



**UNION  
POUR LA DÉMOCRATIE  
ET LE PROGRÈS SOCIAL**

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Dear Editors,

This is the first part of a two part e-mail which, together, comprise a complete english translation of the document already posted on the website in french under the title "FICHE BIOGRAPHIQUE ET COMBAT POUR LA DEMOCRATIE D'ETIENNE TSHISEKEDI WA MULUMBA , par Dr. E. Tshisekedi".

At this time, when Dr. Tshisekedi contemplates visiting North America, I hope that this translation will prove useful to the UDPS membership, the readers of the website, and anyone seeking to understand better the struggle to end dictatorship and to establish the rule of law in the "Democratic" Republic of Congo.

The People of Congo, united, can never be defeated !

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## **Biographical information and detail of Etienne Tshisekedi wa Mulumba's struggle for democracy**

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## **1. BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION**

### **1.1 IDENTITY**

- a) Born at Luluabourg (Capital of the West Kasai province) on December 14, 1932
- b) Father: Alexis MULUMBA (deceased)
- c) Mother: Agnès KABENA MWAUKA (deceased)
- d) Married to Marthe KASALU
- e) Area of Origin in the Democratic Republic of Congo:
  - Territory: KABEYA KAMWANGA
  - District: TSHILENGE
  - Province: EAST KASAI

### **1.2 EDUCATION**

- a) Primary: the Catholic mission of the Scheut Fathers at KABULUANDA (West Kasai)
- b) Secondary: Greek/Latin Humanities at the Collège Saint Jean-Berchmans Secondary School at Kamponde in West Kasai (1948 to 1955)
- c) University : Lovanium University School of Law, Leopoldville. I was the first Congolese to obtain, in 1961, the Doctor in Law diploma.

### **1.3 FIRST EXPERIENCE IN PUBLIC LIFE (1958 to 1978)**

1° 1958 -1959 :

While studying at the Faculty of Law, I was named "Counsel to the Congolese National Movement" (M. N. C. Political Party)

2° September 1960 to February 1961:

Assistant General Commissioner of Justice in the College of General Commissioners (a government of technocrats set up, after the sudden and massive departure of the Belgians and after the military coup d'etat of September 14, 1960 by led M. MOBUTU in order to ensure the normal functioning of the state institutions until the politicians could be reconciled.

3° 1961 to 1965: Rector of the National School for Law and Administration (ENDA)

4° 1964: Commissioner of accounts at the National Bank of the Congo.

5° 1965 to 1968 :

a) Elected National Representative (PANACO/CONACO) in the voting district of KABINDA in EAST KASAI.

b) Minister of Interior during this period. On June 24, 1967 M. MOBUTU promulgated the constitution of the 2nd Republic, in which Article 4 stipulated there could be no more than two political parties in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

6° May 1968 to February 1969: Minister of Justice

7° February to September 1969:

Minister of State in Charge of Plan, Scientific Research, Management of the Territory, and Coordination Planning.

Note - After the serious divergences political d'options (M. MOBUTU began to veer towards a political monolithism and became increasingly intolerant in the face of peaceful demonstrations of citizens, notably in ordering the massacre of students at Lovanium University, June 4, 1969) I became definitively separated from the government.

8° 1969 September to 1971 February : Ambassador to Morocco

9° 1971 to 1974 :

Elected National Representative in the electoral district of KABINDA in East Kasai Region

Elected 2nd Vice President then 1st Vice-President of the National Assembly;

Member of the Board of Directors of UNAZA (National University of Zaïre).

10° 1977 September to 1980 December :

Elected National Representative;

Presided over the Board of Directors of AIR-ZAIRE (the national airline of Zaire)

11° 1965 to 1980 :

Elected and reelected several times President of the Zaïrian Section of the International Association of French Language Parliamentarians "A.I.P.L.F". In this capacity, I participated in several international lecture tours and traveled throughout the world

(Europe, USA, Canada, Japan, Korea, China, and many African countries).

## **II. MY PERSONAL ORDEAL AND STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY (1979 to 1999)**

1° : The years of my life from 1979 to 1999 were, in general, filled with arbitrary arrests, torture, the persecution of banishment, relegations and residences under strict surveillance; This experience was shared with my wife, my children as well as several of my political friends on July 1, 1979.

Cosigner of the letter to President MOBUTU, denouncing the violations of human rights on the occasion of the "KATEKELAY MASSACRES" in EAST KASAI region.

2° 1980 December:

Cosigner of the "open letter to the President of the Republic" signed by thirteen parliamentarians on account of which my friends and I were arbitrarily arrested, stripped of our parliamentary terms of office, and thrown in prison (in my case at Kisangani in Oriental Province, then at Kabeya Kamwanga, East Kasai Province).

3° February 15, 1982:

A) Creation of the Union for Democracy and the Social Progress (UDPS) political party of which I am one of the founders and presently the National President.

B). Arrest of the founders of UDPS.

C) Sentenced to 15 years in prison. I am sent to the prison of Belingo, Oshwe Territory, in Bandundu Province.

4° 1983:

a) Liberation.

b) Relegation in November 1983 to my village of origin (MUPOMPA) with my wife and my children.

5° 1985:

a) The criminal torching of my home village.

b) Relegation to the Isangi territory, Oriental Province

c) Liberation at the end of February 1985;

d) Arrested in October 1985 and sentenced to 18 months of prison at Makala in Kinshasa

for "outrage to the Head of State"

6° 1986:

a) Liberation in February 1986

b) Arrest in June 1986 and relegation to my village of origin (Mupompa) in East Kasai

7° 1987:

a) Liberation

- Travel for political and informational purposes trip to Europe, the United States and Canada

- Returning from this trip, I was brutally accosted and molested at Ndjili airport, my crime was that I was wearing a tie around my neck.

8° 1988:

a) January 17, 1988: Arrest and detention at the central prison of Makala for having organized and led a meeting at the Kasa-Vubu Bridge in Kinshasa in commemoration of the 27th anniversary of the assassination of the first Prime Minister of Congo P.E. LUMUMBA.

b) March 11, 1988: Liberation

c) April 8, 1988: Relegation first to DUNGU, then to MONGA, Oriental Province, where I found myself, during 5 months, totally cut off from the world.

d) September 22, 1988: Liberation

9° 1989:

March 1, 1989: I am placed under strict surveillance at my residence during nearly 14 months, deprived of the right to receive any visit and to leave my residence.

10° 1990:

a) April 24, 1990: Liberation.

Creation of the National Directorate of the UDPS, a collegial presidency composed of four personalities. I am member of this National Directorate.

B) from November 18, 1990 to February 2, 1991: Another trip for political and informational purposes to the United States of America, Canada and to Western Europe. I

was received by the US Department of State and in a variety of political milieux as well as by human rights Organizations.

11° 1991:

A) March 3, 1991: Return to Kinshasa and to a welcome by nearly two million jubilant supporters and compatriots.

B) July 22, 1991: Appointment, without being consulted by Mr. MOBUTU, as Prime Minister. I declined this nomination to the great satisfaction of our people.

C) September 9, 1991: Designated Prime Minister by unanimous consensus of the representatives of the political class meeting at the Marble Palace (Mr. MOBUTU conducted the meeting at his residence). But the government of National Union and Public Salvation that I came thus to constitute was prevented from working normally by Mr. MOBUTU during the first week of its activities.

12° 1992:

Elected Prime Minister of the Government by the Sovereign National Conference with 72% of the votes (by secret ballot) on August 15, 1992; but once again the government that I formed was prevented from functioning by Mr. MOBUTU after three months of transparent management of the country.

It is true that Mr. MOBUTU opposed my candidacy with some candidates allied to his cause at the time of my election to the Sovereign National Conference but without success. My program announced clearly a radical change in the mentality and methods of management, as well as the realization of priorities established by our people, joined together in the Sovereign National Conference.

13° 1993

September 4, 1993: Invested as Leader of the Internal Democratic Opposition, leader, that is, of all the political and social forces dedicated to democratic change in a "bipolarisation" of national political life.

14° 1994:

Presented officially and regularly as Prime Minister, in conformity with the Constitutional Act of the Transition (Art. 78) by the political family to which the Head of State (MOBUTU) does not belong, known as the Sacred Union of the Radical Opposition and Allies. The refusal of Mr. MOBUTU to respect the Constitutional Act that he had promulgated himself opened the way to a major political crisis that would be exploited by an armed opposition of which Mr. Laurent Desire KABILA was the spokesperson in 1996-1997.

15° 1996:

January 6 to February 26, 1996

All the political parties of the opposition to Mr. MOBUTU and all of the civil associations dedicated to change held their congress called the "General State of the Opposition" (EGO) to take the measure of their struggle, redefine their objectives and strategies, as well as to articulate new structures required during this new phase of struggle.

By unanimous vote of all the participants, I was reconfirmed in my functions and role as Leader of the political family to which the Head of State (MOBUTU) does not belong.

16° 1997 :

a) April 3, 1997: My rehabilitation as Prime Minister by the Transition Parliament (HCR-PT) : Mr. MOBUTU subscribes formally to this rehabilitation, but is constrained by the political turn of the events. In fact, the armed rebellion, supported by the people, is by now accumulating victories and success over the mobutist forces.

b) April 6, 1997: I revived all of the political Institutions issuing from the Sovereign National Conference, namely: The Presidency of the Republic, the High-Council of the Republic, the Government, and the Courts and Tribunals.

c) April 9, 1997: Mr. Mobutu used his armed forces to prevent me from entering my office (of Prime Minister) to work.

d) May 16, 1997 : The dictator MOBUTU, as I had predicted to him it some years earlier that he would, fled into an exile with no return.

e) May 17, 1997: The armed rebellion, supported militarily and massively by foreign troops (of Rwanda, Uganda and Angola) entered Kinshasa to indescribable popular enthusiasm. Laurent Desire KABILA proclaimed himself Head of State from his military base of operations in LUBUMBASHI, Katanga Region.

f) May 23, 1997: As early as the first political speeches of M. KABILA in Kinshasa, he revealed himself to be a true dictator in the mold of Mr. Mobutu; I endeavored to alert national and international opinion of this tendency and urged our people to fight this new dictatorship.

g) May 25, 1997: I put at the disposition of M. KABILA, four legal experts from the internal democratic opposition to assist him in putting in place a consensual juridical framework (that would proclaim and protect human rights, fundamental liberties and transparent management) such as the framework supported by the people of Congo at the Sovereign National Conference. It is this framework that would regulate the country after reconciliation until the free, democratic and transparent elections that we all desire could

be held. Political contacts on the expert level were engaged with this intent.

h) June 26, 1997: A group of the military agents arbitrarily arrest me towards midnight, beat me, and sequester me at the residence of Commander MASASU, then Special Counsellor to M. KABILA.

i) June 27, 1997: My liberation

17° 1998:

a) February 12, 1998: A squad of military agents arbitrarily arrests me at my home in the middle of the night, beats me, and drives me to the secret detention centers of the political police of M. KABILA.

b) February 13, 1998: I am forcibly relegated to my village of origin, Kabeya Kamwanga in East Kasai Region and put under strict surveillance in my residence as in the MOBUTU era.

c) July 1, 1998: My liberation and return is organized by the political police of M. KABILA to my Kinshasa residence in conditions of greatest secrecy.

d) July 9, 1998: Thirteen of my supporters gathered to greet me on the occasion of my return from forced internal relegation are arbitrarily arrested and incarcerated in the detention centers of the political police of M. KABILA for nearly a months.

It was during this period of political tension period that the second civil war erupted against the KABILA regime on August 2, 1998 and, as in 1996, the insurgency is actively and massively supported by the foreign armed forces of Rwanda, Uganda and Burundi; while Mr. KABILA receives the active and massive support of Angola, Zimbabwe, Namibia, Sudan, etc.

To this day, many leaders and activists of UDPS are incarcerated either in the secret detention centers of the political police of Mr. KABILA where they are regularly tortured or in cells of the central prison of MAKALA in Kinshasa. This is the case of some members of the National Committee, members of the UDPS assembly, UDPS spokespersons, members of regional structures of the party, as well as rank and file members of the party. Their only crime is to have reflected on or analyzed the political situation in a way different from that of the KABILA regime !

e) August 23, 1998: In an earnest, solemn and patriotic appeal, I invited all the armed factions to put an end to the war and to give priority to the search for a negotiated political and diplomatic solution to the Congolese crisis.

f) September 4, 1998: In my memorandum addressed to the International Community (UN, EU, OAU), to President KABILA, and to the neighboring countries, I explained that the origin of this second civil war was to be found in the lack of democracy and in the



poor governance of the country by the KABILA regime; and that the solution could not but be political and diplomatic, resulting from political negotiations between the representatives of the Kinshasa government, the armed opposition, and of the internal opposition. I proposed a concrete plan in this sense. concrete peace in this direction.

18° 1999

a) July 10, 1999: A peace agreement is signed in LUSAKA between all the parties in conflict. A negotiated political and diplomatic solution is advocated as the essential plan to restore peace and build a new political order in RDC. b) July 22, 1999: I announced publicly, in the name of all the political and social forces supporting democratic change, our political declaration by which we formally accept the LUSAKA peace accord, as well as the mediation of Father MATEO of the Catholic community of Sant Egidio of ROME, Italy).

Signed in Kinshasa, December 7, 1999

Etienne Tshisekedi wa Mulumba

[Translation from french by Tshimanga John Metzel]

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