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MAJOR IMPEDIMENTS TO HUMAN SECURITY PROVIDENCE OF CURRENT EU MISSIONS IN THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO

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Abstract

The EU as a Human Security provider has played an important role in the aftermath of the two wars in the DRC. Currently, it leads the two civil missions EUSEC RD Congo and EUPOL RD Congo supporting security sector and police reforms. But despite thoughtful ambitions, the Human Security situation of the Congolese population remains critical. The article argues that three major factors limit the missions' impact for Human Security providence: (1) Intrinsic aspects of the missions like the limited resources and the design of the mandates (2) Cooperation failures and (3) the Congolese Government.

Key-word: Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Human Security, EU missions, EUSEC, EUPOL

1. Introduction

In the 1990ties the concept of Human Security emerged, shifting away from the notion of state security towards a stronger focus on the security of human beings. The paradigm can be seen as a complement to or even a substitute for state-centred understandings of security. The menace to security consists no longer just in a violation of the territorial integrity of the state but in conditions that endanger the security of its population (Suhrke, 1999; Alkire, 2003). This reprioritisation of security has influenced the agenda of international security policy since then. Various international actors have acknowledged the importance of Human Security and its integration in their peace and security missions (United Nations Development Programme [UNDP], 1994; Annan 2000; Council of the EU, 2008). The European Union for instance aims to integrate the Human Security concept into its oversee missions in order to improve coherence in its external actions and to transfer the Unions founding principles into policy practice (Kaldor, Martin & Selchow, 2008).

Under the umbrella of its *Common Security and Defense Policy* (CSDP) the EU has taken a leading role in peace and security promotion. One essential component of this engagement is its effort to incorporate the Human Security dimension in its external actions (Gräns & Sira, 2010, p. 1-2). To act as a crisis manager and security provider the Union has engaged in several military and civilian missions on the African continent. Especially in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) it has played a major role in the aftermath of the two Congo wars by protecting civilians in situation of crisis (Artemis), supporting its democratic transition and strengthening state capacities (EUFOR RD Congo and EUPOL Kinshasa)¹. Currently, the EU leads the two civil missions, namely EUSEC RD Congo and EUPOL RD Congo (in the former referred to as EUSEC and EUPOL) supporting security sector and police reforms. Yet, the Human Security

¹ For further information see Hoebeke, Carette & Vlassenroot (2007).

Major impediments to human security provision of current EU missions in the Democratic Republic of the Congo situation in the DRC remains at a distressing level (UNDP, 2012). After decades of war the population is still suffering from its consequences and the recurrent outbreak of renewed violence. Congolese and foreign rebel groups as well as state actors pose a threat to the security of the population and frequently commit gross human rights violations (Human Rights Watch [HRW], 2013; Freedom House, 2013). The two EU missions therefore aim to strengthen the Congolese security sector so that state forces no longer pose a threat to the population but succeed in protecting them (EU, 2012, 2013). Nevertheless, the Human Security situation in the DRC hasn't improved much since the beginning of the two missions in 2005 and 2007.

This paper proposes three major reasons that have impeded greater success of the Human Security efforts of the EU missions. First, intrinsic aspects inherent to the EU missions itself have limited their possibilities to success. Second, cooperation problems in- and outside of the missions constitute a major impediment. Finally, the unwillingness of the Congolese government to cooperate hinders the mission's potentials.

The paper starts by discussing different approaches to Human Security and outlining the EU's Human Security approach. The next section of the paper draws a clear picture of the Human Security situation of the population in the DRC from 2005 until 2013. This period corresponds with the duration of the two missions. Following, the mandate and the corresponding measures of the two missions will be presented. The next section of the paper tries to explain why the overall Human Security situation did not improve significantly since the beginning of the missions.

2. Human Security

There is no homogenous definition of Human Security. Practitioners as well as academics still discuss its conceptual ambiguity and blurriness (Grayson, 2008; Robert, 2010; Stoett, 1999). Most academics agree that traditional definitions of security refer to security as National Security: the protection of a state's sovereignty and territory from external threats. In contrast, the concept of Human Security seats the individual at the center of attention. Security from this point of view is concerned with the protection of the people and moves away from the notion of state security (Liotta & Owen, 2006). It acknowledges the necessity to protect social groups and individuals from insecurity and pervasive threats towards their vital freedoms (Acharya, 2011, p. 480; Cidrey, Ispas & Negoescu, 2011, p. 11). International Organizations, Governments and scholars have taken different approaches to this concept. Therefore a closer look is needed: The precursor of the concept was the *United Nations Development Programme* (UNDP) with the publication of the "Human Development Report" of 1994 which explicitly defined Human Security as a people centered approach. It chose seven categories of security that include economic, food, health, environmental, personal, community and political security. Further, the report as well as Kofi Annan's "We the Peoples" (2000) stress two major components of Human Security. One wider category named *freedom from want* which addresses non-military and non-traditional security concerns such as disease, poverty and environmental issues. The narrower component, *freedom from fear*, refers to armed conflict and direct violence against individuals being it criminal as well as political violence (UNDP, 1994, p. 24-32; Annan, 2000, p. 17). The concept has been extended by the Commission on Human Security in its report "Human Security now" adding structural forms of violence such as structural inequalities and unequal opportunities to the Human Security agenda (UN Commission on Human Security, 2003, p. 4).

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The Government of Japan as well as several development economists acknowledge this approach (Takhur, 1997). Many critics, among others K. Krause, argue that the approach of the UN is too broad and vague and lacks conceptual clarity as well as analytical concision. They therefore endorse the narrower definition of Human Security (Krause, 2004, p. 367-368). The Governments of Norway and Canada as well stick to the narrower definition.

The European Union specifies its own way of security as “the protection of individuals and communities as well as the interrelationship between ‘freedom from fear’ and ‘freedom from want’” (Human Security Study Group, 2007, p. 8). It sees Human Security as an operational concept that should be connected to the Union’s behavior in their missions. Acting in a Human Security framework the EU tries to “meet human need at moment of crisis, when people suffer not only because of wars but from natural and human-made disasters – famines, tsunamis, hurricanes.” It means that the physical as well as the material wellbeing of the population in situations of extreme vulnerability should be assured (Human Security Study Group, 2007, p. 8). In the 2008 “Review of the Implementation of the European Security Strategy (ESS)” the EU explicitly calls their way of contributing to a more secure world “to build Human Security, by reducing poverty and inequality, promoting good governance and human rights, assisting development, and addressing the root causes of conflict and insecurity” (Council of the EU, 2008, p. 2). The EU’s concept of Human Security comprises both: a guiding norm as well as an operational framework for external action. The Madrid Report of 2007 outlines operational principles that identify how the Human Security approach should be integrated into the EU Missions. The principles are equally important and mutually reinforce each other. They include the primacy of human rights, the creation of a legitimate political authority, the preference of a

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bottom-up approach, the need of effective multilateralism and an integrated regional approach as well as clear and transparent strategic direction (Human Security Study Group, 2007, p. 4-5).

Most of the literature about the EU and Human Security (Kaldor et al., 2008; Gräns & Sira, 2010; Glasius & Kaldor, 2006; Keane, 2006) concentrates on the Union's motivation, legitimacy and the operational principles but there are only very few examples of how the EU is actually performing in practice (Human Security Study Group, 2007; Brittain & Conchiglia, 2006). In this paper the DRC will serve as an exemplary case for a country whose population is suffering from both freedom from fear and freedom from want due to various nexus of insecurity. Literature on Human Security in the DRC is scarce, too. Z. Marriage (2007), M. Taka (2010) and J. Puijtenbroek (2008) investigate specific aspects of human security in the DRC. Other authors concentrate on the Human Security approach of the UN mission (MONUSCO) in DRC (Athanasίου, 2007).

Therefore, the aim of this paper is twofold: First, it aims to draw a clearer picture of the Human Security situation of the population in DRC in both areas: freedom from fear and freedom from want. Second, it intends to contribute to the assessment of experiences of EU engagement in DRC and to fill the gap of exploring impediments to the success in Human Security providence of current EU missions.

As already indicated, the Human Security situation in the DRC is of great concern to the EU and it has been quite active in this regard. Still, the conditions under which the population in the DRC is living are alarming. The following section will describe the Human Security situation in the DRC following the definition of the EU combining freedom from fear as well as freedom from want.

3. The Human Security Situation in the DRC

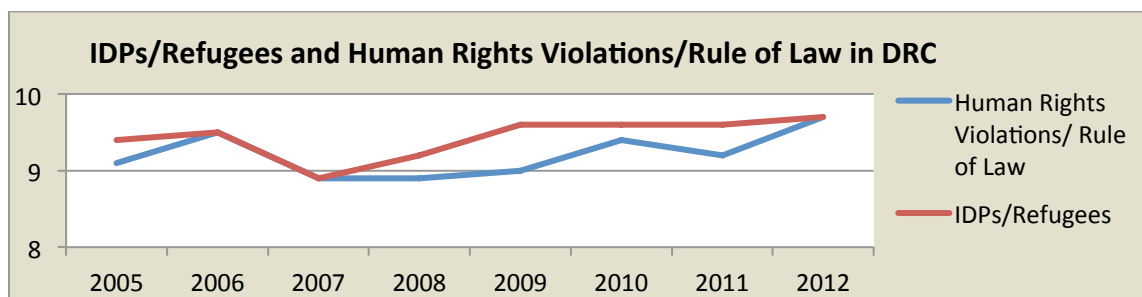
After the two Congo wars from 1998-1999 and from 1999-2003, where an estimated 3.3 Million people have died (Brennan et al., 2006, p. 44), the population is still suffering from the consequences of these wars and ongoing conflict in the east of the country. The two wars in the DRC have gone along with extreme violence, massive displacements of the population, widespread rape and the collapse of the public health and administration systems (Brennan et al., 2006, p. 44). Despite many initiatives from international actors, such as the EU, the World Bank and multiple bilateral donors, and the deployment of an immense number of UN Peacekeepers with a robust mandate to protect the population (UNO, 2013), the Human Security situation of the population remains critical (UNDP, 2013).

Concerning the criteria freedom from fear, the empirical data reveal that the population in the eastern provinces North and South Kivu and Orientale is still living with the threat of direct violence resulting from ongoing conflicts. Since the official end of the second Congo war the eastern regions have continuously been affected by conflict (Heidelberg Institute for International Conflict Research [HIIK], 2003-2012). According to the HIIK the conflict between the government and defected soldiers of the former CNDP (*Congrès National pour la Défense du Peuple*), now called M23, is categorized as a war. In November 2012 the M23 have taken over several cities in the east and the government has been fighting the rebels since then (Gettleman, 2012). Moreover, there are several inter-militant conflicts taking place (HIIK, 2012). The ongoing fighting is connected to gross violence against the civilian population and massive human rights violations. The M23 rebels are responsible for widespread war crimes, such as summary executions, rapes and child recruitment and have resulted in an increased number of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs). In Northern DRC, the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA), an

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Ugandan rebel group, continued to attack and abduct civilians (HRW, 2013). As has been shown, the ongoing fighting has a serious impact on the Human Rights situation in eastern and northern Congo. Data of the Failed State Index illustrate that the indicator for Human Rights and the Rule of Law has worsened since 2005. The same applies to the number of IDPs and refugees (see Table 1) (Fund for Peace, 2005-2012). Currently over 2.5 millions are displaced inside or outside the country due to the unsecure environment in the eastern provinces (UNHCR, 2012).

Table 1:



Source: Fund for Peace (2005-2012).²

Nevertheless, violence against civilians is not only committed by foreign and Congolese rebel groups, but also by soldiers of the national army (FARDC - *Forces Armées de la République Démocratique du Congo*) as well as police forces of the National Police (PNC - *Police National Congolaise*) and other state authorities (Oxfam, 2012, p. 6). The political terror scale reveals alarming results with the highest scores for the DRC from 2005-2011 (no data available for 2012). This means, that those mandated to protect the population pose one of the major threats to them (Political Terror Scale, 2011). Violent crimes as well remained at the highest level from 2008 to 2013. The perceived criminality in society, a clear indicator for the impression of fear and mistrust within the population, has not improved significantly since 2008 and continued at a very high scale (Global Peace Index, 2008-2013).

² Ranking from 0-10 with 10 being the highest score.

Special attention should be paid to the security situation of women in DRC. Many women feel unsafe in their daily activities because of the omnipresent risk of rape by military forces, both rebels and state personnel. Linkages between military presence and raised levels of sexual violence have been proven by a survey of *International Alert* (Dolan, 2010). Consequences from rapes include not only physical and psychological damages of the victim but often also disruption in family or community structures. According to the report and various other sources (Van Damme, 2012; Harvard Humanitarian Initiative, 2010; Oxfam, 2012), rape is used in the DRC as a weapon of war that serves the specific purpose of psychological destruction, control and humiliation of the population as well as their extermination through transmitting sexually transmitted and incurable infections (Dolan, 2010, p. 21). In most cases raped women (and the children resulting from rape) are stigmatized and the possibility to participate in community life is significantly reduced. That way cultural and social ties within communities get destroyed (Harvard Humanitarian Initiative, 2010).

Table 2 demonstrates the results from an inquiry carried out by Oxfam (2011) of nine communities in Haut Uélé in the Province Orientale. The answers given by the community members shall serve as evidence of how the ongoing conflict in various provinces of the DRC is affecting people's daily lives. It is not only freedom from fear that they are facing (although to a great amount) but also freedom from want in many areas, such as extreme poverty due to illegal taxation, extortion and destruction of crops.

Table 2: Results from nine communities, Haut Uélé, Province Orientale – Oxfam 2011 Protection Assessment

Protection threats (in order of frequency)	Perpetrators of abuse (in order of importance)
Extortion, kidnapping for ransom, illegal taxation, and arbitrary arrest	FARDC, LRA, Police Nationale Congolaise (PNC), local authorities
Killing, abductions, and death threats	LRA
Rape and other sexual violence	FARDC, civilians, LRA, Ugandan People's Defence Force (UPDF)
Looting and destruction of crops (during which rapes often take place)	LRA, FARDC, civilians, UPDF
Forced labour	FARDC, PNC

Source: Oxfam, 2011, p. 4.

Freedom from want in DRC is impeded by conflict in many ways: First, because of the permanent fear of brutal attacks by rebel groups or the FARDC people stop cultivating their fields which leaves many of them unable to sufficiently aliment themselves. Second, regular extortions of money or harvest and illegal customs by state and non-state actors systematically exploit the most vulnerable citizens and push them even deeper into poverty. Third, the prevalent impunity gives people no possibility to accuse perpetrators of their abuses and leaves the population completely exploitable to the military forces (Oxfam, 2012).

Moreover, the Mortality Survey of the IRC reveals that only 0.6 % of the total deaths from 2006 to 2007 in the east were results of direct violence (in the west only 0.3 %). The majority of the deaths occurred on account of different kinds of diseases. For example, 26.3 % in the east died of Malaria, 21.4 % due to unknown diseases, 9.1 % because of Diarrhea. The numbers for the western part of the country shows similar results (Bemo et al., 2007, p. 10). Unfortunately, more recent data is not available, but can be expected to be at a comparable level.

According to the Human Development Index the government's expenditure on public health has been marginal with only 3.4 % of the GDP in 2012. Life expectancy is quite low with only 48 years and the under-five mortality rate is high with 17 % (UNDP, 2012). As has been shown, the demographic pressures on the population in areas of malnutrition, mortality and disease are immense. The Failed State Index rates this indicator in the year 2012 with 9.9 (with 10 being the highest). Accordingly, the vulnerability of the population to those factors is extremely worrying (Fund for Peace, 2012).

The economic situation of the population reveals a similar picture. The GDP per capita increased continuously from 2005 until 2011 but with 329 US \$ per capita in 2011 it still remains at a comparatively low level. Correspondingly, the percentage of the population in multidimensional poverty is extremely high with 74 % in 2012 (UNDP 2012). The breach between those suffering poverty, having the lowest share of income and those living in wealth with the highest share of income is quite sharp. This demonstrates the Failed State Index ranking it with 8.7 points out of ten (Fund for Peace, 2012). This uneven distribution of wealth contains significant potential for conflict. The same applies to the distribution of land and the exploitation of natural resources. Especially the east of the country is densely populated and thus topic to conflicts over rights of land that go back to pre-colonial times (Lemarchand, 2003, p. 35). At the same time, the eastern provinces North and South Kivu, the south of Katanga and north of Province Orientale harbor major parts of the country's natural resources (most importantly diamonds, or, coltan and tin). The ongoing conflict is interrelated to the exploitation of those resources which has a fatal effect on the inhabitants (Jaspers, 2007, p. 276). State forces as well as rebel groups frequently capture and enslave the population to work for them in the mines under inhumane conditions (Global Witness, 2009, p. 5).

Last but not least, political freedom is far from being granted to the majority of the Congolese people. Freedom House ranks the DRC with ‘not free’ and their reports expose that those persons critical of the government got threatened or even killed. Both, freedom of the speech and the press are limited throughout the DRC. The same applies to freedom of assembly and association (Freedom House, 2005-2013).

As described above, neither freedom from fear nor freedom from want is granted to the people in the DRC. Even more, the Human Security situation is spoiled by the ongoing conflict what makes freedom from want even more difficult to achieve. In this context the two EU missions, EUSEC and EUPOL, evidently can only tackle some aspects of Human Security. The next section will take a closer look at the measures of the two missions.

Mandate and measures of EUSEC and EUPOL

Both current EU missions in the DRC are civilian missions concerned with the support to the security sector of the DRC. The missions were established by the European Council within the Union’s CSDP. Both are advisory and assistance missions.

EUSEC

The EUSEC is deployed in the DRC since June 2005 with the general aim to provide advice and assistance for security sector reform and support the Congolese authorities with the integration of the Congolese army. The mission was supposed “to promote policies compatible with human rights and international humanitarian law, democratic standards and the principles of good governance, transparency and respect for the rule of law” (EU, 2005). Its headquarters is located in Kinshasa with detachments deployed in the capital of North Kivu, Goma, and in Bukavu, the capital of South Kivu. Moreover, two project sites were set up in provinces Lower

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Congo and Kasai Occidental. The mission consists of 50 military and civilian personnel (EU, 2012). Three major areas compose the mission's major tasks: first, the modernization of the administrative structures within the Congolese security sector, second, the formation of the army and third, the modernization of logistics (EU, 2010). Within the first area, one major project the mission accomplished was the 'chain of payments' project. It was concerned with the salaries of the Congolese soldiers. By the time the project started the soldiers were paid 10 US dollars per month and lacked proper shelter, transportation and medical support for what many died of cholera, tuberculosis or starvation. As a consequence corruption became a daily practice. To solve the payment and corruption problems, EUSEC recommended unraveling the chain of command and the chain of payment. The chain of command continued to be the Congolese's responsibility whereas the payments were directly delivered to the new integrated brigades by EUSEC. Through the pace of the mission, two other budgetary lines, the *fonds de ménage*, were created to assure the national ownership and sustainability of the project (Clément, 2009, p. 247). In addition, advisers in the east have supervised monthly disbursements of wages and assisted the Congolese authorities to establish methods that guaranty greater transparency of financial flows (EU, 2012). The second major project, the census of the army, was aimed to address the problem of corruption by "suppressing the army's numerous 'ghost soldiers'" (Clément, 2009, p. 247). It often occurred that commanders in charge of the integration of the army presented inflated numbers of the soldiers to be integrated to abstract their payment. Because of this, EUSEC recorded all soldiers biometrically in one central database and provided a military identity card to each soldier that was obligatory to receive their payment. The project was concluded by the end of 2008 and resolved the problem of the 'ghost soldiers' and improved the management of human resources. Consequently, an increase of the soldier's payment was able to

Major impediments to human security providence of current eu missions in the Democratic Republic of the Congo be granted (Clément, 2009, p. 248). With the renewed mandate of 2012 EUSEC specialized itself further to the modernization of human resource management for troops and their dependents. Courses on financial management and human resources were held for around 1800 officers and an Administrative School in Kananga was reopened after being closed for 24 years (EU, 2012).

In the area of formation of the army and their dependents the EUSEC undertook various smaller projects. In the towns of Kitona (Bas Congo), Kananga (Kasai Occidental) and in Kinshasa military schools were rebuilt to enable the proper formation of the FARDC soldiers. Soldiers and officials were trained in the areas of Human Rights and computer literacy. Gender related activities took place in some projects in cooperation with other donors and NGOs. One of the projects under the coordination of EUSEC was the rehabilitation of the Maluku social foyer. It is aimed to improve the living conditions of soldiers' families through sensitization and trainings such as a course of alphabetization. Another gender related project was the training for wives or widows of soldiers in the area of administration of associations and of projects (EU, 2010).

Within the third area of operation, the modernization of logistics, EUSEC established a territorial computer network that connects Kinshasa to the main sites of the military regions and their staff. Moreover, EUSEC helps with the establishment of a logistic database to contribute to the development of the law on military planning (EUSEC 2012).

EUPOL

The second EU mission in DRC, EUPOL, was established in June 2007. It replaced EUPOL Kinshasa that has been running from 2005-2007. Due to the still fragile security situation after the elections EUPOL was established in order to assist the Congolese authorities in reforming and restructuring the national police forces (PNC) throughout the DRC (EU, 2007).

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The PNC has been in a bad condition, deeply fragmented and disorganized and could not be seen as a unified force. Regardless, EUPOL was supposed to support the establishment of a civilian and professional police force committed to the respect of human rights and the cooperation with civil society. It should improve interaction between the police and the judicial criminal system and that way contribute to the fight against impunity of sexual violence and human rights abuses. It is composed of 47 international experts deployed mainly in the headquarters of the mission in Kinshasa. In 2008 the mission extended to the eastern part of the DRC (Bukavu and Goma) in order to support the eastern peace process (Vircoulon, 2009, p. 224; EU, 2013).

EUPOL assists the Congolese authorities mainly through the support of three institutions. First, the *Comité de Suivi de la Reforme de la Police* (Police Reform Monitoring Committee - CSRP), a joint consultative body that brings together the relevant ministries, experts from the Congolese police, civil society and relevant international partners. EUPOL took the leading role in developing the legal and strategic basis for the reform and contributed to the formulation of a new philosophy for the PNC, based on the Belgian concept of ‘proximity policing’ (Justeart, 2012, p. 224). The second institution is the General Commissariat of the Congolese Police (GC-PNC). Here, EUPOL provides strategic advice in cooperation with other international partners regarding the structure for the implementation of the police reform. The mission’s efforts led among others to the founding of a working group responsible for implementing reforms in the field of training (More & Price, 2011, p. 12-13). Finally, assistance is granted to the General Inspection of the Congolese Police (IG-PNC), an inception and audit institution that treats criminal, administrative or financial offences committed by the police and thus plays a major role in the fight against impunity. In this field, EUPOL provides support and training to the Judiciary Police and the Technical and Scientific Police in Kinshasa as well as North and South

Major impediments to human security provision of current EU missions in the Democratic Republic of the Congo Kivu. Thereby, police officers receive the necessary know-how to conduct criminal investigations professionally (EU, 2013). Concerning the stabilization process in the east, EUPOL assists specialized police units responsible for fighting sexual and gender-based violence and endorses awareness-raising activities among police officers, justice and civil society experts (EU, 2013, More & Price, 2011, p. 12-13).

The measures tackle some crucial areas of Human Security. Nevertheless, the Human Security situation of the population, as outlined in section two, has not improved significantly in those areas addressed by the missions and in some parts even worsened. Congolese soldiers and police officers are not capable of protecting the population from basic threats and often are among the perpetrators of gross human rights abuses. Sexual violence remains frequent and impunity has not been improved much (HRW, 2013).

The next section suggests possible reasons why the measures did not have greater success in improving the Human Security in DRC.

4. Major Impediments to success

The major impediments to the success of providing Human Security of the two missions can be categorized in three arguments. The first concerns aspects inherent to the EU missions itself (*intrinsic aspects*). The second looks at cooperation problems in and outside the EU (*cooperation failures*) and the third highlights the difficult cooperation with the government of the DRC (*the Congolese government*).

Intrinsic Aspects

One major impediment to a successful Human Security providence in DRC lies in the mandate of the missions itself. The composition of the missions, its limited resources, its narrow geographical scope and the outline of its measures all count to this argument. As C. Clément has put it for EUSEC: “There is a discrepancy between the modest means available to EUSEC and the role the EU wishes to play” (2009, p. 252). Overall, the financial resources of both missions are not compatible with the tasks they are supposed to carry out (Clément, 2009, p. 249; Justeart, 2012, p. 228). The two missions only consist of around 50 military and civilian experts each. For the tasks the missions are conducting, especially for a greater engagement in the eastern parts of the country, a higher number of experts employed could augment its success. Nevertheless, the missions still face personnel restrains; EUPOL for instance faces problems not only in terms of numbers but also in terms of qualifications. Most employees are chosen on the basis of their experience in other EU police missions and their ability to speak French. There is a lack of experts with experience in the DRC or even in Africa and therefore contextual and cultural sensibility of the experts deployed is missing (Vircoulon, 2009, p. 229; Justeart, 2012, p. 228). Similarly, EUSEC lacks political expertise because its staff members get employed more because of their technical (military) expertise instead of their aptitude to work in a political environment. For instance, due to the dominance of military staff strategies to reduce human rights abuses by the strengthening of military justice, guaranteeing parliamentary control or vetting have made almost no progress. Especially the absence of vetting has allowed questionable candidates to join the new integrated brigades, sometimes even in leading positions (Clément, 2009, p. 250).

Gender aspects as a crucial feature of Human Security face comparable restraints: “[...] due to mandate limits and mission size, addressing gender dimensions in the DRC population has not been obviously or directly affected” (Gya, Isaksson & Martinelli, 2008, p. 16). Due to human resource limits there is only one gender advisor for the two missions stationed in Kinshasa (Gya et al., 2008, p. 16). The gender activities of EUSEC and EUPOL were small projects in order to empower army dependents (which can be seen as an important feature of Human Security) still there were no projects that considered the promotion of gender issues within the Congolese army (Clément, 2009, p. 251).

There are authors who argue that the approaches of Security Sector Reform (SSR) and Human Security are not compatible (Lutterbeck, 2004). From this point of view, SSR is not necessarily conducted in reference to the security of the population and states often seek security for governments and elites instead for their population (Law, 2005, p. 15). Consequently, one can ask if the design of the missions itself is hindering its success to provide Human Security in DRC. This argument can be alleviated though because SSR shares many of the Human Security approach’s concerns for the safety of the population. One major problem SSR tries to address is the inability of dysfunctional governments to provide security and their own potential of being a key security threat to the population (Law, 2005, p. 17). This situation applies to the DRC and the measures taken out by EUSEC and EUPOL have been aimed at impeding the human rights violations of the FARDC by tackling corruption, guaranteeing the soldiers payment and improving training possibilities. Still, to have a denotative impact on Human Security, a stronger focus on matters of sexual violence and a more disciplined behavior of the FARDC and the PNC are necessary.

Advice to SSR is generally more or less limited to address freedom from fear. The possible impact of the missions on freedom from want is either concerning the wellbeing of the soldiers and their dependents or a product of smaller gender projects. But as argued above, the missions' means are too limited to contribute to the various aspects of Human Security. It becomes clear here, that the EU is neglecting its own principals. There is neither a primacy of human rights nor the preference of an integrated regional approach nor clear and transparent strategic direction detectable in the mandate. This clearly hindered more effective measures.

Cooperation failures

Another explanatory element is the deficient cooperation of the missions with other donors, between the missions and the Commission of the EU and within the missions itself. To begin with, it is essential to display the other actors active in the DRC: Most importantly, the UN mission (MONUSCO) and many subsidiary organization of the UN (like UNICEF, UNDP etc.) are working in various fields of Human Security. The Commission of the EU has financed many projects beneficial for Human Security. Additionally, multilateral donors, like the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank as well as bilateral donors, among others Belgium, France, England and the United State as well as South Africa and Angola play an essential role (Dahrendorf, 2008). There are major differences between the donors concerning their approaches to Human Security and SSR, their implementation strategies and their resources. Therefore coordination and cooperation problems emerged. EU member states had different interests in supporting the two missions. For the UK's **Department for International Development** (DfID) the mission was seen as an obstacle to its own progress in police reform and therefor was not interested in the missions' prolongation (Justeart, 2012, p. 229). The dominance of the member

Major impediments to human security provision of current EU missions in the Democratic Republic of the Congo states' interests clearly diminishes the mission's opportunities to develop a more coherent approach to SSR and Human Security. For instance, because of the reluctance of the UK to support the missions, the EUPOL's post in Bukavu (one of the DfID pilot provinces) was removed. An important post if one bears in mind the critical Human Security situation there (Justeart, 2012, p. 229).

Many donors were more interested in the visibility of their projects than in developing a sustainable and coherent strategy for SSR and Human Security provision (Trachsler, 2011, p. 3). Their fragmented approach caused overlaps and unclear competences. Donors partially competed with each other and tried directly to influence the Congolese decision maker or the security forces. The Congolese government used this discord of the donors and played them off against each other (Froitzheim, Söderbaum & Taylor, 2011, p. 62; Justeart, 2012, p. 231). In addition, a special rivalry could be observed between the UN and the EU over their leading functions in SSR that impeded joint initiatives that could have been helpful for successful SSR (Boshoff, Hendrickson, More & Vircoulon, 2010, p. 22). Due to this coordination problems and the missing harmonization of the different donor approaches, integration of the army was not sufficiently combined with checks of criminal records of the integrated soldiers and vetting measures were absent. This way, soldiers now responsible for human rights violations and war crimes entered the FARDC (Boshoff et al. 2010: 22).

Nevertheless, coordination problems were not only taking place between the different donors but also within the European Union itself. Especially between the two missions and the Commission there has been a high level of tension and disagreement. Due to varying time frames, different frameworks and a lack of coordination, their activities and competencies overlapped and were not harmonized (Justeart, 2012, p. 230; Trachsler, 2011, p. 2-3; Vircoulon,

Major impediments to human security provisions of current EU missions in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (Clément, 2009, p. 227). Decision making processes were disturbed by mutual envy and open disrespect within the EU. For example, the discussions about a military intervention in late 2008 to confront problems of ongoing conflict and to protect civilians were dismantled due to the member states' inability to sufficiently unify their views on the topic (Froitzheim et al., 2011, p. 54). Moreover, strong rivalries between the personnel of the Council and the Commission, mutual mistrust as well as personal barriers were transmitted to the work on the ground in the DRC and to a great amount hindered information sharing as well as common and effective approaches (Froitzheim et al., 2011, p. 55; More & Price, 2010, p. 26). S. More and M. Price point out some positive endeavors between EUPOL and the Commission but come to the overall conclusion that, as already mentioned, separate procedures and different time frames as well as power struggles, antagonisms and disturbing levels of distrust impeded more efficient collaboration (2010, p. 27). Between EUSEC and the Commission cooperation has been extremely rare. Personal clashes have led to an interruption of inter-institutional communication. For one, the Commission has been reluctant to let the mission play a major role in the justice sector (a sector the Commission viewed as its field of action). As pointed out in section three, in order to fight impunity and to trial those committing human rights violations, the justice sector is of crucial importance to Human Security and cooperation between the two bodies could bring strategic advantages and enable EUSEC to have a stronger impact in this field (More & Price 2010: p. 28, Justeart, 2012, p. 231; Clément, 2009, p. 249).

Not only the cooperation problems within the EU complicated the missions effectiveness but also tensions between the headquarters and the field. As EU policy is designed in Brussels communication with those who actually work in the field is indispensable to issue realistic mandates. According to M. Froitzheim et al. relations between Brussels and the fields were

Major impediments to human security provision of current EU missions in the Democratic Republic of the Congo described as “hierarchical and byzantine” (2011, p. 56). Personnel in the DRC criticized that the top-down approach from Brussels often refuted or sidelined their policy advice and that they considered their own recommendations as superior. Still, personnel in the DRC complained about the quantity of reporting demanded by the headquarters because they were “extremely time-consuming and thus reduced staff capacities available for undertaking activities contributing to the attainment of the mandate” (More & Price, 2011, p. 31-32). At the same time the Council expressed concerns that it was not obtaining in-depth analysis from the ground especially concerning political realities in the DRC. They claimed that the reporting from EUSEC was too much concentrated on technical aspects of the mission and the success of particular projects without critical reviews necessary to adapt programmes and strategies (More & Price, 2011, p. 31). Resulting from these bureaucratic obstacles and misunderstandings the policies developed were in part not suitable for the situation on the ground (Boshoff et al., 2010, p. 17).

All those cooperation and communication problems between the different donors, within the EU and within the missions seriously hindered more effective actions of the missions and in several ways constrained their potential to contribute to Human Security in DRC. The principal of effective multilateralism is completely ignored by the EU and the approach taken is an explicit top-down approach that neglects the principal of a bottom-up approach.

The Congolese Government

A third major impediment to success has been the difficult relationship with the Congolese government. The Congolese government can be seen as part of the problem and its dysfunctional structures as one main reason for the critical Human Security situation. Because of

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the principle of state sovereignty the missions are obliged to collaborate with the Congolese authorities despite its criminal activities and differing objectives (Froitzheim et al., 2011, p. 61).

Collaboration with the Congolese authorities has proven extremely difficult and they have been keenly reluctant to reforms within the security sector (Justeart, 2012, p. 231). Moreover, the Congolese security sector has been run down and completely dysfunctional, what made its “reform” even more difficult (Vircoulon, 2009, p. 224). Therefore, a strong commitment from Congolese sides would have been necessary to actually improve the condition of the security sector. Nevertheless, the Congolese elites did not support the insisted reforms and were not interested to contribute to a more holistic approach to SSR (Bausback, 2010, p. 164). Hence, police reform was not combined with the reforms of the Congolese finance system whereby the payment of the police officers could have been ensured. Additionally, linkages between police and army as well as between the police and the judicial sector were not sufficiently developed (Justeart, 2012, p. 231). All these are crucial tasks to detain police officers from harassing the population. So the reluctance of the Congolese government to police reform and a lack of national ownership were hindering the reform process and thus any potential improvement of Human Security in DRC (Vircoulon, 2009, p. 227). One example is the *zero tolerance* campaign, a policy that implies that no tolerance is allowed when it comes to incidences of sexual violence and corruption by the FARDC. This policy has been proclaimed by the government but it seems to be not more than just a farce because no serious action has been taking place (Boshoff et al., 2010, p. 20; Tull, 2011, p. 14). The same can be proven by numbers of criminal conviction. In 2009 for example only 24 persons nationwide have been convicted of sexual violence. The government’s budget proposal of 2011 reveals that only 0,1 % of the national budget will be granted to the justice sector (Tull, 2011, p. 15). These specifications

Major impediments to human security provisions of current EU missions in the Democratic Republic of the Congo exemplify that the Congolese government is not taking SSR seriously and that it has different priorities than the EU missions.

But there are other strategic reasons for that the Congolese government, more particularly the Congolese president, Kabila, is blocking SSR reform. Mainly, he is not interested in establishing a functioning strong army because it could turn against him in case of insurgency and threaten the preservation of his regime. For him the fighting in the east of the country is tolerable as long as it is not posing a serious threat to its national security. The Human Security of the population is not of major concern to him. More important is an efficient presidential brigade that can assure his military safety and regime preservation (Tull, 2011, p. 15-16). In this context, it is worth noting, as already argued, that the approach of the different donors engaged in the DRC was far from coherent. It seemed as if this fragmentation of the donor community was even anticipated by Kabila. He clearly favored bilateral agreements, to maximize financial support, to underlie less conditionalities and to have greater control over the donor's activities (Boshoff et al., 2010, p. 21; Justeart, 2012, p. 231; Bausback, 2010, p. 162). This way, bilateral donors have in some way supported the Congolese patronage system by equipping and training fast reaction brigades and hindered a stronger focus on efficient SSR. Thereby central aspects of SSR have been neglected and the two missions were not able to develop sustainable effects on Human Security. Here the principal of the creation of a legitimate political authority is completely failing.

Conclusion

The paper aimed to provide a clear picture of the Human Security situation of the population in DRC and to identify major impediments to the success in Human Security providence of current EU missions.

In doing so, the paper has revealed the Human Security situation of the population in DRC. Freedom from fear as well as freedom from want is neither granted to the people in DRC by their government nor by the two EU missions. The situation is getting worse due to new violence that has emerged from the M23 movement. The two EU missions EUSEC and EUPOL were basically concerned with the reform of the security sector in general and the reform of the army and the police in particular to improve their capability of protecting the Congolese population and to stop human rights violations coming from military state personnel.

Nevertheless, the efforts of the two missions were constrained by three major factors: First by intrinsic factors like the missions inadequate resources in regard to material and financial equipment as well as personnel deficits. Second, cooperation failures between the different donors led to a fragmented approach to SSR that impeded checks on criminal record of the integrated soldiers. Cooperation and communication problems within the EU, especially between the missions and the Commission, have proven to hinder a deeper engagement of the missions in the justice sector as well as an integration of their action into a broader developmental agenda. Cooperation problems between decision makers in Brussels and those in the field led to unrealistic mandates and inadequate resources. The third and most striking impediment can be seen in the Congolese government. It's reluctance to reform and its disinterest in the Human Security of its population made effective measures in the field of security and police reform almost impossible.

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Crucial challenges remain for the mission's Human Security efforts. The adoption of a code of conduct for Congolese security forces and the urgent need to tackle the sexual behavior of Congolese soldiers should be urgently addressed. Moreover, if the EU aims to play a more important role in Human Security providence first of all it has to act under the directive of its own principals.

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