



Leadership and citizenship in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC): a Christian-ethical appraisal

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ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

1. ABAKO: Association (socio-cultural) of Bakongo (i. e. whose members are all people from *Kongo Central* province).
2. ADF-NALU: A group of rebels from Uganda operating actively in the eastern part of the DRC, along with other rebels groups such as FDLR, PARECO, RLA, LMIA and Maï-Maï
3. AFDL: Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation (of Congo), a political movement created in Lemera in 1996 first in order to obtain the Congolese nationality for Banyamulenge people, then to set Congo-Kinshasa free from the dictatorship of Mobutu.
4. BBC: British Broadcast Corporation
5. CENCO: National Conference of Congolese Roman Catholic Bishops
6. CDF: Congo (Democratic Republic)'s currency/francs
7. DGM: Direction Générale de Migration/General Direction for Immigration
8. DRC: The Democratic Republic of Congo
9. EME: Emerging Market Economy
10. FARDC: Armed Forces of the DRC i. e. Congolese army
11. GKSA: Gereformeerde Kerke in Suid-Afrika/Reformed Churches in South Africa
12. i. e. : That is to say
13. MDGs: Millennium Development Goals
14. MIN. EPSP: Ministère de l'Enseignement Primaire, Secondaire et Professionnel (English : Ministry of Primary, Srcondary and Vocational Education)
15. M23: Rebels' military group created in the eastern Congo on 23 March 2013.
16. OCDD: Observatoire Congolais des Objectifs de Développement Durable/Congolese Observatory of Sustainable Development Goals
17. ODD : Objectifs de Développement Durable/Sustainable Development Goals

18. PPRD : Parti du Peuple pour la Reconstruction et la Democratie/The People's Party for Reconstruction and Democracy
19. RDC_DSCRCP: Document de la Stratégie de Croissance et de Réduction de la Pauvreté en République Démocratique du Congo/*Document of Growth Strategy and Poverty Reduction in the Democratic Republic of Congo*
20. RTNC : Congolese National Radio and Television Station airing from Kinshasa
21. SDGs : Sustainable Development Goals/Objectifs de Développement Durable-ODD
22. UN : United Nations
23. UNDP : United Nations Development Programme
24. UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

ABSTRACT

The Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) is endowed with natural resources to the extent that it could be one of the richest countries in the world. Nonetheless, this country is one of the poorest (in the world) with more than 70% of its population living in abject poverty. Economists, political scientists and sociologists have all been puzzled by how a country that is so rich in resources can be so abysmally underdeveloped and conflict stricken. Is a scramble for the country's resources to blame for the conflict; or are incipient inequalities and economic injustice the primary cause; or perhaps the two are related in some way? Slants such as "greed versus grievance" or "the paradox of plenty" have animated the literature and caught the public's imagination.

This study argues that the lack of ethics in this country is the reason why all attempts to stop the organized plunder of Congolese riches and to address the economic and political crises in order to alleviate the hopeless situation always fail. A thorough consideration of the country's history reveals the depth of this problem.

Christian ethics can lead to sustainable liberation of the entire Congolese society. As such, the Christian tradition and biblical revelation should be the primary source that is tapped during the process of building new Congolese citizenship and leadership. Christian principles aiming at peaceful living and working together remain the answer to sustainable salvation of people and the social transformation of this country.

La République démocratique du Congo (RDC) est connue comme l'un des pays les plus riches au monde en termes d'atouts tels que les ressources naturelles, l'espace, ainsi que des hommes et des femmes actifs. Néanmoins, ce pays est compté parmi ceux les plus pauvres du monde, avec plus de 70% de sa population vivant en dessous du seuil de la pauvreté.

En raison du manque d'éthique dans ce pays, certaines tentatives visant à mettre un terme au pillage organisé de la richesse du peuple congolais, de s'attaquer à la crise économique et politique afin d'atténuer la situation désespérée (dans laquelle sont plongées plusieurs familles congolaises) et d'introduire des changements sociaux ont toujours échoué.

L'éthique chrétienne est la voie qui peut conduire à une libération durable des personnes et de l'ensemble de la société congolaise. En d'autres termes, la tradition chrétienne et la révélation

biblique devraient être placées au-dessus des sources auxquelles l'on doit se référer dans le processus de construction d'une nouvelle citoyenneté et d'un nouveau leadership congolais.

De ce qui précède, il est clair que l'argument central de mon projet de recherche est que les principes chrétiens visant à vivre en paix et à travailler ensemble demeurent la réponse (ou simplement la clé) pour le salut durable des personnes et à la transformation sociale dans mon pays.

Key terms: ethics, Christian ethics, leadership, citizenship, new Congolese citizenship, Kabila, Mobutu, peace, social peace, peaceful living together, distributive justice, Tshisekedi, sustainable development, sustainable development goals, emergence/emerging market economy and Democratic Republic of Congo.

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CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background and problem statement/rationale

1.1.1 Background

Studies by some Congolese scholars, among whom Bilusa (2007), Mupinganayi (2007), Munduku (2012) and Ndaywel (2015:19) indicate that things have been falling apart in the DRC for years. Arguably, most Congolese people's behaviours are unethical. That is to say, evil has overthrown good in the minds and deeds of many among them; wrong has become right and evil has become good in this country. As a consequence, the majority of the population live in plight (Muepu Muamba, 2011:83-84) and, in the eyes of many, there is no hope for changing the situation today, for achieving sustainable development tomorrow and emerging market economy (EME) by 2030.

Diallo and Malu-Malu (2015:14) define the DRC as "an astonishing country, a vast land of stunning landscapes and cultural wealth that make it one of the most fascinating of places to visit and explore. DRC has three major attractions: its immense territory, as big as a continent, hugely abundant and varied natural resources, and a large and youthful population." To quote Bruno Mupinganayi (2007:5), this country has all "except ethics". What should be done now? What needs to be the point of departure to stop the Congolese crisis which, in the words of Kabasu-Babu (2018:85) is "anthropo-societal"?

Gathering in a plenary meeting within their "National Conference of Congolese Bishops" (*Conference Episcopale Nationale du Congo*, CENCO below, to reflect the French name) on 23 June 2017, Congolese Roman catholic bishops dealt with the issues of people's current situation and looked at overall political problems in the DRC. After evaluation, they all together concluded and sent a straightforward message to their fellow Congolese. Here is an excerpt of their message:

Dear brothers and sisters, we are deeply concerned by the continuing deterioration of the economic, security and humanitarian situation as well as by the current political stalemate...let us view where we are risking to go! The situation in our country is very bad, let us stand up [...] and take a best momentum [...] in order to build a country better than today (My translation).

Chers frères et sœurs, Nous sommes profondément inquiets et préoccupés par la détérioration continue de la situation économique, sécuritaire et humanitaire ainsi que par l'impasse politique actuelle [...] regardons où nous risquons d'aller ! Le pays va très mal. Mettons-nous debout [...] et prenons le plus bel élan [...] pour bâtir un pays plus beau qu'aujourd'hui/

Yes, to change Congolese people's current conditions (which, in Congolese Roman Catholic bishops' own words, are "very bad") and build a Congo "more beautiful than today" is not a utopia. However, research by Ngoma Binda (2015), Kabeya Makweta (2008), Lukunku and Bamuikile (2006) show that the main DRC problem dwells in the Congolese man/woman him/herself in general, and in their leaders in particular. One may ask why.

Answer: because it seems that most Congolese men and women (among whom the political and some sociological groups leaders) do not know what it means exactly to be Congolese, they seem to have no clear insights about their rights and duties as citizens of this country. Besides, most of the educated ones among them have lost moral and ethical patterns in spite of their big degrees in mathematics, economy, political sciences, linguistics, laws, philosophy, theology, history... from famous universities or colleges at home or abroad.

In Pierre Jacquemot's own words (2010:6-7):

The Conflict in the eastern Congo has been the most deadly one since the Second World War, and its social consequences have been disastrous. Solutions to the conflict which has its roots in politics, in demography and in economics must look to the long term... The resolution of conflicts in eastern Congo will take time. After so many years of conflict[s] and insecurity, the deaths of so many and the destruction of much land, it is hard to change entrenched attitudes of defiance and reprisal.

John Holmes (2010:4) adds: "While the crisis in the Kivus has been a focus of action and advocacy by the international community for decades, further conflicts characterized by massive internal and cross-border displacements have been proliferating in all four corners of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC)."

It is widely acknowledged that Congolese people's sufferings and misery today result from recurrent armed conflicts in the eastern part. That is true. Yet, this unacceptable situation is also caused by unethical behaviours of Congolese political leaders of which the infringement of the Constitution (for example Preamble, Articles 11, 16, 58 and so on) is a token.

African Medical and Research Foundation (AMREF) and Dalborg Global Development Advisors argue that governments in Sub saharian Africa are confronted by some overwhelming challenges when it comes to delivering primary health care or simply, I may add, to fulfill people's primary needs. Amongst those challenges, the above mentioned organizations mention:

[. . .] poor infrastructure, poverty, insufficient funding for health care sector, poor governance, natural disasters and corruption [. . .], several governments and

rulers who spend state money on luxuries for themselves and their friends in a careless manner while citizens live in poverty and suffer from the devastation caused by HIV/AIDS and other diseases. (Quoted by Rheeder 2017: 334-335).

In the case of the DRC, no one can deny that poor governance, spending state incomes on luxuries in a careless manner by political leaders in office and some government officials, corruption, money laundering [...] are the main diseases diagnosed in this country (Mayola 1997:28). Needless to say, these diseases are hurdling people' dreams, namely: social peace today, sustainable development tomorrow and EME by 2030.

Reuters staff denounces:

[The] Democratic Republic of Congo loses up to \$15 billion a year due to fraud, the president's anti-corruption adviser said on Wednesday, an amount close to twice the central African country's budget. Luzolo Bambi, a counsellor to President Joseph Kabila on graft and money laundering, did not give any specifics during an interview with local radio but said corruption existed at some of the highest levels of government. "When you have an evasion, a leak, a fraud evaluated at 10 to 15 billion dollars per year [...], it's up to the head of state to reverse that trend," Bambi said. Congo is Africa's leading copper producer and boasts abundant reserves of gold, diamonds and cobalt but the country ranks 186 out of 187 on the U. N. Human Development Index, largely due to endemic corruption. Congo also comes near the bottom of Transparency International's index of perceptions of corruption, coming in at 154 out of 175 countries. Bambi filed a criminal complaint in June on behalf of Kabila against more than a dozen current and former government officials for fraud, corruption and money laundering. He said on Wednesday that the public prosecutor's office has yet to respond to the complaint. (9 December 2015, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-congodemocratic-corruption/congo-loses-up-to-15-billion-per-year-to-fraud-official-idUSKBN0TS1S620151209>, Date of access: 19 March 2018).

African civil society actors who have engaged in the fight against corruption met in Kinshasa last 20-22 June 2018 within the framework of the regional meeting of Transparency International (TI). The meeting was organized by the Congolese League against Corruption (LICOCO).

Being part of the meeting himself, Luzolo Bambi, Joseph Kabila's special adviser on the fight against corruption, money laundering and terrorism "denounced the paradox between the size of the national budget and the pouring of revenue observed here and there." Luzolo is astonished to notice that a country with a budget of USD 5 billion loses, about USD 15 billion each year due to "corruption, fraud and smuggling."

To sort out such issues as corruption, fraud and money laundering as well as many other challenges in this country political leaders in office are the most concerned; they need to learn

to think and act differently. They will never unless they are taught Christian ethics of leadership. Amongst other things, they need to be taught that God, who rules the entire world, is using them to serve their fellows and build their society (Rheeder 2017:333).

In François Millet's own words, if Congolese leaders fail to comply with the laws of the Republic and to implement their own oaths and pledges, if they are unable to lead in justice, they are simply oppressing their people ([https://www. monde-diplomatique. fr/2018/04/MISSER/58534](https://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/2018/04/MISSER/58534). Date of access: 29 March 2018).

Millet writes:

Alors que son mandat a officiellement pris fin le 19 décembre 2016, M. Joseph Kabila préside toujours la République démocratique du Congo (RDC). Il a reporté le scrutin deux fois déjà, en dépit de l'accord de la Saint-Sylvestre, passé en 2016 entre le gouvernement et l'opposition, qui prévoyait un calendrier électoral.

While his second term ended officially on 19 December 2016, Joseph Kabila is still president of the Democratic Republic of Congo. He has postponed the elections twice already, despite the agreement signed on the eve of New Year 2016 between the government and the opposition, which provided for an electoral calendar. (Own translation).

As mentioned on the previous page, Congolese political leaders will not change their evilish ways unless they are educated in the light of Christian ethics of leadership. Christian norms and values, namely love, justice, mercy, faithfulness, humility, equity, integrity, responsibility and accountability should be core within Congolese new leadership and citizenship education.

One is not mistaken to react that these norms and values have always been preached in this country where +/- 80 % of the population is believed to be Christian. From my investigations, it is undeniable that many Congolese Christians (or many who are claiming to be so, among whom political leaders) have no clear understanding of what it means "to follow Christ." They seem to have no correct insight of what behaviour is expected from them vis-à-vis one's fellow, simply because most of them do not even know who is "a fellow" as taught by Jesus Christ in Matthew 7:12, in Luke 6:31; 10:25-37 as well. Moreover, many of Congolese church going people seem not to understand why (i.e. their responsibility/mandate) God "took" them and "put" them on this portion of the land full of potentials (as He did with Adam in Genesis 2:15).

It is clear that Congolese theologians' new challenges today are to preach and teach people differently. They need to take conscious of this question (how to preach differently), think critically of the role played by the Church of Christ in the DRC so far when it comes to assist leaders and people themselves to find ways to social peace now and sustainable liberation.

As indicated in my previous study (Mualaba 2014:8), DRC populations-irrespective of their education or social status- need a “new Congolese citizenship” education which must be rooted, on top of all, in Biblical teachings of responsibility, accountability (Gn 2:15), love, justice, servanthood, stewardship and the sacrificing of oneself for the other, as taught in words and deeds by Jesus Christ.

Unfortunately, due to the lack of veritable testimony on the side of the church in the DRC, it itself seems to be part of the problem. To this regard, JM Vorster (2017b:21-23) indicates:

Society at large should see in the congregation a model of love, fairness, justice and sound morality. Furthermore, the church as part of civil society should act as a moral agent by testifying to the noble principles of the kingdom, as Barth and Moltmann remind us [...] The church is a visible sign of the reign of God, but also its herald. [It] will inevitably also be a servant in the world-an instrument of change.

Assessing the role of the South African Council of Churches in democratic South-Africa from 1994 to 2014, Nico Vorster concludes that “the prophetic voice and social engagement of the church are urgently needed in a society that is increasingly in serious danger of falling apart. It is therefore important that churches explore new vehicles and platforms to bring their messages across.” (2017:153).

The Congolese society has undoubtedly been falling apart and moving towards stalemate. To quote late Emmanuel Kataliko (Roman Catholic bishop)¹, the church of Christ in this country is expected to explore new vehicles, to be the voice of many voiceless, to preach and live the Kingdom of God in acts, so as to help the populations in general and the political leaders in particular to shift from the darkness of evils such as absence of true political plan and organization, human rights violation, corruption, embezzlement, unfaithfulness, hatred, division and nepotism (Mayola 1997:28), and follow Jesus-Christ in deeds.

Other sources such as Paolo Freire’s educational philosophy (Pedagogy of the Oppressed, <https://envs.ucsc.edu/internships/internship-readings/freire-pedagogy-of-the-oppressed.pdf> Date of access: 15 April 2019), UNESCO’s teachings about peaceful living together, the traditional African ethics of life and brotherhood as well as the South-African “Ubuntu” insights can be of help to design/build the content of “new Congolese citizenship education” syllabus. From the above, one is not mistaken to understand that Scriptures are the best source where can be collected hints to make the content of new Congolese citizenship and leadership syllabi.

¹In his Christmas message to his church members in 1999 in Bukavu.

As Sawyer (1992:1) put it, “the fact that the poor are many leads to a questioning of why this is so”, in the light of the Christian ethics of leadership and citizenship, may I add. Rightfully, Rheeder (2017: 334) is of the view that the poor, who are many in numbers, in social, economic and political status in all Africa south of Sahara are expected to fight for their own rights. In plain English, “since the dominant minority [...] benefits from the status quo, we may not expect them to be the subject of transformation, acting against what they understand as their own interest.” (Sawyer 1992:101, summarizing Gustavo Gutierrez’s theology of liberation).

Besides, a leadership reflective of Christ will be the major asset to harness in the struggle to bring social peace and transformations in the DRC and make some of Congolese people’s dreams become true. In other words, if understood and implemented by both the ruling leaders and the populations, the Gospel of God’s Kingdom will result in sustainable liberation in the DRC.

Peter White thinks that “we cannot realistically analyse national development [issues] without factoring religion into the analysis. In the same way, we cannot design any economic development plan without acknowledging the influence of religion on its implementation. The fact is that, many economic development policies require a change from old values, attitudes, beliefs and behaviour patterns of the citizenry to those that are supportive of the new policy. ” (White, [http://dx. doi. org/10. 4102/ ve. v36i1. 1419](http://dx.doi.org/10.4102/ve.v36i1.1419). Date of access: 27 March 2018).

By and large, the church (in all its various forms and confessions) is acknowledged to be one of the most important components of the civil society in the DRC. To quote Vorster (2017:162), this church is expected to be not only spiritual but also to get involved in the efforts to raise people’s conscience about their plight on this earth of men and to accompany them in their search of social transformations and sustainable liberation of their country.

1.2 Research question

The main question this research project will be concerned with may be formulated as follows:

- ***How can Christian-ethics contribute to “new” Congolese leadership and citizenship development?***

Sub-questions deriving from the main one are:

- What is meant by Christian ethics? Leadership? And citizenship?
- How can Congolese leadership and citizenship since Independence (1960) be appraised?

- How can Christian-ethical principles pertaining to leadership and citizenship be utilized to address outstanding social questions in the DRC? What is the role of the church in this regard?

1.3 Research methodology and preliminary literature study

1.3.1 Research methodology

My research will be a **comparative literary study**, conveyed with deontological Christian-ethical principles deduced from Scripture in line with accepted rules of interpretations of hermeneutics (Vorster 2017). A Biblical-theological approach aligned to the epistemological paradigm of qualitative research compliant to accepted research principles and ethics has been our choice for this dissertation, which also uses Paolo Freire's approach to raise people's conscience and solve outstanding challenges in their own society.

As part of the Congolese community myself, I will also use observation on the ground, talk with some locals and listen to people speaking on some radio stations, mainly Radio Okapi (UN's), BBC, RFI and RTNC.

1.3.2 Preliminary literature study

The following literature and studies have been, amongst others, of help to the present research: DRC Government's *Constitution* (2006, revised in 2011) and *Document de la Stratégie de Croissance et de Réduction de la Pauvreté en République Démocratique du Congo* (2016), Hubert Kabasu Babu's *Des Ruines du Zaïre vers le Congo Emergent* (2018), Munduku Ngamuyamu Dagoga's "Notes du Cours de Théologie de la Libération" (Protestant University of Congo, 2nd graduate theology, 2012), Bakole wa Ilunga's *Chemins de Libération* (1970), Isidore Ndaywel è Nziem's *Brève Histoire du Congo des Origines à nos Jours* (2015), Bilusa Baongila's "Notes du Cours d'Education à la Citoyenneté" (Protestant University of Congo, 1st undergraduate theology, 2007), Lukunku P. Kanyama & Bamuinikile S. Mudiasa's *Le Devoir de Savoir. Pensées pour une Ethique de l'Excellence* (2006), Observatoire Congolais de Développement Durable (OCDD) 's *Mise en Œuvre des Objectifs de Développement Durable en RDC/Implementation of the Sustainable Development Goals in the DRC* (2018), Franck Sawyer's *The Poor Are Many. Political Ethics in the Social Encyclicals, Christian Democracy and Liberation Theology in Latin America* (1992), Welker M. , Koopman N. and Vorster J. M. (Eds)'s *Church and Civil Society. German and South African Perspectives* (2017) and UNESCO's *International Conference. Globalization and Education for Sustainable Development Sustaining the Future* (2006). Least but not last, the cradle of this project of research in English has, undoubtedly, been my own study (in French, 2014) titled *Fondements Ethiques d'une Nouvelle Citoyenneté Congolaise* (translate: *Ethical Foundations of New Congolese Citizenship*).

1.4 Aim and objectives

1.4.1 Aim

The aim of this study is to evaluate the state of leadership and citizenship in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) since Independence (1960) and to apply Christian-ethical principles to develop new Congolese leadership and citizenship today.

1.4.2 Objectives

In researching to attain the above mentioned aim from a Christian-ethical perspective, the following objectives should be met:

- Understand the concepts “Christian ethics”, “leadership” and “citizenship”, and find out the main Christian ethical principles pertaining to leadership and citizenship.
- Appraise the Congolese leadership and citizenship from Independence (1960) to present in the light of Christian ethical principles.
- Lastly, evaluate the role of the church in the search of Congolese people’s liberation and their society transformation.

1.5 Central theoretical argument

The central theological argument of this study is that Christian-ethical principles pertaining to leadership and citizenship can contribute to the development of “new” leadership and citizenship in the DRC in order to bring sustainable changes in this country.

1.6 Work subdivision

Chapter 1 Introduction

Chapter 2 Christian ethics, leadership and citizenship: Brief definitions

Chapter 3 DRC leadership from Independence (1960) to present. A Christian-ethical evaluation

Chapter 4 The contribution of Christian ethics to the development of new Congolese leadership.

The role of the church

Chapter 5 Conclusion and recommendations”

Conclusion and Recommendations

1.7 Research proposal table

SUB-QUESTIONS	OBJECTIVES	CHAPTERS
<p>What is meant by Christian ethics? Leadership? And citizenship?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Have a clear understanding the concepts “Christian ethics”, “leadership” and “citizenship”, then clarify other key concepts pertaining to this research, namely social justice, peace, sustainable development and emergence. 	<p><u>Chapter 2</u> Christian ethics of leadership and citizenship. Brief definitions.</p>
<p>How has Congolese leadership been from Independence to present been? Has it been ethical or not?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Evaluate the conducts of DRC ruling leaders from the Christian ethical perspectives; • Study and evaluate Congolese leaders’ ways as well as people’s own responsibility <i>vis-à-vis</i> their country’s situation today. 	<p><u>Chapter 3</u> DRC leadership from Independence (1960) to 2018. A Christian ethical evaluation</p>
<p>How can Christian ethics contribute to the development of new Congolese citizenship and leadership? What is (or should be) be the role of the church in search of social changes and sustainable development in this country?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Locate Scriptural evidence on ethical considerations to social transformations, peace and development in the DRC, • Appraise the role of the church in raising Congolese consciousness, in building people’s responsibility and hope in their search of social changes and a better future. 	<p><u>Chapter 4</u> The contribution of Christian ethics to the development of new Congolese leadership. The role of the church.</p>

CHAPTER 2 CHRISTIAN ETHICS OF LEADERSHIP AND CITIZENSHIP: BRIEF DEFINITIONS

What is meant by “Christian ethics of leadership and citizenship”? Obviously, the present chapter aims at clarifying this concept. First of all, the following words and phrases, namely “ethics”, “Christian ethics”, “leadership” and “citizenship” (which are part of the aforementioned concept) need to be explained

2.1 What is ethics?

The question has been asked by Solomon in his book titled “Ethics. A Brief Introduction”. He answers: “Ethics is part of philosophy which is concerned with living well, being a good person, doing the right thing, and wanting the right things in life.” (1984:2).

Arguably, the meanings of the words “ethics” and “morals” overlap, simply because “morals” comes from the Latin word “moralis” that Cicero coined as a translation of the Greek “ethikos”, which is the origin of “ethics”. To quote Surbhi (2015), “many use the two terms as synonyms, but there are slight and subtle differences between morals and ethics.” He writes:

Morals are the social, cultural and religious beliefs or values of an individual or group which tells us what is right or wrong. They are the rules and standards made by the society or culture which is to be followed by us while deciding what is right. Some moral principles are: do not cheat, be loyal, be patient, always tell the truth, be generous. Morals refer to the beliefs what is not objectively right, but what is considered right for any situation, so it can be said that what is morally correct may not be objectively correct [...] Ethics is a branch of philosophy that deals with the principles of conduct of an individual or group. It works as a guiding principle as to decide what is good or bad. They are the standards which govern the life of a person. Ethics is also known as moral philosophy. Some ethical principles are: truthfulness, honesty, loyalty, respect, fairness, integrity. (<https://keydifferences.com/difference-between-morals-and-ethics.html>, Date of access: 14 May 2019)

In the above mentioned author’s words, the key differences between morals and ethics are the following:

1. Morals deal with what is ‘right or wrong’. Ethics deals with what is ‘good or evil’.
2. Morals are general guidelines framed by the society, e. g. We should speak truth. Conversely, ethics are a response to a particular situation, e. g. Is it ethical to state the truth in a particular situation?

3. The term morals is derived from a Greek word 'mos' which refers to custom and the customs are determined by group of individuals or some authority. On the other hand, ethics is originated from Greek word 'ethikos' which refers to character and character is an attribute.
4. Morals are dictated by society, culture or religion while Ethics are chosen by the person himself which governs his life.
5. Morals are concerned with principles of right and wrong. On the contrary, ethics stresses on right and wrong conduct.
6. As morals are framed and designed by the group, there is no option to think and choose; the individual can either accept or reject. Conversely, the people are free to think and choose the principles of his life in ethics.
7. Morals may vary from society to society and culture to culture. As opposed to Ethics, which remains same regardless of any culture, religion or society.
8. Morals do not have any applicability to business, whereas Ethics is widely applicable in the business known as business ethics.
9. Morals are expressed in the form of statements, but Ethics are not expressed in the form of statements.

In a nutshell; Grenz and Smith (2003:35) note that "Ethics focuses on questions of right and wrong, as well as the determination of human good. If morality involves the actual practice of living out of one's beliefs, then ethics is the study of why these practices are moral or immoral."

On his part, Solomon (1984:6) argues that ethics include the whole range of acceptable social and personal practices, from the rules of "common courtesy" to the institutions that determine the kinds of work we do, the kinds of friends we have, and the ways we relate to both family and strangers. Morality, on the other hand, is something more specific, a subset of ethical rules which are of particular importance. If someone refuses to play fair or honour a verbal contract, we might say that he or she is untrustworthy or "unethical", but we could not say "immoral". If a person abuses children or poisons his in-laws, however, we may well call such behaviour "immoral", thus indicating the seriousness of these violations. Morality consists of the most basic and inviolable rules of a society.

According to Ingrams D. Bruce and Jennifer A. Parks (2010:5), "ethics involves asking questions about the good life; it requires examining right and wrong conduct, and good and bad

values. Ethics is a subfield of philosophy that aims at clarifying the nature of right and wrong, or good and bad. In addition to clarifying the meanings and justifications of ethical ideas, ethics also tell us how we ought to behave.”

Couldn't we just live without ethics? Ingrams D. Bruce and Jennifer A. Parks (2010:8) answer: “May be perfect little angels could, but none of us is perfect. And since we don't live our life on blissful clouds, removed from all earthly cares, we have to learn to get along with one another.”

Kombe (1978:5-6) argues that all moral laws are rooted in the individual conscience, the society (with its long experience, norms and regulations), the world/cosmos and, above all, the immanent and transcendent will. Studies agree that the above are four sources of human beings' morals. This consists of a set of laws, rules, norms, standards or decisions which each member of a group have to abide by without questioning. For example, the Ten Commandments were (and are still) morals for Jews.

Yet, Jesus of Nazareth questioned one Commandment, the second one which reads:

Remember the Sabbath day by keeping it holy. Six days you shall labour and do all your work, but the seventh day is a Sabbath to the LORD your God. On it you shall not do any work, neither you, nor your son or daughter, nor your male or female servant, nor your animals, nor any foreigner residing in your towns. For in six days the LORD made the heavens and the earth, the sea, and all that is in them, but he rested on the seventh day. Therefore the LORD blessed the Sabbath day and made it holy. (Ex. 20:8-11).

Jesus worked on the Sabbath Day by healing a sick person and He defended his act. (Jn 5:1-47). Why did He decide to break the above mentioned second Commandment? Simply because He found an opportunity to teach a new ethics (his own) which is more concerned about human's life (its care and protection) rather than the slavish implementation of the law. In other words, Jesus wanted to teach that the law is good, but it is not more precious than a human being's life. So, in some circumstances, one is always invited to reflect (ethics) whether it is good to comply with the law (morals) or to save a man (or a group of men)'s life. Otherwise, there is a danger to fall into the trap of what is referred to as “legalism”.

“What should I do? How do I know what is right?” Thompson is not mistaken to think that these basic questions are the starting point for ethical debate because ethics is about moral choices. In his own words,

Ethics is about the values that lie behind them, the reasons people give for them and the language they use to describe them. It is about innocence and guilt, right and wrong, and what it means to live a good or bad life. It is about the dilemmas of life, death, sex, violence and money. It explores human virtues and vices,

rights and duties. To be interested in ethics is to be interested in life! Each day we are bombarded with news of personal choices and their consequences, from the sexual proclivities of the famous to the violence and tragedy of war, and from the sight of those who are starving in an otherwise prosperous world to the casual vandalism and petty crime of inner city streets. The explanations given for these things may vary, from elaborate justifications in terms of a political or economic ideology, to the general complaint that traditional values have vanished. We cannot escape from moral issues, even if our own lives are untouched by painful decisions or tinges of guilt. (Thompson, 2006:1)

In practical terms, the study of ethics can help, first of all, to appreciate the choices that other people make, and evaluate the justification which is given for those choices. Secondly, “it involves a reflective sharpening of one’s own moral awareness—a conscious examination of values and choices, of how these have shaped one’s life so far, and (more importantly) of how they can be used to shape the future.” That “is the point of ethics” (Thompson 2006:10)

In line with Kombe (1978:5-6), let us add that ethics is an eminently social reality, because it is in intersubjectivity that the ethical problem is posed more acutely.” To put it clearly, ethics has to do with human conduct, it requires that one always asks him/herself the question before acting (or taking a decision) whether it is good or bad. And, after acting or deciding one has to judge whether the result is good or bad in the eyes of him/herself and of the others as well.

2.2 Christian ethics

Christian ethics is Jesus Christ’s. As Yoder (1984:22) puts it, Christian ethics is built on Jesus’ deeds and teachings of love, justice, mercy, faithfulness, brotherhood, humility and servanthood. In the words of Miles (1984:5), “*Jésus est notre exemple. Nous avons la responsabilité, chacun personnellement, de collaborer avec lui afin de vivre une existence positive qui soit le resultat de notre amour pour lui/* Jesus is our example. Each one of us has the responsibility to live in a positive way as a result of our love for him.”

Arguably, Christian ethics is grounded in God’s revelation- the Bible. To quote JM Vorster (2017: 176), “the Bible is not a textbook” or, I may add, a set of ready-made rules or a kind of prêt-a-porter principles to be used magically to get expected results *hic et nunc*. It is “rather the specific revelation of God’s redeeming grace in Christ” who said:

I am the light of the world. Whoever follows me will have the light of life and will never walk in darkness. (Jn 8:12).

To my mind, to follow Jesus-Christ in thoughts and deeds is the first step leading to sustainable salvation in this world. However, what does it mean to “follow Christ”? The Bible alone provides the answer. Yet, a profound hermeneutical work of Jesus ‘teachings and acts (provided in the

Bible, of course) is expected from the readers of the Bible and mainly the ministers of the Word so as to assist -with love, patience and hope- both the leaders in office and the populations to shift from evil/darkness of sins, then embrace Christ's teachings so that they can enter the light of God who really sets free (Jn 8:32).

Jesus did more in order to teach and bring the full meaning of his ethics. This, needless to say, is rooted and summarized in love commandment given by Jesus Himself. Let us listen to Him:

A new commandment I give to you, that you love one another: just as I have loved you, you also are to love one another. By this all people will know that you are my disciples, if you have love for one another (Jn 13: 34-35)

In Mathew 7:12 and Luke 6:31, Jesus gives the "Golden Rule" of Christian ethics (his ethics) which is also referred to as "the ethic of reciprocity". We are taught in the aforementioned verses that people should aim to treat each other as they would like to be treated themselves – with tolerance, consideration and compassion.

To my mind, ethics grounded in LORD Jesus' teachings (of compassion, tolerance, mutual respect and consideration) helps to raise critical conscience and responsibility (Gn 2:15) on the side of both leaders and populations; it also leads to new "actions taking' and "participation" on the side of people themselves, as taught by Freire (1970). As already pointed out, such ethics has been bitterly needed in this country since independence

2.3 Leadership

Studies refer to different theories to define the terms "leadership" and "leader", which are used interchangeably in the present research. According to Oxford Learner's Dictionary of Academic English (2018:463), a leader is "a person who leads a group of people, especially the head of a country or an organization". The same dictionary defines the term leadership as the ability to be a leader, the qualities a good leader should have, the state or position of being a leader.

In the words of Garry Yukl (2010: 20),

The term leadership is word taken from the common vocabulary and incorporated into technical vocabulary of a scientific discipline without being precisely redefined. Researches usually define leadership according to their individual perspectives and the aspects of the phenomenon of most interest to them [...] Leadership has been defined in terms of traits, behaviours, influence, interaction patterns, role relationships, and occupation of an administrative position.

In harmony with the above, Claassen (1968:8) points out that "leadership is a difficult term to define because it means so many different things to different people. There are various styles

and philosophies of leadership. Some think of leadership in terms of power or authority, some as personality traits, still others as status or position”.

Hereafter are some definitions of the term “leadership”, collected from Garry Yukl, 2010:21 (quoting House et. al.):

1. According to Hemphill and Coons, leadership is the behaviour of an individual directing the activities of a group toward a shared goal;
2. Burns argues that leadership is exercised when persons mobilize institutional, political, psychological and other resources so as to arouse, engage, and satisfy the motives of the followers;
3. Leadership is the ability of an individual to influence, motivate, and enable others to contribute toward the effectiveness and success of the organization.

One may rightfully anticipate by saying that the kind of leadership which has been lacking bitterly in the DRC is the one grounded in biblical teachings of honesty, integrity, servanthood, fairness, responsibility and accountability. In other words, Congolese people need political leaders who can be visible examples in term of good deeds, those leaders who can strive to emulate Jesus-Christ, the King who came to be servant, those who will try their best to comply with the laws of the country, the international and local agreements adopted for the sake of human rights and individuals’ lives protection as well as community development.

As a matter of fact, Christian ethics/education seem to be outstanding in this country. Through Christian ethics/education, people will learn to assess their own ways and their leaders’ in the light of the Word of God. On their side, leaders will learn to fear evils (such as embezzlement of common incomes, infringement of the laws and agreements, nepotism, tribalism, etc.), to behave as examples to emulate in terms of the implementation of values such of love, honesty, integrity, responsibility, accountability and humility, to support good and punish unethical behaviours.

Claassen (1968:18-31) identifies four types of leadership, namely “autocratic leadership”, “*laissez-faire leadership*”, “benevolent autocrat leadership” and “democratic leadership”. Defining these four types of leadership may help to understand and classify Congolese accordingly.

2.3.1 Autocratic leadership

An autocratic leader is one who likes to dominate people. He/she makes plans for the group him/herself. In his/her relation to the group, he/she stresses the importance of discipline. His/her deference to authority is obvious. He/she lays down the law expecting the group to follow. He/she makes decisions without “wasting time” in counselling with his/her group. He/she relies not on persuasion or group consensus but on the powers inherent in his /her office. Or he/she secures actions by threat or punishment, reserving to him/herself the prerogative of decision-making.

2.3.2 Laissez faire leadership

Under this kind of leadership, the group does pretty much as it pleases. A laissez faire leader's behaviour is basically non-evaluative. He/she might be dubbed the “do-nothing leader” who is misusing the democratic process by just implementing the ideas of the members for the sake of maintaining the unity and peace of the group. What happens to people when the laissez faire type of leadership is in chair? One of the most apparent results is apathy. There are frequent yawns because the leader has not bothered to identify the real problems confronting the groups; discussions seem unimportant or they are off the beam. Few people participate. Members come late or do not show up at all. There are over quick decisions and failure to follow through on decisions. There is reluctance to assume responsibility and failure to make plans for the next meeting.

2.3.3 Benevolent autocrat leadership

Researchers have discovered another type of leadership that falls somewhere between the autocratic and democratic type. They refer to such a leader as the “benevolent autocrat” one. This leader has been characterized as “the overseer” who solicitously cares for the group. While he/she is an autocrat leader at heart, his/her personal designs are benevolent. It is just that he/she knows what is best for people and he/she aims to see that his/her will is done because as the saying goes, “Father knows best.”

What happens to the members of the group under this kind of leadership? Members tend to become timid, complacent, un-resourceful, and un-imaginative, they seem unable to get out of a rut because they are always looking for the answers. If the leader knows the answer, why bother to find a new one?

2.3.4 Democratic leadership

A democratic leader is not primarily interested in the possession of power over others but in stimulating members to participate in group activities and decisions. He/she relies on persuasion and conciliation rather than on force. He/she has tolerance for human weakness. His/her relation to members is cordial and friendly rather than distant and authoritarian. He/she tends to trust people's goal sense. His/her followers do not put him/her on a pedestal but tend to see in him/her only a common man/woman like themselves. This kind of leadership has been called a "catalyst" in the sense that he/she encourages members of the group productivity and they follow through on decisions because they participate in making them.

In the light of above definitions, what kind of leadership has been implemented in the political management of the DRC from Independence (1960) to present? How can Congolese political leaders be appraised? The next chapter will attempt to answer these questions. At this stage, let us try to understand the term "citizenship."

2.4 Citizenship

Citizenship is the status of a person recognized under the law as being a member of a country. Citizenship education is about enabling people to make their own decisions and to take responsibility for their own lives and communities.

In the following lines, UNESCO (<https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000150262>, Date of access: 15 April 2019) aptly defines "citizenship education" as educating children, from early childhood, to become clear-thinking and enlightened citizens who participate in decisions concerning society. 'Society' is here understood in the special sense of a nation with a circumscribed territory which is recognized as a state. Knowledge of the nation's institutions, and also awareness that the rule of law applies to social and human relationships, obviously form part of any citizenship education course. Taken in this sense, citizenship education is based on the distinction between the individual as a subject of ethics and law entitled to all the rights inherent in the human condition (human rights); and the citizen – entitled to the civil and political rights recognized by the national constitution of the country concerned.

All human beings are both individuals and citizens of the society to which they belong. Therefore, human rights and citizen rights are interdependent. Men, women and children all come into the world as individual human beings. Thanks to the immense historical conquest of human rights, we are equal, in rights and dignity, to all other human beings. When citizenship education has the purpose of 'educating future citizens' it must necessarily address children, young people and adults, who are living beings, having the status of human beings endowed

with conscience and reason. It cannot, therefore, exclude consideration of individuals as subjects, each with individual characteristics.

Moreover, human rights include civil and political rights, the latter obviously relating to the rights and obligations of citizens. Thus a comprehensive human rights education takes account of citizenship, and considers that good citizenship is connected with human rights as a whole. Conversely, citizenship education which trains 'good' citizens, i. e. citizens aware of the human and political issues at stake in their society or nation, requires from each citizen ethical and moral qualities. All forms of citizenship education inculcate (or aim at inculcating) respect for others and recognition of the equality of all human beings; and at combating all forms of discrimination (racist, gender-based, religious, etc.) by fostering a spirit of tolerance and peace among human beings.

Thus, when we speak of the purposes to be ascribed to either citizenship education (producing citizens with moral qualities) or human rights education (comprising a knowledge of the social and political rights of all human beings, and their recognition) we inevitably end up with the complementarity between citizenship and human rights. Depending on the cultural traditions of each education system, we shall have, in some cases, civics education, comprising knowledge of human rights and their exercise, and in others, human rights education, stressing civil and political rights as the basis of citizenship, and hence the national features assumed by these rights and guaranteed by states.

Bearing in mind this complementarity, citizenship education means not only 'educating citizens' but also 'training children for adulthood and citizenship'. Citizenship education has, therefore, three main objectives: educating people in citizenship and human rights through an understanding of the principles and institutions [which govern a state or nation]; learning to exercise one's judgment and critical faculty; and acquiring a sense of individual and community responsibilities.

These three objectives correspond both to educating the individual as a subject of ethics and law, and to educating citizens. These objectives suggest four major themes for citizenship education: the relations between individuals and society: individual and collective freedoms, and rejection of any kind of discrimination, the relations between citizens and the government: what is involved in democracy and the organization of the state, the relations between the citizen and democratic life, the responsibility of the individual and the citizen in the international community. (For additional details, visit http://www.unesco.org/education/tlsf/mods/theme_b/interact/mod07task03/appendix.htm, Date of access: 4 May 2018).

To my mind, Congolese citizenship education is another key to changes in this country. Through it, Congolese nationals will get a clear understanding of the principles and institutions which govern their nation, they will become able to exercise their own judgment and critical faculty *vis-à-vis* their own as individual, part of the community in which each one has to fulfill some responsibilities. It is sad to notice that Congolese citizenship education has been neglected in this country since independence. That may account for failure of many political, economic and social projects in this country.

2.5 New Congolese citizenship, quid?

The concept “new (Congolese) citizenship” was coined in 2013 by former DRC president Joseph Kabila who created a ministry referred to under the label of “*Ministère de la Communication et initiation a la nouvelle citoyenneté*”/Ministry of Communication and **introduction/education to new citizenship**”. Later in 2014, he withdrew the introduction to new citizenship from the ministry of communication and added it to the ministry of primary and secondary education, whence “Ministry of primary, secondary and **introduction/education to new citizenship**” (MINEPSP-INC in short to reflect the French name). From January 2017 to present, the introduction/education to new citizenship is part of the ministry of youth, wherefrom “*Ministère de la jeunesse et initiation à la nouvelle citoyenneté*”/ministry of youth and **introduction/education to new citizenship**”.

Speaking of “new citizenship” implies that there was an old one which has to be replaced. It simply means a new way of conduct by Congolese people. As such, new Congolese citizenship education is revolutionary and transformative: it leads to everyone’s critical consciousness *vis-à-vis* his/her own acts and others’ so that, in the end, actions could be taken for their lives (as individuals and nation)’s betterment today and sustainable development as well.

In my view, there should not be a discrepancy between new Congolese education and Biblical ethics teachings. Rather, new Congolese citizenship education should aim at teaching all Congolese people (irrespective of their professional and/or social status, as well as their degrees) to say “No” to ungodliness and worldly passions, to live self-controlled, upright and godly lives in this present age, to walk humbly with God and others (natives or not) and to love faithfulness (Titus 2:11-12, Micah 6:8b). Last but not least, new Congolese citizenship education should teach political leaders in particular to comply with the main law of the Republic (i. e. the Constitution). As indicated previously, infringing laws deliberately or simply failing to comply with may be, in my view, be regarded by Christians as a sin.

In the words of Sawyer (1998:20-66) “social justice seems to be the key in reference to leadership. [It] probably impacts commutative, legal and distributive justice [...] Social justice aims at correcting any oppressive and alienating trends within the community.” What is social justice then? One may ask. The following lines aim at answering this question.

2.6 Social justice

Before defining the concept “social justice”, let me define the word “justice”. Oxford Teachers ‘Pocket Dictionary (2008) defines “justice” as the quality of being right, fair and correct.

According to the Center for Economic and Social Justice (CESJ):

One definition of justice is giving to each what he or she is due. Functionally, justice is a set of universal principles which guide people in judging what is right and what is wrong, no matter what culture and society they live in. Justice is one of the four cardinal virtues of classical moral philosophy, along with courage, temperance (self-control) and prudence (efficiency). . . Virtues or good habits help individuals to develop fully their human potentials, thus enabling them to serve their own self-interests as well as work in harmony with others for their common good. The ultimate purpose of all the virtues is to elevate the dignity and sovereignty of the human person. ” (<http://www.cesj.org/learn/definitions/defining-economic-justice-and-social-justice/>, Date of access: 21 May 2019).

The concept “justice” is equated with “righteousness”, while “injustice”, (its opposite)’s synonym is “wickedness”. The Bible teaches what follows:

- When the righteous prosper, the city rejoices; when the wicked perish, there are shouts of joy. (Proverbs 11: 10);
- When the righteous triumph, there is great elation; but when the wicked rise to power, people go into hiding” (Proverbs 28:12);
- When justice increases, the people rejoice. But when a wicked man rules, people groan. (Proverbs 29:2).

We learn out of Matthew 23: 23 that justice is one of the weightier matters (i. e. most important elements) of the law. Elsewhere in Matthew 5:20, Jesus calls his followers to a justice that surpasses that of the Pharisees. In the words of Grimsrud, Jesus’ ministry of justice “embodies the message of Torah—a message later summarized as love of God and one’s neighbour...Jesus began his public ministry with a call to repent (Mark 1:15)—turn from injustice and alienation and toward life. The kingdom of God (the rule of God as presented in Torah of

old) is present. And in this kingdom, God has special concern for the wellbeing of the vulnerable, the excluded, and oppressed (see also Luke's version of Jesus' opening words in Luke 4). The "justice" for which Jesus calls his followers to thirst in the beatitudes (Matthew 5:6) speaks of life, of reconciliation, the restoration of relationships with God and with one another (same as the "justice" the Old Testament links with peace and steadfast love). (<https://peacetheology.net/2012/03/01/justice-in-the-new-testament/> Date of access: 21 May 2019).

To quote Ricoeur (1992), the ministry of justice centres on love of "others as oneself." In line with Grimsrud, a careful reader of the Bible will notice that Jesus openly criticized the Pharisees' application of Torah which was not centered "on love and genuine justice (two closely linked motifs for Jesus and the prophets) [...] For our society, such justice involves locking people up under horrific conditions and essentially condemning them to a life sentence of shame and alienation. In contrast, for Jesus genuine justice involves visiting prisoners—displaying welcome, hospitality, and healing." (For more details, read <http://peacetheology.net/2012/03/01/justice-in-the-new-testament/>, Date of access: 21 May 2019).

In Apostle Paul's teachings, justice is linked with salvation/liberation. Preaching from the protestant cathedral in Kinshasa on 16 January 2019 (on the occasion of the eighteenth commemoration of the assassination of LD Kabila), Mpereboy underlined that lack of justice in the DRC remains an obstacle to peaceful living (and working) together, social transformations and sustainable development in this country.

Let us now come back to the concept "social justice". Social justice is generally equated with the notion of equality or equal opportunity in society. Although equality is undeniably part of social justice, the meaning of social justice is actually much broader. Obviously, the opposite of social justice is "social inequality".

A distinction is made between "social justice" and "distributive justice". Social justice is used when all members of a community enjoy the same rights irrespective of their social status, level of education, degrees and amount of work. On the contrary, distributive justice is concerned with the apportionment of privileges, duties, and goods in consonance with the merits of the individual and in the best interest of society.

Distributive justice is "an arrangement where goods or services are apportioned by an authority (a government agency, for example) on the basis of a commonly accepted standard, such as the number of hours worked by an individual." ([http://www. Business dictionary. com/definition/distributive-justice. html](http://www.Businessdictionary.com/definition/distributive-justice.html), Date of access: 16 October 2018)

Arguably, Congolese people are thirsty of justice (both social and distributive) so that they can live and work together in peace and achieve sustainable development. Through his Afrikaans sermon on 19 May 2019 at GKSA Bult in Potchefstroom, the preacher reminded the audience to “go and live the Kingdom of God, to preach one sermon your whole life: the Kingdom of God, [which means] God’s governance, God’s program.” May “our lives be a sermon of the Kingdom of God”, he concluded.

The Kingdom of God means **love**, **justice** and **peace** among people. Now, let us try to understand what peace (the last word in the definition of the Kingdom of God) means.

2.7 Peace

Rummel notes that “peace has always been one the highest [i. e. supreme] values” among people in this world. (<https://www.hawaii.edu/powerkills/TJP.CHAP2.HTM>, Date of access: 21 May 2019) It is a precious asset that is mandatory in all human societies for people’s living and working together which, in turn, result in harmony and community development.

Scholars at UNESCO believe that this value (peace) results from other ones which are interrelated. Among them, mention is made of human rights respect and implementation, kindness, mutual understanding, non-discrimination, conviviality, generosity, fair distribution of national riches and incomes, democracy, empathy, solidarity, equity, cooperation, openness, acceptance and tolerance.

Hebrew 12:14 encourages people to seek peace at any price because without “peace and holiness no one will see the LORD.” What is peace, then? In the words of Rummel:

[Peace is viewed] as an absence of dissension, violence, or war, a meaning found in the *New Testament* and possibly an original meaning of the Greek word for peace, *irene*. Pacifists have adopted this interpretation, for to them all violence is bad. This meaning is widely accepted among irenologists and students of international relations. (That is the most popular or primary Western definition of peace). Peace, however, is also seen as concord, or harmony and tranquility. It is viewed as peace of mind or serenity, especially in the East. It is defined as a state of law or civil government, a state of justice or goodness, a balance or equilibrium of Powers. The problem is, of course, that peace derives its meaning and qualities within a theory or framework. Christian, Hindu, or Buddhist will see peace differently, as will pacifist or internationalist. Socialist, fascist, and libertarian have different perspectives, as do power or idealistic theorists of international relations. In this diversity of meanings, peace is no different from such concepts as justice, freedom, equality, power, conflict, class, and, indeed, any other concept. (<https://www.hawaii.edu/powerkills/TJP.CHAP2.HTM>, Date of access: 21 May 2019)

Peace defined as absence of war requires the commitment of political leaders in power to set and maintain a deterrent national army by providing with updated and strong arms and technologies.

Supported by UN members, the FARDC (Armed Forces of the DRC i. e. Congolese army) made acknowledgeable efforts to end war in the eastern Congo in 2007. Yet,

[In spite of] the signing of a peace agreement between 22 armed groups, including the CNDP, in January of 2008, fighting between the Congolese army, FDLR, CNDP, and other armed militias continued. Rwandan officials arrested Laurent Nkunda in 2009, and he remains under house arrest in Rwanda today. The Rwandan and Congolese governments began cooperating in early 2009 in joint military operations focused on rooting out the remaining FDLR genocide perpetrators still in eastern Congo. Although the FDLR have been weakened through this intervention, they continue to perpetuate instability in eastern Congo. In the northeastern region, the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) an armed militia active in Uganda for the last several years, continues to cause terror and unrest. The peace process in eastern Congo continues to be fragile with multiple armed groups operating throughout the region, terrorizing civilians and blocking the path to long-term peace. " (For more details, read *History of Conflicts in the DRC*, <http://www.easterncongo.org/about-drc/history-of-the-conflict>. Date of access: 17 October 2018).

Reporting about the DRC's armed conflicts, Armin Rosen wrote what follows:

The conflict in the eastern Democratic Republic of Congo, which I visited over the last week of April (2013), has killed somewhere between 3.5 and 5.4 million people since 1996. It destroys human life in crushing and un-cinematic fashion. Its victims live deep in the mountains of central Africa, and despite the efforts of a few intrepid journalists, scholars, and human rights observers, their suffering goes largely undocumented. They include peasant women who are raped collecting firewood, children dying of cholera in bulging refugee camps, and starving young boys conscripted into militia groups so numerous that experts have trouble keeping track of them all. The DRC's conflict might be the deadliest since World War II, and one of world's worst active crises. But it also may be the most obscure -the most anonymous. (For more details visit : <http://www.Theatlantic.com/international/archive/2013/06/the-origins-of-war-in-the-drc/277131/>, Date of access: 17 October 2018).

All Congolese people rejoiced that in November 2013 the FARDC were able to win against M23 rebels groups. As already said, the FARDC men benefited support from the UN members but their own patriotic commitment to fight and defend our nation was the main asset on which their success (during confrontations) was built.

The defeat of M23 rebels was good news indeed. Yet, different media, among which Radio Okapi (UN's airing from Kinshasa), RFI (RADIO France International) and BBC, reported that the path to sustainable peace is still long and more efforts on the part of DRC political leaders in power are still needed to end completely atrocities, instability, killings, kidnapping and ladies raping in the eastern Congo. Yes, the way to sustainable peace in Goma, Rutshuru, Kanyabayonga, Djugu and elsewhere in the province of North Kivu is still long, because from 15 October 2014 to present, there has been attacks and killings of the populations as well as FARDC members. Reports by different media (for example at Radio Okapi on 15 October 2018) indicate that nearly 5000 people (among whom men, women and children) have been killed, many villages and cities have been devastated as their inhabitants are forced to flee as a result of recurrent attacks by rebels referred to as ADF members and Maï-Maï.

In my view, budget and policy deciders need to supply required means and motivate Congolese soldiers involved in battles to defend the nation from attacks by their people's enemies. As for all Congolese nationals (regardless of their ages), they need to be taught peace culture for the sake of peaceful living together among themselves and with other people from other countries.

2.7.1 Building the defences of peace in the minds of men and women

World history acknowledges that the United Nations (UN) was founded after the Second World War in order to create and maintain peace through economic, social or political agreements. This was not enough. The deepest foundations of peace still needed to be laid, with the help of the specialized agencies which make up the United Nations system.

Since its foundation, the United Nations' Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) was given the mandate to reflect permanently on how to build peace in the world via education, culture and science. For this reason, UNESCO's Constitution asserts:

Since wars begin in the minds of men [and women], it is in the minds of men [and women] that the defences of peace must be constructed.

It is acknowledged by many that in accordance with its mission, UNESCO is, slowly but surely, striving to contribute to international peace and prosperity, thanks to the cooperation of every nation in the fields of education, sciences, culture and communication.

As I suggested previously (2014:81), the content of UNESCO's education for culture of peace should be part of education to new Congolese citizenship curriculum which, though announced since 2013, is unfortunately still waiting to be designed by experts in the area of curricula writing at the ministry of education.

In the words of UNESCO,

Education for a culture of peace does not refer to the absence of war and physical violence, since even in cases where there is no war between states, some people do not have access to social and economic goods; in other words there is structural violence. In fact, the culture of peace includes education for sustainable economic and social development, education for sustainable management of natural resources, respect for human rights, gender equality, and participation of citizens in decision-making, respect and tolerance of other cultures and diversity, social justice, freedom of information movement, demilitarization and inner peace. Education is the platform from where one can depart to bring about structural changes within society. Education for a culture of peace can provide the means through which such a transformation of the educational system and society can be achieved (<http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0021/002177/217786e.pdf>, Date of access: 22 May 2019).

Scholars agree that peace and justice are two faces of the same coin. That is to say, without social justice there is no social peace at all. Congolese people are hungry of social justice (defined on the previous page) so that they can enjoy peace in their households and work hand in hand to “build a country more beautiful than before” (as they sing in the national anthem).

As already pointed out (and in line with Kā Mana though his presentation titled “*Reconstruire l’imaginaire africain pour gagner les batailles d’aujourd’hui et du futur*! Rebuilding the African imaginary to win the battles of today and the future, ” Kinshasa, 2012), I sadly notice that one of the challenges in the DRC for decades does not lie in the lack of laws or official decisions but in their implementation. For example, in term of article 58 of the Constitution (2006, revised in 2011) the distributive justice is mandatory. Unfortunately, this constitutional right for all Congolese to enjoy national richness which “the State has the duty to distribute fairly and guarantee right to development” has simply been crucified. Needless to say, just a minority of Congolese politicians and government officials enjoy huge salaries while the big majority is paid crumbs!

Ethically, that is unacceptable because consequences pertaining to people’s own life and the entire community are unbearable. For example, most Congolese parents, especially those who serve the Republic as civil servants in education sectors, in public hospitals, in courts and administration, are unable to fulfill their duties *vis-à-vis* their kids i. e they can neither feed them properly nor support their education. Besides, they are incapable to afford hospital requirements in case one the family members falls ill. Can such a group of people enjoy peace in their hearts? Can they feel at home? Can they be motivated to work and contribute to the development of the country? Can they refuse bribery or fight against it? Not at all. That is unethically and change is more than needed.

2.7.2 What do Congolese people ask?

“What do [Congolese] people want/Que demande le peuple [Congolais]?” This question has been asked in French and in four national languages (Lingala, Kikongo, Swahili and Tshiluba) by Felix Wazekwa, a modern Congolese music singer. He answers:

To eat [properly], to drink, to be [well] dressed, to educate children [without pains] and to send them to hospital when they are ill/ Manger, boire, [bien] s’habiller, supporter les études des enfants [sans peine], les accompagner à l’hôpital en cas de maladie”. (My translation)

In the essence, Wazekwa is singing about fundamental human rights that need to be fulfilled in order to achieve social peace. And one would rightfully add electricity, clean water, easy and affordable transportation as well as comfortable lodging. Unless the above fundamental human needs are fulfilled, social peace remains an illusion in the DRC.

One would therefore not be mistaken in concluding that all Congolese students (from kindergarten to university) need education that aims at teaching critical thinking and problem solving attitudes. This kind of education would indubitably transform ways of thinking and perception of life. It could bring structural changes and transform the entire society. As already said, such education should be part of new Congolese ethics and the school curriculum.

2.8 Sustainable Development

What is “sustainable development”? In the words of UNESCO (2012:5):

Sustainable development is the overarching paradigm of the United Nations. The concept of sustainable development was described by the 1987 Brundtland Commission Report as development that meets the need of the present without compromising the ability of future generation[s] to meet their own needs. Sustainability is a paradigm for thinking about a future in which environmental, social and economic considerations are balanced in the pursuit of development and an improved quality of life. These three spheres – society, environment and economy are intertwined. (http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/RES/70/1&Lang=E. Date of access: 23 May 2019)

There are seventeen sustainable development goals (SDGs) on the agenda of the United Nations. Among them, mention can be made of the following: end hunger and achieve food security, ensure healthy lives and promote well-being for all at all ages, ensure inclusive and equitable quality education, promote lifelong learning opportunities for all, achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls, ensure availability and sustainable management of water and sanitation for all, ensure access to affordable, reliable, sustainable and modern

energy for all, promote sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment and decent work for all.

The main targets of SDGs are most vulnerable population: youth and women. Congolese legislators, government officials and decision makers need to assimilate the above UN's SDGs which will serve as a compass to guide their decisions and acts. On their side, Congolese nationals should be taught about those goals (within new ethics and citizenship classes) so that they can judge their leaders' acts and claim in case those goals are not achieved.

Through their presentation on SDGs (in Kinshasa at the national commission for UNESCO, November 2018), experts from the: Congolese Observatory of Sustainable Development Goals/ *Observatoire Congolais des Objectifs de Développement Durable* (OCDD) openly expressed doubt to see SDGs become flesh in this country. It is not risky to side with them as many Congolese researchers (among whom OCDD's themselves) have noticed that the DRC has been listed among countries where none of the MDGs (the Millenium Development Goals, which have been replaced by SDGs) has been achieved.

2.9 Emergence

Joseph Kabila occasionally expressed his ambition to see the country achieve the status of become an emerging market economy (EME) by 2030. At the moment, the ten (10) big emerging markets (BEM) countries can be listed alphabetically as follows: Argentina, Brazil, China, India, Indonesia, Mexixo, Poland, South Africa, South Korea and Turkey. Other major EMEs include Egypt, Iran, Nigeria, Pakistan, Russia, Saudi Arabia, Taiwan and Thailand.

Investopedia notes:

The term "Emerging market economy "(EME) was coined in 1981 by **Antoine W. Van Agtmael** of the International Finance Corporation of the World Bank[...] As an emerging market, a country is embarking on an economic reform program that will lead it to stronger and more responsible economic performance levels, as well as transparency and efficiency in the capital market. An EME will also reform its exchange rate system because a stable local currency builds confidence in an economy, especially when foreigners are considering investing. Exchange rate reforms also reduce the desire for local investors to send their capital abroad (capital flight). Besides implementing reforms, an EME is also most likely receiving aid and guidance from large donor countries and/or world organizations such as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund. One key characteristic of the EME is an increase in both local and foreign investment. (<http://www.investopedia.com/articles/03/073003.asp>. Date of access: 23 May 2019).

Most of Congolese nationals shared their former president's desire/dream: So far, they have been looking forward to seeing this country achieve above-mentioned SDGs and become an EME by 2030.

It is a good news that since last 24 January 2019, a new president has taken the office in this country (as a result of democratic elections organized in December 2018). The latter has just appointed a new government. We pray that the newly appointed ministers learn and strive to be instruments of the Kingdom of God. May their conducts be an example of servanthood, justice, and peace as taught by LORD Jesus in words and deeds. May the church of Christ (in all its forms and confessions) assist to teach and live now and again the ethics of the Kingdom of God (not "the kingdom of David", to quote Sunday 19 May 2019 Afrikaans preacher at GKSA the Bult in Potchefstroom) because since the election of Felix Tshisekedi, people keep on claiming at different occasions: "*Le peuple d'abord*" i. e. "People first".

This means that Congolese nationals are asking their political leaders to comply with Biblical teachings of servanthood, to fight against such evilish deeds as corruption, infringement of laws, national incomes embezzlement and capital flight which, as already pointed out and we will show it in the next chapter, were characteristics of the DRC political leadership from independence to present. In a word, people are claiming social justice, equitable distribution of national incomes as well as the end of recurrent killings, rapings and forced migration in Butembo, Beni, Rutshuru, Bafwansende, Walungu...in the eastern parts of the country as preconditions to peaceful living and working together today and emergence tomorrow.

CHAPTER 3 DRC LEADERSHIP FROM INDEPENDENCE (1960) TO 2018. A CHRISTIAN ETHICAL EVALUATION

3.1 Introduction

Given the majority of the Congolese people's current situation after 59 years of independence, it seems necessary to evaluate the political leaders' conduct to see which impact it has had on their own people and community.

DRC has nine neighbouring countries namely Angola, Burundi, Congo (The Republic of), Central Africa Republic, Rwanda, Sudan, Tanzania, Uganda and Zambia. (DGM, <http://www.dgm.cd/lesfrontieresdelardc.html>, Date of access: 26 May 2019). Since Sudan was split up in July 2011 in two new nations, the DRC became the second largest African country after Algeria, and the fourth most populated (+75 million of inhabitants) after Nigeria, Ethiopia and Egypt. This country located in the centre of Africa is known to be one of the richest in the world as far as natural resources are concerned. Till now, different powers are fighting over the DRC Lordgiven resources which, according to the Berlin Act, are believed to belong to nobody in particular but to everybody at the same time.

Scrutinizing the evolution of the situation in the DRC since it was acknowledged by the international powers as a state (1885), Bilusa (2007) lists eight "liberations" of Congolese people. He writes:

Under noble pretext of humanitarian and philanthropic reasons, Western powers pretended to liberate the Congolese people from bloody slave trade. In terms of the Berlin Act of 1885, the signatory powers agreed to create a state which they named "Independent State of Congo". This new state was handed over to the Belgian King, Leopold II as his private property, but, as already mentioned, the latter was given the mandate to protect the populations from slave trade: **first liberation.**

Bilusa (2007) adds that instead of making this liberation a reality, the regime of Leopold II became bogged down in acts of cruelty including the cutting of hands and killing that left many Congolese families in mourning. The annexation of Congo to Belgium (in 1908) appeared to be the evidence of offering a new emancipation to the Congolese populations, which Bilusa describes (with considerable irony) as the **second liberation**. He proceeds by indicating that because of many humiliating acts committed by their white colonizers including chores, portages of too heavy burdens of their backs, foreign culture and behaviours made compulsory,

plunder of black locals 'richness, Congo was given independence on 30 June 1960 i.e it was acknowledged internationally as one of the sovereign states: **third liberation**.

Since this date, Bilusa (2007) points out that "people have witnessed the multiplication of the [so-called] liberating acts of the Congolese people [by their Congolese political leaders]". Among those liberating, acts, different scholars (among whom Leon de Saint Moulin, Mupinganayi, Ndaywel and Mbwebwa) list the following;

- The creation in Brazzaville of the National Liberation Committee (*Comite National de Liberation*, CNL), whose most significant effects was summed up in the 1964 rebellion to which Bilusa refers to as the **fourth liberation**. ;
- On 24 November 1965, the High Commanding Force of the Congolese National Army did a *coup d'etat* which brought Joseph Désiré Mobutu to power: **fifth liberation**.
- "The regime of the National Sovereign Conference (*conference nationale souveraine*, CNS), of which one of the precursory acts was Mobutu 'speech of 24 April 1990 dismanteling his dictatorial MPR (*Mouvement Populaire de la Revolution/* Popular Movement of the Revolution)'s regime: **sixth liberation**".
- "The event of the Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo (*Alliance des Forces Democratiques pour la Liberation du Congo*, AFDL) on 17 May 1997: **seventh liberation**"
- "Rebel movements which started on 2 August 1998 followed by other political forces including different Congolese Liberation Movement (*Mouvement de la Liberation du Congo*, MLC), namely the Congolese Rally for Democracy (*Rassemblement Congolais pour la Democratie National*, RCD-N), the Congolese Rally for Democracy Kisangani (*Rassemblement Congolais pour la Democratie Kisangani*, RCD-K) : **eighth liberation**". (Bilusa, 2007).

One may rightfully notice that the above lines are but my translation (in English) of Bilusa's French notes which can be found in the appendices.

Along with Banze (1998:133,134), we may acknowledge the remarkable prophetic role played by the church in denouncing wicked treatment, domination and exploitation of the Congolese locals by their Belgian colonizers. In line with Banze, studies reveal:

The Berlin Conference of 1884-1885, was to impact the Congolese region of Africa irrevocably. Major European imperialist powers, including France, Portugal,

England, and Belgium, had laid claim to Congolese land and resources in the larger context of the “Scramble for Africa” during the height of the colonial period. The General Berlin Act of February 1885, led to King Leopold II of Belgium taking personal control of the Congo, provided that Belgium assume responsibility for the “protection of the natives” and “help in suppressing slavery.” [...] In 1890, an African-American Presbyterian minister, William H. Sheppard [...] was the first American Presbyterian mission venture into the country. Sheppard, one of the earliest African-American foreign missionaries for the PCUS, and Samuel N. Lapsley, a white minister from Anniston, Alabama, established the first mission station at Luebo in Kasai province [...] Meanwhile, Belgians had established commercial ventures in the Congo. Beginning in the 1890s, King Leopold received growing international criticism for his treatment of the indigenous people. State-sponsored soldiers committed atrocities against the Congolese, and colonial rubber companies used forced indigenous labour to harvest rubber. Rubber was plentiful in the Kasai region where some of the American Presbyterians were stationed. [...] Morrison [another missionary sent by PCUS to Kasai] and Sheppard used their mission newsletters to report crimes they witnessed. [...] One critical report that William Sheppard published in the American Presbyterian Congo Mission (APCM) newsletter in January 1908 led to Sheppard and Morrison being sued for libel by the Kasai Rubber Company, a Belgian rubber contractor in the area. Later that year, public pressure and diplomatic maneuvers led to the end of King Leopold II’s rule, and the Belgian Parliament formally annexed the Congo as a colony, known as the Belgian Congo. The Kasai libel case went to court in September 1909, and the two missionaries were acquitted. Morrison’s case was dismissed on a technicality. Sheppard stood trial and called many indigenous Congolese men, who were his personal friends, as witnesses. He was acquitted on the basis that he had spoken out against many smaller subsidiary rubber companies and had not libeled the Kasai Rubber Company [...] It is admirable that Morrison and Sheppard took a stand against the injustice they encountered, even though it frequently put them in harm’s way. (*Presbyterian Historical Society. The National Archives of PC (USA)* <https://www.history.pcusa.org/blog/rubber-crimes-sheppard-and-morrison-versus-kasai-rubber-company> Date of access: 25 May 2019)

As written in a publication by the present author (Mualaba Citala 2014:43), on the topic under examination, Bilusa’s findings are shared by many researchers. Nonetheless, one may add that Etienne Tshisekedi’s political party named *Union for Democracy and Social Progress* (UDPS) is

claiming to have set Congolese people free from the fear and dictatorship of Mobutu. No one denies it. **Nineth liberation.**

The first multiparty elections were held in the DRC on 30 July 2006. Many people were expecting a **tenth liberation** i. e. a new political leadership that could strive to bring observable changes in terms of daily life betterment and new perspectives. New presidential and parliamentary elections were held again on 28 November 2011; a facultative run-off on 26 February 2012 was shelved with a change in election laws. People wanted a new liberation (**eleventh liberation**).

Since the end of Joseph Kabila's second term on 19 December 2016, people were claiming new elections or simply new liberation from life disasters and social inequalities. At last, general elections (i. e. presidential and legislative) has just been organized last 30 December 2018. They were believed by many nationals and some foreigners to be the **twelfth liberation** of this country from the Kabilas' regime.

Unfortunately, many observers share the view that the Kabilas' regime, which, in the words of many (for example: Alphonse Mayindo, speaking on Radio Okapi from Kisangani on Monday 15 January 2019) was simply monolithic, repressive and predatory, will continue via the opposition leader, Félix Tshisekedi, whose election as the 5th president of the DRC is believed by many to be endorsed by Joseph Kabila himself and his political family as well.

In my opinion, new Congolese ethics and citizenship education rooted in the Biblical teachings of citizenship and leadership is, undoubtedly, a way towards the **sustainable liberation** which our people as individuals and community have been seeking since then.

3.2 Brief DRC's physical and economic geography

Studies such as Ndaywel (2015), Mutamba Makombo (2011) and Southern African Development Community (SADC, <https://www.sadc.int/member-states/dr-congo/>, Date of access : 10 December 2018) note that the DRC is geographically the largest state in Southern and Central Africa. It is situated at the heart of Africa, and lies on the Equator, covering an area of 2, 345,095 km².

This country has thirty seven kilometres of coastline and a geography characterized by a vast central basin low-lying plateau rising to volcanoes and mountains in the east. More than half the country is covered by dense tropical rainforest. The country is traversed by numerous rivers with the Congo River being the largest.

It has a tropical climate with two distinct seasons; the 'dry season' (18 to 27°C) called 'Congoles Winter', which is from June to August. The 'rainy season' (22 to 33°C) runs from September to May with its heavy, rains. Temperatures are hot and humid in the central region, cooler and drier in the southern highlands, and cooler and wetter in the eastern highlands.

In 2011, the DRC population was estimated at 75, 259,000. It is divided into 26 provinces and one capital city: Kinshasa.

The land of this country is one of the richest in Africa in terms of mineral resources. These include copper, cobalt, cadmium, petroleum, industrial and gem diamonds, gold, silver, zinc, manganese, tin, germanium, uranium, radium, bauxite, iron ore and coal as well as timber, and vast hydropower potential.

The country was the world's fourth largest producer of industrial diamonds during the 1980s, and diamonds continue to dominate exports, accounting for nearly half of exports (US\$828 million) in 2004. The oil industry, mainly from offshore fields, is another important contributor to the DRC's economy.

All the provinces of this country have fertile lands which just need some investment to boost agriculture and, by doing so, avoid capital flight by stopping food importation from China, India, South Africa, Zambia and other countries. Besides, the DRC with its dense rain forests, wildlife and rivers offers an important investment opportunity for the development of eco-tourism and the construction of new hotels.

There are seven major national parks in this country, namely: Virunga; Kahuzi-Biega; Garamba; Maiko; Kundelungu; Upemba, and Salonga. Spectacular wildlife viewing is offered in the Parc National of Kahuzi-Biega, where the lowland gorillas are found. Virunga National Park, which borders Rwanda and Uganda, is home to the endangered mountain gorillas and also houses the Tonga Chimpanzee Sanctuary. The Nyiragongo and Nyamulgira volcanoes offer spectacular views, where lava flows can be seen on both volcanoes and the crater at Nyiragongo, which is still active.

Through his speech on receiving the Nobel Peace Prize in Norway on 11 December 2018, Dr Denis Mukwege draws the attention of many to the fact that in spite of abundant mineral resources, fertile lands and other potentials found in his country, the DRC, the populations here are among the poorest in the world! Here is an excerpt² of this Congoles Nobel Peace prize:

² See original French version in annexures.

My name is Denis Mukwege. I am from one of the richest countries on the planet, yet with the poorest population in the world [...] The Congolese people have been humiliated, abused and massacred for more than two decades and the international community is aware of this situation. Today, thanks to the new technologies of information and communication, nobody can say: I did not know. With this Nobel Peace Prize, I call on the world to witness and I urge you to join us in ending the suffering that is shaming our common humanity. The people of my country desperately need peace. (My translation)

Mukwege aptly seized that opportunity to voice against multinational powers' plunder of his people's God-given richness as well as predatory oligarchy by the ruling political leaders.

Five years before Mukwege, Joseph Kabila had acknowledged in his speech to the members of the Parliament (in October 2013) that apart from its natural potentials, "our country is a fishpond of men and women full of forces, imagination and creativity which, needless to say, are assets to be capitalized to change people's situation today, to achieve sustainable development tomorrow and attain emergence by 2030." (My translation).

Arguably, ethical leadership - grounded in Biblical teachings of love, justice, equity, responsibility and accountability- has been missing in this country since Independence. As a result, people's daily situation and hope have been shrinking years after years and the path to "build a country more beautiful than yesterday" (as sung in the National Anthem since Independence) has been narrowed so far. (See Mualaba Citala 2014).

Studies linked to the history of the DRC refer to the Congolese political leadership from 1960 to present in terms of 3 Republics - or leaderships - namely **the first republic**: from 1960 to 1965, the **second republic**: from 1965 to 1997 and the **third republic**: from 1997 to 2018. How has political leadership been in the DRC from 1960 to 2018 or how have Congolese political leaders (presidents with their different governments) ruled their country from Independence to 2018? The following lines focus on this question.

3.3 DRC Presidents from Independence to 2018

Since the end of the Belgian colonization, the DRC has had four (4) presidents, namely: **Joseph Kasavubu** (1960-1965), **Mobutu Sese Seko** (1965-1997), **Laurent Désiré Kabila** (1997-2001) and **Joseph Kabila** (2001 to 2018). It is worth mentioning that according to the DRC Constitution, the president is the most senior officer in this country. He is referred to as "Head of the State" and the "Commander in Chief" of the armed forces (Articles 69 and 83).

Mr President appoints the Prime Minister. The latter is referred to as Head of the Government (or first State Commissioner from 1977 to 1987). In accordance with the Constitution (Articles 78

and 79), Mr President and the Prime Minister are expected to work in close collaboration within the Nation's leadership.

The names of DRC prime ministers from 1960 to 2018 can be found in the appendices.

3.3.1 Joseph Kasavubu. President of the Republic

Interviewed at UN's Radio Okapi on 6 January 2019, Léon de Saint Moulin reminded many that far back in 1954 Kasavubu and his followers (ABAKO members) were the first to claim Congolese people's "independence" (*Kimpwanza* in Kikongo). Nonetheless, after a brief period in jail in early 1959. Kasavubu became a somewhat reluctant participant in the decolonization process.

His unique position (as well as the nuisance value of ABAKO, which had less than 10 percent of the seats in the Congo's first Parliament) was recognized by Patrice Lumumba who had the majority of members of Parliament by endorsing the former for the presidency, despite the fact that the ABAKO leader had sought to prevent Lumumba's accession to the premiership. The endorsement of Kasavubu for presidency by Lumumba was an act of gratitude because the former was the political leader who claimed that the latter be released from prison so that he could join them at the Round Table in Belgium in 1959.

President Kasavubu and his prime minister (Lumumba) worked in uncomfortable partnership during the first few weeks of the Congo crisis, but on 5 September 1960, through a literal interpretation of his presidential prerogatives, Kasavubu dismissed Lumumba, thus unleashing a chain of events which ultimately led to the prime minister's assassination on 17 January 1961.

Thereafter, Kasavubu withdrew to a position from which he tried to arbitrate between the various factions and, more importantly, to remain politically alive during the period that saw the gradual erosion and eventual reconstruction of the central government's authority. He lent the cover of his legitimacy to Joseph Mobutu's first coup, thus avoiding early retirement, and then supported the return to civilian government under Cyrille Adoula (1961-1964), only to maneuver the latter out of power in favor of Moïse Tshombe when the Congo rebellion threatened to engulf the entire country.

Although Kasavubu avoided being engulfed in the continent-wide reprobation directed against Tshombe, he also ran the risk of being increasingly treated as a superfluous quantity by those same powers that backed the prime minister. This was especially alarming in view of the fact that his own popularity among the Bakongo had come under serious questioning from a number of quarters. The threat to Kasavubu's position became more precise when Tshombe announced

that he would seek the presidency—an office which Kasavubu himself had helped turn into a major power center through the 1964 adoption of a new constitution.

With the two men thus bent on a collision course, Kasavubu announced his opposition to the employment of foreign mercenaries and summarily dismissed Tshombe from the premiership. As had been the case in 1960, however, he was unable to secure parliamentary endorsement for his handpicked successor, Evariste Kimba (a former associate of Tshombe), and the ensuing stalemate was eventually resolved in November 1965, when Mobutu dismissed all civilian politicians and established direct army rule.

3.3.2 Assessing Kasavubu's leadership

Was DRC leadership under Kasavubu ethical? That is the question. DRC history records that this country had endured untold anarchy for five years (from 1960 to 1965) before Mobutu seized power as a result of a *Coup d'Etat* against Kasavubu. This DRC first president is widely acknowledged to be an exemplary leader who had never used national incomes for his own interest. Rather, he always handed back the rest of his mission money to the national treasury once he was back home from an official mission abroad.

Investigations by Congolese historians such as Elikya Mbokolo, Kambayi Buatshia, Mutamba Makombo and Ndaywel e Nziem testify that civil servants were enjoying a comfortable life and better work conditions. They were paid such a monthly salary which made them able to support all their families' needs in terms of food, health care, kids' education, and to save cash in bank each month as well.

Despite the above, many Congolese could not believe their ears when they heard Kasavubu praising the white colonizers (via his speech on the Independence Day) by saying that they "loved" and "protected" Congolese populations. In the eyes of many observers, Kasavubu was so retired/reserved and so shy that he was fearing even to say openly the truth which he himself and many people knew. Such behaviour on the side of a leader is simply unethical.

There were evidences that the Belgians colonizers did not love Congolese natives and those were denounced by many except Kasavubu. In his book title *Mission and state in the Congo. A study of the relations between protestant missions and the Congo Independent State authorities with special reference to the Equator district, 1885-1903*, Lagergren (1979:9) indicates that "State and [Roman catholic] mission developed in the Congo side by side from the very beginning, and accordingly, their influence on each other could be expected to be considerable -- an assumption that has been confirmed by a number of studies. As to the protestant mission, it has been well known that they were critical of certain aspects of the State activities and that,

by this criticism, they accelerated events which led to the end of the Congo Independent State as such". Confirming the above, a report testifies what follows:

Belgians had established commercial ventures in the Congo. Beginning in the 1890s, King Leopold received growing international criticism for his treatment of the indigenous people. State-sponsored soldiers committed atrocities against the Congolese, and colonial rubber companies used forced indigenous labor to harvest rubber. Rubber was plentiful in the Kasai region where some of the American Presbyterians were stationed. Morrison took the lead in speaking out against human rights abuses perpetrated by the Belgians under King Leopold's absolutist rule. Photographs in the William Sheppard papers, held at the Presbyterian Historical Society, document some of these crimes. Sheppard noted in his reports that the crimes violated the 1885 General Berlin Act. In the United States, Presbyterians helped to lead the public outcry against Leopold. (From *Presbyterian Historical Society. The National Archives of the Presbyterian Church in the USA*, <https://www.history.pcusa.org/blog/rubber-crimes-sheppard-and-morrison-versus-kasai-rubber-company>, Date of access 27 May 2019).

In a word, Kasavubu was viewed by many to be "in the pocket of white men" or simply a powerless leader who was white people's friend and steward whose mission was to implement what they were dictating him in terms of, for example, the national economy management.

Interviewed at the Congolese National Radio and Television (RTNC) on 6 and 18 December 2018, Freddy Mulumba was not mistaken to argue that the white colonizers just gave "political and simply administration (rather than economic) independence" to Congolese nationals, preventing them the management of their own richness. "Congolese people need to fight on their own to obtain their economic independence as did Laurent Désiré Kabila. Unfortunately, the latter was assassinated by the enemies of Congo (known and unknown)", Mulumba concluded.

On top of Kasavubu's mistakes, he infringed the constitution by dismissing the prime minister Lumumba in September 1960. This act resulted from the misunderstanding of the aforementioned Law, as well as power misuse on his side. In case of conflicts between him and the prime minister, Kasavubu would rather have resorted to the Parliament which, in accordance with the Law, had to deal with the issue.

The dismissal of Lumumba by Kasavubu and the dismissal of the latter (the same day in the evening) by Lumumba laid the bed to anarchy in this country, and this resulted in events such

as the assassination of Lumumba on 17 January 1961, political unrest and confusions all over the country until Mobutu seized power on 24 November 1965 as a result of a *coup d'Etat*.

3.3.2 President Mobutu Sese Seko

3.3.2.1 Mobutu's life, education and administration

Research by Mabi Mulumba and Mutamba Makombo (1986:13-19) as well as Encyclopedia.com (<https://www.encyclopedia.com/people/history/african-history-biographies/mobutu-sese-seko>), Date of access: 26 May 2019) provide laudable details pertaining to Joseph-Desire Mobutu's life, education and administration as well. The following lines have been collected and processed from those studies.

Mobutu was born on 14 October 1930 in Lisala in the province of Equateur. He finished fourth grade when his father died and his mother took the family to different villages. In 1948, Mobutu was able to advance to junior high school at Mbandaka. In 1950, Mobutu was expelled from school and given a seven-year disciplinary conscription into the colonial army. His excellent command of French won him a desk job there, and he was soon sent to the Kananga military school where noncommissioned cadres were trained.

At the Kananga school, Mobutu met the military generation that would seize control of the country in 1960 when the Belgian officers fled the country. In 1953, he was transferred to army headquarters in Kinshasa. At the time of his discharge in 1956, he had risen to sergeant-major in the accounting section, the highest rank open to Zairians. There were no African officers in the Belgian colonial army.

Mobutu's ascent began in September 1960, at the dawn of his country's independence, when he seized power during quarrels between the pro-Western President Joseph Kasavubu and the nationalist Patrice Lumumba, the country's first prime minister.

Mobutu, a journalist and army sergeant, had been picked by Lumumba as chief of staff and prodded toward the center of the political stage by the CIA, which had chosen him as its best tool for keeping the nation out of the socialist orbit. Although he has always denied it, many scholars believe that Mobutu helped organize the 1961 execution of Lumumba at the urging of the CIA.

Mobutu seized and became president of Congo due to a *coup d'Etat* on 24 November 1965. His early years in office were a period of relative calm, even if sporadic troubles continued here and there, notably in the Fizi-Baraka mountain range of South Kivu Province, where a sputtering rebellion led by Laurent Desire Kabila refused to die out.

As an unmistakable Mobutu style began to emerge in the late 1960s and early 1970s, it became clear that the Zairian leader's ambition was to fashion a great African state. Mobutu began to study other dictatorships, drawing freely from them. Mobutism quickly became the new national ideology, and since a constitution written expressly to please him provided the president unlimited powers, Mobutu's words took on the force of law. Sadly, this ideology (Mobutism) became mandatory as one of the subjects to be taught at schools and universities within citizenship education and in place of Christian religion. The latter subject was simply deleted in the curriculum.

In 1971, Mobutu unveiled a new twist on the official ideology with a program known as "authenticity. " Among other things within this program, he changed the name of the country into "Zaire". Besides, all Congolese nationals were obliged to stop using their their Western first names such as Antoinette, Bernard, Joseph, Louis, Jonas, Frédéric, Leopold. They were also obliged to drop titles like Mr. and Mrs. in favor of "citizen" and abandon European dress for tunics for men and wraps of printed cloth for women.

Mobutu sought to set the tone by replacing his given name, Joseph Desire Mobutu, with Mobutu Sese Seko Kuku Ngbendu waza Banga. Authenticity was followed, in 1973, by "Zairianization," a program that expropriated farms, factories and businesses belonging to foreigners, among whom the Belgians (who had remained since the colonial period), the Greek, Jewish and Pakistani traders who had dominated much of the country's small-scale commerce.

In a speech on 30 November 1973, that surprised even many close advisers, Mobutu described the new policy as "a decisive turning point in our history," and justified it by calling Zaire "the country, which until now, has been the most heavily exploited in the world. "

As might have been expected, the nationalizations and handing out of businesses to politically selected Zaireans were initially popular. It was not long, however, before things began to go badly wrong. With almost no prior experience in the businesses they inherited, many Zairians quickly sought to lure foreigners back to run them in their place. Others simply sold off their goods and failed to re-stock.

Soon Zaire's economy was near collapse. Only Mobutu and a small circle of his relatives, however, benefited from the Zairianisation program far more than the rest of the population, and in lasting ways. The collapse of the economy under Zairianization did not force Mobutu to backtrack; instead, he rushed ahead into ever more radical measures that over time helped undo him. Returning home from an official visit to China and North Korea in 1974, Mobutu announced a 10-point program to eliminate what he called the country's 10 scourges.

While the economy continued to decline, it was not until the collapse of copper prices in the mid-1970s that Mobutu reluctantly began to change economic course. But by then, no one would lend to Zaire any longer, foreign aid programs were being cut back sharply, inflation was galloping and the grand state that he had set out to build entered a long period of gradual decay.

According to histories of this period (Ndaywel 2015), Mobutu, seeing no way out of his country's economic and political crisis, briefly considered abandoning power when he took his family to Switzerland in March 1976. But he returned home to confront a series of major new crises, the most serious of which were invasions of Shaba Province in March 1977 and May 1978 by remnants of the Katangese rebel force that had sought independence for that region shortly after independence.

The two Shaba invasions, both from Angolan territory, quickly revealed the battlefield inaptitude of the Zairian army, and in both instances, foreign troops and U. S. transport planes had to be summoned to put down the rebellions.

The tremendous mineral wealth of Shaba, with 80 percent of the world's cobalt reserves and 20 percent of its copper supplies, helped Mobutu secure international military and financial support. As a result, Mobutu's army was feared by all his nine neighbours.

In 1990, as a wave of democratic change swept much of Africa, Mobutu was forced to allow multiparty politics. A tumultuous national conference that drew from many parts of Zairian society convened and obliged Mobutu to accept his most determined political rival, Etienne Tshisekedi, as prime minister. When Tshisekedi sought to assert his control over state finances, however, Mobutu removed him from office, setting off a crisis that led to the first of two outbreaks of killings and looting in the capital by government soldiers in 1991 and 1993.

Popular support for Tshisekedi was so overwhelming that Mobutu retreated from the capital, living for a time on his luxurious houseboat, the Kamanyola, on the Congo River, and eventually in his palatial home in the northern town of Gbadolite. After the swift end of a second stint in office by Tshisekedi, officials in Washington, Paris and Brussels in 1994 engineered the appointment as prime minister of Kengo wa Dondo, a long associate of the president and former finance minister.

Kengo was supposed to govern for a year, and his mandate was to organize national elections, rein in galloping inflation and restore the authority of a decaying state. Despite unstinting Western support, Kengo's administration was widely seen as a disaster. Civil servants were

unpaid for months at a time, no progress was made toward elections and corruption continued as blatantly as ever.

The end for Mobutu came with surprising speed, after Rwanda's Tutsi-led government supported an uprising by Zairian Tutsi who had come under attack in eastern Zaire. In three weeks in October 1996, what had been a Tutsi uprising turned into a full-blown political rebellion against Mobutu led by Laurent Désiré Kabila.

Once Kabila's new-born Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo (AFDL) seized the major cities of Zaire's far east, African patrons with scores to settle against Mobutu lined up to help the rebels with money, men and arms. The anti-Mobutu coalition came to include Rwanda, Uganda, Burundi, Tanzania, Zambia, and Zimbabwe and, with major support provided toward the end of the seven-month war, Angola, where Mobutu had interfered the most in three decades of rule.

Backed by Rwanda, Burundi and Uganda, Kabila and his rebel army finally succeeded in forcing Mobutu into exile on 17 May 1997. After declaring himself president, Kabila renamed his country the Democratic Republic of Congo. (For more details, one can read Ndaywel 2015: 275-282).

3.3.2.2 Assessing Mobutu's leadership

As Mbwebwa (2009:75-77) rightfully put it, Mobutu is always remembered to have put an end to the disorder and anarchy among Congolese political leaders who were in office, namely Kasavubu and the Prime Minister Tshombe. Mbwebwa is not mistaken to note that these leaders "were more concerned with the issue of how to keep themselves in power rather than people's welfare".

Mobutu's *Coup d'Etat* on 24 November 1965 was encouraged even by Governments of some foreign countries such as Belgium, Burundi, Cameroon, France, Gabon, Ghana, Great Britain, Japan, Poland, Rwanda, Sénégal, Chad, Togo, USA, Vatican and Zambia.

During Mobutu's leadership, the Congolese army was feared and acknowledged to be the best organized and most powerful in the Centre of Africa. It was the pride of Congolese nationals wherever they were living in the world because they could talk of themselves as children from a strong Nation which was feared by its nine neighbours. In the words of Freddy Mulumba, Mobutu "was supported by Western countries in his efforts to organize the army of his country. He was simply Western leaders' army commander whose mission was to establish and maintain dictatorship in the centre of Africa." (RTNC, 11 December 2018).

In fact, DRC history records testify that Western countries, and USA in particular, had also been using Zaire as a weapons supply and staging area for support of the anti-communist Marxist fighting in Africa. (See Mbwebwa 2009, Ndaywel 2015, Léon de Saint Moulin & N'Ganzi G. 1998)

It is worth repeating that the Zaïrean national army (FAZ) was, under Mobutu's commanding headship, the best organized and strongest one in the centre of Africa. Notwithstanding that Mobutu was simply concerned with the question of maintaining himself in power as long as possible.

Among other things Mobutu implemented to make his evil plans successful, he decided to destroy both the education system and the public administration by granting very poor salaries to teachers and civil servants. As a result, corruption became rampant at schools, at colleges and universities and in public administration offices. As indicated previously (Mualaba Citala 2014:28), bribery was used (and is still used) by many as a survival means where distributive justice is denied.

Mobutu's regime is remembered to be the cradle of all evils which have been destroying this country politically, socially and economically. For example, to implement his destruction plan of Congolese children's education, he deleted Christian religion class in schools replacing this subject by "mobutism" so that he could be worshipped in place of God. "Blessed are people who sing and dance to honour their guide (Mobutu) and to express their gratitude to him, "so was it taught at school and university.

Studies agree that Mobutu had no consideration for man's life. That is why teachers and civil servants were not paid their salaries (though meaningless) for months. To survive, many Congolese civil servants, teachers, lawyers ...just resorted to corruption as an alternative. Borrowing money to pay back at the end of the month with profit of fifty or a hundred percent was another alternative to face some of their family needs. This system, which was or is still referred to under the name of "Bank Lambert", is in the words of Kaoze (2011:11) a kind of slavery.

Congolese scholars (Muepu Muamba 2011, Marie Louise Mumbu 2011) sadly note that many of the moral standards were destroyed during Mobutu's leadership to be replaced by evil ways such as common incomes embezzlement, infringement of laws (mainly by Mobutu's friends and relatives) corruption and nepotism. Besides, the second republic in Congo (Mobutu's) is sadly remembered to have neglected and destroyed education. Though this (education) is known to be a key/a power of life betterment and social changes.

3.3.3 Laurent Désiré Kabila

In his study published in 2001, Mova Sakanyi provides valuable details about Laurent Desiré Kabila's life and administration. The following lines are a mixture of his findings and other pieces of information collected mainly from other sources such as [www. telegraph. co. uk/news/worldnews/africaandindianocean/democraticrepublicofcongo/1318326/Laurent-Kabila. html](http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/africaandindianocean/democraticrepublicofcongo/1318326/Laurent-Kabila.html), [https://www. britannica. com/biography/Laurent-Kabila](https://www.britannica.com/biography/Laurent-Kabila) and [https://www. worldatlas. com/articles/presidents-of-the-democratic-republic-of-the-congo-congo-kinshasa. Html](https://www.worldatlas.com/articles/presidents-of-the-democratic-republic-of-the-congo-congo-kinshasa.html), Date of access: 15 April 2019.

3.3.3.1 Laurent Désiré Kabila : a brief biography

Laurent Kabila was born 1939 in Likasi in the province of Katanga. He attended the University of Dar es Salaam in Tanzania where he met and formed a friendship with Yoweri Museveni, the future president of Uganda. In 1960, Kabila became a youth leader in a political party allied to Congo's first post -independence prime minister, Patrice Lumumba. In 1961 Lumumba was deposed by Mobutu and later killed.

Assisted for a time in 1964 by guerrilla leader Che Guevara, Kabila helped Lumumba supporters lead a revolt that was eventually suppressed in 1965 by the Congolese army led by Mobutu, who, as mentioned previously, seized power later on 24 November 1965. In 1971 Mobutu renamed the country Zaire. In 1967 Kabila founded the People's Revolutionary Party, which established a Marxist territory in the Kivu region of eastern Zaire and managed to sustain itself through gold mining and ivory trading. When the enterprise came to an end during the 1980s, he ran a business selling gold in Dar es Salaam.

In the mid-1990s Kabila returned to Zaire and became leader of the newly formed Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo-Zaire (AFDL). As opposition to the dictatorial leadership of Mobutu grew, he rallied forces consisting mostly of Tutsi from eastern Zaire and marched west toward the capital city of Kinshasa, forcing Mobutu to flee the country.

3.3.3.2 Laurent Désiré Kabila's political life

On 17 May 1997, LD Kabila took the power. He installed himself as head of state and became therefore the third president of this big country in the centre of Africa, reverting its name to the Democratic Republic of the Congo. As president, Kabila initially banned political activity but in May 1998 he promulgated a decree that established a national constituent and legislative assembly. The subsequent arrest of some opposition leaders, however, undermined the apparent move toward democracy, and allegations of human-rights abuses against Kabila's forces continued.

In August 1998 the Banyamulenge, people of Tutsi origin who had helped bring Kabila to power, launched an open rebellion in the eastern part of the country. Resentful of Kabila's seeming favouritism to members of his own ethnic group and fearful of reprisals from rival factions, they were supported by the governments of Uganda and Rwanda, which had been angered by Kabila's failure to prevent raiders from threatening their borders. Though a cease-fire was reached in July 1999, sporadic fighting continued.

On 16 January 2001, president Kabila was shot by a bodyguard at his presidential palace in Kinshasa. Initial accounts stated that he was killed during the attack, but Congolese officials denied the reports. On the 18 January 2001, however, it was announced that Kabila had died while on an airplane *en route* to Harare, Zimbabwe. On 26 January, DRC political leaders agreed to install Joseph Kabila as their people's president in place of his father who was just assassinated.

3.3.3.3 LD Kabila and his allies

To begin with, LD Kabila did make some progress in clearing up the mess left by his predecessor. By ending Mobutu's practice of printing money when he needed it, he succeeded in reducing inflation from three digits to 14 per cent. He repaired Kinshasa's sewage system, promised to save the mountain gorilla, set up an anti-corruption centre to eliminate graft, and was praised by the international community for a credible three-year plan to revive the economy.

Kabila's allies assumed that once in power, the latter would honour his debt to them by securing Uganda's borders from anti-government forces and preventing Hutu extremists from using eastern Congo as a base from which to launch attacks on Rwanda. But Kabila failed to keep his side of the bargain and in 1998, after an uprising of ethnic Congolese Tutsis, he turned against the Rwandan Tutsi allies who had helped him to power. At first, they could hardly believe their own intelligence reports that Kabila was recruiting their Hutu enemies.

In August, Rwanda and Uganda responded by invading Congo on the side of a new rebel force which quickly reached the outskirts of Kinshasa before being repulsed by Kabila's army with the support of troops from neighbouring Zimbabwe, Angola and Namibia.

The conflict continued for the next three years and degenerated into a war of attrition as Zimbabwean and Angolan troops kept Kabila's enemies at bay. As Congolese people endured bloodshed far worse than they had ever known under Mobutu, Kabila retreated into a tight circle of relatives and loyalists, ruthlessly suppressing any opposition. There was no shortage of his

people against his ways and with a motive to assassinate him. As indicated previously, they did succeed to implement this project (Kabila's assassination) on 16 January 2001.

3.3.3.4 Assessing LD Kabila's leadership

In the words of Mova (2001: 22), Laurent Kabila embodied and symbolized the idea of Congo's greatness. He had an untold love for Congo. He had an ample, prodigious and stimulating dream for Congo. Aware of the strength that Laurent Désiré Kabila embodied, the Westerners had sworn to put an end to his life "and they succeeded to assassinate him", added Felly Mulumba (through interview at RTNC on 6 November 2018).

In the eyes of many researchers, LD Kabila was proud to be Congolese and he showed his love of country by setting it free from Mobutu's repressive regime. He signed agreement with Rwanda, Burundi and other countries' leaders just to succeed to make his dream become flesh.

During LD Kabila's presidency, the DRC did not borrow a single penny from any international institution or foreign country because, in the words of the latter, "Congo has all that people need in this world. So, we cannot borrow anything from anyone, rather we should lend". His agricultural project named "National Service" is remembered by many as an example to fight food importation business and, by doing so, move towards economical independence.

3.3.4 Joseph Kabila

The lines hereafter have been collected and adapted from <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Joseph-Kabila> (Date of access: 26 May 2019). Other sources such as Mbwebwa (2009), Mutamba Makombo (2011) and Ndaywel (2015) have been of great contribution.

3.3.4.1 Childhood and education

Joseph Kabila was born on 4 June 1971 in South Kivu province. Son of LD Kabila, Joseph Kabila largely grew up and was educated in Tanzania. He fought as part of the rebel forces that helped his father depose president Mobutu in 1997. His father sent him to China for additional military training. Upon his return, he became head of the country's armed forces, with the rank of major general.

LD Kabila's rule was soon challenged in 1998 by a small rebellion that later expanded and involved troops from several African countries. Shortly after, he was assassinated and Joseph Kabila was installed as the country's president on 26 January 2001.

3.3.4.2 Political life and administration

When Joseph Kabila became DRC president on 26 January 2011, little was known about him. He inherited a country that was still engulfed in war and that, for the most part, was without a functioning government or basic services and whose economy had largely been ruined from years of conflict.

Less than a week after being sworn in, Kabila made his first trip abroad as president. He conferred with government leaders in France and Belgium and also travelled to the United States, where he met with Secretary of State Colin Powell and with officials of the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and the United Nations.

While in the United States, he also met with Paul Kagame, the president of Rwanda, who had been one of his father's principal opponents. In a meeting in Zambia in February 2001, Kabila agreed to begin the implementation of a cease-fire agreement that had been signed in July 1999 but had not been honoured. He held talks with rebel groups, and the governments of five countries—Rwanda, Uganda, Zimbabwe, Angola, and Namibia—that had troops in Congo agreed to begin their withdrawal.

UN peacekeepers arrived at the end of March to monitor the cease-fire and the pullback of troops. In April Kabila dismissed the cabinet that had been held over from his father's administration and named his own group of ministers. In December 2002 he signed an agreement with rebels to end the war and to form a power-sharing transitional government. The agreement was ratified in April 2003; later that year an interim government was formed that kept Kabila as president and named rebel leaders to vice presidential and cabinet posts.

In spite of political opposition and alleged *coup* attempts against him in 2004, Kabila continued in his fight to unify the country. In 2006 a new constitution was promulgated and the country held its first multiparty elections in more than four decades. Kabila failed to secure a majority of the vote, but in the run-off held in October 2006 the independent electoral commission proclaimed that he defeated Jean Pierre Bemba. The latter protested the result (of the run-off) claiming but in vain that he was the winner.

In early 2008 Kabila signed a peace agreement with more than 20 rebel groups who had been fighting in the eastern part of the country, but the truce unravelled later that year when some rebels resumed their attacks.

Kabila stood for re-election in 2011, facing 10 other candidates in the November 28 poll. His strongest challenger was former prime minister Étienne Tshisekedi. Elections were held as

scheduled, and provisional results showed that Kabila was the winner, with 49 percent of the vote; Tshisekedi followed, with 32 percent. Several international monitoring groups characterized the polls as being poorly organized and noted many irregularities. The Roman Catholics bishops as well as many other observers (local and international) claimed, but in vain, that Tshisekedi was the winner, but the independent electoral commission (CENI) 's results declaring Kabila as the winner were confirmed by the Supreme Court and the latter was inaugurated on 20 December 2011

New presidential, legislative and provincial elections were organized on 30 December 2018. Felix Tshisekedi was proclaimed by CENI as the newly elected president of the DRC. This result which was questioned by the Roman catholic bishops and the international community as well, were confirmed by the constitutional court and, since 24 January 2019, Félix Tshisekedi has been ruling as the fifth president of this country until 2023. (God willing, 2018 general elections in the DRC evaluation will be the focus of my next study).

3.3.4.3 Assessing Joseph Kabila's leadership

Appraising Joseph Kabila's leadership, studies rightfully note that this DRC president succeeded to re-unify the country in 2003. In fact, this country was divided up in four separate administrations and leaderships of rebels groups, namely MLC, RCD/Goma, RCD-ML and Maï-Maï militias.

Besides, the current DRC Constitution was written under Joseph Kabila's leadership and promulgated by him in 2006. Since then, there have been legal institutions functioning both at the top level of the country and in the provinces as well. (Ndaywel 2015:302)

Notwithstanding that, social questions (i. e. water, electricity and employment) as well as education issues have remained of less importance in the eyes of Joseph Kabila even though, like Mobutu, he was promising from time to time to focus on the aforementioned issues.

Sadly, Joseph Kabila has failed to put an end to recurrent armed conflicts which, since October 2014, have caused killing of more than 2000 people, kidnapping of men, women and children, raping of ladies in the eastern parts of this country. Needless to say, armed conflicts in the East of Congo has also had bitter impact on the economy of this country. In plain English, due to endless atrocities many active men and women who could work have been forced to flee and leave their farms and Lord-given minerals (gold, coltan and all) being plundered systematically and taken away by multinational companies via Rwanda and Uganda.

In addition, many fail to understand why Joseph Kabila has not been able to punish some of the government officials whom Luzolo Bambi, his own counsellor, denounced for fraud, corruption, money laundering and embezzlement national incomes worth USD 15 billion each year, while the whole budget of the country is worth USD 5 or 6 billion!

It is in this context (of fraud and national incomes embezzlement) that social injustice has become more and more noticeable in this country where a member of the Parliament (or a minister in charge of a sector within the government) is paid more or less USD 12, 000. 00 per month while a university professor's salary is worth USD 2,000. 00 and, according to the Direction of salaries payment within the Secretariat General of the Ministry of Budget (September 2018), other government officials are paid the following salaries per month:

- Secretary General: CDF 140, 415. 45 (or USD 85,8)
- Director of an office: CDF 123, 731. 38 (or USD 75, 4)
- Head of division: CDF 120, 738. 56 (or USD 73,8)
- Head of a department: CDF 118, 231. 88 (or USD 72, 1)

One is not mistaken to conclude that, like Mobutu, Joseph Kabila was simply concerned with his own security and prosperity rather than his people and country's. That is selfish. Simply put, failing to put people's wellbeing and country's true development in the centre of his agenda is undoubtedly unethical.

3.5 Conclusion

Through his Christmas message to church members in Bukavu on 25 December 1999, late Roman catholic archbishop Emmanuel Kataliko aptly expressed his pains to notice that the poor are many (quoting from Sawyer, one may rightfully conjecture) in the DRC and their conditions of life keep on shrinking without hope for changes. In the eyes of many fair observers, people's plight in this country has been an outstanding issue in the eyes of many fair observers since social questions seem to be of less importance so far on the agenda of their political leaders.

As acknowledged by the DRC government itself (2016:15), Congolese households have been growing poorer and poorer with seven in ten among them being poor in urban areas, eight in rural ones. I personally did not agree with the figures mentioned in the DRC government's Document de la Stratégie de Croissance et de Réduction de la Pauvreté/Document of Growth Strategy and Poverty Reduction in the DRC. Viewing the real situation in my country, more than eight households out of ten are poor in this country.

Many voices among whom Munduku (2007), Yoka (2011), the Congolese Roman catholic bishops (2017) and Mukwege (2018) stigmatize the paradox of people living in a dire poverty in a country (DRC) full of potentials such as forests, fertile lands, fishful lakes and rivers, timber and minerals. Undoubtedly, these Congolese people are exposed to endless nightmares caused by hunger, malnutrition, sanitation problems, diseases, lack of appropriate lodgings, forced migration (inside and/or outside the country) and insignificant salaries paid to those who are employed.

A UNDP report (2016) reads:

The Democratic Republic of Congo is one of the poorest country in the world with more than 70 percent of its population below the poverty line. A large part of the population lives on less than two dollars a day. The gross national income per capita is 160 dollars... Primary education is not free in DRC. The costs of education are almost high as per capita income, and because of this, very few children are educated. Among adults, more than half of the population has never gone to school or progressed past primary school. Only fifty percent of children aged 6 to 11 go to primary school. .

Such unacceptable situation (described by UNDP) is due to the fact that from Independence to 2018, political leadership in this country has been “characterized by personalization and centralization. Besides, the management of public affairs is founded on the model which consists of accumulating wealth and public incomes by some individuals (within the circle of leaders in power) to the detriment of the national community... This system which has resulted in the destruction of the nation raises a fundamental issue of the responsibility of leaders in the management of community resources. It raises also an issue of the goal of the power. The solution is not to be sought in the stabilization policy or in structural adjustment programs but in the management of the national resources according to the Word of God. ” (Bondo Landu, quoted by N’Kwim Bibi-Bikan, 2016:14-15)

That is true. Congolese people need political leaders who can manage their country abiding by Biblical ethical principles of responsibility and accountability as taught out of Genesis 2:18 and Matthew 25. They do need leaders filled with the desire to be blessings for many others (Gn 12: 2b) and to contribute to make the *basilea tou theou* (reign of God, whose tokens are love, justice, peaceful living together, forgiveness, honesty, humility...) become a visible reality in this country.

Rightfully, N’Kwim Bibi Bikan (2016:31) believes that God’s reign is not to be understood as exclusively future but as both future and already present. He writes:

Something totally new is happening, the eruption of a new era, of a new order of life. God's reign is not intended for those who regard themselves as VIPs, but for those living in the margins, for those who are suffering, for tax-collectors and sinners, for widows and children, for those who are suffering injustice from bad government and evil rich (leaders), for those who have lost their families, houses, countries and jobs because of war, for those who need to study but they have no money (for their education), for those who go to work (regularly) but get insignificant salaries and for those who are sick but have no money to go to hospital.

How can a new political leadership (reflective of Jesus 'Christ, a King who came to serve, not to be served and to suffer for the sake of others) be developed and implemented in the DRC? How can new Congolese leaders be instruments of *basilea tou theou* in their country? What can be the role of the church? These questions are at the core of the present study in the following chapter.

In the meantime, I do believe that Christian ethical education should be the main source from which helpful materials are to be drawn and used as part of new Congolese citizenship and leadership education. As indicated previously (see Mualaba Citala 2014), traditional African ethics of life and brotherhood as well as the South African Ubuntu insights can also be of valuable contribution (beside Christian ethics, of course) to forge new Congolese ethics of citizenship and leadership.

CHAPTER 4 THE CONTRIBUTION OF CHRISTIAN ETHICS TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF NEW CONGOLESE LEADERSHIP. THE ROLE OF THE CHURCH

4.1 Introduction

Koopman (2017:379) argues that as part of civil society institutions, churches are expected to engage in “healing the wounds [of people] and alienation manifest in a variety of ways”. That is to say, they (churches) should try to find solutions to the benefit of those who are affected physically (by diseases), those who have psychological problems, those who socially are victims of segregations and discriminations in all their different forms, those who “are alienated and excluded from participation in life-giving economic processes” and those who, politically “are estranged from participation processes that affect their lives”. In line with Koopman, Rheeder (2017:357) points first to the kingdom of God in this world before reminding God’s mission given to His church—the *mission Dei*—when he aptly writes what follows:

God rules the world in Christ and He uses citizens within societal relationships to serve society. Millions of poor, hungry, sick, unemployed, weakened and destitute children, elderly persons, men and women all over the world wait on the message of hope and encouragement, as well as the assistance that can come from Christian organizations and institutions.

The above appeals (Koopman and Rheeder’s) sound in my ears to be sent particularly to Christian citizens and churches in the DRC at this very start of Felix Tshisekedi (fifth president since Independence)’s administration. However, what roles Congolese Christians have played individually or within their respective churches as subjects and actors through their own country’s history from Independence (1960) to 2018? What influence have Congolese churches had so far in raising political, economic, social and environmental questions and in contributing to bring answers?

This chapter attempts to focus on these questions and some correlated ones. The assumption is that Congolese Christians as well as their churches (as a whole) played different remarkable roles in their endeavours to fulfil the *missio Dei* in their country. This point is of view shared by Banze (1998) who had reflected on the impact of Christian churches on the socio-cultural life in the DRC. Banze (1998:133) concluded his study by stating that Christian churches “largely influenced” the Congolese society and “[they] contributed to the improvement [of people] in different ways”, though not satisfactorily at 100 percentage, may I add.

The content of this chapter comprises the following sub-points:

- (1) The Bible and the role of the church
- (2) The church and its mission through history
- (3) Evaluating the role of the church of Christ in the DRC from 1960 to 2018
- (4) “We will build a country more beautiful than before”.

4.2 The Bible and the role of the church

What we need to know about the role of the church in this world is soundly written in the Bible. In summary, the Bible teaches that the church has received mandate/mission from God to go and disciple the entire world (Mt 28:30) about His kingdom i. e. the reign of God, His governance on this earth, pointing and leading to His everlasting realm.

JM Vorster (2017b:17) notes:

The phrase ‘kingdom of God’ does not occur in the Old Testament. [...] In the New Testament several different expressions can be found describing the kingdom of God: kingdom of Heaven (Mt3,2; 4:17, 5:19, 18:1, 4); kingdom of God (Mt 6:33; Lk 12:31; Mk 1:14); kingdom of Christ (Lk 22:30; Cl 1:13); kingdom of God and of Christ (Ep 5:5); kingdom (1 Cr 15:24; Jm 2:5; Rv 1:9); and kingdom of the Father (Mt 13:43, 26:29; Lk 12:32).

What is the kingdom of God, one may ask? JM Vorster (2017b:19) answers that “the kingdom of God is a kingdom of love [...]. [It] is like a diamond with many facets which are, among others, the love of God and fellow human beings, reconciliation, justice, transformation of discriminatory society, uplift[ing] of the poor and the destitute, hope and peace”. In a word, the church of Christ’s main role in this world is to preach (words) and live (actions) the kingdom of God.

4.3 The church and its mission among humankind through history

In his study titled *The church as a transformation and change agent*, Pillay (2017) deals with the mission of the church through history in three different periods namely the early church period, the medieval church and the reformation. Then, Pillay shifts to focus on “the church as transformation and change agency in South Africa”. In line with Pillay, Shelley (quoted through <https://www.allaboutreligion.org/church-history.htm>, Date of Access: 28 May 2019) depicts the following periods:

- (1) The Time of Jesus and the Apostles/early church (30-70 AD);
- (2) The Age of Catholic Christianity (70-312);
- (3) The Age of the Christian Empire (312-590);
- (4) The Middle Ages (590-1517);
- (5) The Age of Reformation (1517-1648);
- (6) The Age of Reason and Revival (1648-1789);
- (7) The Age of Progress (1789-1914);
- (8) The Age of ideologies... (1912-current)

This study in the area of ethics is not intended to delve into all the above mentioned periods of the church, rather to examine how the church has struggled to fulfil the *missio Dei* with all its implications in the society throughout the history. Attempts will be to confront what the church in the DRC has done to the church of Christ's achievement through the history in order to find out and propose an ethical-theological paradigm for the churches within the civil society in this country. The following lines focus on the early church period, the medieval church and the reformation era.

4.3.1 The early church (30-70 AD)

The socio-economic and political factors of the day within the society in which Jesus and apostles functioned greatly influenced the teachings of Jesus and his disciples. As part of that society which was characterized by social and group distinctions, the Pharisees and Sadducees were known for their self-indulgence and greed (Mt 23:25-33), their oppression and exploitation of the poor peasants. In the words of Pillay (see above),

Jesus' preaching about the 'Kingdom' made it abundantly clear that God took seriously the concerns of the poor and needy: the poor would be blessed in the realisation that the 'Kingdom of God' was theirs (Lk 6:20-26); even tax collectors and harlots would gain entry before those who appeared to be religious and respectable (Mt 21:31-32), and the rich and saturated would become acquainted with want and hunger. The arrival of the 'Kingdom' contained the seeds of economic revolution and social reversal. With all these we, however, do not find a 'pattern' of a fully orbbed programme to transform society in the life of the early church. This, however,

radically changed when the church moved out beyond the borders of the Graeco-Roman frontiers.

In my view, the early church (Acts1-4) remains an example to emulate by churches in the world today and in the DRC in particular. In other words, DRC churches members need to **act under the direction and control of the Holy Spirit** (like early church members) so that they can devote their whole hearts and minds to doing God's will. Straightforwardly, one can learn out of the book of Acts that early church members were:

1. **Devoted in prayer** (Acts1:14; 4:24), asking God for boldness to preach the truth of the Gospel. Pouring out their hearts to God and sharing their desires with Him, they had great expectations that God would do wonders as they remained true to the teachings of Jesus, struggling to be in service of the truth and looking for the well-being of their fellows.
2. **Bold in their telling and acting** (Acts 3:14-15). Used 31 times in Acts, the word boldness means openly, frankly, without ambiguity, free and fearless confidence.
3. **One heart and one mind**. Arguably, one of the most debilitating obstacles to community is selfishness. Acts 2: 44 teaches that early church members were devoted themselves to God and to one another. Their love for others compelled them to share their faith and to minister to others needs. Their witnessing was actually an act of compassion and obedience. The disciples loved one another and their priority was not the things of this world. They put one another and other people's needs first.

The above is what Congolese Christians are to strive to imitate (under the assistance of the Holy Spirit, of course).

4.3.2 The medieval church

World history acknowledges that the church was the most powerful institution in medieval life and its influence was reaching almost every aspect of people's lives. (British Library, <https://www.bl.uk/learning/timeline/item100359.html>, Date of access: 7 July 2019).

In the words of Trueman (2015), "all medieval people – be they village peasants or towns people – believed that God, heaven and hell all existed. From the very earliest ages, the people were taught that the only way they could get to heaven was if the Roman Catholic Church let them." (<https://www.historylearningsite.co.uk/medieval-england/the-medieval-church/>, Date of access: 7 July 2019).

The control that the medieval church had over the people was total. Consequently, peasants were terrified of hell and they had to work for free on most church lands, producing crops and food for the church clergies instead of their own families. Besides, they had to pay a tax called “tithes” i. e. 10 percent of their earnings (either in goods or in money) to church. Trueman (See above) adds:

What the church got in tithes was kept in huge tithe barns; a lot of the stored grain would have been eaten by rats or poisoned by their urine. A failure to pay tithes, so the peasants were told by the church, would lead to their souls going to hell after they had died.

It is worth reminding that in line with Scriptures the Church of Christ is expected to stand at the forefront of caring for the poor, the widows and destitute orphans rather than making itself powerful and wealthy, as did the medieval church, by exploiting and cheating people using false teachings.

Kaiser (2013) sadly notices that in some parts of the world “the poor have suffered due to those in the Church who without warrant preach the health, wealth, and prosperity gospel, incorrectly stating that God wants everyone to be equally rich. Proclaiming this false gospel turns out to be a get-rich-quick scheme for those who lead the movement while the benefits rarely—if ever rarely—reach those at the bottom of the pile, and this is done in the name of the Almighty!”

There is nothing wrong for a church (and/or its members) to be wealthy by organizing honestly some incomes generating or community development activities. Conversely, it is biblically unethical if the Word of God is deliberately misused to teach and exploit people in order to get wealth. In this regard, it is my view that the medieval church cannot be an ethical paradigm to be imitated by churches in my country (and elsewhere). Sadly, what one can notice in some Congolese churches does not make them different from the medieval church since the above characteristics (mentioned by Kaiser) are visible in most of them.

To echo Kä Mana, I am for the “reconstruction of mission in Africa” and in the DRC in particular. Kä Mana (quoted by Njeri Mwaura, 2008) asks Congolese Christians “to be in the service of justice, peace and reconciliation” through Jesus-Christ without whom Congolese themselves will do nothing (Jn 15:5, Ps. 127:1-2). To quote Ngindu-Mushete (2012:15-21), “reconstruction” and “liberation” are synonymous words. According to this late Roman catholic scholar (and priest) poverty, tribalism, political instability and corruption are part of outstanding challenges that churches in Africa are facing. Wherefrom a need to deconstruct and, then, reconstruct theologies in Africa today.

In the words of Dedji (2001), “the theology of reconstruction in Africa consists in training ‘anti-crisis human beings’ who are equipped with new models of rational, ethical and spiritual convictions. This implies first the re-evangelization of the institutions and structures that determine the existence of African societies today, and second the re-orientation of global *imaginaire* of African people according to the fundamental vision of humankind that the Word of God proposes through the revelation of a ‘new reality’ embodied by Jesus-Christ.” (https://brill.com/view/journals/jra/31/3/article-p254_3.xml Date of access: 20 August 2019)

Further studies will, God willing, try to focus on Kä Mana’s theology of reconstruction as well as the concept of *imaginaire*.

4.3.2 The Age of Reformation (1517-1648)

Church history studies note that a young priest named Martin Luther nailed, on 31 October 1517, his ninety-five theses on the church door in the little town of Wittenberg in Germany. Within the week, copies of Luther’s thesis were “discussed throughout the surrounding regions; and within a decade, Europe itself was shaken by his simple act. Later generations would mark Luther’s nailing of the 95 theses on the church door as the beginning of the protestant Reformation.” (Anonymous, <https://www.christianity.com/wiki/history/luther-posted-95-theses-11629921.html>, Date of access: 13 August 2019). Why did Martin Luther write his thesis? Let us borrow the answer from the following lines:

The glorious truth of justification by faith alone had become buried under a mound of greed, corruption, and false teaching. Most galling was the practice of indulgences -- the certificates the church provided, for a fee, supposedly to shorten one's stay in Purgatory. The pope was encouraging the sale of indulgences. He planned to use the money to help pay for the building of St. Peter's Basilica in Rome. Johann Tetzel was one of the indulgence sellers in Luther's vicinity. He used little advertising jingles to encourage people to buy his wares: "As soon as the coin in the coffer rings, the soul from purgatory springs. " Once Luther realized the sufficiency of Christ’s sacrifice alone for our sins, he found such practices revolting. The more he studied the Scriptures, the more he saw the need of showing the church how it had strayed from the truth...Luther apparently at first expected the pope to agree with his position since it was based on Scripture; but in 1520, the Pope issued a decree condemning Luther's views. Luther publicly burned the papal decree. With that act, he also burned his bridges behind him. (Anonymous, see above).

In his essay titled “Martin Luther’s teaching and practice of charity and social ethics”, Torvend argues that the rise of social history and the use of social scientific methods drew “attention to the economic, political, and social context in which Luther lived and to which he responded throughout his life. The reformer’s works on charity and social ethics did not emerge in a

vacuum. His initial public foray focused on the 'spiritual economy' of the late medieval church, which discriminated against many of Luther's poor parishioners. While the ninety-five theses raised serious questions about the sacrament of penance, the role of indulgences, and the authority of the pope, the text also reveals Luther's early concern for the poor, who were frightened into buying spiritual favours for themselves or their dead relatives [...] A remarkable achievement of Luther's reform was a revolutionary change in social assistance". (<https://oxfordre.com/religion/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780199340378.001.0001/acrefore-9780199340378-e-366>, Date of access: 13 August 2019).

Quoting from Luther, Forell underlines that "a Christian is a perfectly free lord of all, subject to none, a Christian is a perfectly dutiful servant, subject to all." He adds that "the one and only thing necessary for Christian life is righteousness, and freedom. That one thing is the most holy of Word of God, the Gospel of Christ." (<https://www.elca.org/JLE/Articles/990>, Date of access: 19 August 2019).

It is worth reminding that the message of God's grace is central to John Calvin's teachings. In the words of Weng (2017), "Calvin first grounds his theology of grace of Christ and its necessary consequence of freedom (Inst. 3. 19) /1/ before he addresses the problem of oppressive laws and tyranny (Inst. 4. 10). He then elaborates on the external means or aids by which God invites us into the society of Christ and upholds us as we engage with wider society (Inst. 4. 20)." (<https://krisispraxis.com/archives/2017/10/john-calvins-social-theology-in-context-part-14/> Date of access: 13 August 2019)

Writing in a daily under "Education and Society", Feuerherd (2017) notes that John Calvin's ideas "based upon his study of the Bible captured adherents from around the Christian world as Geneva became a center of protestant thought. He became known as a proponent of predestination i. e. the belief that God's rewards for humans have already been selected. It was later frequently invoked to by wealthy Christians to justify their opulence as part of God's plan that should not be disturbed by revolutions or high taxes... Calvin's vision involved a humanistic approach that included a revolutionary look at social questions." (<https://daily.jstor.org/john-calvin-religious-reformer-influenced-capitalism/> Date of access: 13 August 2019)

In line with the above, Freudenberg (2009) writes:

According to John Calvin, not only faith and the church but also life as such are in constant need of renewal by the word of God [...] The church of Jesus Christ exists in a world in which poverty and wealth, and unjust and just circumstances can be perceived and identified. From its inception an identity marker of the Christian church was to be defender and partner of the weak and the destitute. This applies to Christianity in its worldwide dimensions as well as in its Christian

social service of relieving need locally and in a broader context. *Diakonia* (Christian social service), especially when embedded in the local congregation, is an important aspect of church life.

In the words of Tanner (2013), “John Calvin towered above his contemporaries as a statesman, an educator, a theologian, and most of all, a minister of the Word of God. John Calvin’s ‘bombshell’ was based on the absolute sovereignty of God” as it is taught out of Psalm 24:1. The sovereignty of God means that as Creator of earth and heaven, He owns men and everything that exist both on earth and in heaven. Besides, nothing happens in the universe apart from His will. So, God is the only one worth of praise and worship (not a human being, please, in spite of his/her political position, his/her social or church influence).

Tanner (see above) argues that “as a statesman, Calvin planted seeds for the freedom enjoyed by later generations. Bloody wars for religious freedom in Europe set the stage for America’s war for political freedom. American colonists, two-thirds of whom were Calvinists, had been raised on the Geneva Bible and the teachings of John Calvin. The three churches of colonial America—the Congregationalist, the Presbyterian, and the Episcopalian—were all thoroughly Calvinistic”

The above lines attempt to show that our Reformation fathers were also concerned with the social and political questions which were outstanding in their respective milieu. The present study attempts to suggest that Luther and Calvin’s involvement to contribute to find out some solutions to social and political questions be emulated by church leaders and Congolese Christians, and their teachings pertaining to social issues in human societies be used as valuable insights throughout Felix Tshisekedi’s era (and after it, as many Congolese nationals wish).

4.3.3 Social changes after Reformation

Through an article titled “The afterlives of the Reformation, 16th to 21st century”, University libraries notes that the protestant reformation is acknowledged “to have shaped features of Western culture, including freedom of religion, freedom of conscience, the dignity of the individual and political democracy [...] Above all, it has resulted in the creation of many different protestant faiths and churches around the world[...]through Africa, Asia, and Latin America, while continuing to have a strong presence in Europe and North America”. <https://speccoll.library.arizona.edu/online-exhibits/exhibits/show/reformation/afterlife-of-the-reformation> Date of access: 30 August 2019).

It is known that what caused the division between Catholics and Protestants was the doctrine of justification. But 500 years after Martin Luther, does the protestant Reformation still matter? This

question was asked by Miller (2017). He answered that the commemoration of the 500th anniversary of the protestant Reformation “marks a dramatic shift, as never in history have old wounds between traditions felt closer to healing” (<https://study.com/academy/lesson/life-after-the-reformation-protestant-influence-on-society.html> Date of access: 30 August 2019).

In line with the above, Hintikka (quoted by Withrow) notes that there is more that unite Catholics and Protestants today than divide them; “globally and locally [they] have been in dialogue for fifty years [...] now that chasm between Protestants and Catholics appears to be closing, Pope Francis once surprised reporters by calling Luther a ‘reformer’ who rightly protested the ‘corruption of the church’ though ‘some methods were not correct’”. (<https://www.thedailybeast.com/500-years-after-martin-luther-does-the-protestant-reformation-still-matter> Date of access: 30 August 2019).

Given the aim of this research (i.e to evaluate the state of leadership and citizenship in the Democratic Republic of Congo—DRC---from Independence to present and to apply Christian-ethical principles to develop new Congolese leadership and citizenship today), I refrain to spread out over the above statements, hoping to delve into the period after Reformation in further studies.

4.4 Evaluating the role of the church of Christ in the DRC from 1960 to 2018

In terms of article 22 of its Constitution, the DRC is a lay country. Nonetheless, investigations reveal that “the majority of the population of the Democratic Republic of the Congo is Christian.” (Anonymous, <https://www.worldatlas.com/articles/religious-beliefs-in-the-democratic-republic-of-the-congo-congo-kinshasa.html>, Date of access: 16 September 2019).

Besides, the name of God is rarely omitted in most of the speeches of the DRC presidents from Kasavubu to Joseph Kabila (even lastly—24 January 2019—by Felix Tshisekedi). Expressions such as “With the support of God we will...”; “May God bless our country”; “We trust that God will...” and some biblical phrases occur frequently in different addresses by Congolese presidents. In addition, it is a fact that a worship service is always organized on the commemoration of main national events such as Independence Day (30 June), the assassination of Lumumba (17 January) and the assassination of LD Kabila (16 January). Above all, one can read in the preamble of the Constitution (2006/2011) that Congolese swear to be “conscious of our responsibility in front of the nation, of Africa and of God.”

From the above, one may arguably conclude that notwithstanding its lay status, the DRC is a Christian nation. As said earlier, the visibility of churches in this country and their impact in different spheres of the populations’ life are realities which cannot be denied. But, in my view, a

gap is still remaining as far as preaching and living Jesus' ethics is concerned. The following lines attempt to focus on the role played by churches as social agent and their relations with political leaders in the search of responses to outstanding social and political questions raised in this country from Independence (30 June 1960) to December 2018.

4.4.1 The church during Kasavubu's administration

At the outset, it should be noted that Congolese political leaders who took over their country after the Belgian colonizers departed were politically immature. To paraphrase Ndaywel (2015), they did not really understand what to be independent meant since they were not prepared to embrace political life at all levels of the country's administration and to lead such a massive State with lots of challenges. As a consequence, the five years of Kasavubu's leadership were characterized by misunderstandings, conflicts, fraternal fights and confusions among politicians in office. These resulted first in the assassination of Lumumba in Lubumbashi on 17 January 1961, and then Mobutu's *coup d'Etat* on 24 April 1965.

In the meantime, churches were, on their side, unable to be the "light" and "salt" of the world. In plain English, they failed to deal with the conflicts among their fellow political leaders; they did not even try to seek mutual understanding and reconciliation among politicians in conflicts by preaching Biblical virtues such as love, humility, brotherhood and togetherness which those men (and women) in office needed in order to "build a country more beautiful than before".

Why did Congolese churches fail to fulfil such a divine mission? The answer can be that most of Congolese church leaders (who took over after white missionaries departed) were not prepared either to fulfil such a mission. Nearly all of them had no clear understanding of the kingdom of God in all its facets—as defined earlier by Koopman, Rheeder and Vorster. Interviewed at the RTNC in November 2018, Kä Mana made it clear that the theological training received by Congolese priests had a medieval era's church teachings as bedrock. Besides, it was more speculative, dogmatic and apologetic than pragmatic.

In the protestant schools and colleges, much emphasis was put on such teachings as obedience, humility, seeking the kingdom of God to come and avoiding to nose in the business of "Cesar" (Lk 20:25, literal comprehension). In a word, the theological training and biblical teachings heritage (left by white lecturers and preachers) did not lead to self-consciousness and responsibility (Max Weber) on the side of Congolese Christians and most of church leaders during Kasavubu's administration.

4.4.2 From Mobutu's era to present

Some of Congolese Roman catholic Church priests had the opportunity to travel abroad to further their research in different areas of studies such as theology, anthropology, sociology, history and public administration as well. Among them mention is made of Joseph Malula (1917-1989) in particular.

Through the *Dictionary of African Christian biography* (<https://dacb.org/stories/democratic-republic-of-congo/malula-joseph/>, Date of access: 6 June 2019), Brockman arguably expands on Malula's education and ministry. In line with him, different studies on DRC history acknowledge that Joseph Malula was the first Congolese priest who openly expressed his opposition against Mobutu as stated in the following lines:

In particular, Cardinal Joseph-Albert Malula, Archbishop of Kinshasa (the nation's capital) from 1964 to 1989, clashed frequently with the regime. At a Mass commemorating the tenth anniversary of the nation's independence, the cardinal, in Mobutu's presence, denounced the nation's rulers for enriching themselves at the expense of the impoverished population. When Mobutu ordered all Christians to change their baptismal names to non-Christian names, the cardinal told the other bishops to ignore the order. (Catholic World News, <https://www.catholicculture.org/news/headlines/index.cfm?storyid=7047>, Date of access: 10 September 2019).

In De Saint Moulin's own words, "Cardinal Malula is a founder of African churches and of the churches of Kinshasa in particular. He is a father of these churches and a reference as far as African patrology is concerned." (1997:7)

Brockman (See above) informs that "in 1958, Malula became the acknowledged leader of the black clergy following a speech at the Léopoldville exhibition on the place of the church in Congolese society." Through an article titled "Joseph Cardinal Malula, 71, dies", *The New York Times* (15 June 1989: 24) adds that Malula

Was appointed Archbishop of Kinshasa, the capital, in 1964. Five years later, Pope Paul VI elevated him to cardinal. In the early 1970's, President Mobutu Sese Seko began an *Africanization* program that tried to sharply curtail the power of the church. Baptismal names were banned, teaching of religion was abolished in all schools, and catholic bishops were barred from holding meetings or travelling in the country. Malula protested, was denounced by Mobutu, and went into exile in Rome after the government closed his official residence. The restrictions imposed by the President proved unpopular and were gradually lifted. The Cardinal returned to the country and the church and state began a reconciliation. (<https://www.nytimes.com/1989/06/15/obituaries/joseph-cardinal-malula-71-dies.html> Date of access: 28 August 2019)

From the above, one is not mistaken to conclude that Malula's attitudes and ways were rooted in the theology of resistance (Fuchs) and that of liberation(Gutierrez)'s teachings. Researchers in the area of the DRC's history (for example Léon de Saint Moulin, Kambayi Bwatshia, Mutamba, Ndaywel as well as Kabongo Mbaya) acknowledge this Congolese bishop as a pioneer of the Congolese people's opposition against Mobutu's dictatorial manners and oppression acts *vis-à-vis* the populations. Arguably, no fair study in the areas of history and politics of the DRC can deny that Malula's teachings served in terms of insights and ground to the first political opposition movement--named *Union pour la Démocratie et le Progrès Social* (UDPS) in 1982--which successfully attempted to raise Congolese nationals' consciousness to their own emancipation against a Mobutu's regime.

As he realized that the Roman catholic church and Malula in particular were a threat *vis-à-vis* his power, Mobutu reasoned to fight along with another biblical-faith based organization. Komi (2011) indicates that in his search of allies Mobutu succeeded to draw protestant churches behind him, wherefrom the birth of the protestant platform named *Eglise du Christ au Zaire* (today *Eglise du Christ au Congo*/ the Church of Christ in Congo, ECC).

At the very start, the presidency of ECC was handed to the methodist Reverend Pierre Shaumba, then in 1968 to Reverend Bokeleale (from the Disciples of Christ's denomination). It is worth reminding that this platform replaced the white missionaries' *Conseil des églises protestants*/Council of protestant churches which was convened when needed just to share about progress and challenges of different protestant missions in Congo.

Simply put, ECC was imagined in order to weaken most of protestant denominations, to destroy their manners of governing the church (i. e. the bottom- up system) and to have a dictatorial leadership characterized by a top-down administration whose mandate was to control each and all protestant denominations leaders and to silence Zairean protestant citizens whose voices and actions were suspected to be critical against Mobutu and his regime. As a consequence, some protestant theologians who attempted to express their opposition against ECC's administration which, in the words of Munduku (2012), "was (and is) in discrepancy with reformation fathers' teachings", exposed themselves to such punishments as dismissal from their positions in church and/or in their protestant faith based colleges/universities or even forced to flee and become asylum seekers overseas.

In line with Munduku (2012) and Mengi (2011), I personally fail to understand how could a political leader succeed to divide the church of Christ in his country and this division between the Congolese Roman catholic and protestant churches is still visible up to these days in spite

of the so-called ecumenical gatherings under the auspices of the world ecumenical council of churches. In plain English, when churches are needed to voice against such evils as corruption, injustice, shrewdness and violation of laws by political leaders in this country from Independence to present, protestant churches leaders as well as Kimbanguists' always stay behind, reminiscent of times when Roman Catholic missionaries were siding with the white colonizers who were cutting people's hands, burning entire villages and mistreating natives in various ways, as testified in the following:

The baskets of several hands, set down at the feet of the European post commanders, became the symbol of the Congo Free State, describes US author Peter Forbath in the *River Congo*, a classic on the region's exploration. Collecting hands became an end in itself. Soldiers of the *Force Publique* (the local "army", paid by Leopold II) brought the hands to the stations, instead of rubber. To make up for the low production, troops began to use hands as currency—chopping them was a way of punishing workers who did not fulfill their quotas, and, at the same time, served to show that soldiers were doing their part in exerting pressure over the local population to ensure the fulfilment of these quotas. (Brum, <https://www.gazetadopovo.com.br/wisep-news/how-belgium-cut-off-hands-and-arms-and-killed-over-15-million-in-africa/>, Date of access: 10 September 2019)

Through his classes of pastorals at the faculty of theology within the UPC, Professor Mengi (now retired) used to express his sadness to notice that the "divided church of Christ" remains unable to assist in the common efforts of Congolese nationals to make their common dreams become flesh. "*Ekelezia wa Yesu Kilisto udi ukenga mu ditunga dietu*", said one of my Presbyterian ministers through his sermon in Tshiluba (one of the four Congolese national languages) many years back. That means: "Jesus Christ's church is suffering in our country."

As indicated above, the Roman catholic church in the DRC has been striving to present to play its prophetic role but other churches existing on the ground (namely the protestant denominations---which are part of the ECC--, the charismatic and revival churches as well as churches of the African origins) are always reluctant, if not critical and totally absent, to join in that mission. It is worth reminding that God's mission is "holistic mission to save humankind in Christ through the sent church." (Fohle 2018:32).

The present study attempts to appeal to the church of Christ in the DRC in all its forms and confessions to be conscious of its mandate received from God to foster the implementation of His kingdom (in all its facets) in this country, to be an example of oneness and true brotherhood taught by Jesus the Lord. Failing to be an example by joining hands together in teaching Christian ethics (of love, brotherhood, servant hood, togetherness, humility, justice, peace, forgiveness and responsibility) in words and actions is, to my mind, one of the reasons why the

Congolese common dream to “build a country more beautiful than before” has not been achieved so far.

4.5 “We will build a country more beautiful than before”

This dream/pledge has been sung by Congolese people via their national anthem titled “*Debout Congolais/Stand up Congolese*” from Independence day (30 June 1960) to 1972, then from 1997 to present. From 1972 to 1997, this country’s national anthem was “*La Zairoise*” (so as to agree with changes initiated by Mobutu). As mentioned previously, the name of the country itself became “Zaire”.

Here after is the English translation of this national anthem (adapted from <https://lyricstranslate.com/en/congolese-national-anthem-debout-congolaise-arise-congolese.html>, Date of access: 20 August 2019).

“Stand up Congolese”

Stand up Congolese,

United by fate,

United in the struggle for independence,

Let us hold up our heads, so long bowed,

*And now, for good, let us keep moving boldly ahead, in **peace**.*

Oh, bright people, by hard work we shall build,

*In peace, a country more **beautiful** than before.*

(Verse)

*Countrymen, sing the sacred hymn of your **solidarity**,*

Proudly salute the golden emblem of your sovereignty, Congo.

(Refrain)

Blessed gift Congo of our forefathers Congo,

*Oh country Congo that we **love** Congo,*

*We shall people your soil and ensure your **greatness**.*

30th June, oh gentle sun,

30th June of 30th June

(May) *Sacred day be witness,*

*Sacred day of the immortal oath of **freedom***

That we hand on to our children forever.

³ Original French lyrics of this anthem can be found in the appendices

The title of the DRC national anthem itself contains an ethical message since it is an invitation to Congolese nationals to “stand up” (rather than to stay asleep), which means to be active, to think and work in order to “build a country more beautiful than before” Independence.

The whole lyrics contains values such as unity, greatness, peace, solidarity, love and liberty. Needless to say, these values totally agree and match with Christian education content. God willing, I will try to spread over this national song in the biblical ethical perspective in further studies. In the meantime, I appeal once again to Congolese churches of Christ as well as Christian individuals and organizations to strive to be a sermon of the kingdom of God in words and actions so as to contribute to make the above mentioned Congolese people’s common dream a reality.

4.6 Conclusion

From Independence to 2018, the DRC has had five different political administrations respectively under Kasavubu (1960-1965), Mobutu (1965-1997), LD Kabila (1997-2001) and Joseph Kabila (2001-2018). Yet, the common dream to “build a country more beautiful than before” is still far from becoming flesh. Attentive observers rightfully notice that the number of poor is increasing endlessly in this country and their conditions of life keep on shrinking without hope for changes. As already indicated, Congolese people’s plight has been an outstanding issue in the eyes of many fair observers since social questions seem to be of less importance so far on the agenda of their political leaders.

To my mind, a new leadership which can be aware of its responsibility and engage in seeking responses to outstanding social, economic and political issues is really needed in the DRC today. I do believe that **Christian ethics should be the key to be used to develop new citizenship and leadership in this country full of potentials**. The churches of Christ as a whole (putting aside their dogmas and different confessions) need to **unit** in order to preach, to teach and to live biblical-ethical virtues of love, forgiveness, togetherness, brotherhood, reconciliation, stewardship, justice and peace in response to their divine call and mission (Fohle 2018: 32) for the glory of God and to the benefit of His beloved children in this country.

CHAPTER 5 CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

How can Christian-ethics contribute to “new” Congolese leadership and citizenship development? That is the main question on which this research has focused.

Sub-questions deriving from this question/problem statement have been:

- What is meant by Christian ethics? Leadership? And citizenship?
- How can Congolese leadership and citizenship since Independence (1960) be appraised?
- How can Christian-ethical principles pertaining to leadership and citizenship be utilized to address outstanding social questions in the DRC? What is the role of the church in this regard?

Quoting from UN members’ General Assembly, Mountain (2010: 26) notes that DRC indicators were “among the worst in the world—and not only in the east of the country where the world is aware of the conflicts and humanitarian crisis but in the west too.” Mountain adds that this country “has all the makings of providing an economic motor for Africa but the brakes on its progress are, most importantly, governance and state authority, security and infrastructure, all of which are chronically weak. From the perspective of the international community, there is a disappointing lack of political leadership and vision.”

Diallo and Malu-Malu (2015: 63-67) provide an insightful summary of the political story of the DRC from independence to 2018. Here is an excerpt of their accounts:

The country’s hard-won independence was proclaimed on 30 June 1960 in the wake of bloody riots that led to the convocation of a round table conference in the Brussels. The first government was presided over by Kasa-Vubu, as head of state, and Patrice Lumumba as prime minister. But dissension between the two men arose in September 1960. Various secessions were proclaimed, the most dangerous of them undoubtedly the Katanga secession, organised and managed by Moïse Tshombe with the blessing of Belgian business interests. Lumumba died on 17 January 1961 under mysterious circumstances that have still not been cleared up [...] Mobutu seized power on 24 November 1965. He remained in power until May 1997. As the army chief of staff, Mobutu Sese Seko had played a significant role in putting out the fires of dissent, but once he took over he soon fell into despotism [...] The Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo-Zaire (AFDLC), a rebel movement led by Laurent Désiré [...] seized power on 17 May 1997 following Marshal Mobutu Sese Seko’s flight [to Morocco] the day before. Laurent-Désiré Kabila was assassinated on 16 January 2001 by one of his bodyguards in his official residence in Kinshasa [...] Kabila’s closest advisors designated his son, [Joseph Kabila], as his successor. The interim period ended in

December 2006 following presidential and legislative elections won overwhelmingly by the People's Party for Reconstruction and Democracy (PPRD) Joseph Kabila won the presidential election, with 58.05 % of votes cast compared to 41.95% for Jean Pierre Bemba, former rebel leader [...]. 28 November 2011, Joseph Kabila was re-elected with 48.95% of votes after a single round of voting pitting him against ten rivals, including Etienne Tshisekedi, president of the Union for Democracy and Social Progress (UDPS), [whose son, Félix Tshisekedi Tshilombo, won presidential elections held in November 2018].

Through its December 2015 and January 2016 issue, *The Africa Report* rightfully defines the Democratic Republic of Congo as “a country of superlatives”, located on “a huge territory in the heart of Africa, the second largest country on the continent. Nature has been generous in giving it arable land, a tropical rainforest and abundant mineral wealth. ” (2015/2016: 24).

Preaching on 16 January 2018 in Kinshasa in the presence of state officials in office and members of presidential family (on the occasion of the commemoration of LD Kabila's assassination), François Ekofo was not mistaken to replace the word “nature” (used in the above quote) by “God”. He took Deuteronomy 10:14 and psalm 115:16 as key verses in order to remind his Congolese fellows that

God gave the management of this country to Congolese, not to other people. But the entire world, of which Congo is part, belongs to God, it is His property. We will be accountable to God because He gave us many resources in this country. He will judge us on the basis of what He has given us. We must bequeath to our children a country where the state really exists. I say “really” because I have the impression that the state does not really exist here. We must bequeath to our children a country where the state is a reality: a responsible state, where everyone is equal before the law. ⁴

In line with Mountain (See above), the present research has identified some challenging issues characterising the Congolese society as a whole and leadership in particular from Independence (1960) to 2018. Needless to say, those issues have hindered social peace and sustainable development in this country where, unfortunately, all citizens and political leaders have been singing so far through the national anthem: “We will built a country more beautiful than before”. Amongst them mention can be made of:

- Deliberate infringement of the law (s), agreements and decisions;
- Social and distributive injustice;

⁴ It was sad to hear through radios and televisions that four days after this preaching (see excerpt in appendices), Reverend Ekofo was forced to flee from his country---assisted by the UN peacekeeping mission in the DRC---and is still living in the USA as an exile!

- Poor and unethical governance;
- Organized plunder of Congolese God-given richness
- Spending state incomes on luxuries in a careless manner by political leaders in office and some government officials;
- Irresponsibility and unaccountability;
- Endless poverty;
- Recurrent armed conflicts here and there;
- Forced migration (in and out the country);
- Corruption;
- Social incomes embezzlement;
- Churches divisions; And, in line with many Congolese observers (for example Kä Mana, Ngoma Binda and Mupinganayi), one may add:
- Church leaders doing business rather than being in service of true Gospel and God's kingdom as defined by Fohle (2018);
- Ebola.

In my view, all the above issues derive from:

- The atrophy (or simply crucifixion) of ethics. Whence, the central theoretical argument of this study has been that Christian-ethical principles pertaining to leadership and citizenship can contribute to the development of "new" leadership and citizenship in the DRC in order to bring sustainable changes in this country.

Comparative literary study has been the main methodology used in this research which has been conducted with deontological Christian-ethical principles deduced from Scripture in line with accepted rules of interpretations of hermeneutics (Ricoeur 1990, Vorster 2017). Besides, being myself part of the Congolese community, I was able to do some observation on the ground, to talk with some locals and listen to people (natives and/or foreigners) speaking on different radio stations such as Radio Okapi (UN's), BBC, RFI and RTNC (the main national radio and television station).

This study comprises five chapters titled as follows:

Chapter 1 Introduction

Chapter 2 Christian ethics of leadership and citizenship: Brief definitions

Chapter 3 DRC leadership from independence (1960) to 2018. A Christian ethical evaluation

Chapter 4 The contribution of Christian ethics to the development of new Congolese leadership.
The role of the church

Chapter 5 Conclusion and recommendations

This study has been an attempt to identify the above mentioned issues, to find out some Biblical insights pertaining to solving them, to propose what the church and Congolese Christians (irrespective of their different confessions) should do in this regard, and what all Congolese natives (political leaders and citizens as well) need to do at the very start of Felix Tshisekedi's administration, throughout this new political leadership (which started last 24 January) and later so that their common dream to "build a country more beautiful than before" can become a reality. Undeniably, Congo-Kinshasa can not only become a self-sustaining and self-supporting country but also a sharing one as far as food, clean water, and any other resources as well as human competences are concerned. Studies agree that what they need in this country as the point of departure is ethics. Which ethics? One may ask. The present research has proposed Christian ethics.

In Psalm chapter 11 verse 3, the Bible asks the following question: "If the foundations are destroyed, what can the righteous do?" One is not mistaken to answer: "nothing." In the case of the DRC, it is undeniable that some righteous men and women can be found here. But, these are just very few, and these very few (righteous) ones are in really in troubles to do good, to assist to move the country forward in trying to disseminate Biblical ethical ways and to bear visible quality fruits needed to boost economy and life in general in this country full of potentials.

It has been argued in the present study that those few Congolese righteous men and women have been wrestling but in vain (or with insignificant expected results) to do good for this nation. They have just been hindered by this society's views and ways (nurtured—unconsciously or deliberately--here from Independence in 1960 to present).

Sadly, this Congolese society has been messed up mainly because "the wicked bend the bow; they have fitted their arrow to the string to shoot in the dark at the upright in heart." No doubt, the wicked ones have "destroyed the **foundations**" i.e. the moral standards that are needed for people's peaceful living and working together in community and sustainable development as well.

In the words of Mbetwa (2018:132), “African people” may try “to raise themselves to greater levels of excellence, they will not go far.” Why? One may ask. Because “ethics have atrophied”, answers Mbetwa. It is “crucified” did I write in my previous study (See Mualaba Citala 2014).

Obviously, ethics “required to run public and private institutions is, writes Mbetwa on the same page, generally at odds with the ethic [i. e. manners} we are nurtured under in our countries.” In line with this Zambian theologian and ethicist, one may realize that the culture through which Congolese children have been raised since Independence has not equipped those among them who are given responsibilities to rule the country “to adhere to most of the vital principles by which [good political] institutions were designed to operate.” (2018:132).

Yet, it is important to note that excellence in any field is not achieved without implementing those principles. Mbetwa (2018:133) requests that enormous adjustment in terms of governance in order to “adapt to ethical demands of Western and other modern models. [African countries] vocational ethical code is different, motivations are different, [and] the philosophical under grids of business, service and labour are different. ”

I totally agree with the above, but I may add that our governance codes and rationale are far away from Biblical teachings. Therefore, the attempt in this study has been to highlight the principles of quality political leadership and ethical governance which, sadly, have been discarded in this country from Independence to 2018. Amongst those principles mention can be made of “transparency, accountability and proficiency” (see Mbetwa) and also love (Jas 2:8, Rm 13:10), servanthood (Mt 20:28) and humility (Mt 23:12, Phil 2:8).

In plain English, Congo-Kinshasa and all African countries need compassionate, humble, creative and servant leaders who can long for excellence as taught in 1 Corinthians 14:12 and 2 Corinthians 8:7. It is fair to acknowledge with this Zambian theologian that “a considerable number of our people do succeed in institutions through which they render service to the nation, having undergone education that prepared them for the challenges presented in them. But such people are a drop in the massive lake; a small proportion of [the] populations. Unsurprisingly, they have not made any significant difference ” (2018:133) in most African countries where greed, theft and corruption appear to be adopted as normal public standards applicable at all levels of *res publica* governance.

Mbetwa warns (2018:75):

Corruption of any sort impairs judgment. It shuts doors to qualified competent people, giving opportunities to those whose criteria for selection [are] irrelevant to the rationale of their engagement. It denigrates professional standards and

breeds mediocrity. It erodes the moral premise for discipline and suspends the role of laws.

“Mediocrity” that is the word. “May the mediocre depart”, shouted Monsengwo Pasinya (former Roman catholic archbishop of Kinshasa) in February 2017. The newly elected president of the DRC seems to be busy thinking about the dismantling of the whole system of evils that have been characteristic of Congolese leadership and citizenship so far. Not under cover has he pledged that he “will not joke to fight against corruption and all forms of mediocrity” for the sake of renewal, uplifting and shining of this country full of potentials.

Many have responded by saying “amen” and by clapping hands loudly. Nonetheless, I fear that the expressed will of Mr President of the Republic fails to take flesh (like many other intentions expressed in different political address before him) unless Christian ethics is taught by churches and lived by the majority of Congolese people (including politicians in office, of course). **That is the top recommendation within this research.**

In his preface to Lukunku and Bamuinikile’s book titled *Le Devoir de Savoir. Pensées pour une Ethique de l’Excellence* (2006 :5), Mbolokala reminds his Congolese fellows that it is their own “responsibility to recognize themselves as beloved children of the Creator of heaven and earth who has poured all kinds of wealth on and in their land, and therefore having endless possibilities to develop efficiently and recover the top position of ten richest countries of the world. Unfortunately, the DRC, our great and beautiful country, is now listed among the poorest countries in the world; it is undergoing an untold misery that it does not deserve.”

To my mind, the church should play an important role in educating people, in raising their consciousness and leading them to become responsible and participate to social changes in their own country. To quote Vorster (2017, <https://hts.org.za/index.php/hts/article/view/4809/10968> Date of access: 20 August 2019):

The church as a part of civil society should act as a moral agent by testifying to the noble principles of the kingdom [...] The church is not the Kingdom but the first sign of the Kingdom and establishes signs of the Kingdom by proclaiming in its kingly office the kingship of Christ over all creation. This entails the preaching of the norms and values of Christ with regard to science, economy, politics and culture. The church can, therefore, be viewed as the people of the present Kingdom with the divine calling to be a prophetic, therapeutic and a moral community. By acting as people of the present Kingdom, the instituted church can act like an ‘electric power plant’ that generates energy for social action. The life of the church, worship, preaching, diaconate and the prophetic witness of the church must be focused on the development of an awareness, values, knowledge, willingness and the abilities of individual Christians.

Recommendation 2. The churches of Christ in Congo-Kinshasa need to be **united**—irrespective of their confessions—so that they succeed to fulfil the above defined mission.

Recommendation 3. The ministers of the Word ought to be conscious of this divine calling to feed God’s children in this country with the truth of the Gospel (only the truth of the Gospel) with obedience and fear of the Lord, so as to lead the whole nation of Congo to be, through Jesus-Christ, reconciled with God and with one another as well.

Recommendation 4. God’s servants need to pray continuously to ask God’s assistance when it comes to play the role of **prophets** and **priests**. Let us remind that a prophet is accountable to God (and to God only) from whom one receives instructions to encourage good and rebuke evil as well. In the words of Vorster (2017, <https://hts.org.za/index.php/hts/article/view/4809/10968>, Date of access: 20 August 2019)

The idea that the church has a prophetic calling is popular in modern theology, especially in the various existing models of public theology. These models are based on the actions of the prophets in the Old Testament who reprimanded the authorities about their injustices towards the poor and the vulnerable [...] The church cannot presume to know better than the state what is best for a society. The ‘prophetic calling’ of the church can violate the limitations of power, especially when the church wants to force a government to exert power to do what the church wants them to do. In all these models, the church acts as a ‘bridge’ to the world and an institute where ideals about politics should be pursued [...] The church should refrain from the promotion of political ideals and should rather act as a church in the world, praying for the government of the day and being an oasis for people in distress and need [...] If the church is in any way co-opted by the interests of the state, it becomes part and parcel of the power game. The church should function as an alternative community.

Let us note that a priest is called through God’s love to bring people’s tears, questions, joys and thanks to God for God’s glory (not his own, of course). In a word, a prophet speaks/acts from God to His people while a priest links people to God by bringing their burdens to him. So, he is expected to identify with them rather than consider himself as superior when fulfilling his duty. As Nico Vorster points out, “the prophetic voice and social engagement of the church are urgently needed in a society that is increasingly in serious danger of falling apart. It is therefore important that churches explore new vehicles and platforms to bring their messages across.” (2017:153)

Recommendation 5. Congolese Christians need to pray that God appoints ministers and church leaders whose life can be a true dedication (or simply a service) to God. In other words, the church of Christ in Congo-Kinshasa has been tired with ministers and leaders who are doing business and politics of stomach in church in place of fulfilling God's mission.

Recommendation 6. Theological training colleges are recommended to strive to achieve quality education. This is possible only with quality teachings by quality teachers, who day after day, struggle for spiritual growth, academic and social excellence. In line with Steve Hardy (one of the speakers at Mukhanyo Bible consultations, 10-13 June 2019 in South Africa), I do believe that quality theological education is transformative; it brings positive changes where it is needed in church and the society as a whole.

Recommendation 7. Given the depth of damage on the side of kids and youth's education in this country, emphasis should be put on citizenship education and on religion in primary and secondary schools. (I would suggest the latter subject be renamed "Christian education").

Recommendation 8. At university and colleges, (new) Congolese citizenship and ethics ought to be lifted among top and compulsory subjects to be taught from the first year of studies to the last in all faculties and departments.

Recommendation 9. The above two subjects must be taught by specialists in these areas rather than charlatan lecturers as it is common in many institutions so far.

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ANNEXURES

1. SUMMARY OF THE RESEARCH IN FRENCH

Le 24 janvier 2019, les citoyens du monde entier ont assisté, les uns avec admiration et satisfaction, et les autres avec étonnement et frustration, à l'investiture du nouveau président (le 5^{ème}) de la République Démocratique du Congo (RDC). Les historiens ont eu l'occasion de noter un fait politique inédit dans ce pays. Il s'agit de la **passation « pacifique et civilisée » du pouvoir d'un président sortant en vie à un nouveau président élu au suffrage universel.**

Faut-il le rappeler : Joseph Kasavubu, premier président de la RDC, a été élu au **suffrage indirect**. Il a été remplacé à la tête du pays en 1965 par Mobutu Sese-Seko à la faveur **d'un coup d'Etat**. Ce dernier a été chassé du pouvoir en 1997 par la **rébellion** à la tête de laquelle se trouvait Laurent Désiré Kabila. Assassiné le 16 janvier 2001, LD Kabila a été remplacé à la tête du pays par son fils, Joseph Kabila, désigné par la classe politique congolaise.

Elu au **suffrage universel direct** en 2006 et réélu en 2011, Joseph Kabila a été investi (et réinvesti) président de la République. Il n'y a donc pas eu passation du pouvoir à quelqu'un d'autre. Elu au **suffrage universel direct** le 30 décembre 2018, Félix Antoine Tshisekedi a été investi président de la RDC le 24 janvier 2019 et, le monde a applaudi de deux mains le **transfert pacifique** du pouvoir entre un président sortant et un président entrant. Tout esprit lucide a noté avec satisfaction ce fait inédit à l'actif du peuple congolais dans son ensemble et dans toutes ses diversités.

30 Juin 1960- 30 Juin 2019, la RDC va bientôt fêter son 59^{ème} anniversaire depuis son accession à la souveraineté suprême. Elle a connu **trois Républiques (leaderships)** et **quatre présidents**, notamment de 1960 à 1965, avec Kasavubu comme chef de l'Etat, de 1965 à 1997, avec Mobutu Sese-Seko comme président, de 1997 à 2018, avec Laurent Désiré Kabila et Joseph Kabila comme présidents.

Comment a été le leadership congolais dans l'ensemble de 1960 à 2018 ? Comment a été le comportement des citoyens congolais eux-mêmes et quelle peut être leur part de responsabilité dans la marche de leur propre pays (depuis l'indépendance jusqu'à 2018) ? Que faire aujourd'hui au tout début de la quatrième République ? Voilà les questions au cœur de nos recherches

postuniversitaires (Master en Ethique Chrétienne) dont nous avons le plaisir de partager la quintessence dans cette étude.

AU FIL DU TEMPS...

Dans son discours devant les deux chambres du parlement réunies en Congrès le 23/10/2013, Joseph Kabila notait que pour changer le Congo, chaque congolais devra changer là il (elle) sert la République. Le chef de l'Etat sortant en appelait au « changement de mentalités, de méthodes et de comportements » afin que demain soit différent d'aujourd'hui. Pour arriver à ce résultat, « il nous faut donc plus d'éthique », avait-il conclu. Cela veut dire qu'une réflexion permanente et une attitude responsable en ce qui concerne le bien à faire et le mal à rejeter ou à éviter s'imposent. Réfléchir d'une manière permanente et amener à adopter des attitudes responsables dans le chef des congolais vis-à-vis du bien (à faire) et du mal (à rejeter) dans le but de changer le Congo en bien, comme le souhaite tout le monde, voilà la préoccupation au cœur de notre réflexion dans le cadre des recherches postuniversitaires (Master) menées depuis 2017 en éthique chrétienne.

En effet, notre réflexion complète et enrichit celle publiée en 2014 sous le titre : *Fondements Ethiques d'une Nouvelle Citoyenneté Congolaise* préfacé par le Révérend professeur Robert N'Kwim Bibi Bikan (de la Faculté de Théologie à l'Université Protestante au Congo, UPC). Ce dernier note : “Après avoir tournoyé dans les ténèbres de la caverne 53 ans après notre indépendance, l'ouvrage *Fondements Ethiques d'une Nouvelle Citoyenneté Congolaise* vient nous montrer le chemin qui mène vers un vivre ensemble pacifique et un développement durable auxquels nous avons toujours aspiré”.

Au fil du temps, les congolais ont crucifié le bien au profit du mal. Par voie de conséquence, la culture du mal a gagné aussi bien leur mental que leur agir : en famille, à l'école, à l'université, en politique, dans le business, et même à l'église ! Il est malheureux de constater que le réflexe éthique (du bien) est mis en tombe dans le comportement de nombreux d'entre nous tous. Le renversement des valeurs a donc gagné le terrain : la corruption, le détournement des biens publics, le non-respect des textes, de la parole donnée, l'irresponsabilité face aux actes contraires aux droits humains et aux enseignements bibliques, etc. se sont érigés en système au point d'être considérés *normal* aux yeux de plusieurs parmi nous.

Bruno Mupinganayi (2007:51-52) n'a pas tort de noter que la RDC a tout « sauf l'éthique ». Avant lui, Mayola Mavunza Lwanga (1997) constatait qu'il y avait « un vide éthique » dans ce pays. La

crise congolaise est avant tout « une crise éthique », soulignait en son temps ce philosophe congolais. Sans minimum d'éthique, écrivait-il, la qualité de la vie diminue et la vie elle-même disparaît. John Horward Yoder (1984 :22) note que la démarche éthique consiste à mesurer ce qui est convenable, efficace et approprié. Ceux/celles qui s'en réclament doivent être réalistes et responsables, conclut-il.

Mupinganayi (2007 :57) ajoute que l'éthique de responsabilité (prônée par Max Weber) est « extravertie ». Elle se préoccupe du bien-fondé et des résultats de ses actes sur son prochain. Cela est vrai. Mais nous estimons pour notre part que les dividendes de cette éthique (de responsabilité) retombent aussi sur le sujet actant : par exemple les bénéfices de la paix avec soi-même (pour avoir accompli sa/ses responsabilité/s) et avec son prochain.

L'on peut noter avec Hubert Kabasu Babo (2015 : 185), Mayola Mavunza Lwanga (1997) et Bruno Mupinganayi (2007) que l'absence de l'éthique de responsabilité (constatée dans les actes posés par les dirigeants congolais et dans le comportement de la majorité des congolais et congolaises) est à l'origine de beaucoup de traumatismes et d'échecs des projets sociaux, culturels, politiques et économiques qu'on déplore depuis 1960 dans ce pays. Pour sa part, Hubert Kabasu Babo (2018 :85) souligne que la crise congolaise est *anthropo-sociétale*. Cela veut dire que les carences, les contradictions, les déficiences, les incohérences, les vices ainsi que le manque d'humanisme sont enfouis dans le mental de l'homme congolais et la femme congolaise et, par ricochet, dans toute la société congolaise.

Dans ses vers libres intitulés "Les Semis" (écrits depuis son exil à Berlin) un compatriote du nom de Muepu Muamba (cité par Djungu Simba, 2011:83-84) verse des larmes tout en dénonçant quelques maux qui minent « ce pays fascinant », selon ses propres mots. Prêtons-lui attention :

Mais si loin là-bas au pays d'où je viens ce pays fascinant comme les yeux légendaires de Sia, perdition de l'empire du Ghana là-bas au pays on pille ouvertement là-bas on ment franchement...là-bas où je suis né ce prodigieux pays où le soleil toute l'année offre les caresses au gré de ses flâneries comme une libellule d'ivresse là-bas où les fleurs aux essences magiciennes et les oiseaux aux ramages capiteux fredonnent sans arrêt comme félicité d'une aube à aimer là-bas la chape de la peur rancit l'atmosphère là-bas au pays d'où je viens les rêves en haillons n'osent plus lutiner dans les rues là-bas le chancre de la misère rongé déjà tous les rires parce que les chiens de garde

ont tout à dire et quant aux moutons il ne leur reste qu'à suivre ou à offrir la gorge-muselières donc pour les esprits insoumis- et nous sommes eux terre ravagées par l'angoisse nous sommes eux sols déchirés par l'incertitude...là-bas on assassine la justice à coups de baïonnette là-bas on maquille la vérité avec rapacité là-bas on bâillonne la parole avec jouissance bien « ancestrale »... là-bas d'où je viens c'est la désespérance que l'on nous sème à profusion hoo...

Notre réflexion a une double vocation, à savoir :

1. Ressusciter le réflexe éthique dans le chef de toutes les catégories et tous les groupes des congolais: ministres, parlementaires, enseignants, professeurs d'université, serviteurs et servantes de Dieu, administratifs, parents, élèves, étudiants, responsables des ASBL et ONGDs, etc.
2. Les éduquer à une nouvelle éthique/citoyenneté, celle de la responsabilité et la conscience face à la nation congolaise et à la vie humaine tout court, à se baser sur les Ecritures.

En tout état de cause, nous avons, en premier lieu, essayé de comprendre quelques concepts clés en rapport avec notre étude, à savoir: éthique, citoyenneté, leadership, justice sociale, paix, développement durable et émergence. En deuxième lieu, nous avons tenté d'examiner le leadership congolais de l'Indépendance (1960) à 2018 dans une perspective éthique chrétienne.

Focaliser plus d'attention sur tout projet lié à la mise en chantier de l'éthique et l'éducation à la nouvelle citoyenneté congolaise, tel est notre souhait. Au demeurant, il importe que la nouvelle citoyenneté/éthique congolaise soit considérée le premier chantier de la République. Cela implique :

- qu'en famille, les parents doivent se ressaisir pour inculquer, sans délai et sans relâche, les valeurs morales piétinées, hélas, dans notre société.
- Ils seront complétés à l'école et à l'université où l'enseignement du « Civisme et morale », le cours d' « Education à la citoyenneté » doivent être revalorisés et hissés au rang des disciplines les plus importantes, c'est-à-dire cotées autant que le français, les mathématiques, les cours d'option dans chaque faculté et département.
- Que le Gouvernement de la République adhère réellement à la vision salvatrice ci-haut citée du chef de l'Etat sortant en créant un environnement susceptible de favoriser l'éthique et

l'éducation à la nouvelle citoyenneté, et en mettant à la disposition des éducateurs des moyens conséquents afin de les accompagner dans la mise en chantier dudit projet.

Depuis 2013, nous réfléchissons et nous interrogeons sur le contenu de l'éducation à la nouvelle citoyenneté congolaise. Sans risque d'être contredit, nous sommes convaincu que la nouvelle citoyenneté s'impose comme préalable pour le vivre ensemble pacifique et esthétique sans lequel le rêve collectif (ou "utopie collective", selon le mot de Kā Mana, interviewé à la RTNC), celui de construire un pays plus beau qu'avant aujourd'hui au cœur de l'Afrique s'éloignera de plus en plus, en suivant les directives bibliques.

Au demeurant, l'éducation à la nouvelle citoyenneté doit, à notre humble avis, être la première priorité à cibler au tout début du mandat de Félix Tshisekedi, le premier chantier de cette 4ème République commençant.

2. NAMES OF CONGOLESE PRIME MINISTERS FROM 1960 TO 2018

DRC Prime Ministers

Names	Period	Political Party
Patrice Lumumba	24 Jun 1960 - 5 Sep 1960 (+1961)	MNC-Lumumba
Joseph Ileo S	12 Sep 1960 - 27 Jul 1961 (+1994)	MNC-Kalonji
Antoine Gizenga	13 Dec 1960 - 5 Aug 1961	MNC-Lumumba (in rebellion)
Cyrille Adoula	2 Aug 1961 - 30 Jun 1964 (+1978)	n/p
Moïse-Kapenda Tshombé	10 Jul 1964 - 13 Oct 1965 (+1969)	CONAKAT
Évariste Kimba	18 Oct 1965 - 14 Nov 1965 (+1966)	BALUBAKAT
Léonard Mulumba	25 Nov 1965 - 26 Oct 1966 (+1986)	military
Mpinga Kasenga	6 Jul 1977 - 6 Mar 1979 (+1994)	MPR
Bo-Boliko Lokonga Mihambo	6 Mar 1979 - 27 Aug 1980 (+2018)	MPR
Jean Nguza Karl-I-Bond	27 Aug 1980 - 23 Apr 1981 (+2003)	MPR
N'singa Udjuu Untube	23 Apr 1981 - 5 Nov 1982	MPR
Léon Kengo Wa Dondo	5 Nov 1982 - 31 Oct 1986	MPR
Mabi Mulumba	22 Jan 1987 - 7 Mar 1988	MPR
Sambwa Pida Nbagui	7 Mar 1988 - 26 Nov 1988 (+1998)	MPR
Léon Kengo Wa Dondo	26 Nov 1988 - 4 May 1990	MPR
Lunda Bululu	4 May 1990 - 1 Apr 1991	MPR
Mulumba Lukoji	1 Apr 1991 - 29 Sep 1991 (+1997)	MPR
Étienne Tshisekedi wa Mulumba	29 Sep 1991 - 1 Nov 1991 (+2017)	UDPS
Bernardin Mungul Diaka	1 Nov 1991 - 25 Nov 1991 (+1999)	RDR
Jean Nguza Karl-I-Bond	25 Nov 1991 - 15 Aug 1992 (+2003)	UFERI
Étienne Tshisekedi wa Mulumba	15 Aug 1992 - 18 Mar 1993 (+2017)	UDPS
Faustin Birindwa	18 Mar 1993 - 14 Jan 1994 (+1999)	UDPS
Léon Kengo Wa Dondo	6 Jul 1994 - 2 Apr 1997	UDI
Étienne Tshisekedi wa Mulumba	2 Apr 1997 - 9 Apr 1997 (+2017)	UDPS
Norbert Likulia Bolongo	9 Apr 1997 - 16 May 1997	n/p
Antoine Gizenga	30 Dec 2006 - 10 Oct 2008	PALU
Adolphe Muzito	10 Oct 2008 - 6 Mar 2012	PALU
Louis Alphonse Koyagialo	6 Mar 2012 - 18 Apr 2012 (+2014)	MPR(acting)
Augustin Matata Ponyo Mapon	18 Apr 2012 - 20 Dec 2016	PPRD

3. DRC PRESIDENTS FROM INDEPENDENCE TO PRESENT

(The following lines are collected from World Atlas <https://www.worldatlas.com/articles/presidents-of-the-democratic-republic-of-the-congo-congo-kinshasa.html> Date of access: 16 September 2019)

The President is the most senior officer in the country. He is the head of state and Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces of the Democratic Republic of Congo. The President appoints the Prime Minister, and they work in close collaboration with the nation's leadership. The president is elected for a five-year term that is renewable only once. The first president of the Democratic Republic of the Congo was Joseph Kasavubu. The following is a list of some of the presidents that have served the DRC.

Joseph Kasavubu

Kasavubu was the first president of the Democratic Republic of Congo. Joseph Kasavubu received his education from a Catholic mission center. He started off his career as a teacher and progressed to become chief clerk, the highest position available to Congolese natives during Belgium rule. He was also the leader of a powerful cultural organization of the Bakongo people known as Abako.

In 1957, Joseph was elected mayor of the Dendale district in elections overseen by the Belgian authorities. The position propelled him to the presidency in 1960 when Congo's first national elections were held. Patrice Lumumba was elected Prime Minister. Hardly three months into the nation's leadership, Joseph Kasavubu dismissed the Prime Minister from the office. Kasavubu served as President of DR Congo from 1960 to 1965 when Mobutu Sese Seko seized power from him.

Mobutu Sese Seko

Mobutu Sese Seko went to missionary schools and served in the Congolese army under Belgian rule. He rose to the highest rank of sergeant major and later left the army to pursue journalism. Upon Congo's independence, Mobutu was appointed the secretary of state for national defense.

Mobutu enjoyed support from the United States and successfully carried out two coups in DR Congo. The first coup in 1960 seized power from Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba. In the second coup in 1965, he overthrew President Kasavubu and took up the nation's presidency.

The nation's name changed from the Democratic Republic of the Congo to the Republic of Zaire under Mobutu's leadership. Mobutu's leadership was accused of major corruption and mismanagement of resources. He was accused of amassing a great deal of the nation's wealth for himself. President Mobutu was removed from power by Laurent Kabila in the 1997 Congo War.

Laurent Kabila

Laurent Kabila was born in Katanga during Belgian rule. He was educated in France and Tanzania. He joined a political youth group tied to the nation's first Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba. In union with Lumumba's supporters, Laurent Kabila led a revolution against Mobutu Sese Seko. He started the Congo war in 1996 with the help of neighboring countries such as Uganda, Burundi, and Rwanda. He succeeded in overthrowing President Mobutu Sese Seko in May 1997.

Laurent Kabila became the third President of the Democratic Republic of Congo in 1997. He encountered difficulties in his efforts to rebuild DR Congo such as the second Congo war. President Laurent was assassinated by one of his bodyguards in January 2001. His Son Joseph Kabila succeeded him.

Joseph Kabila

Joseph Kabila was born along with his twin sister Janet Kabila in 1971. Joseph Kabila spent most of his childhood in Tanzania and later joined his father in fighting Mobutu's government. He led a unit that comprised of child soldiers in fighting the First Congo War. When Laurent Kabila became president, Joseph went to train in National defense in China. He served in the nation's army in high rankings until his father's assassination in 2001. Joseph took up the presidency from his father at a young age of 29 years. He won the Presidential elections in 2006 and 2011 amidst protests. His leadership has suffered criticism for the conflict in Congo and mismanagement of country's resources.

The current president of the Democratic Republic of the Congo is Félix Tshisekedi.

4. BILUSA'S FINDINGS. ORIGINAL TEXT IN FRENCH

Après la traite meurtrière, les Européens, sous noble prétexte des raisons humanitaires et philanthropiques, prétendaient libérer les populations congolaises de cette servitude. Il en découle la création de l'EIC (propriété privée de Léopold II) par l'Acte de Berlin de 1885 : **première libération**. Cependant, au lieu de réaliser cette libération, le régime de Léopold II s'enlisa dans des actes de cruauté qui ont endeuillé maintes familles congolaises, à côté de nombreux cas de mutilations L'annexion du Congo à la Belgique apparut comme la manifestation d'offrir une nouvelle émancipation aux populations congolaises : **deuxième libération**. Ce qui ne les empêcha pas, après maintes humiliations (corvées, portages à dos d'hommes, cultures obligatoires, etc.) de se débarrasser du joug colonial le 30 juin 1960 : **troisième libération**. Depuis cette date jusqu'à nos jours, nous assistons à la multiplication des actes (dits) libérateurs des populations congolaises : la création à Brazzaville du Comité National de Libération (CNL) dont les effets les plus significatifs peuvent se résumer dans la rébellion muleliste de 1964 : **quatrième libération** ; la prise du pouvoir par le Haut Commandement de l'Armée Nationale Congolaise le 24 novembre 1965 et qui a porté Joseph Désiré Mobutu à la Magistrature suprême : **cinquième libération** ; le régime de la Conférence Nationale Souveraine dont l'un des actes précurseurs a été le discours présidentiel du 24 avril 1990 : **sixième libération**; l'avènement de l'Alliance des Forces Démocratiques pour la Libération du Congo le 17 mai 1997: **septième libération**; les rébellions déclenchées à partir du 02 août 1998 par le Rassemblement Congolais pour la Démocratie, suivi d'autres forces politiques dont le Mouvement de Libération, le Rassemblement Congolais pour la Démocratie/National, le Rassemblement Congolais pour la Démocratie/Kisangani Mouvement de Libération [...]: **huitième libération**.

5. DRC NATIONAL ANTHEM (ORIGINAL FRENCH LYRICS)

Débout Congolais,

Unis par le sort,

Unis dans l'effort pour l'indépendance,

Dressons nos fronts longtemps courbés

Et pour de bon prenons le plus bel élan, dans la paix,

O peuple ardent, par le labeur, nous bâtirons un pays plus beau qu'avant, dans la paix.

(Verse)

Citoyens, entonnez l'hymne sacré de votre solidarité,

Fièrement, saluez l'emblème d'or de votre souveraineté, Congo.

(Refrain)

Don béni, Congo des aïeux Congo,

*O pays Congo bien aimé Congo,
Nous peuplerons ton sol et nous assurerons ta grandeur.
Trente juin O doux soleil trente juin du trente juin,
Jour sacré Sois le témoin jour sacré de l'immortel serment de liberté
Que nous léguons à notre postérité pour toujours.*

6. "LA ZAIROISE" : THE ANTHEM OF THE REPUBLIC OF ZAIRE (LYRICS)

*Zaïrois dans la paix retrouvée;
Peuple uni, nous sommes Zaïrois ;
En avant fiers et pleins de dignité
Peuple grand, peuple libre à jamais,
Tricolore, enflamme nous du feu sacré
Pour bâtir notre pays toujours plus beau
Autour d'un fleuve Majesté (2x)
Tricolore au vent ravive l'idéal
Qui nous relie aux aïeux, à nos enfants
Paix, justice et travail (2x)*

7. REVEREND EKOFO'S PREACHING IN FRENCH ON 16 JANUARY 2018 (EXERPT)

Voici, à l'Eternel, ton Dieu, appartient les cieux et les cieux des cieux, la terre et tout ce qu'elle renferme" et "Les cieux sont les cieux de l'Eternel, mais Il a donné la terre aux fils de l'homme. (Deutéronome 10,14, Psaumes 115)

Nous devons léguer à nos enfants un pays où l'Etat existe réellement. Je dis bien réellement. Parce que j'ai l'impression que l'Etat n'existe pas vraiment. L'Etat n'existe pas réellement. Il faut renforcer l'autorité de l'Etat. Nous devons léguer à nos enfants un pays où l'Etat est réel, un Etat responsable, où tout le monde est égal devant la loi. Quand vous devez enfreindre la loi de la République, on vous arrête, on vous juge, on vous condamne comme tout citoyen. . . La tendance des Congolais, c'est dire : 'la loi est là, mais je suis au-dessus de la loi parce que je suis...Ce que nous avons reçu de nos pères, nous devons le transmettre à nos enfants. Nous avons reçu un pays uni, transmettons à nos enfants un pays uni. Nous devons léguer à nos enfants un pays riche, un pays avec une autosuffisance alimentaire. Je reconnais qu'on peut importer la technologie. Mais dépenser le peu de devises que nous avons pour importer à

manger, c'est inadmissible pour la RDC. Il faut renforcer l'autorité de l'Etat... Quand on parcourt l'Afrique, il y a des routes qui permettent aux gens de circuler librement. Mais c'est seulement en arrivant à la frontière en RDC qu'on remarque qu'il n'y a pas de routes. Que ce soit du côté Nord ou côté Sud. . . Nous devons léguer à nos enfants un pays où tout le monde est égal devant la loi. . . Savoir passer le bâton à l'autre quand il s'agit d'une course athlétique pour gagner ensemble. . . L'amour ne se réjouit pas de l'injustice mais de la vérité