



**CARSOC-IRSC**



**Center for Support to the Strengthening  
of Civil Society and Good Governance in  
the Democratic Republic of Congo**

**Institute for the Reconstruction  
of Congolese Society**

**GOVERNMENT PROGRAM FOR THE TRANSFORMATION  
OF THE STATE, THE ECONOMY AND SOCIETY (PGTEES)**

**Post-Conflict Emergency  
Government Program  
in the Democratic Republic  
of Congo**

**Duration : 2026 – 2030**

## Contacts

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# I- JUSTIFICATION

1. The document "Agenda for a Systemic Shock in the Democratic Republic of Congo to Transform the State, the Economy and Society" (downloadable at [www.changecongordc.org](http://www.changecongordc.org)) is proposed as a Post-Conflict Emergency Government Program to be implemented by the Government that would emerge from the forthcoming inclusive dialogue (2026). This document has already been submitted to key political actors who could form this government (those currently in power as well as those in political and armed opposition). It has also been shared with leading civil society actors—particularly those engaged in facilitating the inclusive dialogue (leaders of CENCO and ECC, the Secretariat of the Social Pact for Peace)—so that it may be included in the debates for its potential adoption by the parties.
2. This document proposes relevant actions to be implemented in the short term (three to four years) to relaunch the reconstruction of the DRC and rapidly improve, to some extent, the living conditions of its population. The set of actions it contains offers a holistic and integrated approach aimed at inducing a systemic shock within the Congolese Nation as a prerequisite for its effective reconstruction following this interim period.
3. According to the stated priorities of various political actors, the next post-conflict government's priorities would be to establish the politico-institutional conditions necessary to restore the rule of law, organize credible elections in the near future, and recover the integrity and security of the national territory. While these priorities are relevant, they will not be sufficient to secure popular support if the urgent and concrete needs of Congolese citizens regarding the quality of public governance, economic poverty, and social living conditions are not addressed with equal priority.
4. To enable the respective ministers of the next post-conflict government to be functional and effective upon taking office in implementing this program, an effort to operationalize the various proposals formulated must be undertaken in advance of the government's formation. This entails deepening each proposal, collecting relevant information for its effective implementation, and formulating the associated decisions, actions, timelines, costs, and sources of financing, among others.

5. The trial-and-error approaches of recent governments of the DRC in public policy (design and implementation) sufficiently demonstrate both the absence of a government program within Congolese political organizations and the generalized incompetence and erosion of capacities within the State apparatus. It would therefore be counterproductive for the forthcoming government of national unity to find itself without a coherent, detailed, and ready-to-use government program for each minister in his or her domain, enabling effective coordination by the Head of Government.

## II- PILLARS OF THE POST-CONFLICT EMERGENCY GOVERNMENT PROGRAM

6. The Post-Conflict Emergency Government Program is built around the nine pillars below, which must be operationalized in line with the proposals set out in the document "Agenda for a Systemic Shock in the DRC to Transform the State, the Economy and Society", which serves as its conceptual foundation:

### I. *Transforming the "Quality" of the Congolese Individual*

7. There is today a broad consensus among both elites and ordinary Congolese citizens that the "quality" of the Congolese individual is the source of all the country's problems. Congolese citizens therefore largely call for changing the Congolese individual.
8. Changing the "quality" of the Congolese individual requires adopting an approach aimed at inducing a systemic shock within the country. Over time, the Congolese individual has become trapped within a predatory system that compels each person, within his or her "parcel" of power, to adopt predatory behaviors. Short-circuiting this system is essential to induce a revision of actors' mental models (beliefs and expectations) and, consequently, to modify their behaviors. All chapters of the foundational document return to this challenge.

## ***II. Reaffirming State Authority***

9. Another observation that commands unanimous agreement in the DRC is the total absence of State authority in promoting the general interest. How to restore this authority is one of the issues addressed. Concrete applications are proposed in areas such as environmental sanitation, reducing traffic congestion in Kinshasa (and other major cities), promoting health and safety in urban environments, reducing the cost of living, and increasing the effectiveness of public administrations.

## ***III. Rebuilding the Quality of Governance***

10. Quality governance is the opposite of corruption, clientelism, favoritism, discrimination, patronage, nepotism, and similar practices in the implementation of public policies. Rebuilding the quality of governance requires implementing various complementary actions proposed by this program.

## ***IV. Reconstructing Public Administration***

11. What services do Congolese public administrations still provide today to both citizens and the State? Answering this question leads to the conclusion that the current Congolese administrative apparatus must be deconstructed and rebuilt based on new criteria of public management effectiveness.

## ***V. Shaking Up the Judicial System***

12. The Congolese judicial system must be subjected to the same questioning formulated above regarding public administration. The conclusion is likewise identical.

## ***VI. Effectively Combating Corruption***

13. How can the country move beyond the current mimetic approaches to fighting corruption and equip itself with the appropriate means to effectively combat the specific type of corruption that prevails—namely institutionalized and systemic corruption? Concrete action proposals are formulated.

## ***VII. Interim Socio-Economic Recovery Program***

14. How can mass unemployment and poverty be reduced rapidly; how can individuals be prevented from joining armed groups and dissuaded from doing so; how can the Congolese individual be re-educated toward discipline; how can the bloated staffing of public administration and the education system be rationalized; how can local production be revived and essential infrastructure reconstructed; how can labor employability be improved?

The proposed interim socio-economic recovery program provides answers to all these questions by grounding government action on three interconnected pillars:

- vocational training;
- economic investments to directly employ trained individuals in order to revive local production and reconstruct essential infrastructure;
- emergency measures to reduce the cost of living.

## ***VIII. Shaking Established Individual Habits and Social Norms***

15. Established individual habits and social norms are downstream manifestations of the “quality” of the Congolese individual. While the systemic shock strategy is intended, upstream, to induce Congolese citizens to revise their mental models in order to arrive at different behavioral choices, it is also necessary to deconstruct their current consequences—namely individual habits and social norms that may compromise other national recovery efforts.

## ***IX. Rebuilding National Education***

16. The final pillar of this program consists of formulating fifteen specific proposals to rebuild national education. This represents a major undertaking that the next Minister of National Education will simply need to advance as far as possible.

