and the situation in the DRC at the time of intervention.

Secondly, he aim is to provide an analysis of the EU intervention in the DRC through the methodological lens of Christou et al. and Schulz & Söderbaum. The chapter analyses the EU construction of the conflict and the securitization of the issue. Thereafter, it evaluates the EU governance of the intervention and finally it assesses the impact of the intervention.

4.1 Empirical background – the conflict in the DRC.

U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright once described the conflict in the DRC as "Africa's first world war" (Dobbins et al 2008: 101). The conflict was rooted in ethnic and political conflicts as well as struggle for control of the country's natural resources. The most recent conflict began in 1997, when long-time dictator Mobuto Sese Seko was overthrown by Laurent Kabila, and lasted for five years. Kabila renamed Zaire to the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The name

Zaire had followed the *Autheticity* process in 1967 when all colonial names was changed to African ones with the aim of creating a common sense of nationhood in the country (Bobb 1999: 8).

The conflict was partly a result of the political turmoil that began when Mobuto in 1990, after French pressure, announced that the country would abandon the single-party system. The opposition that had been suffocated for so long revived itself and called for a national conference to draft a new constitution. However, it was badly divided and more than 200 different groups joined the alliance between the three biggest opposition parties (ibid: 13). The subsequent period between 1990 and 1997 was characterized by civil war and political and economical chaos. In 1994, following the Hutu genocide on Tutsis in Rwanda after the revolution of the Tutsi-led Rwandese Patriotic Front (RPF) more then one million refugees fled over the border into Zaire. Growing tensions caused an offensive by the *Alliance des Forces Démocratiques pour la Libération du Congo/Zaïre* (AFDL) led by Zairian Tutsis and supported by Tutsis in neighbouring countries. The offensive forced a large part of the Rwandese refugees back over the border and the AFDL succeeded in securing a part of Zairian territory along the border. Continuing its advance, and supported by troops from Rwanda, Uganda and Burundi the AFDL forces met little resistance from the Zairian army. On May 17, 1997 AFDL forces entered the capital and Kabila was sworn in as president on May 29 and Zaire became the Democratic Republic of the Congo (ibid: 18, O'Ballance 2000: 157, Ekengard 2009: 16).

Upon assuming power Kabila's alliance with the neighbouring countries became a major political problem. Since he had excluded the opposition from the government they accused the regime of being a government of foreigners. Meanwhile, fighting erupted between on one side Congolese militia and fighters from Rwanda, Uganda and Burundi, and on the other anti-RPF forces such as the Hutu *Interahamwe* rebels. The *Interahamwe* continued to use the DRC as a staging area for attacks in Rwanda, which infuriated the RPF government in Kigali. Reports at the time stated that Congolese government was secretly rearming the rebels (O'Ballance 2000: 160). Trying to control the internal political situation Kabila ordered the return of all Rwandan officers in the Congolese army, which only further deteriorated the relationship with the

surrounding countries. As attacks on the RPF from Congolese territory continued the invasion of Rwanda and Uganda soon was a fact (Bobb 1999: 20). During 1998 Kabila managed to rally support from Angola, Zimbabwe, Chad and Namibia thus making the conflict truly inter-regional and fully earning the epithet "Africa's first World War".

During this period information of atrocities committed against the civilian populations began to surface. Human rights organizations were prevented from evacuating people from the refugee camps and relief workers and local eyewitnesses told of mass graves in the jungle. The Tutsi soldiers of the Rwandan army that had backed the ADFL were accused of committing the atrocities and the UN launched an investigation but investigators were kept form travelling to the region. This spurred threats of sanctions from Western countries and the UN. In 1999 the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement became the starting point for the UN peace operation in the DRC; *Mission de l'Organisation des Nations Unies en République Démocratique du Congo* (MONUC) (Norell et al. 2008: 20).

However, the Lusaka agreement did not have a clear impact on the desperate situation in the DRC, since the rebel groups remained outside the agreement and even though the rebels finally signed the agreement fighting continued.

A peace accord was finally reached in 2002, after the murder of Laurent Kabila and the assumption to power by his son, Joseph Kabila. The Sun City, Pretoria and Luanda peace accords provided the demobilization of the Congolese army, the integration of its rival factions, the establishment of a constitutional government, a referendum on a new constitution, democratic elections and the agreement from Rwanda and Uganda to withdraw and stop supporting their rebel groups in the DRC. The peace accords in 2002 also settled a power-sharing mechanism between the five major parties that gave Kabila the presidency with four vice presidents appointed, one from each political-military force in the conflict. As the Rwandan and Ugandan troops began to withdraw fighting again began in the eastern Ituri province. MONUC forces were unable to provide security and after an appeal by the UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan the EU launched Operation Artemis with the objective to relieve the MONUC forces and

stabilize the situation in the region (Dobbins et al 2008: 102, 128; Ekengard 2009: 17-18, 29).

4.1.1 The situation in the DRC at the time of the interventions

After several years of civil and regional war, a history of bad governance, low levels of economic and social development and an estimated 4 million dead the situation in the DRC was critical. The legacy of Mobutu, who had looted the treasury, left the Zairian/Congolese state crippled.

The security situation in the DRC was at the beginning of this millennium disastrous. Kabila's inability to hinder the attacks on Rwanda from Congolese territory threatened to provoke another invasion from both Rwanda and Uganda. Furthermore, there was a vast spectrum of different militias who had not laid down their weapons after the peace accords in 2002 with frequent splits among them over whether to continue the civil war. Neither did the Kabila regime have the instruments to respond to the perilous situation. The police and the military were unable to protect the country and the citizens from external and internal threats after the state failed to pay the salaries of the personnel and provide them with proper equipment. Instead they frequently harassed and terrorized the population in order to get food and supplies. The security situation in the DRC was that of a Hobbesian nightmare. A society riddled with crime with a state unable to provide security for its citizens despite the fact that a peace accord was in effect and that the fighting had been temporarily stopped (Dobbins et al. 2008: 105-106).

Adding to the desperate situation was a humanitarian crisis of biblical proportions in the region. Years of civil war and incompetent and corrupt governance had left the people impoverished. The different militias, as well as the government forces, indiscriminately killed, raped and tortured the citizens. There were several reports of mass murder and the use of child soldiers or children as servants or slaves to the different fractions. In 2003 the UN reported an estimated 2,7 million internally displaced persons (IDPs). Emergency relief in the area needed extensive funding and coordination but was also dependent of an improvement of the security situation for the relief workers. Moreover, the

humanitarian aid was additionally compromised by the poor infrastructure and medical facilities (ibid: 107).

The challenge for the interim government of Kabila and later for the UN and EU was the formation of a legitimate and functioning government. Since the international political will for a major peace-enforcing mission was lacking at the time, the only option to stop the fighting was a consensus approach. The possibility of eventual election and thus a division of power between the relevant actors seemed the only solution to stop the civil war. However, there were substantial obstacles to a formation of a constitutional government. The people of the DRC had no experience with a functioning liberal democracy, or for that matter a state whose purpose is to serve the people, not the rulers. The decades of dictatorship had left the state with little or no legitimacy and an economic system that was quickly spiralling out of control. The political parties were often closely related to the criminal gangs or militias plaguing the country. Neither did there exist a common identity to which the citizens could relate. During the civil war the Zairian identity, that was a product of the Mobuto regime, had quickly disintegrated into a tribal or ethnical allegiances. In addition to these obstacles the sheer size of the country and the poor status of the infrastructure made essential elections necessities as a census and voter registration a sizable problem (Ekengard 2009: 27, Dobbins et al. 2008: 108).

4.2 Construction

The dilemma for a researcher devoted to analyse the discursive nature of the EU is that several important sources of information, such as the council groups are unavailable for analysis. For this thesis the focus thus lays at official documents concerning the subject at hand. The EU construction of the conflict in the DRC comprises two categories of essential documents. The first category describes the EU view on the new security situation – both globally and locally – and the interconnectedness between the European security situation and regional conflict outside the EU. The second category of documents explicitly declares the interdependence between the EU and Africa on a variety of subjects, such as trade, development; regional conflict; peace building and peace intervention.

4.2.1 The view on security

The view on security of the European Union has since the end of the Cold War changed dramatically. From being focused on static threats like invasion of other sovereign nations the new view on security emphasizes new dynamic threats that require a new security strategy. Relevant for this analysis is above all the European Security Strategy (ESS) of December 2003, revised in December of 2008. The ESS outlines the EU's subjective interpretation of the new security environment, the strategic objectives of the EU and policy implications for Europe.

The image of the new security environment that the ESS presents is one of interconnected needs and obligations. The need of the EU to control the security situation goes hand in hand with the need of development in other countries. EU's obligation to protect its interests and borders is connected to its obligation to assist other countries and peoples in democratization, state building and human rights. Security is a necessity for development and development is a necessity for security. From a state-centric past we now live in a borderless global community, which brings countries together when facing security issues. This has also empowered non-state actors in international affairs, which in turn also have "increased the European dependence – and so vulnerability – to external actors". Within the EU, countries now "deal peacefully with disputes and are cooperating through common institutions" but the dependence on, for example, external sources of energy makes it impossible for the EU to look inward for security (ESS 2003: 1-2). The document further denotes the cooperation between the U.S. and the EU as one of the crucial elements in resolving international disputes, but remarks that no country is able to handle the complex problems of today's world alone. The size and importance of the EU's political and economical sectors compels it to act like the global actor it is.

The impossibility for the EU to ignore the situation outside its borders is, in the document, enhanced by the interpretation of several low-intensity threats that together could pose a serious predicament for the EU. Threats like terrorism and

weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) are linked to regional conflict, state failure and organized crime.

Regional conflict is seen as a potential source of demand for WMDs, terrorism, and state failure: which provides opportunities for organized crime. This perspective on threats and security as a reciprocal chain of possible events, where one phenomenon could fuel the next and vice versa, makes regional conflict a prioritized area of interest and caution (ibid: 4). Thus, regional conflict is one of the strategic objectives explicitly stated in the document. The use of military instruments to restore order, humanitarian and civil means to tackle imminent crises and to support civil administration and government are some of the tools available to the EU in order to complete this goal. "State failure and organized crime spread if they are neglected – as we have seen in West Africa. This implies that we should be ready to act before a crisis occurs. Conflict prevention and threat prevention cannot start too early" (ibid: 7).

Through the ESS the EU links the change in nature of threats and security to the temporal and spatial change of the world due to globalization. This change brings the conflicts of far-away closer to home, which creates a need of re-evaluating the adequate means of dealing with them. The ESS states that the EU or its vicinity could be threatened without a single soldier mobilizing at its borders.

4.2.2 The EU-Africa connection and the view on the conflict of the DRC – Great Lakes Region

The EU, as a regional actor, has through the CFSP a clear objective to "preserve peace and strengthen international security" and has been involved in numerous interventions in the DRC (EU Council[2]). Through the ESS it has formulated a new interpretation of threats and security and what the EU intends to do in order to ensure its security. This has implications for Africa and, in our case, the DRC.

On the 23rd of June 2003 the EU signed the *Cotonou Agreement*, which not only forms a framework for the EU-African cooperation strategy but also between the EU and the Pacific and Caribbean group of states.

[2] http://www.consilium.europa.eu/showPage.aspx?id=248&lang=EN

The Cotonou Agreement is one of many documents and agreements declaring the connection between the EU and Africa and the nature of that connection. However, the Cotonou Agreement has special importance for this analysis seeing as it forms a fundamental framework for African-EU relations from 2000 to 2020, including a political dialogue dimension regarding issues like peace building and conflict prevention (Elowson 2009: 16). The document declares that "broadly based policies to promote peace and to prevent, manage and resolve violent conflicts shall play a prominent role in this dialogue" (Cotonou Agreement 2000: Art 8 § 5). It also ensures that "in situations of violent conflict the Parties shall take all suitable action to prevent an intensification of violence, limit its territorial spread, and to facilitate a peaceful settlement of existing disputes" (ibid: Art 11 § 4). The Cotonou agreement was an important milestone in the EU-Afrcan relations but it was above all a cornerstone in the EU construction of the issues in Africa as strategically important to the EU.

Having dedicated the EU to a partnership with the African countries the *EU Strategy for Africa* further outlines the EU construction of the particular situation in different parts of Africa and how it relates to the EU. The EU Strategy for Africa, adopted in December of 2005, gave the EU a widespread, and long-term policy framework that reflects the priorities in its relationship with the whole African continent. Following the view on security outlined in the ESS, the EU Strategy for Africa identifies the priorities in peace and security issues. The strategy is built around three themes, one of which largely focuses on peace and security[3]. The theme elaborates on following issues: *Conflict Prevention* (The use of regional and national policies to address structural causes of conflict, the creation of an Early Warning System, the increase of support to efforts to strengthen governance/institutional capacity), *Common Security Threats* (WMDs, terrorism, illegal arms exports – issues that undermines regional security), *African Peace Support* (Supporting African led peace operations and setting up a comprehensive EU approach complementing the regional instruments with

[3] The themes are i) Prerequisites for attaining the Millennium Development Goals (peace and security and good governance), ii) Areas that create the economic environment for achieving the MDGs (economic growth, trade and interconnection) and iii) Areas directly targeting the MDGs (social cohesion and environment). (The EU Strategy for Africa 2005: 25: 3.1)

CFSP/ESDP approaches), *Disarmament to break the conflict cycle* (Supporting regional DDRR operations[4] and preventing proliferation of small arms and light weapons, define a EU approach to the problem drawing from first pillar and CFSP instrument)[5], *Post-conflict situations* (Developing a more coherent and smooth transition from short-term (humanitarian assistance) to long-term (development) strategies in post-conflict situations and supporting SSR missions), *Conflict Resources* (Preventing that resource extraction becomes a source of conflict or maintains conflict) (EU Strategy for Africa 2005: 21-23, Elowson 2009: 18).

The EU strategy for Africa identifies the DRC, and the Great Lakes Region, as a state characterized by structural instability in a region dominated by a "large number of countries in conflict as well as a high number of fragile states, i.e. states that – often weakened by endemic crises and conflicts or natural disasters – lack credible, legitimate and/or effective governance". The DRC is placed in a line of insecurity that "can be traced form the Sudan and the Horn of Africa, across the Central African Republic and northern Uganda to eastern DRC" (EU Strategy for Africa 2005: 11).

One of the reasons for the persistence of insecurity and a major concern for the EU is, according to the document, the connection between organized crime and conflict. The African continent has become an international hub for smuggling of drugs, arms and natural resources. The majority of the African countries are affected by international human trafficking, either as a source, transit or destination country. These sectors nourish each other and prosper thanks to a situation of insecurity and the absence of a functioning state. Together with the fact that the Great Lakes Region is resource rich, and the DRC in particular due to its Coltan deposits[6], there are several incentives for non-state actors to try to maintain the current situation to serve their own economic interests (Ekengard 2009: 46). This in turns hinders development, fuels extremism and creates a

[4] Disarmament, Demobilization, Reintegration and Reinsertion
[5] Here the document explicitly states that drawing from experiences in the DRC would be advantageous in the creation of a new approach.
[6] Coltan is a common name for the mineral colobit-tantalit which is an important part of computers, cellular phones etc. The DRC produces 80 % of the worlds supply of Coltan (Swedish National Encyclopedia; http://www.ne.se.ezproxy.ub.gu.se/sok/coltan?type=NE)

variety of possible threats to the EU. A more stabile region in, and around the heart of Africa is therefore a prioritized objective for the EU.

4.3 Governance

There were two major actors intervening in the conflict in the DRC. The EU and the UN. The focus here will be the EU but since the two organizations are closely interconnected a very brief introduction of the UN effort is in place.

The MONUC intervention started in 1999 and has during the last decade undergone significant change and growth. In the wake of the 2002 Pretoria accords the size of the intervention force was around 4000 soldiers and military observers. The initial objective of MONUC was to provide military observers for the peace accords but was by 2002 expanded to include Disarmament, Demobilization, Reintegration, Resettlement and Repatriation (DDRRR) In 2003 when security deteriorated the Security Council increased the number of troops to 10.800 and provided MONUC with a Chapter VII mandate[7]. During 2006 the MONUC was tasked with the organization and protection of the national election. In 2008 the focus of MONUC had changed, as its primary objective became the protection of civilians. In 2009 it was the largest and most expensive active peace operation of the UN (Ekengard 2009: 19-21).

4.3.1 The EU intervention

The EU has been involved in the peace process in the DRC since 1996. Initially only with political and diplomatic relations through the EU Special Representative (EUSR) to the Great Lakes Region and later with both military peace enforcing operations and civil peace keeping operations. The EUSR functions as the EU General Affairs and External Relations Council's (EU GAERC) and the Common Foreign and Security Policy's (CFSP) extension in the region. The purpose of the EUSR is to contribute to the solution of tensions between actors involved in the conflict, to facilitate international initiatives and negotiations and to coordinate humanitarian efforts from the European Commission with the CFSP missions of the European Council.

[7] Chapter VII of the UN chart allows the UNSC to authorize the use of the armed forces of a member state to "maintain or restore international peace and security" (Article 42, Chapter VII, United Nations Charter; http://www.un.org/en/documents/charter/chapter7.shtml).

The EU has through the first and second pillar (Community Action and the CFSP)[8] sent two military missions (Artemis and EUFOR RDC) and two civil Security Sector Reform (SSR) missions (EUPOL and EUSEC) (Hoebeke et al. 2007:3).

4.3.2 Operation Artemis

In 2003 the security situation deteriorated in the eastern parts of the DRC, in the Ituri province. The MONUC forces in the town of Bunia had neither the resources nor the mandate to handle the situation and its capability to protect civilians and monitor the humanitarian situation quickly diminished. The UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan sent an official letter to the UN Security Council (UNSC) requesting an interim emergency multinational force (IEMF). UNSC Resolution 1484 made it possible to launch an operation to the area to stabilize the situation, contribute to humanitarian relief, help protect the Bunia camps, protect the civilian population and secure the airport (Ekengaard 2009: 28, Hoebeke et al. 2009: 8).

The EU was finally asked by UNSG Kofi Annan to aid MONUC and France reported its willingness to lead the operation under the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP). On June 5th 2003 the Council of the EU designated France as framework nation for operation Artemis, which allows the EU to use the command-and-control facilities of a member state. In respect to Artemis this meant that was to be run from the French headquarters in Paris but remain under the political control of the Council of the European Union's Political and Security Committee (PSC) in Brussels. This meant that the council had authority of the operational plan, the rules of engagement and chain-of-command decisions (Dobbins et al. 2008: 111).

The EU operation, which had the same mandate as the UNSC Resolution 1484, was launched on June 12th. The forces deployed to Bunia included 230 French and Swedish Special Forces operatives and around 1000 conventional French troops supported by officers and troops from Belgium, Canada, South Africa and the UK. The primary task of the IEMF forces was to halt the violence in Bunia. At the time of arrival the fragile cease-fire was being broken by at least six different

[8] Since the EU involvement in the DRC predates the Lisbon treaty the author has chosen to maintain the old description of EU institutional structure.

fighting fractions trying to take over the control of the town from the Rwanda-backed Union of Congolese Patriots militia. On June 22nd the IEMF commander declared that Bunia and a ten-kilometre radius around the town would be a weapon-free zone. The IEMF forces conducted several operations to enforce the declaration and engaged in combat with armed fractions or militias on some occasions. Even if the zone never became the weapon-free zone that was intended at least weapons were no longer openly brandished. A few days later civilians started to return to the town and the competing fractions opened political offices, seemingly supporting the peace process (ibid: 117-118, Ekengard 2009: 29, Hadden 2009: 11).

4.3.3 Operation EUPOL Kinshasa – EUPOL RD Congo

One of the peace accords mentioned earlier – the Pretoria Accord of 2002 – opened the possibility for the creation of a specialized unit of the *Police Nationale Congolaise*: the *Unité de Police Intégrée* (UPI). The purpose of the new police unit was to "ensure the protection of the transition institutions and to reinforce the internal security apparatus" (Hoebeke et al. 2007: 9).

The EU agreed to support the project and the subsequent project plan consisted of three stages. The first and the second stage was the responsibility of the EU Commission and had a purely financial character. The third stage involved the EU Council and implicated an ESDP SSR mission to the Congolese capital of Kinshasa. The mission, that was launched in February 2005, at the same time as the deployment phase of the UPI, had a mandate to "monitor, mentor and advise the setting up and initial running of the Congo Police" (Hadden 2009: 13).

The EUPOL mission consisted initially of 29 international staff and police officers from European nations and two non-European nations: Canada and Turkey. Until June 2005 the EUPOL staff's primary function was to participate in the training of UPI officers. Since July 2005 the EUPOL also participates in the census and registration of the members of the Congolese National Police. During the election period of 2006 the EUPOL made a joint effort with the EUSEC mission to provide and ensure a competent and coordinated police response in the case of disturbances in Kinshasa (Hoebeke et al. 2007: 10).

Since July 2007 EUPOL Kinshasa became EUPOL Congo. The change entailed an enlargement of the engagement to nation-level and an increase in experts contributing to the mission. The objective of the mission now also includes the integration of a reformed justice system and the coordination with the national police force (EU Council press release 2009-08: 6).

4.3.4 Operation EUSEC RDC

EUSEC RDC was the other Security Sector Reform (SSR) mission to the DRC launched in May 2005. It was a small mission with the objective to provide advice and support to the Congolese army (FARDC) and the reintegration of ex-combatants into the army. The EUSEC staff were deployed within the FARDC and provided support on all administrative levels. A second objective was added to the mission later the same year. This was to resolve the problem with the misappropriation of funds and the appearance of "ghost soldiers" i.e. non-existent persons who were used to cash out fake salaries. In practice this had to be done by separating the payment chain from the command chain. Another problem was the fact that soldiers in fact did not get paid, which instigated them to live of the population and promoted corruption (ibid: 11, Dobbins et al. 2008: 122).

4.3.5 Operation EUFOR RD Congo

The election process during the summer of 2006 the UN saw the need for a reinforcing mission to ensure security during the election. After a new request from the UN to the EU, the EUFOR RD Congo was launched in June 2006 and consisted of forces from France, Germany, eighteen other European countries and Turkey. EUFOR RD Congo was a military mission organized under the CFSP and included an advance force based in Kinshasa, a reserve force stationed in Gabon and secondary reserve force based in Europe. The UNSC Resolution 1671 mandate of EUFOR RD Congo was similar to that of Artemis but the force was only to engage if MONUC was "facing difficulties fulfilling its own mandate; to protect civilians under imminent threat in the area were EUFOR was deployed; protect the airport; protect own personnel, installations and freedom of movement; and conduct limited operations to extract individuals in danger" (Ekengard 2009: 31).

During the electoral period the EUFOR had to intervene in Kinshasa together with MONUC when supporters from the two major candidates Bemba and Kabila clashed in late August of 2006. These clashes were a critical threat to the peace process and the elections since the Bemba and Kabila were to face each other in the second round of elections (Hoebeke et al. 2007: 12).

4.3.6 The link between construction and governance

The questions regarding the EU security governance of the intervention in the DRC are primarily concerned with how the EU links the form of the intervention to the current phase of the conflict. In the light of the restricted insight in the EU Council Committees and working groups, the analysis has to be based on the official papers and declarations made regarding the intervention. However, by scrutinizing the Council Joint Action (CJA) declarations and press releases it is possible to obtain an image of how the Council linked the intervention to the current phase of the conflict.

When operation Artemis was lunched there existed an imminent threat of a similar humanitarian disaster as in Rwanda a decade earlier. As discussed above, the UN request for assistance to its mission and the UNSC Resolution 1484, both made it perfectly clear that the situation in the Ituri province was most precarious (UNSC Resolution 1484[9]).

On the 4th of June 2003 EUSR Javier Solana gave a briefing in a press release outlining the preparations for operation Artemis and the Councils view on the conflict. The press release states that "the situation in the Ituri region constitutes a threat to the peace process in the Democratic Republic of Congo and to peace and security in the wider Great Lakes region. The EU is particularly concerned by the atrocities perpetrated in that region". Furthermore, it stresses that "we are facing a humanitarian crisis. Therefore time is of the essence. " (EU Council press release S0123/03: 2003/06/04[10]).

The press release clearly shows the perceived importance and small window of opportunity where an intervention could succeed in avoiding another genocide and its connection to the regional security situation. Put in relation with the Cotonou Agreement analysed earlier, the motives behind the

[9] http://www.un.org/Docs/sc/unsc_resolutions03.html
[10] http://www.consilium.europa.eu/showPage.aspx?id=606&lang=sv

intervention are clear. They correspond to the explicit objectives of the EU's humanitarian and regional policies as well as the Council Joint Action controlling the intervention.

In terms of how the EU linked the intervention instrument to the perceived conflict phase there are two indicative aspects in the official document. First, the situation was of such magnitude that a swift intervention was needed. Secondly, the MONUC military forces already at the location were not able to handle the situation, which called for a military operation in order to relieve them (CJA 2003/423/CFSP, CJA 2006/412/CFSP, CJA 2007/147/CFSP).

The implemented intervention instrument, operation Artemis, was in all aspects such a swift military operation. After having reduced the time to come to a decision the operation was launched in less than a month from the moment the request from the UNSG came (Ekengard 2009: 31). Additionally, the superior strength of the intervention force ensured that, in spite of eventual hostilities in the intervention zone, mission failure was highly unlikely. Troops were drawn from special forces or paratroops regiments, equipped with heavy weaponry including attack aircraft, attack helicopters, light tanks and armoured personnel carriers. However, the EU force did not only rely on superior strength to succeed with the mission objectives. Dobbins et al. identify the combination of superior force, readiness to use the force and pressure on local leadership as main reasons for the success of the mission (Dobbins 2008: 119). Others, like Thomas Turner, analyses the intervention from another perspective. He interprets the intervention as yet another example of French ambition "to practice geopolitics in the region behind a screen of humanitarianism" (Turner 2007: 159). Leaving different interpretations aside, the mission should be recognized for, at least temporarily, improving the security situation in the area.

When the security situation improved the EU deescalated the intervention to the level of the subsequent civil EUPOL and EUSEC missions. These missions continue to this date but were reinforced when, as previously discussed, security deteriorated during the electoral process. The difference in intensity of the EU operations show that the EU is, at least on a macro-level, a coherent peace actor and have the capability to effectively link its instruments to the current phase of the conflict (Dobbins et al. 2008: 122-125).

Nonetheless, the governance of the intervention in the DRC has not gone by without criticism. The EU was criticized for not coordinating the military and civil CFSP mission to the humanitarian missions conducted, or supported, by the European Commission. The lack of internal coordination between the Council and the Commission was also mirrored by an insufficient external coordination with the UN. In the case of Artemis the Council, suspecting MONUC of intelligence leaks, did not inform the MONUC leadership that the IEMF was to be deployed to the DRC until the first Special Forces elements already were in place. Furthermore, the intervention has been accused of operational rigidness since Brussels demanded political control over tactical decisions, which prolonged the decision-making process. For the EU the chain of command was Brussels-Operational Headquarters-DRC[11] in comparison with the UN where the MONUC forces stood in direct contact with New York (Ekengard 2009: 31).

4.4 Impact

The nature of politics and conflicts is seldom black or white; it is more often in different scales of gray. So is the case of the impact of the intervention in the DRC. Worth remembering here is the distinction made above between intervention and operation. The intervention is defined as the total peace effort of the EU; i.e. the sum of all the different operations.

Generally, there are two 'versions' of the impact in the DRC. Depending on which perspective that is employed – long-term or short-term – the conclusions typically differ. From an operational point of view, all of the EU operations fulfilled their mandates and reached the objectives, but from a development and humanitarian perspective the situation in the DRC is still so critical that the actual success of the intervention may be contested. However, one should commend the intervention forces for the success in hindering a further escalation of the conflict into a new regional war. Although there still is a poor security situation and a humanitarian crisis in the country, the situation is now substantially better than before the intervention (Dobbins et al. 2008: 116).

[11] The Operational Headquarters for Artemis was in Paris while for EUFOR it was in Potsdam.

4.4.1 The military operations

Starting with the Artemis operation in 2003 the EU managed to improve, although not consistently, the security situation in the eastern regions of the country. The country is not in a phase of open war but there are still a number of armed fractions active in the eastern and northeastern parts of the country and outbursts of violence are common (US State Department January 2010[12]).

When Artemis gave over the control of the region fighting had stopped and the civilian population could freely move within the controlled area. One regrettable unintended consequence was that when the IEMF pushed the armed militias out of Bunia it intensified the fighting in the surrounding area. In mid-2004 a crisis broke out in the Kivu province, just south of the area were the Artemis force was deployed. A rebel fraction took control of several towns in the province, several hundred people were killed and thousands displaced. After considerable international pressure and support from MONUC the Congolese army managed to take back the control of the towns and disarm some parts of the rebel forces (Dobbins et al. 2008: 120).

The importance of Artemis was that it supported the peace process at a time when it was as most sensible. Since the Transition was launched on the 30th of June 2003 the timing of the operation was essential. If, the Artemis operation had not taken place it is doubtful if the Transition process would ever had started and, even if so, even more doubtful that the Congolese army would have been able to handle the crisis a year later (Turner 2007: 165).

Furthermore, the operation gave MONUC the crucial time to reassemble and augment its capacity on the ground and maintain the credibility of the UN as an actor in the peace process. In the light of the failure of the UN mission to neighbouring Rwanda half a decade earlier, and the fact that many of the armed fractions came from that side of the border, another UN failure to protect civilians in the same region would have been devastating for the UN activities in the Great Lakes Region (Hoebeke et al. 2007: 8). Operation Artemis was never intended to be a long-term mission, only to secure the area until MONUC forces were able to reassume command again, and was in this perspective a success.

[12] http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/2823.htm#political

The impact of the second military mission, EUFOR RD Congo, was that it successfully separated the forces of president Kabila and senator Bemba (also opposition candidate) during the elections. EUFOR rescued a group of diplomats that were trapped in Bemba's cellar when Kabila's forces attacked. The incidence augmented the legitimacy of the EU forces since it was directed against Kabila. This discouraged the view that the EUFOR simply was there to ensure that the candidate favourite to the EU was installed as president (Dobbins et al. 2008: 125). The EUFOR also guaranteed that MONUC had assistance if the situation demanded it.

4.4.2 The civilian operations

The problem with the continuing insecurity in the area is in part due to the inability of the Congolese post-election administration to rebuild the Congolese army, thus leaving the bulk of the burden for establishing and preserving security in the region on the UN. The civil EU SSR mission EUSEC in 2005 accomplished some progress regarding the issue of the Congolese administration not sufficiently handling the DDRR program. By September 2006 the World Bank reported that 91.806 adult 27.346 child combatants had been demobilized but there still remained some 50.000 combatants to be processed in 2007 (Dobbins et al. 121-122). The success of demobilizing 125.000 combatants and the failure of the remaining 50.000 cannot be attributed solely to the EU. The UN, the World Bank and other actors had both great influence in this process, as well as enormous difficulties to coordinate their policies and methods of implementation.

The EUSEC advisors also worked with various representatives of the Congolese security administration and implemented the separation of the salary-payment system from the chain of command. An accomplishment of the EUSEC mission is to have occupied strategic positions within the Congolese security system where the advisors have developed crucial contacts with local key personnel. This has facilitated the transference of know-how and maintained the confidence of the Congolese authorities (Hoebeke et al 2007: 11).

The SSR missions, EUSEC and EUPOL Kinshasa/RD Congo, are subject to great discrepancies between evaluations from, on one side political and strategic analysts and on the other humanitarian organizations.

The missions were focused on establishing and training a competent police force in Kinshasa in order to protect the transition authorities and to avoid clashes during the elections. The EU successfully funded a program and trained the UPI consisting of roughly 1000 police officers by May 2005. In September 2005 all of the involved international actors had trained and deployed a total of 39.000 police across the country. These forces, especially the EU-trained UPI unit, have shown, according to some analysts, "calm and professionalism" in the disturbances during the election (Hoebeke 2007: 10, Dobbins 2008: 123). However, the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA) reported in two consecutive country reports, written by their staff at the Swedish embassy in Kinshasa, that "human rights abuses are characterized by arbitrary arrests, unlawful detentions, lootings, kidnappings, torture, rapes, destruction of property, cannibalism, mutilation and massacres. The abuses affect mostly the civil population and the situation is most severe in the east of the country. *Most violations are performed by the security forces*. Much of the human rights abuses are linked to illegal mineral extraction in the eastern parts of DRC." (SIDA DRC Country Report 2006: 7, emphasis by the author). In 2007 the reports states: "The national army and police have not been capable of bringing security to the population. The weak capacity of the national security forces is part of the security problem in eastern DRC. Insecurity has lead to increased numbers of IDPs and one of the worst humanitarian crises in the world." (SIDA DRC Country Report 2007: 4). The Swedish Foreign Ministry concurs in this description of the situation and stress the "flagrant HR-violations during 2007 through the excessive force used by the police during demonstrations in the province of Bas-Congo and the national security forces battle with Jean-Pierre Bembas private forces (senator and opposition candidate) in the centre of the capital" (Swedish Foreign Ministry 2007: 1). On both occasions hundreds civilians were injured or killed. These reports are, regardless of which perspective one employs as a researcher, extremely compromising for the EU SSR missions and shows a radically different picture regarding the success of the missions.

A fact, which slightly discredits the political,[13] and the strategic[14] analyst's conclusions is that they were not actually in the conflict zone at the time of the events, opposed to the SIDA staff and the Swedish diplomats who worked in Kinshasa during the time in question.

5. Summary and conclusions

This thesis has shown how the theories of securitization and security governance can explain how the EU forms its perception of a conflict. Furthermore, it has demonstrated the significance of external regional conflicts to the internal security of the EU.

The construction dimension demonstrated how intrastate conflict in the modern era has increasingly become an international matter. The modern global community consists of states that are brought together when facing security issues. The EU has through a web of political agreements, economic interest and the transformed security issues shaped its general perception of the situation and conflict in the DRC and the obligations of the EU. This perception varied over the course of time but the EU was mainly concerned with the implosion of state institutions and the lack of human security. The analysis has also shown that the security of the EU is connected to the development in other countries, where a decline in the security situation could indirectly pose a threat to the EU. The deterioration of security in the DRC in 2003 was both a threat to the transition process in the DRC and to the fragile peace in the Great Lakes region. A failed peace process and the possibility of another failed state in a already troubled region could have signified a serious threat to the EU. Moreover, the international community was committed to avoid another genocide like the one in Rwanda in 1994-95.

The analysis of the EU governance of the intervention showed that the EU adequately links the form of intervention to the current phase of the conflict. In periods of increased insecurity in the area, or significant threat to MONUC, the EU did not hesitate to deploy full-strength military force to pacify the situation.

[13] The Belgian think tank *Centre d'Analyse Statégique*
[14] The US think tank *The Rand Cooperation*

In other periods the EU involvement changed to focus on reconstructing the institutions and security apparatus of the Congolese state[15]. However, the EU governance was not flawless. There were problems with internal coordination between the Council and the Commission, which hindered an optimal use of the humanitarian aid active in the area and an overabundant demand of political control in the chain of command from Brussels caused operational rigidness.

The analysis of the impact of the intervention has shown that some progress in the humanitarian situation has been made and that the national administration has improved. The EU intervention has had a positive effect on the development in the DRC even though there still is lot to be done.

More importantly the analysis has shown the difference between civil and military operations. The military operations have been shown to quickly and effectively improve the security and humanitarian situation when the weak local institutions did not have the capacity to protect the citizens. When the EU retreated the local forces were not able to maintain the level of security and the humanitarian situation once again deteriorated. The widespread corruption, lack of a functioning legal system and dissolution within the security forces has given impunity to criminals, assassins, rapists and warlords. Additionally, there have been several reports of security forces actually being the perpetrators of atrocities against the civilian population. Regretfully, the high credibility of the reports brings this thesis to conclude that the civil operations in the DRC have, with some exceptions, been a failure. The EU successfully trained and equipped thousands of police officers and reintegrated many more soldiers, but if those agents of the state do not uphold law and order and protect the citizens of what use are they then?

This thesis contends that the motives for the EU to intervene in regional conflict to a large part are related to the change in the security milieu since the cold war.

[15] What has not been addressed here is the concern raised by some analysts that the intervention, especially Artemis, was just a way for the EU to prove itself capable of military intervention without the help of the US and NATO. One event supporting this opinion is when the foreign ministers of Belgium and France prized the operation as a major success during a joint visit to Bunia. The ministers emphasized the success that the operation represented for the ESDP rather than the importance for the state-building in the DRC (Dobbins et al. 2008: 119, 136).

It has been shown that there, behind an intervention, exists a subjective strategic interest closely related to the security situation of the EU besides the altruistic interest of preventing a humanitarian disaster. In the case of the DRC it was in the political and strategic interest of the EU to avoid creating more safe-havens for non-state actors or widespread regional instability. Emphasizing this interest does not replace, alter or deprecate the altruistic motives for an intervention. Rather, it completes our understanding of the process behind an intervention. Since the crisis in 2003 was, in the perception of the EU, of a major regional importance the EU implemented the instrument that was proportional to the threat implied by the crisis. The following operations replicate the same behaviour. To adjust the intervention instrument to the phase of the conflict and the subjective interpretation of the threat inferred by the conflict.

The difference in impact between civil and military peace instruments is first and foremost a matter of speed. A military intervention that by force impedes the continuance of the conflict will be more rapid than a civil instrument aimed a structural reform. However, this thesis has established that the success of a military mission is also dependant of the timeframe dedicated to the intervention. If an intervention ends prematurely there is a great risk that the fighting recommences. In the case of the DRC the failure of the civil missions was in part an effect of the early dismantling of the Artemis operation, which left too much of the security burden on local authorities and the UN. Nonetheless, a military intervention cannot go on indefinitely. Without civil support to the development process and the reconstruction of local authorities sustainable peace and reconciliation is unlikely after a major intrastate conflict or regional war.

Without further research it is impossible to speculate in what would have happened if the EU had maintained a strong military presence in the DRC. A topic that could prove useful to further the knowledge in this area is a comparative analysis of the intervention in Kosovo and the intervention in the DRC.

Appendix

A1. Abbreviations

EU	European Union
EUSR	European Union Special Representative
EU GAERC	EU General Affairs and External Relations Council
PSC	Political and Security Comitee
ESDP	European Security and Defence Policy
CFSP	Common Foreign and Security Policy
CJA	Council Joint Action
UN	United Nations
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
UNSG	United Nations Secretary General
MONUC	Mission de l'Organisation des Nations Unies en République Démocratique du Congo
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
DRC	Democratic Republic of the Congo
IEMF	Interim Emergency Multinational Force
DDRR	Disarmament, Demobilization, Reintegration and Reinsertion
SSR	Security Sector Reform
UPI	Unité de Police Intégrée (Integrated Police Unit)
PNC	Police Nationale Congolaise (Congolese National Police)
RPF	Rwandese Patriotic Front
AFDL	Alliance des Forces Démocratiques pour la Libération du Congo/Zaïre (Alliance of the Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo/Zaire)

A2. Map of the DRC

Source: United Nations Cartographic Section, No 4007, rev. 8, January 2004. Used with permission

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