

Political leadership crisis in the post-colonial African States: the case of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC)

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Declaration

I, Alfred Burimaso, (312565) declare that this research report is my own unaided work, except to the extent explicitly acknowledged. This research report is being submitted for the degree of Master of Arts (Political studies), Faculty of Humanities, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination by any other university.

Dedication

I dedicate this work to the love of my life, Yvette MUKATORA. Without her love and support, I would not have completed this research report.

Acknowledgments

I address my deep and sincere gratitude to my supervisor, Professor Sheila Meintjes. She continuously and consistently gave me, out of her generosity, constructive comments. I truly thank her for her encouragement, for her support and her candid evaluation of my work. She stretched my capacities, she expanded my conceptual universe. She always found time whenever I needed her help, despite her very busy schedule. Without her, I could not successfully have completed this study.

My heartfelt thanks and sincere appreciation go to my relatives and friends who were highly supportive. I specifically thank my mother, Mme MARIRA Marie Immaculée for her consistent prayers and encouragements, for always reminding me of the importance of education.

I am indebted to all my close friends with whom I shared good and hard times. I highly appreciate the support, care and love I received from Jadot NINZIZA, Joseph NDIKUMANA and Fr. Symphorian NTIBAGIRIRWA. They were available whenever I needed them.

Abstract

Using the Democratic Republic of Congo as a case study, this research report examines factors that best explain the widely agreed upon fact that most post-colonial African States have poor leadership. These states experience severe leadership crisis.

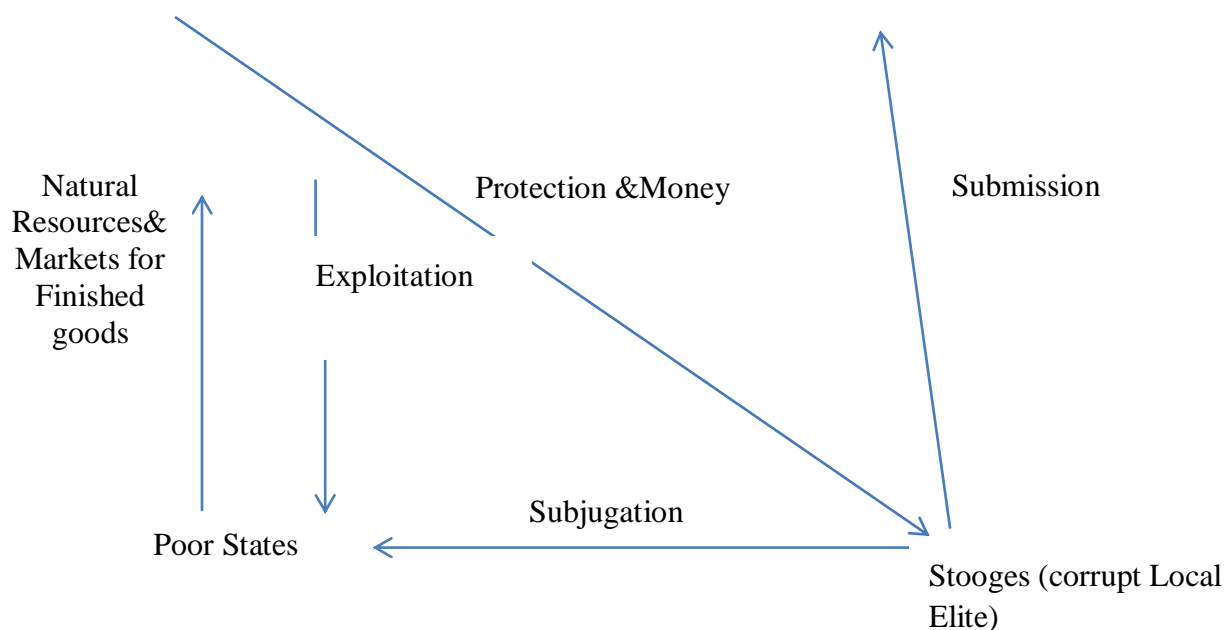
The leadership crisis must be brought to an end if post-colonial Africa is to successfully advance its socio-political and economic agenda. To that end, uncovering exactly why these states lack good leadership is the first logical step if one seriously applies one's cognitive faculties.

The report makes a modest contribution in that regard. It suggests that two systemic practices remain key factors that best explain the phenomenon of leadership crisis in post-colonial African states. These are the neocolonial and the neo-patrimonial systems.

Components of, and interactions within the systems are summarized in the following two diagrams:

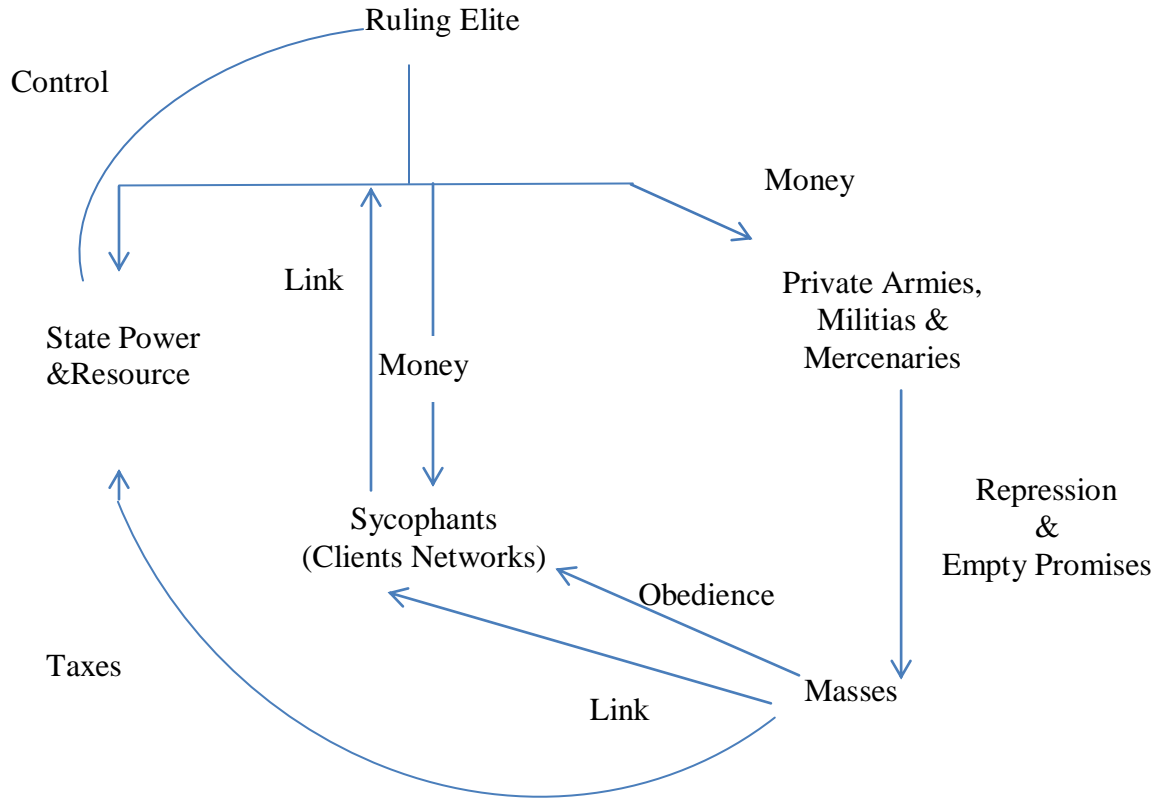
1. The Neocolonial system

World powers :(Superpowers, former colonial masters, Multinational companies).



2. The neo-patrimonial system

NEO-PATRIMONIAL SYSTEM



The report, points to these two systems as the root cause of leadership crisis in post-colonial African States.

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List of abbreviations

ABAKO: Alliance des Bakongo

DRC: Democratic Republic of the Congo

MNC-L: Mouvement National Congolais- Lumumba

UNDP: United Nations Development Program

0. Introduction

Strong political leadership remains the deciding factor for any nation to prosper. This is because leaders shape the form of national politics. They direct. They guide. They set precedents. They are the pathfinders. They are drivers of societies. They have the ability to craft a vision and inculcate that vision into the minds of the followers and make it a shared national project. To borrow Kellerman's words "if shown a certain way, a community may take it; if not, it will never find it. And the ways are to a large extent indeterminate in advance. A nation may obey any of many alternative impulses given by different men of genius, and still live and be prosperous, as a man may enter either of the many businesses"(Kellerman, 1986:17). Leadership is therefore crucial in the process of nation-building.

Leadership mobilizes and inspires people who would otherwise be inert and directionless. In addition, it promotes unity and encourages members of a group to pull in the same direction and strengthens organizations by establishing a hierarchy of responsibilities and roles. Since nation-states constitute big organizations, they require leaders to carry out these functions and responsibilities.

When the above functions are inadequately fulfilled or not fulfilled at all, as is the case in many post colonial African states generally and the DRC in particular, this is what this research project refers to as 'leadership crisis'. The crisis is demonstrated by the breakdown of leader-follower dynamics and poor performance in almost all national sectors. Edwin P. Hollander (1978) observed that "the lack of leadership usually indicates a failure in leader-follower relations, which produces poor performance" (Hollander, 1978:3). The leader-follower dynamics remain a central notion in leadership theories.

Various types and theories of leadership exist. They include great man theories, trait theories, behavioral theories, contingency theories, situational theories, participative theories, managerial theories and transformation theories. This research report is concerned to explore these theories, and how they relate to the leadership crisis in African States, with specific focus on the

Democratic Republic of Congo since its political independence. The chapter on leadership thoroughly elaborates on these theories.

0. Rationale of the study

The interest and significance of this report lies in the fact that it looks at the political leadership crisis in post colonial African states through a focus on the leadership dynamics between leaders and the led. Crawford Young, using the Congo as a case study, quite eloquently pointed out that political leadership failed “to perform its function as a buckle binding the populace to the polity” (Young, 1965:396). He elaborated further and wrote that “The roots briefly sank in 1959-1960 and quickly shriveled... Like Spanish moss, the political sector had its roots in the air, not in the ground (Young, 1965: 396).

In support of the above, this study shows how political leaders in post-colonial states drew their power essentially from their external allies rather than from the internal population. In exchange, these leaders or protégés played the role of intermediaries, allowing external forces to exploit the newly independent states. However, leadership crisis in African states in the post-colonial era should be seen as multi-dimensional. A combination of multiple causes explains the leadership failure in post-colonial African states. This research report explores the debates about the causes of leadership failures in Africa.

1. Problem statement

While researchers and analysts mostly mention and discuss the consequences of leadership failure in post colonial African states, they rarely discuss its causes. This research report explores the debates about the causes of leadership failures in Africa after independence. As a working hypothesis, it starts with the premise that leadership destabilization constitute the major cause, and that other causes are secondary ones. The Congo (DRC) constitutes a shining example that represents the process of how leadership has been destabilized and then failed as a result of such destabilization in many African countries. The DRC therefore, stands as a microcosm of leadership crisis in post-colonial African states.

2. Main research question

How is leadership crisis in post-colonial African states generally and in the DRC in particular, explained in the literature?

a. Sub-questions

1. Did the leadership crisis occur because the leaders of newly independent African states did not have sufficient instrumental knowledge (academic education) and resources to run modern states?
2. Or, did leadership crisis occur because leaders of the newly independent African states did not have moral knowledge (i.e. were morally compromised, thus corrupt, self interested and power-hungry) and therefore failed to put the national interest above their narrow, personal selfish interests?
3. Or did leadership crisis occur because leaders of the newly independent African states operated in a neocolonial setting (where moderate leaders serve external powers) that prevented them from freely and properly pursuing their national development goal?

3. Aims and objectives

From the outset, it is important to point out that by identifying factors that led to the political leadership crisis in post-colonial African states, the intention is not to remove the ultimate responsibility from the shoulders of Africans themselves. It is a historical fact that external elements played a meaningful role in what led to the leadership failure African states experienced in the post-colonial era, but ultimately Africans remain responsible for the tragedies that have befallen them. As Walter Rodney pointed out, “Not only are there African accomplices in the imperialist system, but every African has the responsibility to understand how the system works and work for its overthrow” (Rodney, 1981: xii).

The main objective of this research report is to engage the question of what led to leadership crisis in post-colonial African states generally and in the DRC in particular. Through an analysis of the literature on leadership in the DRC, the paper explores the role leadership played in the stagnation of that naturally rich country, and draws some valuable lessons about development in Africa over the last 50 years. What choices have leaders made when confronted with the

manifold economic and social problems they faced, first in the immediate post-colonial period, and then in the subsequent period taking into account the local and international socio-political and economic environment?

The report seeks to understand and question whether the stagnation, the decline and the lack of progress in many African states and the DRC specifically is caused by weak and irresponsible leadership or whether other factors better explain the stagnation of Africa's development. Why was leadership so weak? Could part of the explanation lie in the nature of an unfavourable international environment? In effect the study is concerned to account for the failure of African leadership in post-colonial context.

The research report critically engages the root cause of the widespread leadership crisis in the post-colonial African states through the prism of a case study of the DRC. The study analyzes an African political system that slowly emerged out of the rubble of decolonization. It aims at contributing in a small way to the comparative politics of African independence. It is concerned with the challenge of nation-building in Africa, and the leadership that African states need today to build successful and globally competitive nation-states.

To carry out the above-mentioned task, the research report looks into the leadership dynamics between leaders and followers since that relationship constitutes an important part of the successful process of nation-building. This means that leaders and the led must stand in some relationship whereby continuous communication between them exists, appropriate mechanisms for conflict resolution are established and the actions taken collectively in the public interest are undertaken without frequent use of force.

The case study chosen, the DRC, will show that, in the normative sense, national financial and human resources mobilized by the nationalist movement should be utilized not only for the negative purpose of destroying colonial power but also for the positive goal of nation-building, engendering social progress, and promoting the establishment of properly functioning democratic governance. This is because, once independence is attained, the nationalist movement should not be caught in a web of power relations that lead to the establishment of dictatorship, patrimonialism and rent-seeking as the preferred form of governing the independent state.

This study attempts to confirm or invalidate theoretical claims. The study aims therefore to either confirm or invalidate the claim often made that weak and irresponsible leadership that ruled in many post-colonial African states was due to the neocolonial setting they operated in. The study also scrutinizes the established opinion and belief, propagated in the context of the Cold War and beyond, that the limited success or the complete of outright failure registered by most African states after independence is best explained by their incompetence, their intellectual inferiority, their corruption, and their backward mind-set and mentality. In short, that all the causes and the entire explanation for African lack of progress are internal. Basil Davison expressed this point very well. He pointed out that “Many persons in authority outside Africa, or speaking for authority, have read the evidence in a different way. For them, Africa’s troubles come from some inherent inability of black people to cope with their own problems. These authorities have lectured us on the “immaturity” of Africans”(Davidson, 1974:106). The case of the DRC or former Zaire will be used to test the generalization often made, and widely agreed upon, about leadership failure in post-colonial African states.

4. Literature review

The DRC, named Zaire by Mobuto Sese Seko, is a huge nation-state, mineral-rich and endowed with a lot of other natural resources. The country “occupies an area of 2,345,409 square kilometers in the heart of Africa” (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002:20). Nzongola-Ntalaja describes the natural riches of that country in the following terms:

The Congo has a wide array of minerals including copper, cobalt, tin, zinc, gold, diamonds, iron ore, silver, cadmium, uranium, europium, niobium (or columbite) tantalum and thorium. Some of these mineral are of great strategic value. Uranium for example has been used to manufacture nuclear weapons, while rare metals such niobium and tantalum is greatly needed for space aeronautics in the 21st century. (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002:28)

Despite the natural endowments of the country, it is still counted among the poorest countries in the world. The United Nations Development Report on Human Development of the year 2011 classifies the DRC among the last three poorest countries in the world (UNDP, 2011). The UNDP classification prompts the question of why has the DRC (and several other naturally rich

African countries), despite huge developmental potential, with huge natural endowments, failed to advance its socio-political and economic conditions? Did they lack political leadership?

Politically, the country has experienced many challenges, in the post colonial era. The country's national independence hero Patrice Lumumba died too soon to steer the nation towards prosperity as he envisaged, to implement his nationalist plan. He was assassinated few months after independence, caught between the Cold War struggles of major international actors. For its natural resources mainly, the country had been prey to external exploitation for a very long period of time and Lumumba was perceived as a leader who would bring to an end such exploitation. Therefore he constituted in the eyes of the exploiters a barrier to be eliminated, in order to protect external interests. Nzongola-Ntalaja writes that "since 1884, external interests in the rich natural resources of the Congo have fuelled conflicts in this country and constituted a major reason why the Congo question is frequently on the international political agenda" (Nzongola-Ntalaja,2002:20).

Belgium that colonized the country and its major western allies considered their interests under threat when the county became politically independent.

The Congo won its independence from Belgium on the 30th of June 1960. Patrice Lumumba's Mouvement National Congolais- Lumumba (MNC-L) and its coalition of radical nationalist parties had captured a majority of seats in the lower house of parliament in the pre-independence elections in May 1960. Lumumba became prime minister and head of government, while Abako leader Joseph Kasa-Vubu became the ceremonial head of state. The victory of a militantly nationalist leader with a strong national constituency was viewed as a major impediment to the Belgian neocolonial strategy and threat to the global interests of the western alliance (Nzongola-Ntalaja: 2002:94).

The western alliance included major powers in Western Europe and the United States. This alliance sought therefore to maintain their control over the Congo by removing Lumumba and his associates and put in power a leader they will control. In so doing, colonialism would indirectly continue. Nzogola-Ntalaja comments that "Working hand in hand, Washington, New York and Brussels succeeded in eliminating Lumumba and his radical followers from the

political scene and in replacing him with moderate leaders” (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002:95). Could this assassination of the nationalist leader, Lumumba, and his replacement by a moderate, Mobutu, be the origin of both the destabilization and the crisis of Congolese political leadership? This argument will be thoroughly explored. Further, the question of whether a similar *modus operandi* can still be detected in many other African states in the post colonial context will be also examined. The cases of Burundi, Burkina-Faso, and the Comoro Islands will serve as comparators in this regard.

The elimination of Lumumba led to an ideological split in the nationalist movement between the radicals and the moderate. The split proved to have had a significant impact on what happened later to the leadership of the DRC. The antagonism between the radicals and the moderates made it difficult to unite the elite around one common cause of nation building. This is because, on the one hand,

The radicals were progressive nationalists who sought to create nationally oriented and mass-based political parties, and saw independence as an opportunity for some changes likely to benefit ordinary people economically and socially. In Africa and international politics, they espoused the pan African ideal of African unity and the Bandung principle of ‘positive neutralism’ or non-alignment (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002:96).

On the other hand “The moderates were nationalists who tended on the whole to be conservative in their political outlook generally, whether they were unitarists or federalists....Given their readiness to accept western tutelage, they did enjoy a high level of support for the Belgians and other western government and corporate circles. This backing was clearly evident in the aborted attempt to make Kasa- Vubu head of government at independence; western involvement in the Katanga secession; the UN endorsement of Kasa-Vubu’s illegal dismissal of Lumumba as prime minister; and the US and Belgian roles in Lumumba’s assassination” (Nzongola-Ntalaja,2002:97).

Crawford Young also noted the same facts. He wrote that, “at independence Lumumba had asked on May 18th 1960 for the immediate withdrawal of the Belgian troops; he expressed the misgivings of many in adding, ‘The principal objective of the Belgian government is to establish a stooge government which it will control’...”(Young, 1965:312). The Belgian government and

its Western Allies ultimately managed to destabilize the Lumumba leadership and established the kind of government they wanted, a government that would not pose any threat to their interests. How did this leadership destabilization affect the socio-political and economic progress of the country?

Leaders that exercised power after the assassination of Lumumba did not care much about the interests of the masses, since they were not brought to power and supported by them. In addition, the leadership role changed in the pre- and post-independence periods. For instance “the leadership role prior to independence was to mobilize the masses against the colonial regime”(Young, 1965:392). In the post-colonial era however, as Young put it, the leadership role was “to govern, to maneuver through the labyrinth of forces, internal and external” (Young, 1965:392). The absence of a truly nationalist political leadership to govern, to “maneuver through the labyrinth of forces”, internal and external meant that the country was not led. It was like a ship without a captain. This led ultimately to the misery of insecurity and widespread poverty the country is still experiencing today.

So many people have reflected on that misery in the DRC and elsewhere in the continent. Many competing claims have been presented about African states’ socio-political and economic progress, or lack thereof. Some writers identify world structures as the key challenge to African progress. Basil Davidson (1974) for instance wrote that “Africa’s troubles arise from structures and relationships which bar the way to true development, to the change from a colonial system to a postcolonial system, and even, often enough, to a mere growth of what exists” (Davidson,1974:105). John Biggs-Davison however disagrees with this view. For him the major challenge to African political leadership is to unite different tribal and ethnic groups. He states that “No one, however gifted, can organize a modern state if no unifying allegiance proves stronger than the fissiparous and insistent demands of kith and clan” (Biggs-Davison,1972:93).

Among the multiple causes, and adding to the above mentioned debate, my research suggests that a lack of properly trained cadres to run a modern state at independence partly crippled African states, the DRC included. Few experienced or educated civil servants existed after the colonial civil servants left. Even fewer university graduates existed in the newly independent African states. This is because the colonial rulers did not adequately develop an education system that would provide an appropriately skilled and knowledgeable indigenous administration

for the needs of the newly independent post-colonial state. Instead, indigenous intermediaries were either traditional chiefs, as in the British system of indirect rule, or lowly positioned and relatively poorly educated indigenous officials who facilitated communication between colonizers and colonized, as in the French colonial system. The Belgian colonial regime formulated and implemented a policy that limited the creation of an African intelligentsia. Indeed, this was reflected in the fact that only one person in the entire country had acquired university education at the time of independence. In the words of Rene Lemarchand “except for Justin Bomboko, not a single one had had the opportunity to acquire a university education, and only a few had completed secondary school” (Lemarchand, 1964:133). A modern state needs a cadre of leaders and civil servants with requisite bureaucratic capabilities.

Elsewhere on the continent the situation was no better. Leaders that took power after independence did not have the required education to run a modern nation-state. The qualifications that key political leaders across the continent had obtained at the time of independence are given by Biggs-Davison. “Tom Moby (Kenyan) was an assistant sanitary inspector, Dr Kenneth Kaunda (Zambian) was a teacher, Mr. Joshua Nkomo, of Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), was a social welfare worker, and Mobutu, of the former Belgian Congo (DRC) was a prison book-keeper with the rank of sergeant” (Biggs-Davison, 1972:93).

In addition, a deficit for some countries was later due to the fact that bright African minds trained after independence went to serve the already developed countries, often their “former” colonial masters. This phenomenon is known as the brain drain. These intellectuals moved to the developed countries attracted by better salaries and better living conditions. Some went to those countries for educational purposes and never returned to their respective countries to participate in the construction of their nation, to build adequate institutions and strengthen them.

Nyerere, the first president of Tanzania, compares a person who goes abroad for educational purposes and never returns to a traitor. He expressed that view in the following way: “A person who goes to study and never returns is like a man who, in a family facing starvation, was given all the little food left so that he gets strength to go and bring food from a foreign country. When he got there, he found a lot of food and drinks. He ate and drank as much as he wanted. He never returned. The family died of hunger. The man was a traitor” (Nyerere, 1968:138).

Frederick Cooper identifies other structural challenges that complicate African political leadership even further. He pointed out that, “African states were built on a set of institutions - bureaucracies, militaries, post offices and (initially) legislatures - set up by colonial regimes, as well as on the principle of state sovereignty sanctified by a community of already existing states” (Cooper, 2002:156).

This discussion brings to light the multidimensional nature of the problems faced by post-colonial states that help explain the leadership crisis that African states, and especially the DRC, experienced in the post-colonial period. It is clear that these states lacked not only the visionary, transformational leadership required of their countries, but also the managerial skills needed for effective rule. Moreover, these states needed different types of leadership at various historical points.

5. Research Methodology

Qualitative research methods were used to conduct this research report. The report critically explores the existing literature on the subject of leadership failure in African states after independence. It examines the literature written on the African states in general but focuses mainly on the literature written on the DRC as the main case study used in this report. After exploring general theories on leadership, the report proceeds to look at leadership in the DRC at different times. The first period is the early 1960s, just after independence. This period focuses on Patrice Lumumba’s leadership, often described as visionary and transformational. In the mid-1960s until early 1990s, the report focuses on Mobutu’s leadership. His leadership is referred to as transactional leadership. It was a patrimonial system of rule. From the early 1990s to the present, the research looks at Désiré Kabila’s leadership followed two years later by his son’s, Joseph Kabila. The latter two portray more or less the same type and style of leadership as their predecessor, Mobutu. They were all creations of foreign powers on which they relied to ascend to power. These leaders serve as their protégés.

6. Chapter outline

This research report is divided into four chapters. The first introductory chapter presents the background to the thesis, develops a review of the literature on leadership, and explores debates around the subject of leadership generally and the issues of leadership in African states after

independence in particular. Chapter two engages the experience of what Nkrumah (1965) coined as the 'neocolonial system' as a possible major challenge to leadership in African states after independence. This chapter draws mainly on the literature written on the Congo. In this chapter, external challenges to African leadership will be thoroughly examined. The third chapter critically engages with the local socio-political and economic challenges that account for leadership failure in post-colonial African states, particularly in the DRC. The final chapter attempts to draw conclusions as to what factor or factors best explain the phenomenon of leadership crisis in post colonial African states.

0. Chapter one: Leadership theories.

0. Introduction

The general description of leadership in Africa, and the DRC in particular, found in the literature is an alarming one. For example Robert I. Rotberg¹ puts it in the following words: “Africa has long been saddled with poor, even malevolent leadership: predatory kleptocrats, military-installed autocrats, economic illiterates, and puffed-up posturers.” Robert I Rotberg wrote in 2004. He further elaborated that “Under the stewardship of these leaders, infrastructure in many African countries has fallen into disrepair, currencies have depreciated, and real prices have inflated dramatically, while job availability, health care, education standards, and life expectancy have declined. Ordinary life has become beleaguered: general security has deteriorated, crime and corruption have increased, much-needed public funds have flowed into hidden bank accounts, and officially sanctioned ethnic discrimination -- sometimes resulting in civil war -- has become prevalent (Rotberg, 2004).

The DRC, the case study that this research report focuses on is a shining example of the above-mentioned description. The country has had successive leaders who all rarely showed signs of good leadership. This is because “Good leaders deliver security of the state and of the person, the rule of law, good education and health services, and a framework conducive to economic growth. They ensure effective arteries of commerce and enshrine personal and human freedoms. They empower civil society and protect the environmental commons. Crucially, good leaders also provide their citizens with a sense of belonging to a national enterprise” (Rotberg, 2004). The analysis of who should be seen as a good leader is highlighted in the theories of leadership to which the research now turns.

¹ Robert I. Rotberg is Director of the Program on Intrastate Conflict at Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government and President of the World Peace Foundation.

1. General Theories of leadership

The notion of leadership, what it means, what it does and what we want to know about it remains a contentious issue. There are several accounts about theories and styles of leadership, as mentioned earlier. This research report elaborates especially on transformational and transactional theories, although it touches briefly on the others.

a. What is leadership?

The concept of leadership as understood in this study refers to as “a process of influence between a leader and those who are followers” (Hollander,1978:1). In the course of that process leaders perform various functions including organizing, directing and coordinating efforts, maintaining the group, defining the situation and setting goals. Hollander (1978) added that “leadership also involves internal and external relationships, including conflicts. This means negotiating and settling disputes with other social units, in organizations, and with other agencies and nations in the government and the world arenas” (Hollander, 1978:3).

Leaders play a vital role in the leadership process. For John S. Ahlquist and Margaret Levi (2011) a leader is any person that “Coordinates followers to provide desired action and outcomes” (Ahlquist and Levi, 2011:1). Leaders may use coercion, incentives and/or persuasion as key instruments. They also define leaders as “individuals who manage to alter people’s behavior on a large-scale, who have great capabilities to inspire, convince and transform beliefs and possibly preferences of the followers. They are architects of change who define and redefine the game that followers believe themselves to be playing” (Ahlquist and Levi, 2011:1).

Furthermore Andrew Heywood understands leadership as “either a pattern of behaviour or as a personal quality” (Heywood, 2007:372). He explains that leadership as a pattern of behaviour, means the influence an individual or group exert over a larger body to organize or direct its efforts towards the achievement of desired goals. As a personal attribute leadership refers to the character traits that enable one leader to exert influence over others (Heywood, 2007:372). The trait theory of leadership this research looks at later enumerates such traits. Before turning to such traits the report elaborates further on the process of profoundly impacting on followers’ behaviour, choices and preferences. It is transformational leadership.

Transformational leadership

Individuals able to convince people to change their behaviour on large scale, inspire, convince, and transform their beliefs and preferences are transformational leaders. Referring to the world of work, Bass offers the following definition of transformational leadership. He states that “Transformational leadership occurs when leaders broaden and elevate the interests of their employees, when they generate awareness and acceptance of the purposes and mission of the group and when they stir followers to look beyond their own self-interest for the good of the group” (Bass, 1990:20). A close look at Patrice Lumumba’s actions, he could be described as one of those individuals. His ability to transmit ideas clearly and sharply enabled him to mobilize mass support in the Congo and force independence from Belgium colonial rule. As the report points out later, he was a barrier to people with neocolonial ambitions. Such people included both foreigners and locals who engaged in ‘transactional leadership’ which constitute a kind of cooption or collusion.

Other major characteristics of transformational leaders are that they are visionary, inspirers, they have strong ideological convictions, personal resolution and personal will to put them into practice. To borrow Heywood words

In transformational leadership, a leader is not so much a coordinator or a manager as an inspirer or visionary. Not only are such leaders motivated by strong ideological convictions, but they also have personal resolution and political will to put them into practice. Instead of seeking compromise and consensus, transformational leaders attempt to mobilize support from within government, their parties and the general public for the realization of their personal vision (Heywood, 2007:377).

Transformational leaders differ fundamentally from transactional leaders since the latter “act as brokers who are concerned to uphold the collegiate face of government by negotiating compromises and balancing rival individuals, factions and interests against one another (Heywood, 2007:377). They do not have a fixed long-term vision but act to satisfy the present needs.

Transactional leadership

For Bass, transactional leadership, in the work place, is a “kind of leadership which is based on transactions between manager and employees” (Bass, 1990:20). In this kind of leadership, “the leader gets things done by making, and fulfilling promises of recognition, pay increases, and advancement for employees who perform well. By contrast, employees who do not do good work are penalized”(Bass, 1990:20). In the political sphere, followers who engage in transactional leadership, often lack moral convictions, or profound and firm principles. They only follow the leader who offers higher incentives and do not hesitate to betray their former leader and/or ally. This kind of leadership presents its advantages and disadvantages:

This is above all a managerial, even technocratic, style of leadership, its advantages being that it is fiercely practical and allows scope for tactical flexibility. Its central drawback, however is that such leaders may be seen as opportunistic, wheeler dealer who are devoid of firm principles convictions (Bass, 1990).

The illustration of such leadership is Mobutu who sacrificed their independence hero Patrice Lumumba and formed alliance with their former colonizer. He remained their protégé until he was overthrown in mid 1990 by Laurent KABILA. It could then be argued that transactional leaders and followers lack certain crucial traits to be discovered in trait theory of leadership.

1. a. Trait theory of leadership

The trait theory of leadership supports the arguments that people are born with inherited traits which enable them to become good leaders. The logical deduction from such arguments is that leaders are born and not made. The same idea is developed by proponents of the “Great Man” theory of leadership, a theory this research report explores further on. Trait theory often identifies particular personality or behavioral characteristics shared by leaders. The theory does not however explain why there are individuals who exhibit such characteristics but who are not leader. This means that, in addition to these characteristics other factors play a meaningful role to ultimately shape successful leaders. In attempting to engage the leadership issues, attention must therefore be put not only on identifying these traits, often by studying successful leaders, but the focus, this paper maintains, should be shifted to finding way of teaching these skills to people to develop leaders.

According to the trait theory, a person that exhibits the following characteristics or traits becomes a good leader.

The person is adaptable to situations, alert to social environment, ambitious, assertive, cooperative, decisive, dependable, and dominant (i.e. has the desire to influence others, energetic (high activity level), persistent, self-confident, tolerant of stress and willing to assume responsibility. In addition to the above-mentioned characteristics or traits, the leader must demonstrate to be clever (intelligent), conceptually skilled, creative, diplomatic and tactful, fluent in speaking, knowledgeable about group task, organized (administrative ability), persuasive and socially skilled (<http://www.strategies-for-managing-change.com/trait-theory-of-leadership.html>).

The traits approach still does not present conclusive answers to debates of whether leaders are born or made; and whether leadership is an art or science. This report maintains that these are not mutually exclusive alternatives since leadership may be something of an art and it still requires the application of special skills and techniques. Even if there are certain inborn qualities that make one a good leader, these natural talents need encouragement and development. A person is not born with self-confidence. Self-confidence is developed, honesty and integrity are also nurtured, and motivation to lead comes not only from within the individual but also from the circumstances surrounding the individual as they grow up. Thus, while cognitive ability may find its origin partly in natural predisposition people are born with, it still needs to be developed. The interaction between natural predispositions and environmental factors produce then individuals often referred to as great men.

1. b. Great Man theory

The Great Man theory assumes that the capacity for leadership is inherent – that great leaders are born not made. This is a shared position with the trait theorists. These theories often portray great leaders as heroic, mythic and destined to rise to leadership when needed (<http://www.strategies-for-managing-change.com/trait-theory-of-leadership.html>)

This section explores whether and when leaders are agents of change. It looks closely to the great man in history debate, in which one side holds that history is shaped by a relatively few

outstanding individuals, while the other insists that history constitutes a great tide of events that inevitably sweeps us all along in its wake.

Kellerman asks the question of what role leaders actually play in the complex organization of human affairs. He points to various scholars and politicians in the past. For instance certain individuals such as Thomas Carlyle hold the position that “history is the story of what great men have accomplished. Carlyle argues heatedly that some men are manifestly superior to all others and that it is these supermen who, quite properly, become our leaders. Carlyle holds a Nietzschean view of history which sees the masses as led by an outstanding few who, in turn, account for all things that we see standing accomplished in the world” (Kellerman, 1984:3).

Kellerman then shows that the view presented by Carlyle is contested. For example he points out that Herberts Spencer believes the contrary. In his view, “societies evolve in a uniform, gradual and progressive manner, and no single individual can alter the course of this development. To oppose the great man theory, Spencer puts forward three main objections. Firstly he advances what he terms “the universal love of personalities”; secondly it is the “pleasant news” that to understand history you have only to study the lives of great men; and lastly, the relative ease with which we can interpret events through the actions of a visible few. Spencer concludes that a close reading of history reveals that social and political change is the result “of the aggregate of conditions” (Kellerman, 1984:4).

The views presented above, borrowed from Kellerman suggests that the question of individual impact in the organization of human affairs remains to this day a subject of vigorous debate. Throughout history there has been major disagreement on the question of what the role of individuals is, when it comes to the political organization of nations. As the debate above just highlighted, the debate is still vigorous. The view is suggestive, and it seems obvious that even today the human element still has a major role to play in the organization of human affairs and societies, as it was in the past. The justification for this is that no matter how favorable or unfavorable the circumstances are, the ability of leaders to interact with the conditions present at any particular time remains one of the deciding factors that lead to desired outcomes. Individual leadership is significant for Kellerman.

It then follows that social evolution is a result of the interaction of two wholly distinct factors- the individual, deriving his or her peculiar gifts from the play of the natural endowments and social forces, but bearing all the power of initiative and origination in the hand of the leader; and, second, the social environment, with its power of adopting or rejecting both the leader and his or her gifts. Both factors are essential to change. Kellerman concludes that “The community stagnates without the impulse of the individual. The impulse of the individual dies without the sympathy of the community “ (Kellerman, 1984:20).

Although interaction between the leader’s abilities and the social environment is essential, the Great Man theory still emphasizes the crucial role of leaders in history.

They were the leaders of men, these great ones; the modelers, patterns, and in a wide sense creators, of whatsoever the general mass of men contrived to do or to attain; all things that we see standing accomplished in the world are properly the outer material result, the practical realization and embodiment, of thoughts that dwelt in Great Men sent into the world: the soul of the whole world’s history, it may justly be considered, were the history of these (Kellerman, 1984:5).

Furthermore proponents of ‘great man’ theory elaborate when they praise, celebrate and compare a great man to the fountain that brings freshness to the community or the light that brings clarity where there was darkness. Such praises are highlighted in the following quote:

He [great man] is the living light-fountain, which it is good and pleasant to be near. The light which enlightens, which has enlighten the darkness of the world, and this is not as a kindled lamp only, but rather as a natural luminary shining by the gift of heaven. A flowing light-fountain, as I say, of native original insight, of manhood and heroic nobleness; in whose radiance all souls feel that it is well with them. On any terms whatsoever, you will not grudge to wander in such neighborhood for a while (Kellerman, 1984:7).

The respect reserved to such individuals does not end there. They are worshiped as heroes and heroines in societies, the worship of those great men who have accomplished important things in life. “A Great Man becomes the savior of his epoch. He is the lightening, without which the fuel

never would have burnt since, there is no saddler symptom of a generation than such general blindness to the spiritual lightning, with faith only in the heap of barren dead fuel” (Kellerman, 1984:7).

The great Man theory contested:

Opponents of the great man theory argue that great men do depend on the antecedents furnished by the society they are born in. In the absence of material and mental accumulations which his society inherits from the past, and in the absence of co-existing population, character, intelligence and social arrangements, the so-called great man will be powerless (Kellerman, 1984:14).

In support of the above a few examples are given. For instance:

Given a Shakespeare, and what dramas could he have written without the multitudinous traditions of civilized life- without the various experiences which, descending to him from the past, gave wealth to his thought, and without the language which a hundred generations had developed and enriched by use? Suppose a Watt, with all his inventive power, living in a tribe ignorant of iron, or in a tribe that could get only as much iron as a fire blown by hand-bellows will smelt; or suppose him born among ourselves before the lathes existed; what chance would there have been of the steam engine (Kellerman, 1984:14)?

Clearly the critics of the Great Man theory attach much importance to the context of the past and the environmental opportunities rather than the individual genius, courage and creativity. Karl Marx (1852) eloquently expressed this idea.

‘Men make their own history, but they do not make it as they please; they do not make it under self-selected circumstances, but under circumstances existing already, given and transmitted from the past. The tradition of all dead generations weighs like a nightmare on the brains of the living. And just as they seem to be occupied with revolutionizing themselves and things, creating something that did not exist before, precisely in such epochs of revolutionary crisis they anxiously conjure up the spirits of the past to their

service, borrowing from them names, battle slogans, and costumes in order to present this new scene in world history in time-honoured disguise and borrowed language.’(Marx, 1852)

For Marx it was a combination of technological development, property relations and class that determined the nature of social change. Thus at a certain époque, it was class struggle that created a conducive environment for social change. This is the rejection of the idea that ‘the Great Man makes history’, and it led to the rise of contingency theory of leadership.

1. c. **Contingency Theory:**

Contingency theory of leadership focuses on particular variables related to the environment that might determine which particular style of leadership is best suited for the situation (Cherry, 2012). According to this theory, “no leadership style is best in all situations. Success depends upon a number of variables, including the leadership style, qualities of the followers and aspects of the situation” (Cherry, 2012).

Cherry indicates that “scholars that have worked around the concept of leadership have found out that the leader's ability to lead is contingent upon various situational factors, including the leader's preferred style, the capabilities and behaviours of followers and also various other situational factors” (Cherry, 2012).. Contingency theories constitute therefore a class of behavioural theory that contend that there is no one best way of leading and that a leadership style that is effective in some situations may not be successful in others. As a result of this, leaders who are very effective at one place and time may become unsuccessful either when transplanted to another situation or when the factors around them change.

Contingency theory is similar to situational theory in that there is an assumption of no simple one right way. The main difference is that “situational theory tends to focus more on the behaviours that the leader should adopt, given situational factors (often about follower behaviour), whereas contingency theory takes a broader view that includes contingent factors about leader capability and other variables within the situation” (Cherry, 2012)..

1. D. Situational Theories:

Situational theories propose that leaders choose the best course of action based upon situational variables. Different styles of leadership may be more appropriate for certain types of decision-making. In other words, “the leadership style depends on the elements a particular situation presents” (Cherry, 2012).

To illustrate further, Kellerman states the following:

Caesar would never have made his conquests without disciplined troops, inheriting their prestige and tactics and organization from the Romans who lived before them. And, to take a recent instance, the strategic genius of Moltke would have triumphed in no great campaigns had there not been a nation of some forty millions to supply soldiers, and had not those soldiers been men of strong bodies, sturdy characters, obedient natures, and capable of carrying out orders intelligently” (Kellerman, 1984:14).

Proponent of great man theory would respond to such criticisms arguing that, the reverence of a Great Man, the respect due to him, lies in that capacity of unlocking that vast supply of latent powers, acting on that immeasurable accumulation of antecedents, serving as the detonator, as the igniter without which the fuel would not have burnt. A situation could offer excellent opportunities, but it takes a great man, to firstly identify them, and then take action, exercise leadership, as the case of DRC abundantly demonstrates. The country is blessed with great potential to become a superpower in the world but, it still requires a great man to act on those opportunities the environment offers.

The impact of Great Men make on the environment.

A great man’s actions impact on his environment and the prevailing situation. He acts as ferment and in an entirely original and peculiar way, changes the constitution of the environment in which they live, “just as a new zoological species change the faunal and floral equilibrium of the region in which it appears” (Kellerman, 1984:15). The great man, “whether he springs from the soil like Mohamed or Franklin brings about a rearrangement, on a large or small scale, of the pre-existing social relations” (Kellerman, 1984:15).

The mutation of societies, then from generation to generations, are in the main due directly or indirectly to the acts or the examples of individuals whose genius was so adapted to the receptivity of the moment, or whose accidental position of authority was so critical that they became ferments, initiators of movements, setters of precedent or fashion, or destroyers of other persons, whose gifts, had they had fair play, would have led society in another direction (Kellerman, 1984:15).

In light of the above, it is clear that the behaviour of some individuals determines what happens in the society in which they live and their surroundings. This leads this research to the behavioural theory of leadership.

1. e. Behavioral Theory:

Behavioural theories of leadership are based upon the belief that great leaders are made, not born. This leadership theory focuses on the actions of leaders not on mental qualities or internal states. According to this theory, people can learn to become leaders through teaching and observation. They are of the view that successful leadership is based in definable, learnable behaviour. This is contrary to what trait theorists advance, that leaders are born not made. The behavioural theories of leadership do not seek inborn traits or capabilities. Rather, they look at what leaders actually do.

If success can be defined in terms of describable actions, then it should be relatively easy for other people to act in the same way. These manners of doing things can be transmitted to others through the process of teaching and learning. This paper agrees that leadership crisis is then likely to occur when society does not see good examples to emulate. In the case of DRC for example, the replacement of Lumumba by Mobutu, took away the leader to be emulated. In so doing a bad precedent was set, which will result in the severe leadership crisis observed in the country in the post-colonial period.

The above description of general theories shows how elusive the concept of leadership is. Ahlquist and Levi agree that Leader/ leadership remain a very elusive concept since so many

definitions and theories of leadership have been offered. However all the theories, observe the two authors, converge on five key conditions for leadership: “Leadership is relational, asymmetric, salient, domain specific and instrumental” (Ahlquist and Levi, 2011:5). It is relational, in the sense that there is no leader without followers. The leader-follower relationship is however asymmetrical because the leader enjoys attention and possibly loyalty and obedience, from the membership, but the relationship need not work the other way around (Ahlquist and Levi, 2011:5). This can be explained by the fact that the leader is often the hub for information flow, the person to whom people turn for direction.

The hub of information flow was destroyed in the DRC by the physical elimination of Lumumba only seven months after independence. The act deprived the Congolese of the person to whom to turn for direction. They were directionless. A long period of leadership crisis had started.

2. Leadership in the Congo in the early 1960s

In the early 1960s, when the DRC obtained independence, the country was of great interest for the world powers because of its mineral resources. The western powers sought to retain the control of the country and the exploitation of the mineral resources through a docile and cooperative leadership. Patrice Lumumba, the leader that had led the country to independence was not such docile person, willing to be used for exploitation purposes. All major powers in the west perceived him as core nationalist.

Ludo De Witte expressed this point when they wrote While the US and Belgium were plotting murder, other Western powers were equally convinced that Lumumba represented a big danger to their neocolonial enterprise in Africa. Ludo De Witte explains further how On the 19 September 1960, the American president and the British Foreign Secretary Lord Home discussed the Congo crisis. De Witte provides evidence showing how the minutes of that meeting suggest to what extent London could have known of Washington’s plan to assassinate Lumumba who had, in the mean time, been removed from office: “the president expressed his wish that Lumumba would fall into a river full of crocodiles” (De Witte, 2001:xv). Following this statement, the British Foreign Secretary Lord Home expressed his concern that these words were not uttered using a diplomatic language. He said, regretfully that “we have lost many of the techniques of old-fashioned diplomacy” (De Witte, 2001: xv). He was therefore not in full

support of the Congolese independence and the independence Hero, Patrice Lumumba had to be executed. The period that followed the death of Lumumba was very unstable, characterized with lack of firm leadership, until the time when Mobutu staged a coup d'état.

3. Leadership in the Congo, from the mid 1960s until early 1990s

This period was dominated by the dictatorship of Mobutu Seseke, elevated to power by Lumumba assassins. It was a patrimonial type of rule. Jean Claude Willame defines patrimonialism as “a system of rule incorporating three fundamental and related elements: appropriation of public offices as the elites prime source of status, prestige, and reward; political and territorial fragmentation through the development of relationships based on primordial and personal loyalties; and the use of private armies, militias, and mercenaries as chief instruments of rule (Willame, 1972:2).

In academic circles, the argument is presented in a more sophisticated way and this version of the argument is known as the theory of African patrimonialism, “namely rule through personal patronage rather than ideology or law, based upon relationships of loyalty and dependence with blurred distinction between private and public interests” (Bond, 2006:3). Proponents of this argument include Michael Bratton, Thomas Callaghy, Patrick Chabal, Jean Pascal Daloz, Richard Sandbrook and Jean Claude Willame. This argument will be thoroughly discussed under internal causes of leadership failure in the DRC.

Mobutu's long patrimonial rule was ended in 1997. On 17 May 1997, the military forces of Laurent Kabila's Alliance des Forces Démocratiques pour la Libération du Congo (AFDL) seized Kinshasa, ending Dictator Mobutu Sese Seko's long sway over the land that he had renamed Zaire.

It had taken the insurgents less than eight months to march from east to west across the vast country and sweep away the decaying carcass of the once-powerful Mobutist state. Although most Congolese rejoiced at the AFDL's entrance into the capital of what would once again be called the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), there remained a layer of wary reserve (Schwartzberg, 1997:1).

The population remained suspicious about the intentions of the new regime since it was a regime propelled to power by foreign forces as the previous one. The people then vowed to combat the new regime if it acts as the previous one. As one citizen put it, "My country is rich, but after 32 years of Mobutu, our people are poor. We can only be happy about his departure, but the one thing we will all reject is another dictatorship that comes to replace him" (Schwartzberg, 1997:1).

4. Leadership in the Congo from mid 1990s to the present

After Mobutu was deposed, nothing major changed. It remained business as usual. Kabila (the father) during his short period in power did not bring about the Change many Congolese were expecting from the new leadership. It was as brutal and corrupt as the previous one. His rule ended when one of his body guards shot him and before he died, he appointed his son to take over. For Claude Kabemba,

Joseph Kabila has allowed himself, like his father and Mobutu, to be surrounded with sycophants (including old faces of the Mobutu regime). Most of them have a legacy of corruption, nepotism and embezzlement of funds. Just as during Mobutu regime, his entourage wears the party's emblem, match their clothes with the colors of the party, and sing praises about Kabila's invincibility, courage and his foresights, although in private conversations they criticize his immaturity and inability (Kabemba, 2011:225).

The continuation of the practices of the Mobutu Regime demonstrates how the Mobutist state has profoundly corrupted society as whole. In the assessment made in 2009 by an expert on the Great Lakes Region, Rene Lemarchand, he indicates that "the Mubutist State has left an enduring imprint on the fabric of society. It has institutionalized a culture of corruption and clientelism that continues to influence public attitudes to authority as much as it shapes the ruler's attitude to the public" (Lemarchand, 2009:271).

Mobutu left the behind him a system of rule that was not fully, if at all dismantled. The Mobutu neo-patrimonial rulership remained under Désire Kabila. It is a system "where the logic of personalized ties thoroughly penetrates legal-rational institutions, a system in which the public and private spheres are but two sides of the same coin" (Lemarchand, 2009:271) in the words of Lemarchand. He further indicates that under such system "the exchange of self-serving favors is

the norm, where connections and cash are the currencies of power and influence and with the ruler cast in the role of a superpatron dexterously handling carrots and sticks” (Lemarchand, 2009:271).

The presidency of both Kabila the father and the son still relied on the systemic legacy of the Mobutu regime to strengthen their power base, largely supported by foreign powers. A closer look at Kabila’s rule suggest that “ his power base was constructed on nepotism, cronyism, and the selective allocation of prebends- mostly in the form of cash real estate and juicy corporate contracts” (Lemarchand, 2009:271). The same logic still applies to gather support from the countryside. Those who grant their political support for the regime expect to receive in return material benefit.

The literature explored so far clearly indicates that the DRC, initially called the Belgian Congo, the renamed Zaire by Mobutu, has never had a visionary and determined leadership to design and implement policies that are meant to advance the socio-economic and the political situation of the country and its people. From the leadership of the early 1960 to the current one, all have failed to transcend personal interest and focus on the establishment of strong national institutions. There are several elements found in the literature that really explain why this is the case. These include internal and external factors. The next two chapters will examine them separately, starting with external factors that constitute the neo-colonial system.

Chapter two: The Neocolonial system as a serious challenge to leadership

0. Introduction

The wave of independence African countries experienced since the early 1960s until the mid-1970s constituted a great cause for concern in western capitals. Independence was perceived as a threat and an obstacle to the western domination. They were also concerned that these newly independent countries would fall under the influence of communism and the Soviet Union. Independence was perceived as a threat to western global interests. De Witte argues that “To counter the obstacle that independence presented, the West had to change its policy of overt domination for one of indirect control, and new national leaders had to learn to respect the neo-colonial order” (De Witte, 2001:xvii) and the continued covert domination.

Lumumba, the independence hero of the DRC, barred the way to this goal because he advocated a complete decolonization that would benefit the population as a whole. He had, therefore, to be assassinated. His assassins exercised perception management afterwards, in order to get public opinion on their side. Ludo de Witte expresses this point in the following words:

In order to get public opinion on their side, western strategists invoked a series of noble objectives. Just as the Belgian king Leopold II had legitimized the conquest of the Congo by presenting it as liberating Africans from the hands of Arab slave traders, and colonial exploitation had been justified as civilizing enterprise, so in 1960 the nationalists were destroyed in the name of protecting Africa from Soviet imperialism. “Saving Africa from Cold War” or “Containing Soviet influence in the process of de-colonization” were the coded phrases used by the west” (De Witte, 2001:xvii).

Some more strategies were to be crafted to somehow legitimize and keep the neocolonial project secret. Immediately after Lumumba physical elimination and his replacement by a pro neocolonialism government, a “ferocious campaign of disinformation” followed. The campaign aimed to prevent the pro Lumumba to ever emerge and capture power again and prevent the truth to come to light. The author of the *Assassination of Lumumba*, De Witte explains:

This dark episode was suppressed for almost forty years, hidden from history books. For fear of losing prestige, funding and other facilities, nobody has dared undertake a serious

analysis and describe the Congo [leadership] crisis as it really happened. No politician has taken the initiative of subjecting Belgium's foreign Ministry to careful scrutiny, or requested a debate or parliamentary inquiry on the subject. On the contrary-once Lumumba's government was ousted, an attempt was made to deprive the Africans of the true story of his overthrow: not only had Lumumba been physically eliminated, his life and work were not to become a source of inspiration for the people of Africa either. His vision of creating a unified nation state and an economy serving the needs of the people were to be wiped out. In an attempt to prevent another Lumumba ever appearing again, his ideas and his struggle against neo-colonial domination had to be purged from collective memory (De Witte, 2001: xxi). In fact, the Lumumba assassination encapsulates the essence of the Congo crisis- a crisis which, as Lumumba's comrade Antoine Kizenga put it, was in fact a colonial reconquest (De Witte, 2001:xv).

The exercise of erasing Lumumba ideas from collective memory started immediately after his physical elimination to hide the brutality of his murder. Cox and Wyman describe what really happened during his final hours and reveal how brutal the murder was. They point out that "Lumumba had to undergo trials and sufferings that would have tested the nerves and the endurance of the bravest and most courageous of men. His crazed and dehumanized captors left him with little peace as they insulted, slapped him, pulled his hair, kicked and spat on him, and broke his spectacles. Later he was starved, and denied medical treatment. All this barbarous and outrageous treatment was designed to break his spirit and turn Lumumba, a Man, into a groveling slave who would prostrate himself, begging for mercy. But none of this happened. Torture, both mental and physical, just served steel him further and he maintained a dignified calm, even when obviously in pain" (Cox and Wyman, 1973:84).

The justification for such treatment could only be known to his killers but for Cox and Wyman "Patrice Lumumba, Maurice Mpolo, and Joseph Okito have died because they put their faith in the United Nations and because they refused to allow themselves to be used as stooges or puppets for external interests" (Cox and Wyman, 1973:191). Although Lumumba refused to be used as a puppet for external interests as Cox and Wyman maintain, some other local individuals could have been involved in the elimination of Lumumba and establishing a pro imperialist government. They were corrupted. Corruption and the excessive love of money were the reasons

identified by Lumumba himself and his followers that led some locals to agree to be used by foreign powers. Lumumba said in his farewell letter to his wife: “They have corrupted some of our compatriots and bribed others. How true and pathetic. Lumumba was the first of the African leaders to see and point out the new phenomenon-that the leaders of national movement in whom the people had reposed so much trust and confidence could be bribed, corrupted and put their honor up for sale” (Cox and Wyman, 1973:194).

The above discussion demonstrate how some Africans, out of sheer love of money or out of ignorance and naïveté, consent to work for the neocolonial imperialist system and serve as imperialist lackeys, stooges, puppets, and/or comfortable slaves. They are locked up in ideological misrecognition. Mobutu Seseko in the DRC was one of them. He was the middle man who in close collaboration of foreigners exploited the country and impoverished their own country. Patrick Bond in *Looting Africa* put this point in the following way: “Africa is poor, ultimately because its economy and society have been ravaged by international capital as well as local elites who are often propped up by foreign powers.” (Bond, 2007:1)

The points made above brings to light how leadership crisis in the DRC, as in many African states rose partially from the neo-colonial system that operate globally, that is, an unfavorable international environment that protects the interests of the core and prevents the periphery from advancing, on one hand; and the patrimonial system that prevailed locally on the other, some analysts believe. Kwame Nkrumah (1965), Patrick Bond (2007), Adebayo Adedeyi feature prominently among those who propose neo-colonialism as the root cause of the Leadership crisis in post colonial African states generally and the DRC in particular. Leaders were caught in a ‘neocolonial trap’, that is, world powerful actors (states and multinational companies) in close but unequal cooperation with the local elite they held to ascend to power and maintain it, exploit African states shamelessly. The stick and carrot system - rewarding local elite - that cooperates and participates in assassinating those opposed to such shameless exploitation is their modus operandi.

Looking for hurdles and hindrances to African progress outside of Africa- in the world structures in the international system, is often dismissed by modernization theorists as looking for excuses problems, except themselves, as Creg Mills (2010) argues.

This point does not mean that internal hurdles and hindrances to African progress did not exist. Academics such as Patrick Chabal, Peter Ekeh and others highlighted major internal problems confront African Countries, emphasizing in particular neopatrimonialism. This is interpreted in this report as ‘the neo-patrimonial trap’ that constitutes one of the root causes of leadership failure in post-colonial African states. The neo-patrimonial trap means that local elites capture state power for personal enrichment, fragment political and geographical entities, followed by the formation of rent-seeking networks. They later form private armies and militias to protect these networks, maintain or extend their sphere of influence.

This section thus investigates the systemic political phenomenon that has had such a serious negative impact on leadership in Africa generally and on the DRC in particular. The latter constitutes a quintessential case of leadership failure in post-colonial Africa.

We first critically examine the notion of political system. The general notion of a political system is critical for the argument in exploring the how different elements interact to produce a particular and desired result the section also shows how the system generates the support it needs for its survival and regeneration.

Thus we are concerned in this chapter to examine systemic practices of what is the ‘neocolonial system’. The next chapter will focus on the ways in which patronage networks maintain the power of the ruler, in what one could call the patrimonial system. Before turning to these questions, the meaning of a political system is examined.

1. The notion of a political system

Like any system, a political system, is a unit composed of various elements that work together as a whole to produce a desired outcome. For David Easton a political system is comprised of the following:

It is surrounded by, but clearly distinguishable from, the environment or setting in which it operates. The system of political actions as a unit is fed with inputs of various kinds that keep the system going. These inputs are converted by the process of the system into outputs and these, in turn, have consequences both for the system and for the environment in which the system exists. It can be illustrated schematically as:

Inputs → political system or processes → outputs (Easton, 1957:384).

Among the inputs of a political system, Easton suggests that “there are two basic kinds: demands and support. These inputs give a political system its dynamic character. They furnish it with the raw material or information that the system is called upon to process and with the energy to keep it going”(Easton, 1957:384). Without the inputs to give the system its dynamic character and energy to keep it going, the system cannot sustain itself. These elements are therefore crucial for the understanding of the two political systems scrutinized in this research report, namely the neo-colonial and the neopatrimonial systems.

One of the major inputs of the political systems is the support. This element needs particular attention to understand what it means and under what form it appears.

We can say that A supports B either when A acts on behalf of or when he orients himself favorably toward B’s goals, interests, and actions. Supportive behavior may thus be of two kinds. It may consist of actions promoting the goals, interests, and actions of another person. We may vote for a political candidate, or defend a decision by the highest court in the land. In this case, support manifests itself through overt action”(Easton, 1957:390).

Support does not always manifest itself through overt action. It can also be covert. “...supportive behavior may involve not external observable acts, but those internal forms of behavior we call orientations or states of mind” (Easton, 1957:384). Furthermore, David Easton indicates that “As I use the phrase, a supportive state of mind is a deep-seated set of attitudes or predispositions, or a readiness to act on behalf of some other person. It exists when we say that a man is loyal to his party, attached to democracy, or infused with patriotism” (Easton, 1957:391).

In addition, “What such phrases as these have in common is the fact that they refer to a state of feelings, on the part of a person. No overt action is involved at this level of description, although the implication is that the individual will pursue a course of action consistent with his attitudes. Where the anticipated action does not flow from our perception of the state of mind, we assume that we have not penetrated deeply enough into the true feelings of the person but have merely skimmed off his surface attitudes” (Easton, 1957:391).

Given the significance of the support element among the inputs of a political system and having analyzed its meaning in the section above, the report proceeds to show how support is generated.

2. Mechanisms of support

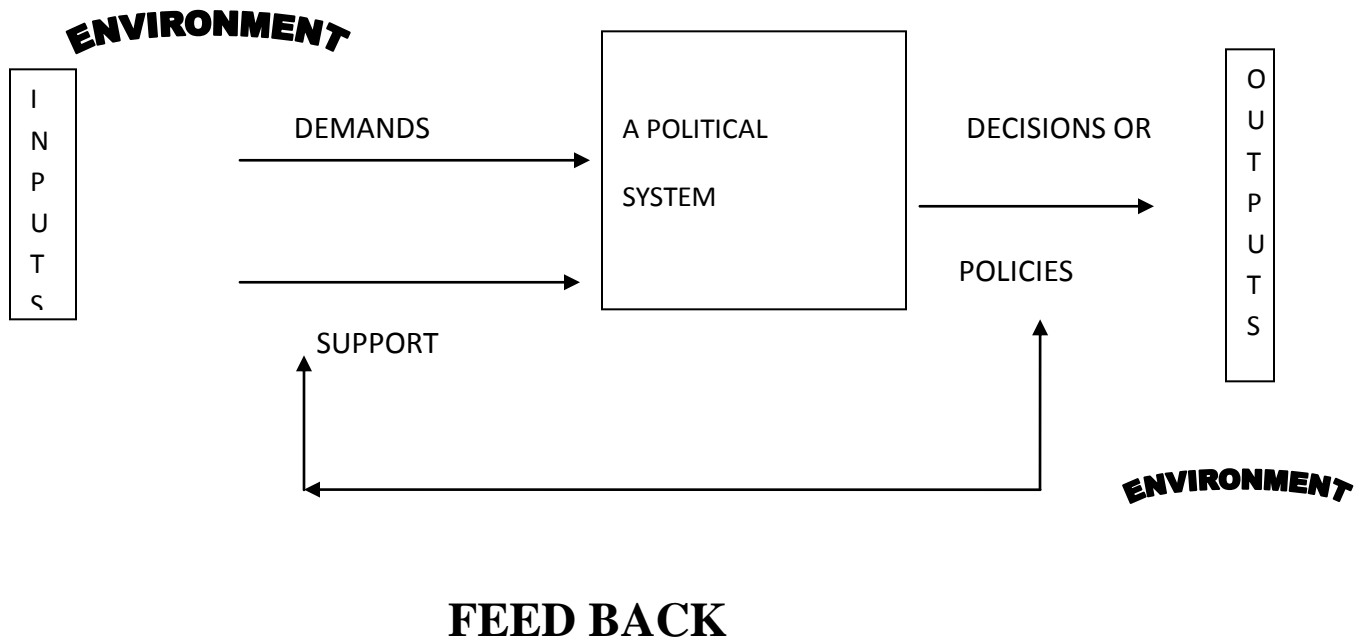
As Easton pertinently observed, “a society generates support for a political system in two ways: through outputs that meet the demands of the members of society; and through the process of politicization” (Easton, 1957:398). An output of a political system, it will be recalled, is a political decision of policy. One of the major ways of strengthening the ties of the members to their system is through providing decisions that tend to satisfy the day-to-day demands of these members. The other way the system maintains its support, is through the politicization process.

Furthermore, “The process of politicization at its most general level brings into operation a complex network of rewards and punishments. For adopting the correct political attitudes and performing the right political acts, for conforming to the generally accepted interpretation of political goals, and for undertaking the institutionalized obligations of a member of the given system, we are variously rewarded or punished. For conforming we are made to feel worthy, wanted and respected and often obtain material advantages such as wealth, influence, improved opportunities. For deviating beyond the permissible range, we are made to feel unworthy, rejected, dishonored, and often suffer material losses” (Easton, 1957:398). In other words this is the stick and carrot mechanism that keep the neocolonial and the neopatrimonial systems going.

Information about the political system is condensed in one diagram that appears in figure one below:

Figure 1 (Easton,1957: 384)

A Political system I



3. The neocolonial system

a. Definition

Kwame Nkrumah believed that African countries would never be free or develop unless they were fully autonomous and independent. He wrote, “In order to halt foreign interference in the affairs of developing countries it is necessary to study, understand, expose and actively combat neo-colonialism in whatever guise it may appear. For the methods of neo-colonialism are subtle and varied. They operate not only in the economic field, but also in the political, religious, ideological and cultural spheres”(Nkrumah, 1965:239). Neocolonialism in his view was a subtle and indirect form of colonialism, developed and installed after formal colonial rule. It operated in economic, political, religious, cultural and ideological spheres.

As the report abundantly demonstrated in the case of the DRC in the previous chapter, the system’s various components are powerful global actors (states and multinational companies), local political and economic elites in post-colonial countries, who are captive to a system of incentives and coercive mechanisms (generally known as stick and carrot mechanisms) that are often covert rather than transparent or obvious; and the disinformation campaign keeps the

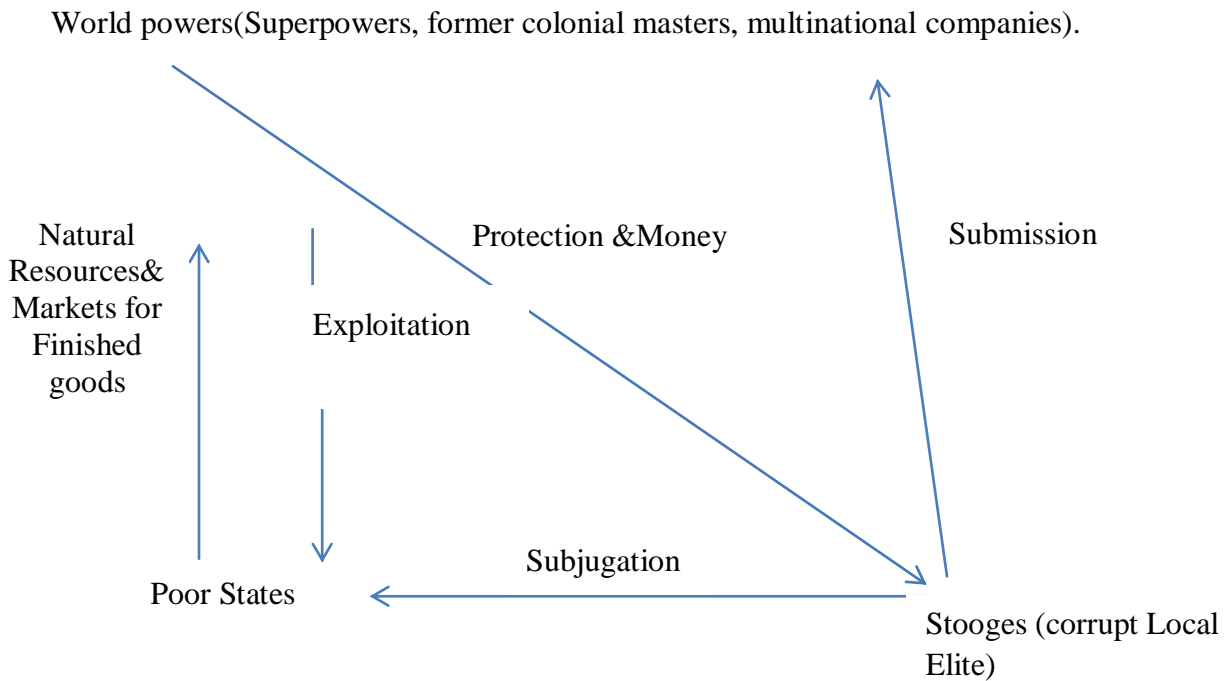
system hidden and more dangerous. Should the system be exposed, it loses its power as it operates through shameful means of lies, looting, corruption and assassinations. It is disguised imperialism.

Figure two below summarizes the components of, and their interactions within the neo-colonial system:

b. Neo-colonial system summarized structure in figure 2:

NEOCOLONIAL SYSTEM

Figure2:



The dismantling of the neocolonial system shall usher in fair cooperation and trade between sovereign state as illustrated in figure 3 below:

Figure3:



The neocolonial system needs to be dismantled. For Nkrumah it is just a new form of colonialism as imperialism keeps switching tactics. Nkrumah emphasized this point when wrote that ‘...it claims that it is giving independence to its former subjects, to be followed by ‘aid’ for their development. Under cover of such phrases, however, it devises innumerable ways to accomplish objectives formerly achieved by naked colonialism. It is this sum total of these modern attempts to perpetuate colonialism while at the same time talking about ‘freedom’, which has come to known as *neo-colonialism*. ”(Nkrumah, 1965:239).

Nkrumah went further to show that “the essence of neocolonialism is that the State which is subjected to it is, in theory, independent and has all the outward trappings of international sovereignty. In reality its economic system and thus its political policy is directed from outside” (Nkrumah, 1965:ix). Nkrumah’s arguments were particularly salient when it came to the case of the Congo at the time of its independence from Belgium. Indeed, Nkrumah was particularly cognizant of what had occurred in the Congo, and it was grist to the mill of his unfolding ideas about foreign interference. The Congo became a litmus test of the meaning of independence and autonomy - foreign intervention gave the lie to the real meaning of those terms.

With regard to the Congo, Jean Claude Willame wrote in 1972 that “...newly independent states are generally considered autonomous units within the international order, though continual outside intervention, both political and military, has already invalidated this assumption in regard to the Congo” (Willame, 1972:6). The lack of autonomy of the national polity vis-à-vis outside influence meant the process of decolonization was just a continuation of the colonial system by less direct means.

The Congolese case study that this research report is concerned with is a shining example that illustrates well this reality. In theory and in principle, the country was independent but, in practice, the experience of independence revealed a different view. The country remained for long indirectly controlled from outside. Studies of the Congo have shown how former colonizers and other international actors colluded with, corrupt local elites to keep the neocolonial system running. The prebendary local elites gained enormous personal wealth as well as political power. This was the import of Nkrumah’s argument.

Nkrumah put it succinctly, “the result of neocolonialism is that foreign capital is used for the exploitation rather than for the development of the less developed parts of the world. Investment under neo-colonialism increases rather than decreases the gap between the rich and the poor countries of the world” (Nkrumah, 1965: x). Subsequent theories of underdevelopment from the late 1960s were to take this idea much further. Much as Nkrumah had argued, poverty was seen as the outcome of a process that undermined existing production and any potential that the country might have, the terms of trade were unequal, set by metropolitan interests. As under colonialism, the profits were expatriated and newly independent countries found themselves hostage to ‘neocolonial’ interests. Nkrumah used the Congo as an example to back up his argument. This is because, the country in the grip of neocolonialism does not select from a range of investors, who offers beneficial terms of trade. It is the metropolis that set these terms of trade which benefit them to the detriment of the post-colonial country.

To illustrate this reality, the mining sector in the DRC and the whole economy of that country remained controlled by foreign companies under the watch of foreign appointed and controlled leaders. In the first place, “the rulers of neo-colonial States derive their authority to govern, not from the will of the people, but from the support which they obtain from their neo-colonial masters. They have therefore little interest in developing education, strengthening the bargaining power of their workers employed by expatriate firms, or indeed of taking any step which could challenge the colonial pattern of commerce and industry, which it is the object of neo-colonialism to preserve” (Nkrumah, 1965: xv). This system is so dangerous to the post-colonial states. Its dangers are analyzed in the next section.

c. The danger of the system

The ‘balance of power’ is central to the analysis Kwame Nkrumah presented. The core, constituted by global powerful actors exploits the periphery, constituted by mostly the newly independent and still fragile states. This explains the danger of the system and why the system is so difficult to dismantle. He put it this way, “The question is one of power. A state in the grip of neocolonialism is not master of its own destiny. It is this factor which makes neocolonialism such a serious threat to world peace” (Nkrumah, 1965: ix). The system operate hidden and almost unopposed, those who control the system and their agents all operate anonymously,

which makes it difficult to hold them liable for the damage they cause to the nations in the grip of the system. For Nkrumah,

Neocolonialism is also the worst form of imperialism. For those who practice it, it means power without responsibility and for those who suffer from it, it means exploitation without redress. In the days of old-fashioned colonialism, the imperial power had at least to explain and justify at home the actions it was taking abroad. In the colony those served the ruling imperial could at least look to its protection against any violent move by their opponents. With neo-colonialism neither is the case (Nkrumah, 1965: xi).

The role of the local elite within the neocolonial system

Local corrupt elite remain the cornerstone of the neocolonial system. Without the cooperation of the local elite, foreign component of the system cannot function. Among many loyal individuals who played their part to the satisfaction of the powerful global actors, Mobutu Sese Seku, former president of Zaire feature prominently.

In a shrewd move to disguise his actions and betraying his own country, Mobutu introduced an official policy, known as “authenticity” (Adelman, 1975:134). In the words of Adelman,

Mobutu has summarized the recourse to authenticity as: ‘Being oneself and not how others would like one to be, thinking by oneself and not by others, and feeling at home in one’s culture and country.’ Authenticity has been called the ‘motor in the construction of the nation’, ‘the cement which holds the entire structure together and the device to ‘stop the mental alienation brought by the colonial experience’ (Adelman, 1975:134).

Using the ‘authenticity’ slogan Mobutu regime appeared anti-western and practically restoring the African cultural identity and dignity. Thus in the name of ‘authenticité’ the Mobutu regime operated a number of changes

(1)The regime ordered all Zairians to have authentic names, those which refer to their ancestors (thus Joesph Desiré Mobutu became Mobutu Sese Seko Kuku Ngbendu Wa Za Banga);(2) changed the name of the country, cities, and streets to eliminate European names;(3) taken down old statues and commemorative plaques of foreigners like Stanley, Léopold II, and Elizabeth;(4) Changed the fashion code to make African dresses and

abacosts the formal wear, and to eliminate the wearing of coats and ties for men, and mini-skirts, trouser suits, wigs, lipsticks, and make-up for women; (5) greeted foreign heads of state with drumming rather than a 21-gun salute; and (6) urged that all traditional art be returned to Zaire so as to inspire contemporary artists (Adelman, 1975:135).

Officially and in principle the ‘authenticity’ policy introduced by Mobutu seemed to be intended to unite all citizens and render the African culture more valuable. In practice however, Mobutu used the authenticity policy to become an uncontested chief since, he argued, in the African culture you cannot have many chiefs. There only one chief. This allowed him to remain in power as an uncontested chief and served the interests of the West until the end of the Cold War. “With the end of the Cold War in the early 1990s Mobutu – like many other African leaders at the time –lost their “strategic value” to the West”(Kisiangani,2009) So the west was not interested in protecting him so that he could remain in power. He was then ousted.

Mobutu had acted as all other self-interested elite. The local elite, referred to as “the *évolués*”² in the Congo, always fought for incorporation within the colonial system and not for its overthrow. They were tried to barter their loyalty and obedience to the colonial regime for a special status within it (Willame, 1972:25). They wanted to be recognized and incorporated.

Willame explains how “the *évolués* were asking neither reforms nor equality of opportunity, but rather acknowledgement of their role as mediators between men and “savages”...for the *évolués* believed that as long as they expressed themselves with restraint the white establishment would value them as trusted interlocutors, but if they grew aggressive in their demands, the Europeans would lump them together with other self-seeking minorities” (Willame, 1972:25).

All these efforts by the *évolués* were meant to help them maintain the petty privileges they had obtained for their loyalty to the colonial system. They did not have other source of income since they did not own productive assets. They therefore competed for the attention of the colonial masters and sought to be recognized and remunerated for the services they rendered to the metropole. They paid little attention to the overall well-being of their own compatriots. Personal

² les *évolués*, lit. “those who have emerged”

wealth accumulation remained the most important ultimate goal forgetting that such wealth will not really benefit them, without a properly constructed nation-state in which to live.

This trend remained even during the post colonial era in the DRC. Willame provides the following assessment in 1972, when he indicated that:

Very few Congolese politicians have outside occupations that allow them to reinvest the profits accumulated during their political careers. Since they come into contact with foreign business enterprises, members of parliament probably find more opportunity to enrich themselves than do local politicians. For instance, 21 members of parliament have seats on the boards of foreign business companies. Since they live in the capital, these men also have the opportunity to involve themselves in commercial enterprises of all sorts. Yet those who do so never develop their enterprises to a very large or profitable degree, and usually limit themselves to opening bars, restaurants, dance halls, or small construction firms in the city” (Willame,1972:172).

This report considers therefore that the challenge laid in the lack creativity and entrepreneurial skills among those who should have been able to do so, in order to generate revenue and sustain economic activity.

Fanon in the earliest days of African independence lamented the weaknesses among a potential African bourgeois class. It was small, unproductive, and at best, no more than an incipient capitalist class. Colonialism had pre-empted the emergence of a class capable of running a country. Instead, the political elite that came to power was embedded within somewhat atavistic relations of subservience to the former colonial bourgeoisie destined to remain patrimonial and predatory (Fanon, 1961). Fanon’s perspectives were prescient, and he has been much quoted ever since. More than a decade later, Willame quoted his words in trying to convey the deficits that colonialism had created for the Congo. This is what Willame quoted from Fanon:

The national bourgeoisie of underdeveloped countries is not engaged in production nor in invention nor building nor labor; it is completely canalized into activities of the intermediary level’...It will be quite content with the role of the Western bourgeoisie’s business agent...This lucrative role, this cheap-jack’s function, this meanness of outlook and this absence of ambition symbolizes the incapacity of the national middle-class to

fulfill its historic role of bourgeoisie. Here the dynamic, pioneer aspect of the inventor and the discoverer of new worlds which are found in all national bourgeoisies are lamentably absent (Willame, 1972:173).

This report, in light of the above, views the elite, which was supposed to play the role of the van guard, had become comfortable slaves. The local elite, referred to as the *évolués* were caught in the ‘ideological trap’ and the ‘excessive materialism trap’. The ideological trap means that false knowledge has blinded them. False knowledge refers to what former president of South Africa, Thabo Mbeki, called “the frightening reality contemporary society faces, of the capacity of a small but powerful minority of humanity to determine what society should ‘know’ which passes as ‘knowledge’” (Mbeki, 2012). He made this pertinent observation during the ‘International Knowledge Conference’ held at Stellenbosch University in February 2012.

The small but powerful minority, control what passes as knowledge through the academia and powerful media houses to the extent that the elite of the post-colonial African states, the same people that should drive African nations to success, in most instances are locked up in ideological misrecognition.

The excessive materialism trap means that excessive love of money and other material items (expensive cars, clothing and whisky) constitute the root cause of all African misery. This is the corruption Lumumba mentioned in his farewell letter to his wife, as indicated earlier. Such corruption firstly prevents African in general and the elite in particular to conceive and execute plans of how to advance their nations; secondly the excessive and unnecessary consumption constitutes a waste of the much needed funds to invest in key sectors such as infrastructure and agriculture. Once they indulge into the excessive and uncontrolled consumption of goods that they do not produce, they become ‘comfortable slaves’. This concept is scrutinized bellow, to show how once leaders become like comfortable slaves, the whole nation suffers as result.

d. Comfortable slaves

The term could be first traced back to the time of the Israeli leader Moses who led the Israelites from the Egyptian slavery. History reveals how, once they reached the wilderness, without food and water, the liberated people threaten to kill Moses arguing that they had meat and onion in

Egypt. They had indeed some measure of comfort there. Likewise, comfortable slaves in neo-colonized states, especially the *évolués* of the DRC discussed in the previous chapter, are individuals who are happy with the status quo. These are ideologically weak individuals, who are locked up in ideological misrecognition, as Althusser would put it, individuals who have been successfully interpellated. Here I am avoiding saying that they have been thoroughly brainwashed. The elite, therefore, became the problem itself instead of solving problems facing their nation. They accepted to be incorporated or co-opted into the neocolonial project for their personal gain as the literature examined at the beginning of this chapter abundantly clarified. All this remains, generally hidden, covered by a thick body of false information spread through disinformation campaign.

e. Neocolonialism in other post-colonial African states

Lumumba's murder has seriously and negatively affected not only the history of the DRC, but the history of Africa as a whole. De Witte elaborates: "The overthrow of the Congo's first government, the elimination of Lumumba, the bloody repression of the popular resistance to the neo-colonial regimes of Joseph Kasa Vubu, Mobutu and Moise Tshombe and finally the creation of the Second Republic in this vast strategic country has had disastrous consequences throughout Africa as a whole (De Witte, 2001:xxv). This is because he was one of the architects of the anti-colonial revolution and his downfall served as an example of how neocolonial forces can regain ground. "The neo-colonial victory in the Congo indicated that the tide had turned for the anti-colonial movement in Africa. The change of direction became clear with Portugal's success in delaying decolonization in its overseas territories, with the temporary halt of the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa; with the temporary reprieve for Ian Smith's "Settler" regime in Rhodesia, and finally with the overthrow of Ben Bella in Algeria in 1965 (De Witte, 2001:xxv).The same modus operandi used in the Congo, was followed in many other African countries such as Burundi, Burkina Faso, Comoro Islands and in Lusophone Africa to a certain extent. This was the destabilization of leadership, followed by the establishment of pro- western regimes.

The gravity of the situation is clear to any honest observer. In the same way leadership has been destabilized in the DRC, there are other post-colonial African states that suffered the same fate.

These include, but not limited to, Burundi, Burkina Faso, The Comoro Islands, etc. In Burundi for example

At the eve of independence, the democratization movement was imitated and gained momentum thanks to the devoted work of national heroes including Prince Rwagasore, the son of the then ruling King Mwabutsa IV. Rwagasore emphasized the importance of national Unity in the struggle of independence. Unfortunately, the Prince was not given a chance to enjoy the fruits of his hard work as he was assassinated in the anti-democratic, pro feudal and pro-colonial conspiracy two weeks after his nomination as Prime Minister. This was the first false start of post-colonial Burundi (Ndikumana, 1998:35).

The false start, the assassination of the Prime Minister translated into leadership crisis in the following years. Burundi became as a ship without a captain, just as the neighboring DRC. For Ndikumana, “with the death of Rwagasore, the ideal of national unity was shaken deeply. Rwagasore was obviously undesirable to the colonial administration because he preached national sovereignty” (Ndikumana, 1998:35). Furthermore, Rwagasore assassination had devastating consequences by exacerbating political antagonism along ethnic lines (Ndikumana, 1998:35). The failure of leadership, in post-colonial Burundi, it could be argued, finds its origin in the assassination of Louis Rwagasore.

Burundi is not the only case that is comparable to the DRC. Burkina Faso also illustrates how leadership destabilization is carried out by neocolonial forces. In the western African Country, a visionary leader called Thomas Sankara, was also removed from power in a coup d'état and was replaced by pro-western cooperation leader.

Sankara, when he first came into power in 1983, he established himself as no ordinary head of state. Indeed, at the age of thirty, he was the youngest President in the African Continent and one who, at the same time, had shown himself to be a simple and pragmatic man, and most importantly, without any illusions of grandeur. He always shown a strong dislike of the external manifestation of political power, so much so that he donated all the Mercedes and Chevrolet owned by top civil servants and government officials to the National Lottery, and the money acquired, although not much in terms of national budget deficit, was nevertheless used on public spending (Wilkins, 1989:382).

He dedicated all the resources, time and efforts to developing Burkina Faso. He was not wasting resources in luxurious items as the passage above shows. As a result he managed to do so much in a short period of time. He was assassinated four year after he took power in 1983.

Thomas Sankara was truly the first ‘popular leader Burkina Faso had known since Maurice Yaméogo. Hence the severe and brutal method by which he was ousted from power created a wave of surprised shock throughout francophone West Africa....The day after the military coup there was an official communiqué broadcast on the state-run Burkinabe radio which declared in bold and simple terms that Sankara had been removed from the presidential post as a result of his ‘treason’ to the revolution and his ‘dangerous personal ambitions’ (Wilkins, 1989:382).

The official justification provided on the radio broadcast as to why he was removed from power shows how false information is disseminated in order to conceal the real motives of the assassinations. This is the disinformation as a neocolonial shield.

f. Disinformation as a neocolonial shield

Information related to the destabilization of the African governments (assassinations [physical eliminations], policy impositions, political eliminations, etc) are highly guarded secrets. Except for the literature from Kwame Nkrumah, Patrick Bond, Ludo de Witte largely used in this chapter, it is not easy to find evidence to substantiate the destabilization argument. The available information is often distorted, twisted, presented as ‘diminished truth’ or simply as reality turned upside down.

Destabilization argument may meet a stiff resistance presented by individuals who consumed a great dose of the distorted, twisted information. The thick body of ‘diminished truth’ or the reality turned upside down constitute in the minds and spirits of these individuals, ‘The reality’. Since powerful media houses around the world and the academia constantly presented ‘the truth’ or ‘the reality’ of African situation, which excluded the destabilization argument, a very resistant public opinion has been formed. On this basis, such individuals may contest the idea that the neocolonial system constitutes one of the critical elements that explains the failure of leadership in post-colonial Africa.

President Thabo Mbeki, quite rightfully and eloquently reminded and warned the world community generally and Africans particularly about the danger of false knowledge. These are distortions, diminished truths, realities turned upside down and/or outright deceit that have so far led the world into severe disaster in Iraq, Afghanistan, Libya and Ivory cost. This false knowledge fills not only minds and spirits of many Africans, confuses them and misleads them to believing things they shouldn't believe, establish mind sets that inhibit clear thinking and weakens the fighting spirit required to really liberate themselves. False knowledge excludes the existence of the neo-colonial system.

In light of the above, this study could indeed be qualified as running against the tide as it exposes literature that breaks away from and actually runs counter to the established opinion/belief, propagated by modernization theorist that the limited success or the complete/outright failure registered by African states in general and the DRC in particular is well explained by their incompetence, their intellectual inferiority, their corruption, and their backward mind set and mentality. In short, that all the causes and the entire explanation for African lack of progress are internal.

4. Conclusion

This chapter has established what is meant by the neocolonial system and how the system partially explains the leadership crisis the DRC experiences and the misery the country has to endure as a result of the crisis. The chapter shows, using the writings of Kwame Nkrumah, Jean Claude Willame, Patrick Bond and Ludo de Witte mainly, that the system is subtle and indirect. The system operates hidden and both its controllers and agents are not easily identifiable. It is the new form of colonialism and the most dangerous one, established after the formal disbandment of the naked colonialism.

The chapter highlighted the various components of the system and how they interact and work as whole to produce desired outcomes. Among these components, the chapter mentions world superpowers, former colonial masters (those who were in charge of the naked colonialism), private companies, poor countries and the local political elite. The stick and carrot mechanism, keeps the system going. That is, those that cooperate get rewarded with personal material wealth, those who oppose get assassinated, that is, eliminated physically; or get politically eliminated

through coups d'états. All this remain hidden, covered by information propagated through the disinformation campaign.

The crucial role played by the local political elite to keep the system going was also scrutinized. The chapter discovers that, most of local elite in the Congo, today known as the DRC sought to be recognized and incorporated into the colonial system and be rewarded for that. The trend continued, once formal colonialism ended. They then became a very important part of the neocolonial system. This is because they naively believed that, as David Easton put it “For conforming we are made to feel worthy, wanted and respected and often obtain material advantages such as wealth, influence, improved opportunities. For deviating beyond the permissible range, we are made to feel unworthy, rejected, dishonored, and often suffer material losses” (Easton, 1957:398). Due to this reality, they therefore failed to play the role of van guard, to be problem solvers and became the problem itself. They did not actively engage into the productive process to increase the country’s production but became excessive consumers of goods and services they did not produce. For this end they instituted neoprtrimonialism which became one of the major internal challenges to leadership in the DRC.

III. Chapter three: The patrimonial system as the internal challenge to leadership

0. Introduction

The external challenges to leadership in post-colonial Africa generally and in the DRC particularly highlighted in the previous chapter are not the only ones. There are also internal challenges to leadership, which are as serious as the external ones. The internal problems are also linked to corrupt elite that seek to capture and maintain power for their personal benefits and forget the interests of their fellow citizens. These leaders form client networks with which they establish a patron- client relationship. This type of relationship allows them to maintain power, accumulate wealth while the rest of the population lives in abject poverty since the accumulated wealth does not trickle down. As Van de Walle put it, it is “ Indeed, it is ultimately more useful to think of the primary function of neopatrimonial politics in most African states as facilitating intra-elite accommodation in young, multiethnic and poorly integrated political systems” (Van de Walle,2003:312).

This the neopatrimonial rule set up by ruling elite in the DRC a few year after independence, a system that, as the literature suggest, still keeps the central African Giant very fragile. Neo-Patrimonialism means “rule through personal patronage rather than ideology or law, based upon relationships of loyalty and dependence with blurred distinction between private and public interests” (Bond, 2006:3). The system comprises “three fundamental and related elements: appropriation of public offices as the elites prime source of status, prestige, and reward; political and territorial fragmentation through the development of relationships based on primordial and personal loyalties; and the use of private armies, militias, and mercenaries as chief instruments of rule (Willame, 1972:2).

Figure 4 below succinctly presents the components of, and interactions within the neopatrimonial system.

1. Figure 4 below summarizes these components of the system:

Figure4:

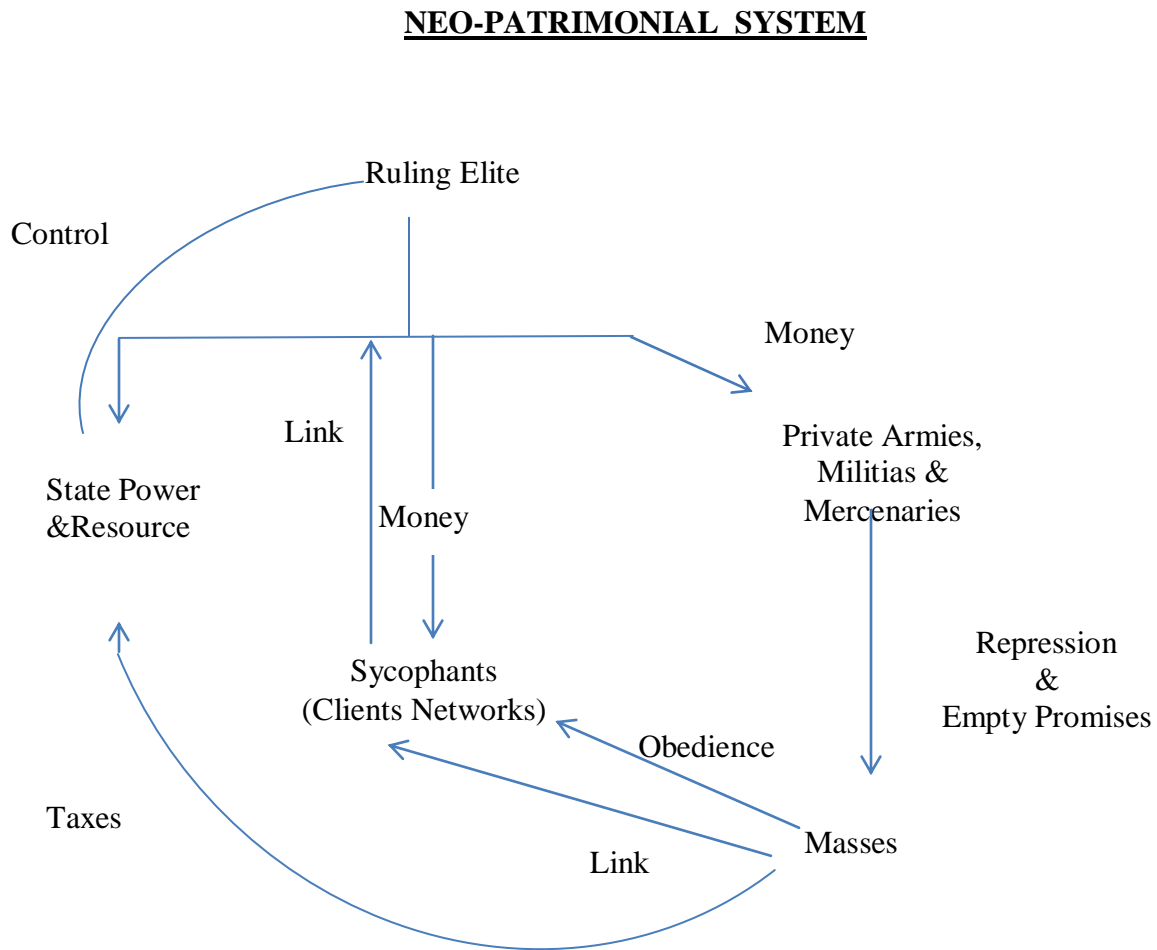
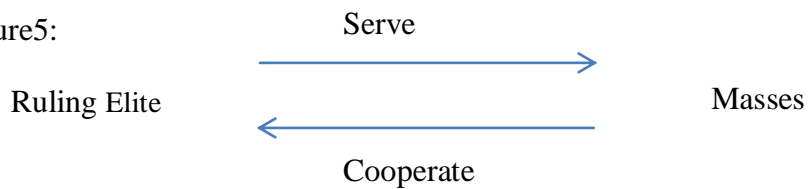


Figure5:



The patrimonial system has caused enormous suffering to the people in the DRC. It should be dismantled by the removal of the corrupt elite from power. The dismantling of the patrimonial

system, in the context of greater democratic accountability and co-operative governance, could, were it appropriately introduced lead to a system of governance that is illustrated in figure 5 above. As the figure 5 indicates, the system of governance will comprise ruling elite that serve the people who in turn cooperate with the elite for the benefit of the whole nation. In short all the suffering of the people is caused by corruption practices.

As Jean Claude Willame has explained, morally compromised local political elites practiced patrimonial rule in the DRC, or to borrow the words of Jean Francois Bayart, they practice what he has aptly called “the politics of the belly”. Perhaps more relevant, is the fact that at independence, there were small cadres of évolués without a clear and comprehensive economic policy nor did they have the requisite skills to run a complex state bureaucracy. Later, trained cadres preferred to leave their country and serve the already developed countries, often their former colonial masters

Much of the remaining elite were divided into several fragmented networks which served to link the people with top ruling elite. These networks competed to get rich as quickly as possible, which enabled them to become autonomous and even establish links with outsiders. William Reno expressed this point in the following words:

De-bureaucratized Patrimonialism instilled an individualistic, acquisitive “capitalist lifestyle” of a Zairian sort. For example, a booklet from Mobut’s era entitled *Devenez Riche rapidement* (Get Rich Quickly) advised with apparent official sanction ‘liberating the mind of all doubts as to the legitimacy of material wealth...A man is more of a man when he has more wealth. This became politically explosive in the Zairian context, since officially sanctioned private accumulation among strongmen is easily converted to autonomy by ruler and the freedom to make their own arrangements with outsiders (Reno, 1997:47).

The patrimonial ruler, Mobutu, sought to control the extensive network of his clients who wanted to, and sometimes did exercise power in their own right. Reno indicates that “Mobutu later managed this vulnerability with new non-bureaucratic strategies of rule through manipulating market opportunities, even where actual sources of accumulation were not under his direct control (Reno, 1997:40). To illustrate this statement, Reno provides some examples of how

Mobutu manipulated his networks, first by allowing them to forage for their own then compete among themselves.

Different factions jealously guarded useful territory and opportunity from rival entrepreneurs. But competition among these groups reduced chances of mutiny or coordinated attack on Mobutu. Individual strongmen appealed to Mobutu for protection against local rivals even as they consolidated virtually autonomous fiefdoms organized around commerce in diamonds, gold, coffee, timber, cobalt and arms. This benefited Mobutu in so far as it forestalled resistance and contained challenges amidst collapsing patron-client networks. Mobutu realized that his best chance for survival lay in using opposition among factions of his patronage networks to neutralize the network threat to him (Reno, 1997:40).

The strategy of breaking down the political and territorial entities used by patrimonial rulers such as Mobutu, help them to weaken the potential opposition to their rule. It however brings so much suffering to the masses as they are exploited by multi-level predators and they do not have any legal recourse to claim their violated human rights.

After more than thirty years of the Mobutu patrimonial rule, he was toppled by Laurent Kabila in 1997. When Kabila came to power, those who thought it was a new era of democracy and development were very soon disappointed .He continued the same practices as his predecessor. It was business as usual. This view is highlighted and supported by the following quote:

Almost immediately, Kabila entered into deals with mining companies, such as American Mineral Fields and Anglo-American, and Belgian investors such as Texaf, George Forrest International, Petrofina and Union Minière. These Belgian companies in particular, which had benefited substantially under the old Mobutu regime- that is, they exploited Zaire's natural asset whilst entering into contracts with arguably the world most corrupt head of state- were not hindered, nor called to account. The reasons for such continuity in the country's political economy lie in a combination of Kabila's predisposition to continue "business as usual" and the historical milieu within which he found himself upon taking power" (Williams and Tailor,2001:272).

As he entered into alliance with companies that worked with Mobutu, “Kabila was assiduously constructing patronage networks to serve as resources through which clients could be rewarded for their support. In September 1998, he decreed that all purchases of gold and diamond must be in Congolese francs (brought in on the 30 June) and must go through a newly established state purchasing company. This allowed him to bring under his direct control and thereby offer the incentive of cash reward to his supporters” (Williams and Tailor, 2001:274). When he died, assassinated by one of his body guard, under circumstances that remain obscure, his son Joseph Kabila took over. He is still the president today and has not yet proven to be the visionary and selfless leader the country needs. Joseph Kabila did not usher in innovative, creative and democratic practices the central African sleeping giant needs to get out of the misery it is in since independence.

In the view of Jean Claude Willame, “The difficulties that third World countries have experienced in economic development and, more importantly in nation building, have hitherto been explained by purely internal causes: lack of human and material resources, absence of entrepreneurial capabilities, lack of political support, etc. However other political experiences suggest that the key to genuine national development lies in isolation from outside influences”(Willame, 1972:7). However, a close look reveals that the internal causes of leadership crisis and the misery that follows are not without foundation.

2. Lack of economic policy

Like other liberation movements in Africa that led their respective nations to independence, le Mouvement National Congolais lead by Lumumba (MNC-Lumumba) and Alliance des Bakongo(ABAKO) had not put in place a clear economic policy. In the words of Jean Claude Willame, “MNC-Lumumba and ABAKO did not have any concrete economic programs” (Willame, 1972:23). The movements only exhibited remarkable growth of political consciousness among the masses.... “the exclusively political nature of the these protest movement is illustrated by the fact that none of them offered any concrete economic programs, structural reforms, or plans for the future. It was felt that once freedom and self-determination had been achieved, all else would follow” (Willame, 1972:23).

The lack of a clear economic policy, planning and creativity from the ruling local elite caused so much damage to the development of the newly independent states. The DRC was not an exception. Resources available in the country and even foreign aid were all wasted. Willame estimates that “Western assistance to the Congo (DRC) was massive, equaling 13 percent of the country’s fiscal resources in 1965, [but] the absence of any overall plan for economic development greatly reduced its effectiveness. Moreover, funds and technical experts were dispatched haphazardly; economic missions followed one another without rhyme or reason, and ambitious plans for development were outlined in the absence of any higher agency that could implement them” (Willame, 1972:99).

The local political elite, did not only lack clear economic policy but also showed very little creativity and minimal entrepreneurial skills. Very few, if any, analysts or political commentators disagree with the generally expressed consensus that the DRC lacked a dynamic and innovative political and economic leadership, the reason why the ruling elite established neo-patrimonialism. The neo-patrimonial rule exercised in that country since the early 1960 to date largely explains the numerous socio-political, economic and security problems. Leadership remains the key issue.

Considering a leader as “someone who identifies political and economic opportunities that can lead to the solution of overwhelming social problems or challenges facing his or her community and successfully persuades others to work with him or her to implement those solutions” (Mbeki, 2011:2), or as the literature quoted earlier one considers the leader to be a visionary person capable of attracting followers and influence their dominant ideas and preferences, the DRC, did not have leaders. It was a headless society, which had ruling elite afraid of allowing the people to develop knowledge through education; and without entrepreneurial skills.

3. Fear of knowledgeable population

Local ruling elite feared the emergence of an educated population on the part of the general public and went on to limit the expansion of intellectuals, thus hampering the development of human capital which the country strongly needs. The elite ignored the point made by Bester and Bell in 1997 that “If there is one factor of production that can make things happen on its own, it is human capital. A country may have no natural resources as the ones available in the DRC,

very little physical capital and an untrained labor force. Hardly a recipe for success but, if it is able to use its small capital base to develop skills, that are in demand worldwide and to motivate the owners of those skills to achieve maximum success, the rest will follow (Bester and Bell: 1997). To illustrate the content of this statement, at the moment, the African continent accounts for 11% of the world's population but produces barely 1% of global GDP; European population constitutes 7% of the global population but produces 20% of the global GDP; the United States citizens constitute 5% of the global population but produce 25% of global GDP (Balía, 2012). These statistics indicate that the biggest and the most important and determinant factor that influences development is not the size of a geographical region, natural resources or the strategic position of the geographic area, but the people. They also show that, the African leaders that failed to promote human capital for fear of a more informed public have miscalculated.

From the above, it follows that the less skilled the people are, the poorer the country or the geographical area becomes. A country or a geographical region with people suffering from ignorance, disease, poverty, thirst and hunger will never develop regardless of their huge natural resource reserves, their strategic geographical location and the most favorable international context. The first step therefore towards development must be empowering people through proper, up-to-date education, appropriate health care facilities and personnel, adequate nutrition by insuring that sufficient and nutritious food and drinks are available and affordable; good infrastructural facilities such as water and electricity supply and roads. Growth therefore, as Amartia Sen puts it, "should not constitute an end-in-itself, but rather be the expansion of people's real freedom to do and to be what they value" (Alkire, 2005).

Sen further explains how "the enhancement of living conditions must clearly be an essential- if not the essential- object of the entire economic exercise and that well-being is an integral part of the concept of development" (Sen, 1988:11). The status of human beings as 'ends' of development must be reiterated, Sen argues, because human beings "also happen to be- directly or indirectly- the primary means of all production" (Sen, 1990:41). Thus, in light of the above, Bester and Bell (1997) were correct to so eloquently state that "a country may have no natural wealth, no obvious reasons to be successful, but if its people have a strong work ethic and a determination to succeed, if education and training is of high standard and concentrates on building appropriate skills, the country has the means to achieve economic success. Conversely,

a country with abundant tangible wealth, as the DRC has, and a low level of human wealth will soon be a poor country (Bester and Bell: 1997:19).

While political leadership that should put in place measures necessary to develop human capital in the DRC is quite aware of the benefits of doing so, they are reluctant to implement policies that could lead to an increase in capabilities for fear of the empowerment of potential ‘enemies’. They miscalculate. The underlying assumption behind the prevention of empowering the masses with knowledge is that once the masses are empowered they become difficult to control. The ruling elite then concludes that it is in their interest to keep the masses ignorant, hungry, thirsty, poor and sick to facilitate their control. Empowering the masses, so they believe, amounts then to a dangerous action for them since it could lead to a revolution.

The above mentioned way of thinking amounts to a miscalculation or an error of judgment, this report holds. This is because, while empowered people will definitely eject ruling elite that does not serve their interests, as they have intellectual, physical and financial means to carry out a revolution, they constitute the greatest national asset. A healthy, literate, financially stable population contributes meaningfully to the development of their nation. They constitute a powerful workforce that raises production. When production increases, up lifting the general standard of living for everyone in the country, all citizens do benefit from that situation including the same ruling class afraid of a potential revolution. Gunnar Myrdal expressed the same view and put it so well when he wrote that “well-planned and honestly implemented large-scale egalitarian reforms are among the most profitable national investments that can be undertaken in underdeveloped countries” (Myrdal, 1973:43).

Ruling elites in the newly independent African states generally and in the DRC in particular, however, remain reluctant to implement egalitarian reforms. Bester and Bell remind us that “...it requires visionary leadership to guide human wealth ‘portfolio’ in such a way that the economy will achieve the best possible rate of growth” (Bester and Bell, 1997:23). Thus visionary leadership is a prerequisite for economic growth and national development. The lack of visionary leadership or the leadership crisis produces the opposite results, namely misery and underdevelopment.

Visionary leadership seeks to develop human capital, to increase the number of skilled people, empower their citizen with knowledge accumulated from elsewhere in the world. Feeble and weak leaders will perceive the empowered masses as a danger to them and their position and take measures that limit properly trained cadres. By so doing, refusing to develop human capital amounts to a miscalculation and an error of judgment which deprive the nation of its greatest asset, its human wealth.

4. Lack of properly trained cadres

The fear of more informed public leads directly to lack of properly trained cadres to successfully run a modern state .Most of the independent African states cruelly lacked adequate leadership after independence. The DRC experienced the same difficulty. The colonial administration operated on the same premise and did not help the locals to gain access to education. As a consequence there were very few educated cadres when the DRC got its independence in 1960.

Few months after independence, the country became acephalous, headless, decapitated society. A number of reasons explain this situation. The leaders, who fought for independence of the country, Patrice Lumumba and his colleagues, couldn't lead them to prosperity, unity and harmony as they intended and proclaimed. He was assassinated shortly after independence as indicated earlier and there was no suitable candidate to replace him. The theoretically independent nation found itself headless.

The lack of suitable candidate to replace Lumumba is partially explained by the shortage of properly trained cadres, and ideologically strong to fight back the neocolonial forces. The latter won the struggle and put in power a docile government at the helm. This government did not care about the education of its people, hunted down those who dared to oppose the established neopatrimonial rule, did not pay public servants and forced others to exile.

In that way, bright Congolese minds trained after the independence went to serve the already developed countries, often their "former" colonial master, Belgium, and other developed nations. This phenomenon is known as brain drain. These intellectuals moved to the developed countries attracted by better salaries and better living conditions. Some went to those countries for educational purposes and never returned to their country to participate in the construction of their nation, building adequate institutions and strengthen them.

A well developed human capital in the country does not tolerate patrimonial rule, where the ruling elite capture state power for their own enrichment, their status and privilege. The ruling elite seek to keep such a system when they demonstrate little creativity and entrepreneurship to create and accumulate wealth honestly, owning productive assets. Money such elite gets from their political activities is not reinvested and is directly consumed. This was the case in the DRC, and it is to this problem of lack of creativity and entrepreneurship that this report turns.

5. Entrepreneurial problem

The elite that failed African states, the DRC included, in the post colonial era, failed to nurture entrepreneurial skills. The gatekeeping activities of the political elite – both politicians and bureaucrats – gave them access to significant means for capital accumulation from public funds in activities such as procurement and preferential public tenders for their friends and families. The problem was that they did not invest in productive assets or enterprise. Instead, they lived lives of excessive consumption. The only way to get African states moving forward, and for their honour and dignity, the current and future elite need to promote the needs and interests of their nations, by thinking creatively and innovatively, promoting entrepreneurship, remaining focused, avoiding distractions and producing goods and services not just for themselves but for the market for the good of society.

Moletsi Mbeki explains what is meant by an entrepreneur. He states that the “The word entrepreneur is a French word with its origin dating back to the 1700s and overtime has been defined in various ways, most of which relates to starting a new venture from limited resources” (Mbeki, 2011:116). In his view “entrepreneurship is vital to any economy and critical in both providing employment and in helping to equalize wealth and standards of living. It is an important force in shaping the changes that take place in the economic environment” (Mbeki, 2011:116). When this key factor is not present, the elite do not have other ways of generating revenue, except engaging in rent seeking and patrimonialism. But what prevents the elite from becoming honest entrepreneurs and starting new ventures?

Fear of failure and the lack of appetite for risk taking serve as key inhibitors to entrepreneurial behavior. The African elite fear the harsh treatment they will receive if they start a new venture and fail. They hold the idea that “...society is hard on those legitimate businesses that fail as

people tend to lose not only their money, but also their respect. Our society has created an environment where it is believed that it is better to get a job in order to be secure. There is a sense of entitlement and an expectation that big businesses, government and others should create jobs, rather than creating one's own employment" (Mbeki, 2011:132). This mind set remains a serious inhibitor of the entrepreneurial skills. To advance, Africa should strive to get rid of this mind set and encourage creativity, free imagination and the spirit of initiative.

As a solution to the entrepreneurship problem, Moletsi Mbeki proposes that "A societal ethos of self-sufficiency rather than state dependency should be inculcated into the youth from primary school level. Starting your own business and providing employment should be part of the norm rather than the exception. The youth should be encouraged to think freely through focused entrepreneurial education in primary and secondary schools, which should inculcate a positive and vibrant attitude towards entrepreneurship as a viable employment option" (Mbeki, 2011:133).

Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated how the patrimonial system of rule in the DRC, instituted by corrupt ruling elite lead to the serious socio-political, economic and security difficulties the country is in now. The system is generally believed to be operating in many post-colonial African states.

The chapter established that it is a system instituted by corrupt ruling elite, who capture and control state power for their self-enrichment, status and privilege. They then fragment the political and territorial entities into small units. These small units form networks of clients who facilitate the extraction of wealth in exchange for protection and some portion of the spoils of power. The masses are the most losers in the system since they do not get their services as they should in a democratically governed modern nation-state.

In this system the patrimonial ruler protects himself by manipulating the client networks, which compete amongst themselves and turn to him for protection. The other strategy the patrimonial ruler uses to maintain themselves in power is to keep the masses less knowledgeable, ignorant, sick, hungry and poor. In so doing, he can control them better. The strategy is very disastrous for

the wellbeing of the nation as a whole as it deprives the country of the human capital the country desperately needs.

Ruling elite that use this corrupt and dishonest way of accumulating wealth and the excessive consumption that follows, do so because they do not have ability to generate revenue honestly by using their entrepreneurship skills. The solution then must be to inculcate into young and future leaders the spirit of creativity and innovation since early age at the primary and secondary school level so that they know how to honestly make their living without depending on the state.

IV. Chapter four: General Conclusions

This research report sought to bring to light the underlying causes behind the generally agreed upon observation that African states in the post-colonial period do not have good leaders. Good leaders, the report maintained, are those that deliver security of the state and of the person, the rule of law, good education and health services, and a framework conducive to economic growth. In addition, they ensure effective arteries of commerce and enshrine personal and human freedoms. They empower civil society and protect the environmental commons. Crucially, good leaders also provide their citizens with a sense of belonging to a national enterprise. They do not discriminate against anyone based on which region they come from, their ethnic group, gender, age or any other basis whatsoever.

The report found a number of causes that led to emergence of irresponsible leaders. Schematically this is what the report has established, how and why post-colonial leadership crisis emerged: **destabilization (neo-colonialism) + neopatrimonialism → weak and irresponsible leadership/ leadership crisis- → Congolese paradox.**

1. Destabilization: decapitation of African ideologically strong leaders, the newly independent states left acephalous; headless and without direction;
2. Leadership crisis: emergence of corrupt, self-interested, power hungry, imperialist-friendly, stooges and puppet leaders;
3. Congolese paradox: huge natural resources available but underdevelopment, abject poverty, diseases and ignorance remain widespread.

This report made it abundantly clear that leadership crisis in the DRC and most African states in post-colonial era, originated in the neo-colonial and the neo-patrimonial systems. It demonstrated that by acting on the leadership factor, *caeteris paribus* will lead to the dismantling of the two systems. As a result, the DRC and other African nation-states that shared the same experience will become truly independent and improve their socio-political and economic conditions. This can be realized when corruption is significantly reduced, or completely stopped.

Corruption remains the corner stone of both systems. It is therefore critical that renewed and vigorous effort are made to produce non-corrupt, selfless, committed and frugal leaders who do not want to get involved into embezzlement deals in order to live luxurious life styles

Leaders in the post-colonial country known today as the DRC, renamed by Kabila after the fall of Mobutu Sese Seko who had renamed the country Zaire, have been shown in this case study as in many other Africa states in the post-colonial era, instead of acting as good leaders to have done the opposite. They were poor, even malevolent leadership: predatory kleptocrats, military-installed autocrats, economic illiterates, and puffed-up posturers, as Robert I Rotberg pertinently observed in 2004. He further elaborated that under the stewardship of these leaders, infrastructure in many African countries has fallen into disrepair, currencies have depreciated, and real prices have inflated dramatically, while job availability, health care, education standards, and life expectancy have declined. Ordinary life has become beleaguered: general security has deteriorated, crime and corruption have increased, much-needed public funds have flowed into hidden bank accounts, and officially sanctioned ethnic discrimination -- sometimes resulting in civil war -- has become prevalent. Clearly this is a lack of leadership, it is a leadership crisis.

The present report sought to understand why such leadership crisis arose and is ongoing. The question posed, and which this research report engaged with was how the leadership crisis in post-colonial African states generally and in the DRC in particular, was explained in the literature. There were also sub questions. The researcher wondered if the leadership crisis occurred because the leaders of newly independent African states did not have sufficient instrumental knowledge (academic education) and resources to run modern states; Or, if leadership crisis occurred because leaders of the newly independent African states did not have moral knowledge, that is, if they were morally compromised, thus corrupt, self interested, power hungry, and therefore failed to put national interest above their narrow, personal selfish interests; or if leadership crisis occurred because leaders of the newly independent African states operated in a neocolonial setting, in which moderate and corrupt leaders serve external powers, that prevented them from freely and properly pursuing their national development goals.

A close look at the leadership theories established what is meant by leadership and key characteristics of a leader. The chapter in which these theories were presented and examined demonstrated that leaders are individuals that establish or maintain trends in a way that creates followers. They then coordinate followers in ways that provide desired action and outcomes; through coercion, incentives and/or persuasion as key instruments. These individuals manage to alter people's behavior on a large-scale, and have great capabilities to inspire, convince and transform beliefs and possibly preferences of the followers. They are architects of change who define and redefine the game that followers engage in.

Individuals that can alter other people's behavior on large scale, inspire, convince, and transform beliefs and preferences of the followers are transformational leaders. Transformational leadership occurs when leaders broaden and elevate the interests of their followers, when they generate awareness and acceptance of the purposes and mission of the group and when they stir followers to look beyond their own self-interest for the good of the group. This type of leaders is what the DRC does not have and desperately needs to advance the socio-political and economic conditions of that country. Elsewhere on the continent, the situation is not much different.

The ruling elite in the DRC belonged instead into the category of transactional leaders. The only one who was and is still believed to be a transformational leader, Patrice Lumumba was assassinated shortly after independence. His ability to transmit ideas clearly and sharply enabled him to mobilize masses in the Congo and snatch independence from Belgium colonial rule. He was then eliminated by local and international actors who engaged in transactional leadership. This kind of leadership is based on transactions between leaders and followers. The leader gets things done by making, and fulfilling promises of recognition, pay increases, and advancement for loyal and competent followers. By contrast, less competent followers get penalized. The danger of this type of leadership is that people who engage in transactional leadership, often lack moral convictions, profound, clear and firm principles. They only follow the leader that offers higher incentives and do not hesitate to betray their former leader and/or ally. The contrast between transformational leaders and transactional leaders then led to the discovery of the key characteristics of a good leader.

A good leader, as the literature shows must be a person that is adaptable to situations, alert to social environment, ambitious, assertive, cooperative, decisive, dependable, and dominant (i.e. has the desire to influence others, energetic (high activity level), persistent, self-confident, tolerant of stress and willing to assume responsibility. In addition to the above mentioned characteristics or traits, the leader must demonstrate to be clever (intelligent), conceptually skilled, creative, diplomatic and tactful, fluent in speaking, knowledgeable about group task, organized (administrative ability), persuasive and socially skilled. Such a leader has not yet appeared in the DRC after the physical elimination of Lumumba, who was considered by many to have most of the above mentioned traits.

After exploration of the general theories on leadership and what really occurred in the DRC at different historic periods, this research report has established two major factors found in the literature, believed to have led to the leadership crisis and the subsequent misery in many African states, the DRC included, was the combination of what has been conceptualized as the neocolonial and the patrimonial systems. These were discussed in the second and third chapters

The literature revealed that neocolonialism seriously challenged the possibilities transformational leadership in the DRC as much as it did elsewhere in Africa. The neocolonial system, a subtle, informal, sophisticated, completely anti-democratic and very dangerous network of local corrupt elite in close but unequal cooperation with foreign actors, destroyed transformational leaders, prevented the rise of others but promoted transactional leaders through inducement and threats or what many conceptualize as ‘the stick and carrot’ mechanisms. The system remains largely covert as a result of the secrecy of activities and the dissemination disinformation campaigns.

For Kwame Nkrumah, the neocolonial system is just a new form of colonisation since imperialism keeps switching tactics. He estimates that the system claims that it is giving independence to its former subjects, to be followed by ‘aid’ for their development. Under cover of such phrases, however, it devises innumerable ways to accomplish objectives formerly achieved by naked colonialism. It is this sum total of these modern attempts to perpetuate colonialism while at the same time talking about ‘freedom’, which has come to known as *neo-colonialism*, asserted the Ghanaian leader.

The role of the local corrupt elite within the neo-colonial system remains crucial. They constitute the pivot of the system. The literature suggests that the removal of such corrupt, self-interested and morally compromised elite from power will signal the end of the misery that the DRC has endured during the entire post-colonial era. The key challenge to achieving such goal remains the protectors of such corrupt elite, foreign actors who find it profitable to act in that manner to keep the neocolonial system running. This can however be overcome, once nationalist transformational leaders with the interest of the nation at heart came to the fore.

The corrupt elite that ruled the DRC during the entire post-colonial era installed a patrimonial system of rule in the country. This is a rule through personal patronage rather than ideology or law, based upon relationships of loyalty and dependence which blurred the distinction between private and public interests. The system comprises three fundamental and related elements namely appropriation of public offices as the elites prime source of status, prestige, and reward; political and territorial fragmentation through the development of relationships based on primordial and personal loyalties; and the use of private armies, militias, and mercenaries as chief instruments of rule.

To keep the system running, the ruling elite prevented the increase of knowledge and stunted human capabilities and human capital of the country. They disempowered the masses. The underlying assumption behind the prevention of empowering masses with knowledge is that once the masses are empowered they become difficult to control. The ruling elite then concludes that it is in their interest to keep the masses ignorant, hungry, thirsty, poor and sick to facilitate their control. Empowering the masses, so they believe, amounts then to a dangerous action for them since it could lead to a revolution.

The above mentioned way of thinking, this report has shown, amounts to a miscalculation or an error of judgment. This is because, while empowered people will definitely eject a ruling elite that does not serve their interests, as they have intellectual, physical and financial means to carry out a revolution, at the same time they constitute the greatest national asset. A healthy, literate, financially stable population contributes meaningfully to the development of their nation. They constitute a powerful workforce that raises production. When production increases, by lifting the general standard of living for everyone in the country, all citizens do benefit from that situation including the same ruling class afraid of a potential revolution. In short, these leaders were

blinded by their own selfishness and struck alliances with foreign protectors who destabilized transformational leaders. Thus the leadership crisis was started and it is ongoing, until the corrupt elites are ousted and replaced by self-less leadership.

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