

**Ludovika - University of Public Service
Doctoral School of Military Sciences**

Colonel Sándor Nagy:

**The dynamics and impact of the ethnic-based armed
conflicts in the Eastern Congo**

Author's resume of the doctoral (PhD) thesis

Consultant: Prof. Dr. Colonel István Resperger

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„Africa is likely to remain one of the hottest regions in the world for some time to come, and it is hardly surprising that it is becoming increasingly militarised.”¹

The background of the topic choice

Insecurity is a daily occurrence in the eastern areas of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) as a result of the activities of foreign and Congolese armed groups. There are number of armed groups, but more than a dozen represents a constant. Their appearance and origin are extremely varied. They range from different military movements created by the political structures to rebel groups supported by political parties, to small village militias and 'local self-defence' forces, to several armed groups that are simply labelled as armed criminal gangs. Among these forces, some groups have significant military capabilities, although they also have some political support. They may also pose a direct threat to the government in Kinshasa. Others, on the other hand, are withdrawn into certain well-defined and relatively small areas, where they pose more of a threat to the population than to the government.

Some small armed groups are often seen, especially by the government, as nothing more than thieves, common criminals who prey on the defenceless population. Some indeed loot and kill indiscriminately, while other groups enjoy the support of the local population, so that their supply is well managed. In other cases, they are influenced by certain political forces, local or provincial 'businessmen', most often through their leaders in the most diverse ways possible. The main ones are – in order of their importance - of course, financial, political, and logistical support. It would be a mistake to consider these groups as armed organisations on the periphery

¹ Dr. Frank Barnaby, nuclear physicist, director of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute/SIPRI between 1971-1981, source: www.sipri.org, (Downloaded: 2021.07.12.) citation in: Besenyő János – Gyarmati Ádám – Hetényi Soma Ambrus – Pető Gergő – Szijj Dóra – Resperger István: Országismertető Kongói Demokratikus Köztársaság, p. 4. http://www.kalasznyikov.hu/dokumentumok/orszagismerteto_kongo.pdf (Downloaded: 2021.07.12.)

of society, because in reality their existence is deeply rooted in civil society, and it is supported by them and by the elite.

In order to understand the reasons for the origin, existence and survival of armed groups, the relationship between the Congolese National Army (Forces Armées de la République Démocratique du Congo, FARDC²) and armed groups cannot be avoided, as the link is very close. Many army officers and non-commissioned ones have close links with illegal armed groups for various reasons, mainly political and economic, but also ethnicity. These relations naturally violate the political neutrality of the army and cause serious power struggles within the army for leadership positions, which are often allocated on ethnic grounds. Often, this internal power struggle results in preferring to support and protect armed groups in the population, as the national army forces often wreak more havoc than the former.

To explain the existence of armed groups in the eastern Congolese territories, it is necessary to understand the historical, military, political, and economic events that have contributed to the emergence of illegal armed groups. Of course, this unfortunate situation, which has never been dealt with in a satisfactory way, did not develop overnight in the Eastern Congo, but to understand it, it is necessary to go back in history.

It is also the historical background to the territorial division that took place during the colonial period, which has never taken ethnic boundaries into account. The effects of this are felt when there is a clash of interests between Rwanda and the Democratic Republic of Congo, particularly on the part of Rwanda. It is no coincidence that Rwanda has provided and continues to provide, admittedly or not, support to the Tutsis living in Congolese territory during previous conflicts.

The neighbouring countries' interests in the political arena takes the form of support for armed groups and their assertion of interests through them, and, by maintaining chaotic situations, provides opportunities for their implementation. The experiences and the examinations to date, the results of which have been published in numerous studies, show that the Congolese political forces are also benefiting from this disorder. The internal political forces are using the armed movements to gain the necessary weight on the political scene. This works for both the forces in power and those in opposition, as will be discussed in more detail later.

² For detailed overview see Amnesty International: „Si tu résistes, on va te tuer”, République Démocratique du Congo arguments en faveur d'un traité efficace sur le commerce des arme, 1-54. p. (Downloaded: 2021. 07.12.)

The dysfunction of the army also stems from the past. The army was also organised along ethnic and political lines. Under Joseph Mobutu,³ the army was essentially based on and led by his own ethnic communities and those who were loyal to him. It was no different under Laurent-Désiré Kabila,⁴ although under him the search for allies was much broader, extending beyond the country's borders. But the allies of the time were only needed as long as Kabila's interests required.

Joseph Kabila⁵ has inherited a heavy legacy in terms of the army and armed groups has not found a solution to it in his two terms of his presidency. The integration of the armed groups into the army, which had already begun and was seen as the single solution, only exacerbated the gravity of the situation. In addition, one of the main shortcomings is the fact that there was no acceptable option for a return to civilian life, in addition to the integration of the former rebel groups. This is not only the fault of the Congolese leadership, as UN programmes have not created the optimal conditions for a return to civilian life. The programmes of the UN and the aid agencies in the region (more on this later) were merely firefighting.

It is important to accept the fact that resolving a very serious and complex situation involving many different interests is not a simple task and requires extensive and effective cooperation. But resolving the security situation in the country and in the region is essential if life in the Central African region and its political, economic and societal development are finally to be brought within a viable and, above all, sustainable framework.

In my dissertation, I have undertaken a detailed description and comprehensive analysis of the issues briefly outlined above, using the analytical framework, methods and tools provided by theories found in security studies (the sectoral theory of Buzan, the issue-specific approach of the regional security complex theory of Péter Marton and the theory of Stig Jarle Hansen).

The scientific problem

As regards the choice of my topic, one may ask to what extent the issues dealt with in my thesis, which describe the unresolved situation in the eastern territories of the Democratic Republic of Congo, will provide new results for military science. There have been expert examinations, fact-finding and studies on the subject (see literature review) over the years. The EU Member States with interests in the region and academic institutes are dealing with the almost perennial

³ Joseph Mobutu (1965-1997) tenure.

⁴ Laurent- Désire Kabila's (1997-2001) tenure ends with his assassination. Nathan Rivet: LAURENT-Désiré/ Kabila, Laurent Kabila (1939-2001) source: <https://www.blackpast.org/global-african-history/kabila-laurent-desire-kabila-laurent-1939-2001/> (Downloaded: 2021. 07.12.)

⁵ Joseph Kabila (1971-) continued the work of his father Laurent-Désire Kabila.

problems of the Central African region, and more specifically with the creation of armed groups, their legitimacy (if any) and their maintenance/existence. The question of the interconnection between armed groups and politics has a particular importance, and I have therefore also examined the relationship between Congo and its neighbouring countries (the regional security complex), with reference to Rwanda.

The aforementioned correlations have been relevant for a long time and, in my opinion, will remain so, because all the attempts have made so far have only been able to stabilise the unstable situation for a while, and have achieved minor or greater, but rather minor results. The armed groups are multiplying like mushrooms, almost incessantly, since integration has not been able to achieve any breakthroughs in eradicating them. There are always winners and losers in solutions. It is the latter who are responsible for the fact that the situation remains unresolved.

However, in the volatile security situation, caused by armed groups, it is not sufficient to deal with the latter, but it is essential to explore all the factors that influence it and to examine their interactions. The complexity of the situation has led me to the conclusion that I must also strive for a complex approach in my analysis. I mean by this the examination of the conflict of interests that give rise to armed groups, and the examination of the conflicting relations between political and economic actors. In addition, it is essential to examine the relations between the Democratic Republic of Congo and neighbouring countries to find a reliable solution, preferably to the satisfaction of all parties concerned. The question is: how can we use scientific methods and tools to assess the situation and draw scientifically timeless conclusions that can serve as a guide for military solutions in the region?

Objectives of the research

During the development of this thesis, I have identified and kept the following objectives in mind:

1. To present the African continent, with particular emphasis on the sub-Saharan and Central African region, of which the Democratic Republic of Congo is a key country. In this region, strong divisions, both ethnically and culturally, can be justified by the theory of the regional security complex. Within this context, the causes of the emergence of armed movements and their evolution are in the focus of the analysis. Due to the historical scale of the changes, the issue of military security is central to my thesis, closely linked to the actions of political leaders from 1960, when independence was won, to the presidency of Joseph Kabila (2001-2019).

2. To identify the unresolved conflicts of interest and security policy issues related to armed mobilisation that the political leadership needs to find the right strategy to address.
3. To detail the causes of armed conflicts and the factors generating the phenomenon and the actors involved. To draw attention to the extreme complexity of the situation, using the example of a typical period. It will also provide evidence of the applicability of Stig Jarle Hansen's theory, namely how changes in the status of movements help armed groups to survive.
4. To demonstrate the implementation of the theoretical and analytical thesis in the practical efforts of European policy, namely in the stabilisation of the security sector through the activities of the European mission EUSEC RD Congo.

In the light of the above, the central issue of my doctoral thesis is to analyse the emergence of armed groups in Eastern Congo and their causes, as well as the characteristics of the military, political, economic and societal/ethnic dimensions that generate them, with the necessary historical perspective. I have also set myself the objective of presenting the efforts made to deal with the serious situation, analysing the results already achieved, their impact and the chances of their survival, with reference to the European Union's EUSEC RD Congo mission. Drawing on my knowledge and experience gained during the four-year EU mission (EUSEC RDC) in South Kivu, a province particularly affected by armed conflict. I also suggest possible future solutions based on the reasons identified. This is a gap-filling exercise to ensure that professional and public attention is not only focused on this area of Africa in the context of certain fatal events, but also that the country is able to move towards a possible solution given the circumstances. This has a major impact on political, military, economic and societal processes.

Hypotheses

In line with the research objectives, my thesis explores the following hypotheses:

1. The role and importance of military security complexes formed by groups of states is emphasized in both the Buzan's sector theory and the regional security complex theory. States have a key role in secularization and in addressing security challenges. In our case, the divisions on the African continent have not been captured by regional security theory, nor, in my view, could they have been captured by it. In the region under study, there is insecurity in every sector of security, and there is no dominant power and authority which the other states can organise themselves around. The regional security

complexes aim to create the missing institutional framework. In my view, only within these can we talk about comprehensive political and security organisations and economic associations.

2. Armed conflicts are exacerbated by unresolved ethnic strife, which are further enhanced by ethnic boundaries across national borders and the often-violent armed conflicts based on these ethnic boundaries and the perceived or real interests of neighbouring countries such as Uganda and Rwanda. Their aim may be to perpetuate conflicts in the region.
3. Peacebuilding in the Central African region, including in the Eastern DRC, must not only be in the interest of the countries concerned, but also require regional and global support. The international actors do not tolerate the positive dynamics of territorial transformation of armed organisations, as defined in Hansen's theory, i.e. changes in the territorial control of armed groups within a given country that is favourable to them (semi-territorial or full territorial control).
4. The efforts of international actors to increase their effectiveness as a result of the European Union's commitment to the region, are essential in order to stabilize the country and the region under study and reduce the likelihood of armed conflict through complex, comprehensive strategies.

Research methods

I have started my research by preparing my study and research plan in accordance with the requirements of the doctoral school, which I updated as necessary during the course of my training. I have also considered the recommendations of scientific theory and methodology. The complex nature of my topic also determined the research methods used. In my work, I have taken an approach that starts from the roots of the problem being explored and investigated as a starting point. I have sought to develop conclusions based on analyses and I have intended to support the causes and relationships identified with examples.

I used the following methods in my research:

1. I have studied and reviewed the available literature - written and electronic - on the subject, both at home and abroad, as well as publicly available UN and EU documents and studies. I attended conferences, lectures, and professional training courses focusing the subject, and searched the online lecture materials available from educational institutions abroad. Accordingly, the thesis is largely based on the analysis of primary and secondary sources. I have used the knowledge and recommendations gained in the

development of the thesis. I have systematised the literature studied during the information gathering process, in particular French and Hungarian doctoral theses on refugees in the region and on cooperation between NGOs and the armed forces and have processed and incorporated the relevant parts of these theses into my academic work.

2. Among the qualitative methods, I preferred to conduct semi-structured interviews and, thanks to the four years spent in the region, to interview experts and witnesses. Documentary analysis was carried out by examining previous studies, books and reports on the subject that were searched and available. In addition, as an eyewitness case study, I also processed the creation, activities, path to its demise and the reasons for its demise of one of the prominent armed groups, M23, which I used to provide a realistic account and analysis of the processes.
3. I have processed the knowledge and experience gained during my four-year mission in the Congo, both personal, primary and secondary interviews, in order to achieve the research objectives, and have organised and incorporated them into the thesis.

The literature and internet information used in the thesis are listed in the Bibliography of the thesis.

Timing of the research

The research looks back into the country's historical past, with a focus on the period from colonial liberation in 1960, which was decisive in the development of the current situation.

Particular attention has been paid to the study of each of the defining historical periods, up to the time of President Joseph Kabila. However, the study of each process has also required looking back into the past, sometimes further back in time. The paper will elaborate in detail on the events in the region and the state up to 2015, stressing that no reassuring solution has been found in the period since then. From the end of Kabila's presidency to the present day is summarised, without claiming to be exhaustive, by mentioning only the main military, political and societal events related to the issue.

I closed my manuscript on 31 July 2021.

Summary

At the end of this thesis, I have summarised the issues discussed, taking into account the hypotheses, and focused attention on the importance of the areas studied, not only for the Democratic Republic of Congo, but for the whole Central African region. The issues presented

and examined are not just threats to security, they raise more complex problems. Security issues are closely linked to the stability of the region, they are sensitive to societal and economic relations, to the external relations of the countries of the region and, as a result, they are closely linked to the development of the region.

In my thesis, I have summarised the origins of armed conflicts and the armed groups that exist in symbiosis with them, and that are active or less active but persistent, and to shed light on the issues surrounding them in four chapters. In doing so, I have assessed the place and role of the Democratic Republic of Congo, perhaps less well known to many, in the African continent in a broad sense and in the Central African region, as well as in the middle of the continent in a narrower sense.

This historical background provides a good starting point to see more clearly where this complex story has come from. The investigation starts from the pre-colonial era, through the period of Belgian colonial rule, the two extremely costly wars in Congo, the first and second, and the transition period after their conclusion, to 2015, the end of the period under review. Since then, no significant changes have taken place in the country, and this is the subject of a new essay.

After placing the country in a historical context, I dealt with issues that characterise the society, such as the administrative structure of the country, the ethnic and religious distribution and, finally, some questions of the economy. These issues have a significant bearing on the ethnic divisions that will be explored in further detailed analysis, the evolution of armed conflict, and issues concerning the army. In the case of the economy, it is more necessary to deal with the conflicts surrounding the country's natural wealth and the possession of natural resources.

I started by looking at the origins of armed groups in pre-colonial times, because armed movements existed before the arrival of the "whites", although they were still largely for the protection of communities against tribal enemies and slave traders. Their creed, if one can speak of such a thing, was quite different then from the armed militias of the periods that followed. The territorial and power struggles of Rwanda and other neighbouring countries against each other also go back a long way. The Rwandan kings, most notably Mwami Kigeri IV Rwagubiri, wanted to seize the natural resource-rich territories of Eastern Congo and were indiscriminate in the means they used to do so. The borders between African countries were never drawn along ethnic lines but were drawn according to the interests and will of other powers. This has repeatedly given rise to territorial disputes in the course of history, which have resulted in armed clashes.

The Belgian era was a defining period in the country's development. In its first period as a private domain of the king, the people of the territory were the targets of a series of severe atrocities, but this situation did not improve significantly when the king handed over control of the territory to a successor of his interest. It is no coincidence that, after the end of the colonial empire, anarchy reigned in the country, which had been tightly governed until then. The Belgian authorities were careful to ensure that their rule did not create a local educated elite who could take over the country. In reviewing the period, we have witnessed the events that have dominated and defined the life of the country from the 1960s onwards. It was an extremely turbulent period, with the almost direct consequence of the proliferation of armed movements and their use and exploitation by the various political forces.

A series of armed conflicts, most notably the first and second Congo wars, which can rightly be called the deadliest wars of the post-World War II period, did not lead to reconciliation and stabilisation of the country. They rather have led to the accumulation of more and more security issues to be resolved and to a serious escalation of conflicts.

The transition period and the two subsequent presidential terms of Joseph Kabila were also marked by conflict. The failure to resolve the Rwandan conflict definitively and satisfactorily, but also the failure to dismantle and integrate other armed groups into the army and bring them under control, is a good example of what happened. The reasons for this are to be found in the extremely wide divisions and the related resistances rooted in the past, which range from ethnic differences to territorial disputes and political oppositions that have served development in an unsatisfactory way.

I have presented and described five key figures who had a significant impact on each era. Mobutu was in power for the longest time, but the confrontation between the great powers during the Cold War made the countries of the African continent the pawns of the opposing sides. Therefore, Mobutu owed much to US support for decades as the country's all-powerful leader.

Taking all this into account, I have demonstrated that the complex security problems that have emerged, which are extremely complex and constantly threaten the political and economic stability of the country, have a long history, but that adequate political, economic, military, societal and information responses must be found and provided in the present. Finding and searching for these answers is a complex task, since even knowledge of the historical background and analysis of all the stakeholders involved in the conflict will not lead directly to a solution, especially if they are not matched by the political will to do so.

I have made it a priority to describe the main actors in the 2007-2009 conflict, demonstrating the extreme complexity of the situation. Here I have focused on three armed movements that were representative of the conflict: the National Congress for the Defence of the People⁶, the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Rwanda⁷ and the Mai-Mai militias⁸ in general, as they played a prominent role in the conflict. The first two provide us with an explanation, beyond the historical background, of the role of Rwanda in the situation that has developed.

The Congolese army, whose importance I have dedicated a separate chapter to, is also among the key players, as well as the UN peacekeeping forces. I have called them the internal actors, but in addition to them, I had to consider the neighbouring and interested countries in the region, as well as non-African actors, as external forces. This list gives an idea of how many players are involved in this chess game that spans the continent and almost the world.

In the presentation of active armed groups, I have not - of course - dealt with all existing groups, but I have highlighted those whose activities have decisive importance. I have tried to include all the relevant details that I have found in my research, but I have also shared my personal experiences during my four years as an expert on the European Union. The motivations and interests of the groups are very similar, yet almost all of them have their own particular characteristics. In addition to the government's efforts, I have given priority to the UN forces stationed here and the extensive support provided by aid agencies in the area in the fight against armed groups. As a case study, I have worked on the story of M23, the last armed conflict actor I have experienced. This armed group, which originated from the CNDP, has had an impact on the already fragile security situation in the country and, through it, on the government, which has made them aware of the problematic situation of the army, one of the pillars of the security sector.

The reorganisation of the army, which did not solve the most serious problems, had already begun before the M23 appeared. Most of its forces were also integrated into the army, and then separated from it and followed Bosco Ntaganda and then General Sultani Makenga. Rwanda's role and support was felt and demonstrated not only during the CNDP movement but also in the case of M23. Thus, Kabila's previous negotiations failed to reach an agreement that would

⁶ CNDP: Congrès National pour la Défense du Peuple/ Nemzeti kongresszus a nép védelméért. Laurent Nkunda tábornok vezette tuszi politikai és katonai rebellis csoport.

⁷ FDLR: Front Démocratique de Libération du Rwanda/ Demokratikus front Ruanda felszabadításáért, hutu szervezet. Democratic Front for the Liberation of Rwanda (FDLR) Narrative, www.start.umd.edu (Downloaded: 02.03.2021.)

⁸ Frank van Acker, Koen Vlassenrot: Les Mai Mai et les fonction de la violence milicienne dans l'est du Congo: www.cairn.info (Downloaded: 20.06.2021.)

have prevented Rwandan involvement in the 2012 conflict. The Congolese army was in a situation that was a breeding ground for corruption. Neither their organisational structure, nor the management order, nor the state of supply, including salaries, were a guarantee of reliability and compliance with the requirements set by the government. Very few organisations support and even fewer programmes are available for improving the condition of the army, for training and education, but the same is true for providing a secure family background. The only organisation that has worked on reforming the army as an essential element of the security sector is the EU expert mission, EUSEC RD Congo. Although small in number, this was a mission that achieved outstanding results in terms of its effectiveness in the areas targeted, with Hungarian participation almost from its origin.

The European perspective on the Congolese situation is effectively supported by the European political and economic instruments that have been formulated and consolidated over the past years with the agreement of the Member States.

I considered it important to present and analyse the EU's efforts and programmes in the context of African democracies. It is true that we are talking about a policy adopted by the Member States, but a unified European policy is nevertheless affected by the different interests of individual countries. Through the activities of the European mission EUSEC RD Congo, I have sought to demonstrate the application of the theoretic analysis theses to the practical efforts of European policy to stabilise the security sector.

This disagreement within the member states was also reflected in the priorities set during each mandate of the EUSEC RD Congo mission. However, with such a small team of experts and a limited budget, it was not possible to focus on all the areas requested by the Member States. As I said about its effectiveness, it is undeniable that it has achieved great results in military terms. The Hungarian Defence Forces have also been an active part of this great work and the soldiers serving there have gained useful experience, which I would certainly recommend that they should use in the future.

In conclusion, I would like to say that I have given answers to the hypotheses made at the beginning of my thesis, but as we have seen, this is an unfinished story in the life of Central Africa and Congo, which must be given special attention in the coming period by European policy, and it must not be ignored by the Hungarian leadership. Through this analytical work I have contributed to a better understanding of the events in the Central African region and in the Democratic Republic of Congo.

Summary of the research results

The results of the research presented in the four main chapters of the thesis can be summarised as follows, in line with the hypotheses and research objectives:

- The first research objective of the thesis⁹ was achieved in the first part of the first chapter by presenting and analysing the historical periods of the country and the names of the political leaders within them. In the following parts of the chapter, I have also achieved this objective by analysing the reasons for the emergence of armed movements, the circumstances in which armed groups were formed and the events that contributed to their formation.
- In line with the second objective of the thesis¹⁰, in order to answer it, in the second chapter I have provided a comprehensive picture of the factors generating armed conflicts, I have explored in detail the actual and potential participants in conflicts and their reasons for their role in the conflict. I have highlighted the fact of the inextricable duality of armed conflict and the military and analysed their causes.
- The third objective of the thesis¹¹ is answered in detail in chapters two and three. Through the analysis of the causes of the conflicts, it contains findings that are inescapable for the political and military leadership of the day in resolving the conflict. Using the example of M23, it sheds light on the reasons for the emergence of an armed movement, the variations in its activities and, beyond these, the factors for its liquidation or rather dismantling. It examines the survivability of armed groups using Hansen's theory, focusing on demonstrating whether the theory can be applied beyond jihadist organisations to armed groups in Central Africa and the Congo. The thesis also examines global political issues, those that, if left unresolved, have serious consequences and those whose correct responses and reactions are key to conflict resolution.

⁹ To present the African continent, with particular emphasis on Sub-Saharan and Central Africa, of which the Democratic Republic of Congo is a key country. Here, strong divisions, both ethnic and cultural, can be justified by the theory of the regional security complex. Within this context, the causes of the emergence of armed movements and their evolution are a focus of the analysis. Because of the historical scale of the changes, the issue of military security is central to my thesis, closely linked to the actions of political leaders from 1960, when independence was won, to the presidency of Joseph Kabila (2001-2019).

¹⁰ To identify the yet unresolved conflicts of interest and security policy problems related to armed mobilisation, which the political leadership needs to find the right strategy to address.

¹¹ Detail the causes of armed conflict and the factors that generate the phenomenon and the actors involved. To draw attention to the extreme complexity of the situation, using the example of a typical period. In addition, to obtain evidence of the applicability of Stig Jarle Hansen's theory, namely how changes of the status of individual movements help these organisations to survive.

- The fourth objective of the thesis¹² was answered in chapter four. In this chapter, I demonstrated that the European Union has the political and economic instruments necessary for a united Africa policy and for promoting the emergence of African democracies. The EUSEC RD Congo mission in support of army reform is a prominent manifestation of EU policy. Its activities reflect the European Union's strong support for the management of armed conflicts in Eastern Congo and the establishment of security through the stabilisation of the military sector. I have described and evaluated in detail the activities of the EUSEC mission, which has made significant progress in the development of the army, but I have also highlighted the controversies around the mission, which ultimately led to its closure. This is further proof that coordination of the policies of the countries supporting the stabilisation processes in Africa is essential and must be managed flexibly in the light of the changing security situation.

New scientific results

My thesis on the different aspects of the armed conflict in Eastern Congo contains the following scientific results (findings):

1. It has been demonstrated that there is existential uncertainty in all components of the Buzan's sector theory in the region under study. Moreover, the analysis of the regional security complex theory shows that the creation of a stable institutional framework, which is lacking in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), can, if not in all sectors, but in the political, military, and societal sectors I have studied, bring about a degree of stability that can generate spill-over effects. For an initial result, the stabilisation of just one of the preceding sectors can have a positive impact on the other sectors.
2. I have explored the internal structure of the regional security complex. Armed conflicts are burdened by unresolved ethnic conflicts, which may be exacerbated by ethnic boundaries across national borders. Uganda's and Rwanda's ambition, beyond their economic interests, is to sustain the armed conflict by keeping it within the borders of Congo. Rather than the regional security complex theory, I have considered the issue-specific approach of regional security complexes to be more applicable in this case. It

¹² Through the activities of the European mission EUSEC RD Congo, I would like to demonstrate the implementation of the theoretical and analytical theses of my thesis in practical efforts of European policy in the stabilization of the security sector.

was confirmed that the boundaries drawn by regional security complexes were transcended by the conflicts under study and their causes.

3. I have analysed and assessed the engagement of the political leadership in Kinshasa, pointed out its shortcomings and weaknesses, and made recommendations for possible solutions. I have examined and concluded that the typology for African jihadist organisations, as laid down in Hansen's theory, can be applied to the transformation of organisations in the Congolese armed groups. I have demonstrated that the theory's categories are characterized by semi-territorial control.
4. I have established that the European Union is a strong supporter of the stabilisation of the military sector in the management of the armed conflict and the establishment of security in Eastern Congo, and that it is making the democratisation process in the country more effective by launching comprehensive programmes based on the European Union's specific instruments (Development Cooperation Instrument).

Usability of research results, recommendations

In my opinion, the thesis and its research results, prepared in accordance with the research objectives, can be used in the following areas:

In education: in the teaching of topics related to the African continent to students at the National University of Public Service, specializing in the field of officers, security and defence policy, and postgraduate students. As a teaching aid for the HDF Peace Support Training Centre's Basic Course for Missionary Staff Officers and for the Missionary Target Preparation Courses, where the topic is relevant. It can be used as a background material in the preparation of missions of domestic humanitarian organisations to the African continent.

In applied research: it can complement research on Africa to better understand the armed conflicts in the Central African region and to conduct research. It can serve as a basis for research on conflicts in Central Africa, as it deals with the complex problem in detail.

In practice: It can be used in the preparation of the manuals produced by the HDF Civil-Military Cooperation and Psychological Operations Centre and the training materials of the HDF Peace Support Training Centre, if the scope of the latter is extended to include issues concerning Africa, and more narrowly Central Africa.

The thesis is addressed to researchers in the field of Africa studies and to undergraduate, graduate, and postgraduate students interested in the subject.

Areas for further research, proposals

The issue of Congolese armed groups and the closely related security problems have been persistent, almost without significant change, in Eastern Congo. The complex nature of the problem means that several additional elements could be added to the range of military, security and other related research on the subject in the future. Some of the research directions and issues raised in the development of this thesis could be the subject of a separate study, as the scope of the thesis did not allow for a deeper analysis of the problem in certain areas.

The fact that armed groups and armed movements themselves are in constant flux, as I mentioned in the thesis, gives them a permanent relevance. With little exaggeration, new groups are born almost daily, existing ones ally themselves with others or disappear as a result of integration processes. This is why the birth, survival and support of groups, and the intertwining of politics and economics with militias, can be a constant subject of research. The 'Hansen theory', which can be applied to armed groups in Central Africa in addition to the analysis of jihadist groups, could be a good basis for research in this area.

The issue of internal migration, which is a consequence of the impact of armed groups on civil society, could also be an area for research. This area is in some ways untapped, although it is an important one in terms of its impact on society. This is a fundamentally different migration from the intercontinental migration that is so familiar in Europe today, but it seems to be better managed here, while the masses involved are huge.

In this thesis, I have focused on the EU's policy towards Africa, but the relationship of several countries with the Democratic Republic of Congo also presents an interesting research topic. These relations may be African-African relations, but it is also worth thinking about the relationship with China. In addition, the UN mission in the Congo and the activities of other international aid organisations can also be useful to study in order to make aid in Africa as effective as possible.

List of own publications

Tábornokok és főtisztek a Kelet-Kongói konfliktusban
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A válságkezelés és a stabilizáció lehetőségei és kihívásai a fekete kontinensen,
Dialóg Campus, Budapest 2017.

Academic CV

Colonel Sándor Nagy continued his studies at the Lajos Kossuth Military College as a Tank Commander and obtained his degree between 1983-87.

He continued his studies and graduated from the Miklós Zrínyi Military Academy, and after the transformation during the study period, at the Miklós Zrínyi University of National Defense. During his student years participated in the Scientific Student Circle.

In 2005-2006 he was a student at the Collège Interarmée de Défense in Paris, where he studied terrorist groups as part of an optional subject.

From 2008 to 2013, he served in the European Union Mission in the Congo as a member and expert of EUSEC RD Congo in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. During his four mission years, he led a team of experts from the country's eastern province of South Kivu bordering Rwanda and was a direct adviser to the commander of the 10th Military District. During his time here, he was articulated to engage in scientific research on the subject, based on his in-depth and detailed knowledge gained here. During his external service, he had the opportunity to participate in several meetings to analyze the security situation and to establish personal contacts with members of UN SC expert groups and researchers on the subject.

He began his doctoral studies in 2013 at the Doctoral School of Military Sciences of the National University of Public Service. His research interests included armed conflicts in Eastern Congo and these issues related to military security. He also wrote his doctoral dissertation on this topic, dealing with historical antecedents and the security consequences of armed groups as a kind and their consequences.

He returned from the mission in 2013, but he has continued to follow developments in the Congo and that region's security environment changes, furthermore maintaining contact with several former colleagues.

Between 2014-20, he was the Chief of Staff of the NCO Academy, Hungarian Defence Forces and from August 1, 2020, the Chief of Staff of the Transformation Command, Hungarian Defence Forces.