

CONFERENCE - DEBATE

The state of democracy and development in DR Congo

Speech of the Honourable Gilbert KIAKWAMA kia Kiziki
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Dear friends

First of all I would like to tell you how pleased I am to be here today among you, after the first missed opportunity.

In fact, I like nothing better than a robust debate and I thank the International Studies Bureau for Peace and Development (ISBPD/ BIEPD) for giving me the opportunity to compare my analysis and my hopes to yours.

Dear friends

There are barely 5 decades, less than a man's life, some son of our country, our elders, the fathers of our independence, driven by a thirst for justice and freedom, undertook to take charge of the destiny of the Nation. They were strong in their determination to overcome together the straitjacket in which the colonial order maintained them; they were led by the quiet confidence in their ability to lead their people towards a prosperous future.

Unfortunately, almost immediately, their optimism was faced with their own inexperience, aggravated by the selfishness of some of them. As soon as the Congolese nation celebrated the hopes of freedom and justice that lay ahead, and already the seeds of division and exclusion plunged it into the turmoil.

Fifty years of decline ensued. The Congo has continued to sink. We are living in appalling realities: socio-economic stagnation, serious violations of human rights and fundamental principles of the rule of law, uncertainty about the future, and so on. That elk interrupted, as hopes raised and bitterly disappointed.

The Congolese Nation hasn't stopped going to break out, never capitalize the efforts and never learn from the past and reconcile with him. Today the nation is broken, full of mistrust, but the genius Congolese us to keep the body pegged to the hope of a better tomorrow.

Dear friends

You have invited me to a difficult exercise in asking me to tell you about the state of Democracy and Development in the Congo. I am a politician, for me this theme has a double challenge: to take another look no complacency on this, but more importantly, I emphasize that the challenge is to identify opportunities in this a better future and to identify realistic ways to achieve it. For indeed, one of my favorite sayings is: "The policy is an action for an ideal, through the realities." Three successive terms: Ideal - Reality - Action.

Without getting into definitions idle, I'll discuss throughout my presentation of some principles that guide my analysis and my political action.

Democracy and Development - State of the situation

Democracy and development are not static states. A kind of calm that the ports of call, once achieved would preserve us from danger, we would avoid any effort. You who live in this country called developed, you know we never stop, either to expand or to fight to maintain his rank.

Democracy and development are dialectical processes, in which we move from unstable equilibria unstable equilibria. The key is the forward movement and accumulation at each step. We must continue to move forward and garner acquired at each step, from a position even stronger. In this context, not to advance, is already back, because during this time, the world, he, changing and evolving.

What of democracy in our country, and why is it necessary?

Need for Democracy:

I am a fundamentalist of the establishment of democracy in Congo. Democracy as a daily practice, democracy as a requirement, because given the history of our country's democratic system is the one for me, that achieve that officials at all levels are accountable for their acts. This has three implications:

1. Managers must be convinced that the ideas they want to implement are best suited to the needs of the population and environment of our country. I was finance minister in the '80s, responsible for the implementation of Structural Adjustment Programmes of the IMF and I have drawn this conclusion: you can not always be right, alone against an entire people. You must have a plan, not just a vision just outlined. Most importantly, you need to engage the greatest number. Because you can go wrong heavily in only a partial view of the problems. In addition, an action without membership will generate resistance that will lead you to failure, sooner or later, as you sow the sand. Clearly, nothing great, nothing true, nothing good will happen in the Congo without the advice and support of the majority of Congolese, day after day. We do not rule by divine right.

2. Those responsible must be controlled in their action as and when. In a country such as Congo, so big and difficult to govern after years of destruction, where the culture of predation, irresponsibility and impunity is so entrenched, no power shall be sustainable for good, if not constantly subjected to stresses and pressures from all sides. Good intentions are not only, good politics, especially in the Congo.

3. Managers are accountable for their action to an end. They must be punished for not having accomplished their mission. To me these are two sides of same coin Accountability and Responsibility go hand in hand. We do not rule with impunity.

Where are we today in the Congo?

In light of the foregoing, it is clear that Democracy is a matter of culture - that is to say, mental patterns, knowledge and action - men who are responsible for day to day practice but it is also a matter of structures - that is to say, institutions and rules - which provides an opportunity for all actors, I mean all, to act on their responsibility.

Structures - Institutions and Rules:

In February 2008, in a speech to UDPS I then partially taken up in the gallery of the National Assembly during the second massacre of Bas-Congo, I explained that there were five institutions in my opinion 5 Pillars whose functioning was dependent on democratic life of our country. These are:

1. A strong and independent justice, regulated by a Superior Council of Magistracy worthy of the name;
2. An Independent National Electoral Commission, free from any suspicion of incompetence and bias;
3. A High Audiovisual Council, guaranteeing the free expression of all media, and equal access for all Congolese to conflicting information, released a Department of Information missions redefined;
4. A security apparatus (Army, Police, Intelligence Services) real Republicans, the guarantor of peace and the integrity of national territory and its inhabitants;
5. A strong parliament, with the resources to fulfill its mission of Control and Sanction of the Executive, but also legislation.

Where are we on these fronts?

1. Justice, the MSC has been established, of course, but he is currently an empty shell because it has insufficient resources, and mental patterns and actions that motivate men have not changed;
2. The INEC is slow to be implemented. The Parliament is a large responsibility because the law establishing the new electoral commission was the subject of much debate between majority and opposition, and eventually be passed in different terms by both houses. This illustrates how it is a sensitive institution. The fact remains that today, the leaders of INEC are not designated, and especially its resources are not released;
3. The law establishing the CSCA (High Council of Communication and Audiovisual) was adopted, but has not yet been promulgated;
4. The security apparatus has not undergone any reform, no substantial has been reached to enable it to perform its tasks, therefore, training and culture that exist within it always leave seriously inadequate;
5. Parliament meanwhile has many regulatory tools to control and sanction of the Executive, but in daily practice it refuses to implement them, he refuses to streamline its operation to increase its efficiency, and finally, he refuses to provide tools and resources for additional action. As to its mission of legislation, the truth is that although valuable work has been shot down, the lack of capacity to study and comprehensive research available to legislators hampers the quality of our work.

Those are the five pillars of Democracy, structures. But I also said that Democracy is a matter of culture and men. They belong either to the government majority (bloated), or the opposition. What is it?

Men and their Culture

From the parliamentary majority and its offshoot, the Government:

Beyond its structure and organization, which does not correspond to the current challenges posed by democratization and especially the development of our country, our government is afflicted with a crippling congenital defect and he thinks of divine right, and acts as such. Those who govern us think all know better than anyone. They have it all, do everything to perfection and therefore refuses any criticism, any adversarial public control, any questioning. The Government and its majority in Parliament develop a besieged fortress mentality that causes a spasm of political reporting, adverse to building a peaceful democracy. In my view, the introduction of the 5 pillars of democracy that I keep talking about should be a minimum consensus, mobilizing all the energies as they are prerequisites for Democracy and Development, but certainly not sufficient.

Opposition:

She also suffers from a congenital defect that threatens the very future of our country as never part of

democratic struggle is correctly stated: our opposition at first said "**Opposition to somebody**" before defining as "**Opposition To Something**." If our opposition is defined "For Something", then she would fight for values inspiring reforms, concrete steps, not just for its champion came into power with an obligation on all to support, against promise hypothetical rewards - monetary or otherwise.

Let us be clear. I am a Christian Democrat and I am fighting for respect for the values of Truth and Justice, Freedom and Responsibility in the interest of development of each human person. I am also realistic and pragmatic enough to know that the values and ideals embodied in men. This is not a Christian one must learn the importance of sign and symbol. But I am a committed Christian in politics. As a politician I'm sure that Hope which I agree is the bearer of fruit. What we gather around us, for what change, implemented in what way, with what performance guarantees? These are the questions I ask. These are questions that every Congolese must ask any politician seeking their votes. To all the Congolese opposition supporters I say: "If the only program of the Opposition is: let him go and replace ours, things will get better! , Then we will not build the Congo. We have implemented this logic in 1960 to independence in 1965 with the advent of Mobutu in 1997 to his departure in 2001 to the death of Laurent Kabila ... without convincing results.

At CDC we address the issue as follows: what is the goal, how to get there, what is the contribution of each, what is the best person to embody the struggle and win support? Reverse logic would establish a single party as the second Republic, in which currents were supposedly found. The geography of the Congo we have to learn the implementation of Coalition policies, make the contribution of various components whose identity is known and respected, and essential program elements taken into account.

So, in conclusion on the state of democracy in our beloved country, I would like to return an introductory sentence quoted in: Do not move it back. The truth is that on the front of Democracy in Congo, we have not advanced past two years.

· The pillars, the basic structures, are not all in place,

But most importantly, more serious

Patterns of mental

·The players have not changed Congolese Democracy, far from it. The walls are in our heads, Friends, and the lines have not moved ... or so little. There is a dangerous dichotomy between rhetoric and practice of politics in our country. Many say that democratization is a process that takes time ... We were instructed to be patient. To all I keep saying that democracy and learning, are matters of daily practice. To this I add that the experience of the Congo clearly indicates that no demands, no pressure all day, without permanent application of results, best wishes dulled, the greatest efforts are relaxed. The struggle of democracy must be a struggle at all times and, paraphrasing Eluard I would say that Democracy does not exist, it can not exist as evidence.

What is the Socio-Economic Congo

We all know that the moribund socio-economic development of our country 50 years after its independence. As part of the Great Jubilee of the Conference I was asked to present a paper on "The Mobilization of Financial Resources for Development". Similarly, during the debate on the first government of the Legislature, along with my criticism, I am compelled to offer the priorities of a real program of governance. These are fairly technical interventions that I will be circulated while I dwell on what I consider to be essential components of any development policy for our country: The definition of a realistic program and Good Governance, a manifestation of political development.

It would be irresponsible to claim that the Congo can develop as a magic wand. What seems important, vital, is to engage our country in a virtuous circle for Development. From this point of view it must be recognized that obtaining the ground floor of a substantial reduction of its external debt is a good thing. It is a good place to start. I still believe in truth we do not deserve, but I am glad for the Congolese people, we have passed that stage. Those in power today, and those who will be tomorrow, can not invoke the odious debt to justify their failures. As I said in the introduction, development is a dynamic process, and long term. The challenge is Congolese leaders create the framework which will release the entrepreneurial energy of Congolese, they will express their creativity, and ensure the continuity of millions of individual efforts made every day by our compatriots.

All this presupposes the definition of a realistic program and adapted:

I mean the program, priority lines of action and structuring that will make everything else possible. I do not consider such as the 5 sites that we all hear so much about, is a program for development. They are at best a vision of development, hardly suited to a campaign. They explain anything in the sequence of actions we must undertake, or the reforms we have implemented to commit ourselves to development and see private initiative to take its rightful place.

But I deeply believe that no reform of any kind, no action for sustainable development will be possible in our country without a moral and a drastic reorganization of the State, its management and its tool of choice, the Administration . These different aspects are brought together under the term, a little mat today, Good Governance, that is to say a sound and honest government by a humble and realistic, using a modern, with procedures and of public and transparent. Today, the opacity and arbitrariness prevalent in the management of the Congolese state. Priced at constant pressure from foreign donors, the reforms without souls are adopted by governments without convictions and technical tools are introduced immediately emptied of their substance to enable the continuation of the predatory practices of the 2nd Republic. I just quote a few cases to illustrate my point:

- The Chinese and their trading contracts at both secret and unfavorable
- The Mining Code and its application erratic and incomplete
- The Convention Congo-Angola oil, poorly negotiated and never applied to date
- The question of the bridge Brazzaville Kinshasa and the clear lack of strategic thinking on the vital need for a deepwater port Congo, on behalf of an alleged African Integration,
- The attractiveness of the potential Inga lost because of lack of transparency and arbitrary bureaucratic procedures,
- The principles of scheduling public spending and lax opaque despite computerized tools and procedures,
- The Taxation and Customs Code Kafkaesque, mainly focused on capital, and intended to induce the contractor to compromise, to defraud or to seek refuge in the informal sector. (...) And so on.

Beyond all the technical bodies to establish, beyond all the reforms to pass, three things I think are essential to initiate the development of our country:

1. An economic policy that fully integrates Decentralization; must stop seeing the provinces as competitors for access to scarce resources, but promoting them as essential partners in the creation of conditions conducive to the creation of future wealth . Provinces must be poles of excellence, clusters of Production, Development Poles. After all, when the Belgians arrived, they found even less than it is today.
2. Modesty and realism of the state in defining its own action capabilities. The modern democratic state must identify clearly its priorities knowledge based on real data, to focus on its core businesses,

partnerships and ambitious but responsible. The social partners are there, including local and foreign private firms, each of which may contribute to the project in part precisely defined.

3. Accountability and an unwavering political will. Accountability is a neologism coined from English to say the need for all responsible for results and accountability. As for the strong political will, I think it speaks for itself.

What about the organization and holding of elections in Congo very democratic?

The day before my departure, in a television interview, Mr. Malu Malu, announced that the Congolese government and its partners have reached an agreement on the financing of elections.

The budget is 700 million U.S. dollars to 400 million funded by the Congo (one wonders how) and 300 million by the international community. Mr. Malu Malu added that this agreement would allow the organization of elections in 2011 and 2012. Clearly, general elections and 2011, as a rule later in September, and local elections in 2012, the first quarter I guess.

The ISBPD/BIEPD has asked me to talk about success factors and risk of failure of the electoral process. At this stage I see especially the risk of failure. What are they, briefly?

- The time constraints for the local elections on time limit is already exceeded. The revision of the lists has not occurred to date, yet it should take 6-12 months, leaving barely enough time to organize general elections to the constitutional limit of September 2011.
- The physical constraints, the Congolese government will never single-handedly deploy the equipment and men across the country. But MONUC (United Nations Mission in the DRC) is now Monusco (United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the DRC) held in suspicion and is not associated with the effort as it was in 2006. Vive Nationalism!
- The accuracy and transparency of the revised lists of electors, political parties and civil society lack the capacity to monitor the revision of electoral lists throughout the Republic, not having enough trained militants, and given the loss of win that represents the time spent on surveillance. But if the electorate is already not well known ...
- The monitoring and advertising of voting, counting and publication of results in 2006, witnesses were paid for election to average \$ 20 per person. Consider three witnesses poll, of 40,000 offices. Total 2,400,000 - USD. Even if they were party workers, he should at least move them to the polling place and allow them to recover. During my election, my witnesses were paid for 10, - USD. This would give 1,200,000 - USD for the Republic. Where to find them, who would manage?
- The monitoring of elections; in the last election, a large-scale corruption was evident at this stage, both within the CIS than in the judiciary. What do we have parades?

These are practical problems for the opposition, the formation of electoral witnesses and sharing, as transparency and publicity of all electoral procedures are crucial. This involves a lot of work, lots of ethics on the part of witnesses, and some means. We do not have to date and few people trust us. Without this minimum, we will not build democracy in Congo, 2011 will be a failure.

The last question asked of me on the Congolese diaspora. How to mobilize and how to involve in the development of the DRC?

Let us agree. Many of you are basking in my franchise in Parliament and in the media, against the rulers of the DRC and my political colleagues. People criticize me even not be harder. Suffer then I apply the same medicine to members of the Diaspora.

First I note that roughly half of the leaders of the DRC comes from the Diaspora. And before that, those of the ADFL and rebellions. It is important to note, not to stigmatize and released, but to emphasize the fact that the diaspora is diverse, the reasons for the emigration of its members are numerous and different levels of training, and from the arrived too, and thus finally, look at the Congo and the motivations for participation in its development.

For my part I see in any member of the diaspora, whatever potential three things:

- The core of the Congolese public opinion, capable of exerting pressure, not only on the Congolese leaders, but also partners of the Congo and the compatriots across the country.
- An expert in his field. That is to say, someone who knows and can pass, experienced in modern methods, with professionalism, and above all ethical citizen.
- A contractor in Congo, or at least a contributor to entrepreneurship in the Congo. But I think that for me before this potential can be realized in one of three forms that I see, he must appeal to John F. Kennedy: Ask Not What your country can do for you, ask yourself What You Can Do for your country. Dear friends of the diaspora you can not fully contribute to the development of the Congo if you do not meet the following requirements:
- Understanding the reality of the Congo. His reality encrypted - you have easier access to documentary sources for that - but also its human reality.
- Do not think you left thigh of Jupiter. Remember that you have also succeeded in your host country because the frame was carrying, beyond your own qualities.
- Do you think not all destined to be ministers. You can, of course, but this is not the only way. Besides, you're not here, and you're not so lucky.
- Turn your gaze towards the interior of the Congo, whatever your project. Speaking of the country and its political parties, I hear members of the diaspora to answer two questions I constantly ask our compatriots to the country.

Regarding political parties and men who run them, What do you actually a political party, in terms of organization, in terms of proposal?

Regarding the country, to invest; What do you concretely in terms of institutional and regulatory framework (I think including the tax and customs policy), in which areas interest you, what is the depth investment for you (you might want to be there, owning a business run by one delegate, a shareholder of a company, be contributing to a mutual health insurance, or insurance card).

In my Jubilee Conference on Development, I approach the question of the contribution of the Diaspora, including through a Housing Bank. I think it essential to harness the contribution of all the Congolese diaspora around the world. Devil, the estimates are lower than 2 million Congolese abroad, trained for the most dynamic. I sincerely hope that our country offers to all countrymen for their part reinvest them in one way or another. I think the possibility of obtaining dual citizenship as well as participate in elections would be a good start. Unfortunately, the recent history of our country and the sensitivity of border populations belonging to the Congolese nation make these very difficult issues to resolve. These are issues of importance to which only time and wisdom will enable us to provide satisfactory solutions.

So my dear friends and countrymen, my contributions to the debate that brings us together for a long time and I hope on Democracy and Development in the Democratic Republic of Congo. Having been so long to tell you what I think it is time for me to hear your feedback and suggestions.

I hope however that beyond the debates and exchanges, we can finally begin to act and make a very real hope to our people. Another American that we all know, Barack Obama spoke during his campaign for the urgent need to act now. Let us follow the example.

Thank you,

Honourable Gilbert KIAKWAMA KIA Kiziki

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