

E.MA

European Master's Degree in Human Rights and Democratisation

‘Perfect Couple or Awkward Bedfellows?’

~

Linking Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration (DDR) and
Security Sector Reform (SSR)
In the EU Post-conflict
Reconstruction Efforts:

The Case of
The Democratic Republic of the Congo
(DRC)

Petr Pribyla

Supervisor: Prof. Stephan Parmentier

2nd semester university: KU Leuven, Belgium

Academic year: 2011/2012

This research paper would not have been possible without the support of many people. In the first place, I am heartily thankful to my supervisor, Stephan Parmentier, who since the beginning encouraged and trusted me to explore this subject and who offered an invaluable support and fruitful discussions during my research. I wish to express my gratitude to Prof. Paul Lemmens and Michaël Merrigan as to the whole KU Leuven providing me with a unique and beautiful place for my research.

For letting me an invaluable insight in my research topic, I am enormously thankful to various interviewees from Brussels-based NGOs and academia. Furthermore, and most importantly, I want to express my sincere thanks to people working for the European Union, in particular for the European External Action Service, which pulled away curtains of the European Union's walls and willingly shared realities of their work on post-conflict reconstructions beyond the European borders.

Many thanks and gratefulness goes to my family and especially to my sister, Vendula, for her invaluable support and encouragement during my E.MA year...

Last but not least, to Anna, whose support has always been my source of strength and inspiration...

Abstract: *The European Union (EU) is increasingly aspiring not to be only a normative value-driven power but also a vital player in post-conflict reconstructions beyond its borders. Particularly within a context of Security Sector Reform (SSR) and Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration (DDR) of ex-combatants, the EU has adapted ambitious policies and developed into a significant player in this respective field. The Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), which is often considered as the largest laboratory for the EU Crisis Management, frames our research playground and serves as a ‘lacmus paper’ of the EU’s SSR and DDR policy implementation. The following thesis adopts a three-steps analytical approach: (1) potential synergies and overlapping aims of SSR and DDR are analysed from a theoretical perspective; (2) policy analysis of the EU’s policy documents; and (3) subsequent policy utilisation on the Congolese soil. This thesis reveals that the EU’s SSR and DDR endeavours in building peace and security in the DRC are severely hindered and compromised by its organisations complexity in line with the ‘pre-Lisbon’ identity and by its inherited legacy of two un-linked security-oriented and development-oriented policies, which lead through missing guidelines and effective division of labour to fragmentation of competences and their subsequent disjuncture when utilised on the ground.*

List of abbreviations:

ASSN	African Security Sector Network
CFSP	Common Foreign and Security Policy
CIVCOM	Committee for Civilian Aspects of Crisis Management
CNDP	Congr�s national pour la d�fense du peuple
CONADER	Commission National Pour la D�mobilisation et la R�insertion Conflicts Armed
CSRP	Comit� de Suivi de la R�forme de la Police
CSDP	Common Security and Defence Policy
DAI	Development Alternative Inc.
DDR	Disarmament, Demobilisation, Reintegration
DfID	Department for International Development
DRC	Democratic Republic of the Congo
EDF	European Development Fund
EEAS	European External Action Service
EPLO	European Peacebuilding Liaison Office
ESDP	European Security and Defence Policy
ESS	European Security Strategy
EU	European Union
FARDC	Forces Arm�es de la R�publique D�mocratique du Congo
ICC	International Criminal Court
ICTJ	International Centre for Transitional Justice
IPU	Integrated Police Unit
JSSR	Justice and Security Sector Reform
MDRP	Multi-Country Demobilisation and Reintegration Program

MONUC	The United Nations Organisation Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (Under this name from 30. 11. 1999 – 28. 05. 2010)
MONUSCO	The United Nations Organisation Stabilisation Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC mission renamed as MONUSCO from 1. 7. 2010)
NGOs	Non-governmental Organisations
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OECD-DAC	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development – Development Assistance Committee
PNC	Police National Congolaise
PNDDR	Programme National pour la désarmement, la Démobilisation et la Réinsertion
PwC	PricewaterhouseCoopers
SSR	Security Sector Reform
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UN IDDRS	United Nations Integrated Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration Standards
WB	World Bank
WDR	World Development Report

Table of content:

I. THEMES AND MOTIVATIONS.....	1
1 INTRODUCTION.....	1
2 IMPORTANCE OF A RESEARCH	4
3 STATUS QUAESTIONIS	6
4 METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK AND DATA COLLECTION.....	7
II. TOWARDS DDR-SSR NEXUS.....	10
1 SECURITY SECTOR REFORM (SSR)	10
2 DISARMAMENT, DEMOBILISATION AND REINTEGRATION (DDR).....	14
3 COMPARING PRINCIPLES AND APPROACHES OF DDR AND SSR: INITIAL MAPPING.....	16
3.1 From conceptual differences to overlapping aims.....	16
3.2 Linkage through design & implementation	20
3.3 DDR and SSR cross-cutting issues	21
4 CONCLUDING REMARKS: IN NEED OF UNDERSTANDING DDR AND SSR LINKAGE	23
III. THE EU POLICY APPROACH TO DDR AND SSR IN POST-CONFLICT RECONSTRUCTION EFFORTS.....	26
1 THE SSR POLICY FRAMEWORK WITHIN THE EU.....	26
2 THE EU’S VIEW ON SSR AND DDR: ANALYSIS OF POLICY DOCUMENTS	29
3 TOWARDS DDR-SSR NEXUS IN THE EU POLICY?	34
4 CONCLUDING REMARKS: MEETING THE TARGET BUT MISSING THE POINT?	36
IV. THE EU’S ROLE IN DDR AND SSR IN THE DRC: FROM THEORY TO REALITY ON THE GROUND.....	40
1 THE DRC REALITIES: BACKGROUND OF POLITICAL AND OPERATIONAL CONTEXT.....	40
1.1 State as a security provider? Challenges confronted as regards support to DDR and SSR.....	45
1.2 Key segments of Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration (DDR) processes in the DRC: A wider framework.....	47
2 A ROLE OF THE EU IN PROMOTING STABILITY IN THE DRC. FROM A MILITARY CRISIS MANAGEMENT TO A LONG-TERM CIVILIAN PEACE-BUILDING.....	49
2.1 Police reform: Analysis of EUPOL Kinshasa and EUPOL RD Congo missions	51
2.2 Army reform: Analysis of EUSEC RD Congo mission	54

2.3 The Commission's support to DDR and SSR in the DRC	59
2.4 EU member states' role in support to SSR and DDR	61
3 FACTORS AFFECTING THE EU'S SSR AND DDR EFFORTS IN THE DRC	64
3.1 Fragile relations with the Congolese authorities	65
3.2 (In-) sufficient multilateralism?	67
3.3 Institutional incoherence through Council's and Commission's approach.....	69
3.4 The lack of a common EU stance through individual efforts of EU member states.....	73
4 CONCLUDING REMARKS: A TIME TO SOBER UP FROM A SELF-PORTRAYED REALITY?.....	75
V. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS IN LIGHT OF THE KEY FINDINGS: HOW TO BRIDGE THE POLICY-PRACTICE GAP?	77
1 CONCLUSION	77
2 RECOMMENDATIONS	80
2.1 From policy framework to implementation on the ground.....	80
3 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH	83
BIBLIOGRAPHY:.....	86
Books and chapters:	86
Articles:	109
Internet Sources:	135
Institutional documents:	151
Interviews and conferences:	155