Statement of Concern for the People of the Democratic Republic of Congo
by the Presbyterian Church (USA)

The Presbyterian Church (USA) is deeply concerned about the recent elections in the Democratic Republic of Congo and, in particular, the physical and emotional trauma that has been inflicted on the Congolese people as a result of political violence. Our church has had a long and historic relationship with the Congolese people; we share their aspirations for a peaceful, secure and democratic nation, one that is governed by the rule of law and the collective will of the people and in which the rights and dignity of all people are respected. The 213th (2001) General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church (USA) called for “free and fair elections of leaders for the Democratic Republic of the Congo,” a principle to which our church remains committed today. In a spirit of care for the Congolese people and their government, the Presbyterian Church (USA) makes the following observations and recommendations:

1. During and since the election there have been numerous reports of acts of intimidation and violence. Human Rights Watch states: “Congolese security forces have killed at least 24 people and arbitrarily detained dozens more.” These reports have come – and continue to come – from many parts of the country. Given our concern for the safety of the Congolese population, the Presbyterian Church (USA) recommends that an independent commission be established to investigate all acts of intimidation or violence and to implement special measures to protect all Congolese civilians regardless of their ethnicity or political affiliation.

2. Several well-respected election monitoring groups have expressed great concern over the 2011 Congo electoral process. The Catholic Bishops of the Congo, the Carter Center and the European Union observer teams all concluded the process was so seriously flawed that the credibility of the results announced 9 December by the country’s Independent National Election Commission (CENI) is questionable. The Presbyterian Church (USA) therefore supports calls for a full and independent review of the 2011 voting, vote tabulation and vote reporting processes. Such a review should involve independent civil society voices, be supported appropriately by the international community, and be empowered to mandate actions to correct serious irregularities identified, including the possibility of holding fresh elections in areas where elections irregularities are found to be significant and pervasive.

We recognize that, in 2006, the United States Congress adopted legislation making it “the policy of the United States to help promote, reinvigorate, and support the political process in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.” (PL 109-465) The Presbyterian Church (USA) therefore urges the United States government to work vigorously to resolve these concerns by using its influence with the Congolese government and the international community.
### Key Congressional Contacts for DR Congo Advocacy

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Last Name</th>
<th>Firat Name</th>
<th>Pty</th>
<th>State</th>
<th>Dist</th>
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<th>Key Legislative Aide</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kerry</td>
<td>John</td>
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<td>MA</td>
<td>Sen</td>
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<td>Emmanuel</td>
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<th>Pty</th>
<th>State</th>
<th>Dist</th>
<th>Position</th>
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<th>Phone #</th>
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<td>Obama</td>
<td>Barack</td>
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<td><a href="mailto:President@WhiteHouse.gov">President@WhiteHouse.gov</a></td>
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<tr>
<td>Clinton</td>
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Presbyterians in red
Hello, my name is ___________.

I am a constituent of Congressman/Congresswoman ___________.

I am calling in regard to the Hearing on Thursday February 2 on Congo's elections that Africa Subcommittee will be hosting.

I want to thank the Subcommittee for holding this important hearing.

In his State of The Union address, President Obama said: "We will stand against violence and intimidation. We will stand for the rights and dignity of all human beings - men and women; Christians, Muslims, and Jews. We will support policies that lead to strong and stable democracies and open markets, because tyranny is no match for liberty." [Omit this paragraph when contacting Republican members!]

It is US policy to support democracy in the Democratic Republic of Congo according to section 102 (1) of Public Law 109-456. The United States currently has important opportunities to advance its stated policy with respect to the Congo. A number of respected bodies, including the Carter Centre, the European Union and the Congolese Catholic Bishops Conference, fielded electoral observation teams during the DR Congo's national elections at the end of November 2011. All of these teams found that the electoral processes were so seriously flawed as to call into question the announced results of that election. Furthermore, international human rights bodies, such as Human Rights Watch, have reported an alarming number of incidents of intimidation and violence during and since the elections.

I urge Congress to work vigorously to ensure that the United States supports democracy and human rights in the Congo by:

1. Joining the Presbyterian Church (USA) in supporting the calls of the Congolese Catholic Church and other Civil Society organizations for an independent investigation into electoral irregularities to ensure that the political will of the Congolese people is respected;

2. Withholding formal recognition of the Kabila government until such an investigation is completed;

3. Condemning intimidation and violence against civilians in the Congo and suspending any bilateral assistance to organizations or institutions credibly identified as responsible for such violence or intimidation.

Thank you.
SAMPLE LETTER TO MEMBERS OF CONGRESS

1 February 2012

The Honorable (full name)
(Room #) (Name) [House/Senate] Office Building
United States [House of Representatives/Senate]
Washington, DC [20515/20510]

Dear [Representative/Senator] __________________:

I am writing to express my concern for the people of the Democratic Republic of Congo and to urge you to work vigorously to protect human rights and democracy in the Congo.

In his State of The Union address, President Obama said: "We will stand against violence and intimidation. We will stand for the rights and dignity of all human beings - men and women; Christians, Muslims, and Jews. We will support policies that lead to strong and stable democracies and open markets, because tyranny is no match for liberty." [NB - This paragraph may be more effective in letters to Democratic members and may be omitted from letters to Republicans.]

Public Law 109-456 [sec. 102(1)] states that it is US policy to support democracy in the Democratic Republic of Congo. The United States currently has important opportunities to defend and support democracy in the Congo.

As you know, the DR Congo held national elections at the end of November 2011. A number of respected bodies – including the Carter Centre, the European Union and the Congolese Catholic Bishops’ Conference – fielded electoral observation teams during the elections. All of these teams found that the electoral processes were so seriously flawed as to call into question the election results announced by the country’s Independent National Election Commission (CENI) on December 9, 2011. Furthermore, international human rights bodies, such as Human Rights Watch, have reported an alarming number of incidents of intimidation and violence during and since the elections.

I urge you to use your influence as a member of Congress to ensure that the United States supports democracy and human rights in the Congo by:

1. Joining the Presbyterian Church (USA) in supporting the calls of the Congolese Catholic Church and other civil society organizations for an independent investigation into electoral irregularities to ensure that the political will of the Congolese people is respected;
2. Withholding formal recognition of the Kabila government until such an investigation is completed;

3. Condemning intimidation and violence against civilians in the Congo and working to suspend any bilateral assistance to organizations or institutions credibly identified as responsible for such violence or intimidation.

The Congolese people have suffered greatly at the hands of political strongmen, both domestic and foreign, for more than a century. It is vital that the United States and the international community acknowledge their plight and support them strongly in their efforts to build democracy and a culture of human rights and political liberties. I urge you to do whatever you can to advance these goals.

Thank you for your efforts and your concern. I look forward to learning your response.

Yours sincerely,
SAMPLE LETTER TO THE EDITOR OF A LOCAL NEWSPAPER

To the editor:

At the end of November 2011, the people of the Democratic Republic of the Congo went to the polls, hoping to make their voices heard. However, according to observers from the Carter Centre, the European Union and the Congolese Catholic Bishops, the electoral processes were so profoundly flawed that the results eventually announced have little credibility. Worse still, Human Rights Watch tells us: “Congolese security forces have killed at least 24 people and arbitrarily detained dozens more” since the election.

Officially, US policy supports democracy in the DR Congo. We have an opportunity to give meaningful content to that policy by supporting Congolese calls for an independent review of the country’s election procedures and results. We can also shine a spotlight on human rights violations and stop funding security forces that are killing and intimidating Congolese citizens. But we must act quickly and vigorously.

If we think that we don’t have a horse in this race, we should check our pockets, purses and briefcases. The DR Congo remains one of the most important sources of tungsten, tin and tantalum ores – those obscure metals that make our cell phones, Blackberries and iPods tick!

Sincerely,
Democratic Republic of the Congo

The Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), formerly Zaire, is located in Central Africa, straddles the Equator and has a surface area about one-fourth that of the U.S.A. The population of the DRC is estimated over 68 million growing at a rate of 2.6% per year.

Ranked at the very bottom of the Human Development Index the DRC measures poorly on all development indicators, including:

Health: an infant mortality rate of 78.43 deaths/1,000 live births; life expectancy of 55.3 years; and only 1.1 physicians/10,000 people.
Education: 67% adult literacy, 37% of students attending high school and only 6% attending university
Economy: 71% live under national poverty line; 47% in severe poverty; lack of clean water and sanitation

Presbyterian Church (USA) relation with the Congolese people dates back to 1891 when we pioneered sharing the Good News in word and deed of Jesus Christ with the Kasai peoples. From the American Presbyterian Mission in the Congo two autonomous Congolese Presbyterian Churches emerged by the time Congo gained independence from Belgium. Today our churches work together to realize Christ’s will, that all should have life in abundance. This is expressed in our collaboration in ministries of education, health, development, evangelism, Christian education, and activities targeting youth and women.

The history of the Congo is one marked by exploitation of the natural resources and the people. The nineteenth century extraction of rubber in the Congo under the King Leopold led to horrific abuses to which early Presbyterian missionaries William Sheppard and William Morrison were vocal witnesses, contributing to the end of King Leopold’s private rule of the Congo. The oppressive 32-year rule of President Mobutu, which ended violently in 1997, was marked by kleptocracy, the term coined to describe the massive theft of Congo’s natural riches while completely neglecting the needs of the population. Engulfed by war and conflict for more than a decade the DRC continues to be a humanitarian crises. The International Rescue Committee estimates 5.4 million people have died as a consequence of the 1998-2002 war
and the violence that has continued against civilians by various militias and government forces. Most of the deaths have resulted from the lack of health care due to a collapsed health care system, wide spread displacement and inability to produce food due to insecurity.

Despite such remarkably high casualties, the highest of any conflict since World War II, the international community has done relatively little to ensure peace, stability and good governance so necessary for the development of the country. An opportunity has again presented itself to the international community to urge respect for the rights of the people, including their right for just and fair elections and the right to express themselves without fear of intimidation.

For more information you may wish to consult the following websites.

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<th>Website</th>
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<tr>
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<td>Presbyterian World Mission engagement in the Congo</td>
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<tr>
<td><a href="http://congopartners.org/index.asp">http://congopartners.org/index.asp</a></td>
<td>Connect with other Presbyterians partnering in the Congo</td>
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<tr>
<td><a href="http://www.irinnews.org/country.aspx?country=CD">http://www.irinnews.org/country.aspx?country=CD</a></td>
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<td><a href="http://allafria.com/congo_kinshasa/">http://allafria.com/congo_kinshasa/</a></td>
<td>News source on Africa</td>
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<td><a href="http://www.enoughproject.org/conflict_areas/eastern_congo">http://www.enoughproject.org/conflict_areas/eastern_congo</a></td>
<td>The project to end genocide and crimes against humanity</td>
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<tr>
<td><a href="http://www.hrw.org/africa/democratic-republic-congo">http://www.hrw.org/africa/democratic-republic-congo</a></td>
<td>Human Rights Watch reports on the Congo</td>
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<tr>
<td><a href="http://drc.ushahidi.com">http://drc.ushahidi.com</a></td>
<td>Crowd sourced mapping of issues related to the DRC election</td>
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If you have questions or wish to become engaged in Presbyterian missions in the Congo please contact:

<table>
<thead>
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DR Congo: 24 Killed since Election Results Announced [1]

Security Forces Attack, Detain Protesters, Local Residents

December 21, 2011

(Kinshasa) – Congolese security forces have killed at least 24 people and arbitrarily detained dozens more since President Joseph Kabila was announced the winner of the disputed presidential elections on December 9, 2011, Human Rights Watch said today. The government should immediately halt attacks and arbitrary arrests against opposition supporters and local residents by security forces in an apparent effort to prevent any protest of disputed election results.

Those killed include opposition activists and supporters as well as people gathered on the street or even in their homes, Human Rights Watch found. Human Rights Watch has received dozens of reports of other killings and attacks by security forces which it is seeking to confirm and is continuing its investigations.

“Since Joseph Kabila was declared the winner of the presidential election, security forces have been firing on small crowds, apparently trying to prevent protests against the result,” said Anneke Van Woudenberg [3], senior Africa researcher at Human Rights Watch. “These bloody tactics further undermine the electoral process and leave the impression that the government will do whatever it takes to stay in power.”

Kabila, the incumbent, was inaugurated in Kinshasa, Congo [4]'s capital, on December 20 following an election that international and national election observers strongly criticized as lacking credibility and transparency. The Kabila-appointed Supreme Court on December 16 rejected the opposition’s contention that the vote should be annulled because of fraud allegations.

The incidents of post-election abuse by security forces were documented by seven Human Rights Watch staff working with 17 Congolese human rights activists trained as election observers and deployed across the country. Human Rights Watch interviewed 86 victims, family members, and other witnesses, in addition to gathering information from other sources.

Human Rights Watch received numerous accounts of incidents in which members of the Republican Guard presidential security detail, the police, and other security forces fired on groups of people in the street who may have been protesting the election result, were preparing to protest, or were simply bystanders. In other incidents, suspected opposition supporters were targeted and killed.

At least 24 people were killed by security forces between December 9 and 14, including 20 in Kinshasa, two in North Kivu,
and two in Kasai Occidental province. Human Rights Watch also documented an incident in which local youth in Kinshasa threw rocks at a priest who later died from his injuries.

Police and other security forces appear to be covering up the scale of the killings by quickly removing the bodies. Several sources informed Human Rights Watch that the government had instructed hospitals and morgues not to provide information about the number of dead or any details about individuals with bullet wounds to family members, human rights groups, or United Nations personnel, among others. Some family members have found the bodies of their loved ones in morgues far outside of Kinshasa, indicating that bodies are being taken to outlying areas.

The security forces have also forcibly blocked attempts by opposition groups to organize peaceful protests against election irregularities and arrested a number of the organizers on spurious charges of threatening state security, Human Rights Watch found. The Republican Guard, which is not empowered to arrest civilians, has apprehended opposition supporters and detained them in illegal places of detention at Camp Tshatshi, the guard’s Kinshasa base, and at the Palais de Marbre, a presidential palace. Some of the detainees were mistreated.

“The callous shooting of peaceful demonstrators and bystanders by the security forces starkly illustrates the depths the government will reach to suppress dissenting voices,” Van Woudenberg said. “The UN and Congo’s international partners should urgently demand that the government rein in its security forces.”

The Republican Guard is a force of some 12,000 soldiers whose primary task is to guard the president. Under Congolese law, the Republican Guard has no authority to arrest civilians, to detain them or to provide security for the elections. Congo’s police are responsible for providing security and ensuring public order during the elections. The national police chief, Gen. Charles Bisengimana, can call on the regular Congolese army, not the Republican Guard, to provide assistance if his force is unable to control public order.

Bisengimana told Human Rights Watch that he had not called on the army for any help with maintaining public order in Kinshasa and did not foresee any need to do so in the near future. He could not explain to Human Rights Watch why Republican Guard soldiers were so widely deployed across Kinshasa, including in places where there were no presidential installations for them to guard. He added that the Republican Guard was not under his authority or control.

“The Republican Guard has no authority to arrest Congolese civilians and hold them at illegal places of detention,” Van Woudenberg said. “The government should order the immediate release of all detainees in their custody, and undertake an impartial investigation into responsibility for these unlawful arrests and the mistreatment of detainees.”

Background

**Killings in Kinshasa**

Politically motivated attacks by the security forces following the election have been most severe in Kinshasa, where the leading opposition candidate, Etienne Tshisekedi of the Union for Democracy and Social Progress (UDPS) party, did very
well at the polls.

Congolese security forces, including the Republican Guard and the police, were deployed in large numbers across the city ahead of the December 9 announcement of provisional election results by the independent electoral commission, the CENI. Witnesses told Human Rights Watch that on that day and ensuing days, these forces fired randomly at small crowds of people who had gathered and others who attempted to leave their homes. Forces also fired on individuals suspected of looting. In some incidents, security forces specifically targeted and killed suspected opposition supporters. The attacks occurred in the communes of Ngaliema, Ngiri Ngiri, Kinsenso, Selembao, Lemba, Kalamu, Limete, and Kimbanseke in Kinshasa, killing at least 20 people, including 4 boys, 5 women, and 11 men, and wounding many others.

Soon after the election results were announced on December 9, a crowd of people gathered in the streets to protest in Barré neighborhood, Ngaliema commune. At around 5 pm, the police came and fired at the crowd to disperse the protesters. As people scattered, some took refuge outside the home of Fany Nsimba, a 21-year-old woman. When Nsimba and her 8-year-old niece came outside to see what was happening, they were both shot by the police. Nsimba died minutes later. Her niece is still hospitalized, recovering from a bullet wound in her thorax.

In Kimbanseke commune on the morning of December 10, local youth set up barricades on one of the main avenues following the announcement that Kabila had won the elections. When the police came to remove the roadblocks, some of the protesters threw rocks at them. The police responded by firing tear gas and live ammunition at the protesters and other passersby. A 15-year-old boy who had left his house to pick up his cell phone which was charging, and who some witnesses said had a rock in his hand, was shot dead. Another 30-year-old bus driver was also shot dead.

Angry at the heavy-handed response of the police, a group of youth broke into and burned a nearby police station, stealing weapons and furniture. Into the afternoon, the police continued to fire live ammunition at protesters in Kimbanseke and even down the smaller streets off the main avenue where the roadblocks had been set up. A 45-year-old mother of seven, who had poked her head outside the door to make sure none of her children were outside, was shot dead by a stray bullet.

In the days that followed, the police used the raid on the police station as a pretext for nightly raids in the neighborhood, going door-to-door and randomly arresting youth and stealing phones and money as they searched for the stolen weapons.

In Bandalungwa commune in the late afternoon of December 9, police fired into a crowd of people on Kimbondo Avenue who were protesting Kabila’s announced victory. At least two people suffered bullet wounds. The next morning, a 13-year-old boy, Bijou Luvuwala, was standing outside his house in the Kimbangu neighborhood, Kalamu commune, when the police drove by and fatally shot him.

The same day, on Pinzi Avenue, Bandalungwa commune, a 14-year-old boy stepped outside his house as a military truck drove by. The security forces in the truck shot and wounded the boy, a witness who was standing further down the road told Human Rights Watch.
On several occasions, state security forces have shot at or arbitrarily arrested people who happened to be standing outside the UDPS headquarters or in front of Tshisekedi’s nearby residence in Kinshasa’s Limete commune.

On December 10, the police drove by the UDPS headquarters in Kinshasa and fired into a crowd of people standing outside. A 23-year-old man told Human Rights Watch that he was shot in the leg, but that he and others who were wounded were scared to go the hospital, where they might be pursued by the authorities tracking down UDPS supporters.

Arbitrary Arrests in Kinshasa

Security forces, especially Republican Guard soldiers and the police, also conducted arbitrary arrests and house-to-house raids in the communes of Ngaliema, Lingwala, Kintambo, Limete, Kimbanseke, Selembao, and Kalamu in Kinshasa.

During the attacks, they often looted homes and accused their victims of being against Kabila.

Republican Guard soldiers took those arrested to Camp Tshatshi, the Republican Guard military base in Kinshasa, and the Palais de Marbre, one of the official presidential residences in Kinshasa guarded by the Republican Guard. Neither is an official place of detention. At least 30 people have been detained in these two places since December 9, according to Human Rights Watch interviews with those who were released and other witnesses.

A Tshisekedi supporter who lives in Kinshasa’s Ngaliema commune told Human Rights Watch that around 5 p.m. on December 9, after the provisional election results were announced, Republican Guard soldiers raided his house. The soldiers beat him and his 19-year-old son and shouted at his family, saying “This time we will trample you like tomatoes!” They then left with his son, who was taken to Camp Tshatshi.

Former detainees from Camp Tshatshi interviewed by Human Rights Watch said that many were stripped naked, blasted with cold water and then repeatedly beaten by Republican Guard soldiers, including with wooden bats with nails. They said the soldiers accused them of being against Kabila.

One former detainee said the soldiers shouted at them: “You Kasaiens [referring to people from the Tshisekedi’s home region of Kasai], you will see. You want to make Kabila leave easily, but he came to power with blood. We will eliminate all of you.” [‘Vous les Kasaiens, vous allez voir. Vous voulez faire partir Kabila facilement. Mais lui, il est venu au pouvoir avec le sang. On va vous éliminer tous.’]

One witness said that three detainees at Camp Tshatshi were executed on the night of December 9. The witness said the three men did not have identity papers and were accused by the Republican Guard soldiers of being rebels. He said the victims were tied to a tree and shot in the back at close range, one after the other.

At the Palais de Marbre, a number of detainees were held and beaten next to the swimming pool. One detainee interviewed by Human Rights Watch after he escaped, described how he was arrested from his home in the middle of the night following publication of the election results on December 9and taken to the palace. He said he was thrown into the pool, still hand-cuffed, and forced to stay in the dirty water for several hours while the Republican Guard soldiers drank whiskey...
and urinated on him. He said the soldiers taunted him, telling him he would soon be killed because he had campaigned for Tshisekedi.

Republican Guard soldiers arrested another man while he was sitting in front of his small store in Ngaliema commune on the morning of December 10. He later told Human Rights Watch that the soldiers grabbed him, took him in their truck to Palais de Marbre, and told him they were tracking down all the youth responsible for causing disorder the day before. He was badly beaten in custody and finally released on December 12, after his family paid a bribe to the guards.

Police also arrested and detained dozens of people, contending they were responsible for public disorder, theft, arson, and incitation to civil disobedience. Many are still being arbitrarily held without charge in violation of Congolese and international law.

Early in the morning of December 8, two elderly men were arrested during raids by security forces on their homes in Mhamu neighborhood, in Kinshasa’s Limete commune. The security forces took them to the military detention center at Camp Kokolo, where they are still being held. Their families said those guarding the detainees told them that the men were being held because they are leaders of the UDPS party. The families said that one of the men is a member of the PALU political party, part of Kabila’s presidential alliance, and the other is a musician with no interest in politics.

**Violence by the Opposition**

The UDPS party has a long history of peaceful opposition, although UDPS supporters and others were implicated in sporadic acts of public disorder and violence following the announcement of the election results, including burning tires, throwing rocks at police, attacking police stations, looting shops, and setting up road blocks. Several police officers were injured.

On December 9, a group of suspected opposition supporters attacked a Kimbanguist church in Kinshasa’s Selembao commune. A pastor at the church, Mbunga Tusevo, was beaten and died the following day. The Kimbanguist church in Congo is perceived to have endorsed Kabila in the presidential elections. One of Kinshasa’s main Kimbanguist churches in Kasavubu commune was used as a holding area for people arrested on December 9 before they were taken to Camp Kokolo or Camp Tshatshi.

**Crackdowns on the Opposition Elsewhere**

Government abuses against opposition supporters and to stop protests also occurred in other parts of Congo. On the night of December 9, at Bunyangulavillage near Kiwanja, North Kivu province, Congolese army soldiers shot and killed Willy Wabo, a civil society activist who was a member of opposition leader Vital Kamerhe’s Union for the Congolese Nation (UNC), in his home. A witness said that one of the attackers called Wabo by name from outside and then shot him at least twice through a window as he attempted hastily to call a friend. The witness said the soldiers shouted out that other UNC members and candidates would be tracked down in the same manner.

In the weeks before his death, Wabo had denounced election irregularities on local radio stations, specifically mentioning
efforts by armed soldiers to block voters at a polling place in Katwiguru and the presence of soldiers at another polling place in Kiwanja. Human Rights Watch found that elsewhere in North Kivu, soldiers in uniform and in civilian clothing sought to intimidate voters to vote for Kabila.

In the city of Goma, North Kivu, local authorities used force to stop an attempt by UDPS and UNC opposition party leaders to organize a demonstration on December 13 to protest Kabila’s re-election and alleged vote rigging. Police used pepper spray and beatings to disperse a small group of peaceful protesters who had gathered at Signers traffic circle at around 10 a.m. A 28-year-old protester, Patient Chibike Birindwa, was assaulted by the police and collapsed and died the following day, December 14. Witnesses told Human Rights Watch that Birindwa had told them that he was pinned down on the ground by the police during the protest and repeatedly kicked in the chest, stomach and on his back. Later that day, he complained to friends about the injuries to his chest. Government officials in press interviews claimed Birindwa died of heart attack not associated with injuries he may have received at the protest. Another protester was also injured.

At the same demonstration, police arrested five of the UDPS and UNC organizers of the protest, even though they had given advance notice of the demonstration as required by Congolese law. In a statement the day before the protest, Goma’s mayor, Jean Maliaseme Busanya, denied the organizers the right to demonstrate, saying that anyone who wanted to contest the presidential election results was required to direct the complaints to the Supreme Court within 48 hours of the publication of the electoral results. The five organizers arrested were charged with threatening state security and publishing information with the aim of undermining public order. The mayor’s statement confused the requirements for a legal action against the voting results, which has time limits, with the right to express one’s opinion, which has no such limits.

Police and soldiers also quelled protests in Bukavu and Lubumbashi. In Bukavu on the morning of December 13, police dispersed opposition protesters by beating them with batons and arrested Eustache Nsima, a lawyer who tried to convince the police not to stop the demonstration. He was later released. A demonstration to protest Kabila’s inauguration on December 20 was also quelled.

On December 14, in Lubumbashi, soldiers armed with military assault rifles and rocket propelled grenades (RPGs) forcibly stopped a group of about 30 UDPS members and supporters from demonstrating. Soldiers surrounded the demonstrators, threatened them with their guns, and beat and kicked one of the organizers, Fabien Mutomb, and others.

Police and other security forces also deployed in large numbers to patrol the streets of Mbuji-Mayi, Mwene-Ditu, Kananga, and Tshikapa, in Kasai Oriental and Kasai Occidental provinces, all towns that voted overwhelmingly in favor of Tshisekedi.

Mbuji-Mayi has been under a night-time curfew since December 2. Local residents and civil society activists interviewed by Human Rights Watch said the curfew has given cover to numerous incidents of intimidation, arbitrary arrests and looting by security forces. Dozens of civilians, many of them UDPS supporters, were detained between December 9 and 12. Some were later charged with initiating a rebellion, insulting state authorities and destroying property. Some detainees
alleged that they were mistreated. In one case a police officer threw a tear gas canister into a closed container near the police headquarters where some 40 detainees were being held.

At least two men were killed by security forces in Kananga, Kasai Occidental province, on December 9 and 11. One of the victims was shot dead while demonstrating.

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Introduction

1. As we begin the year 2012, may God bless and keep the Congolese people! May God reveal to you His face, shining and full of grace! May God demonstrate his goodness to you and grant you peace! (cf. Numbers 6: 24-26).

2. Meeting in an extraordinary plenary assembly at Kinshasa from 9 to 11 January 2012, we, the Cardinal, Archbishops and Bishops, and members of the National Episcopal Conference of Congo (CENCO) have, in a concerted effort, analyzed the report of election observation conducted by our church. In prayer and with faith for the happy future of our country, we send this message to our faithful and to all the Congolese people to learn from the current electoral process.

Achievements of the electoral process

3. We salute the determination of our people who, on 28 November 2011, showed maturity and good citizenship by going to the polls, often under difficult conditions, to chose their sovereign rulers. We congratulate our Government, which has largely managed to finance the elections. This shows that we can succeed in building our country if we commit the resources and the goodwill. We cannot ignore the efforts of CENI [the Independent National Election Commission], from a logistical standpoint, to deploy election materials in the face of many challenges in a vast country with a substandard communications infrastructure. We also congratulate all electoral observers and witnesses who made many sacrifices to fulfill their task.

Failures

4. However, the results of these efforts have disappointed more than one Congolese. In our message of 25 February 2011, entitled “Election Year: What must we do? (Acts 2:37)”, we were eager to see that these elections take place with transparency, truth and peace in order to enroll our country in the register of respectable and dignified nations.1 In the Appeal of 3 December 2011, the CENCO, recalling that it did not intend to accept results that its Electoral Observer Mission had not also accepted, called on the Congolese people, the political actors and the CENI to stick absolutely to the truth of the polls. In the Clarification of its General Secretariat, 8 December 2011, the CENCO noted positive aspects of the electoral process, but cited disturbing irregularities and shortcomings. Similarly, the 12 December 2011 Declaration of the Cardinal, Archbishop of Kinshasa, in view of these irregularities and shortcomings,

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1 See CENCO, Election Year: What must we do? (Acts 2:37), No. 23.
denounced the lack of conformity to truth and justice of the provisional results published by the CENI.

5. Today, it appears from the final report of the Election Observation Mission of the CENCO and testimonies from various dioceses and other sources that the electoral process was conducted in a chaotic environment in many places. It noted several failures, cases of proven and apparently planned cheating, many unfortunate incidents resulting in death, foul-ups and, in some places, a climate of terror deliberately maintained and consciously exploited to enable the stuffing of ballot boxes. That's not all. **What is happening now with regard to the tabulation of parliamentary election results is unacceptable. It is a shame for our country.**

6. Given the above, we believe that the electoral process was marred by serious flaws that call into question the credibility of published results. We ask the organizers to have the courage and honesty to draw the necessary conclusions. For, admitting mistakes is a sign of greatness. But if we risk continuing to **govern the country by fiat,** internal tensions, more or less controlled in the short-term, will culminate, sooner or later, in a serious and difficult to resolve crisis. It is clear that in an inclusive approach, which favours the path of dialogue, is in the best interests of the Congolese nation. It is time for courage and truth.

**Our prophetic mission**

7. True to our mission to be sentinels for the people of God (cf. Ezekiel 3:17), we identify in this process several challenges for the future of the rule of law in the DRC and the welfare of its people. In doing so, we do not mean to take over the political battle to create the most just society possible. We do not advocate for a particular political party. As the Pope recommended, "the Church cannot and should not put herself in the place of the state, but she cannot and must not remain on the sidelines in the fight for justice." Therefore, "in her prophetic role, when the people cry to her: "Sentinel, what of the night?" (Isaiah 21:11), the Church wants to be prepared to account for the hope that it brings with it (cf. J Peter 3:15) as a new dawn on the horizon (Revelation 22:5)." And we endorse the call of Pope Benedict XVI, "Because of Christ and in fidelity to the lesson of his life, our church feels compelled to be present where humanity knows suffering and to echo the silent cry of persecuted innocents or people whose governments are mortgaging the present and the future on behalf of private interests."

8. To this end, we will not tire of denouncing anything that jeopardizes the building of a democratic state. **One does not build the rule of law in a culture of cheating, lying and terror, militarism and flagrant violation of freedom of expression.** If democracy is a power of the people by the people and for the people, we must respect the people. In the present context, the people are bruised and frustrated, powerless witnesses to a process that still does not reflect their will and which is in places little more than an arrangement between certain political actors.

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3 Benedict XVI, Post-Synodal Apostolic Exhortation *Africæ munus,* No. 30.
4 Benedict XVI, Post-Synodal Apostolic Exhortation *Africæ munus,* No. 30.
Peace in the truth

9. "The Church has a mission of truth to accomplish, a vital mission, it is service to the truth that liberates." 5 The electoral process should allow the consolidation of democratic culture and the pacification of the country. We want peace. But it has requirements that cannot be set aside, including truth, justice and respect for the people. It is in the name of peace that the Church continues to invite Congolese leaders to justice and love of truth. Indeed, what values will mould our youth if, at the end of the day, no one models alternative values?

Attacks on the integrity and dignity of persons

10. In this context, we condemn the public and orchestrated campaign against the Cardinal. This torrent of insults shocked the Catholic faithful as well as others. It attests to the emergence of a single view that tends to stifle any contrary opinion. Similarly, we condemn the insults and threats against the President of the CENCO. We recall that the debate of ideas in a democracy does not permit personal attacks.

11. We can not remain silent before such abuses and many others of which we disapprove: physical threats, human rights abuses, abductions and intimidation, confiscation of public means of communication by a political elite. Because of their opinions, bishops, clergy and peaceable citizens have been and still are victims of these threats.

12. We urge faithful Catholics and the Congolese people in general to practice non-violence because violence breeds violence. It generates destruction and misery. Similarly, we ask our compatriots living abroad, with whom we share the desire for a new Congo and whose sacrifices to assist those inside the country we recognize, not to resort to violence and to find peaceful ways to contribute to building a truly democratic Congo. In the example of our Divine Master, we must respond to violence with love (cf. Matthew 5:43-44).

Recommendations

13. We call upon:
   - The Congolese people as a whole, not to give in to pessimism, despair, violence, tribalism or xenophobia, but to unite around Christian values and democratic justice and truth, to grow in the consciousness of national unity and their sovereign power in order to exercise vigilance and legality in all things;
   - Political actors, to show political maturity, to have the ability to organize themselves to assume their full responsibilities, to elevate the political debate by ending insults and lies and by caring for the civic education the population and their well-being;
   - The current team of CENI to have the courage to examine its own behavior, to correct urgently the serious errors that have undermined public trust in this institution, if not to resign;
   - Parliament, urgently to review the composition of CENI, which no longer enjoys the confidence of the population, and to incorporate civil society representation for

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5 Benedict XVI, Post-Synodal Apostolic Exhortation Africae munus, No. 22.
enhanced independence, in addition, to realize that the people will not accept any attempt to amend the protected articles of the Constitution;

- **The Government**, to draw lessons from this electoral debacle, to allocate resources for the upcoming elections and to release them in time for smoother performance, to **stop dipping into the public treasury for personal interests and to realize that the people want change**;

- **A National Police and Armed Forces**, be professional, to protect the public and especially not to obey unjust orders;

- **The Supreme Court**, to recognize the right of conscience and independence in dealing with electoral disputes. The credibility of the judiciary in our country depends on this;

- **The international community** to prioritize the interests of the Congolese people, not to be complacent, to support the Congolese people in their search for justice and peace and to respect it in its self-determination.

**Conclusion**

14. Our country is currently a time of uncertainty and anxiety. Our faith in God and our trust in man, created in the image of God, convince us that the uncertainty and anxiety can be overcome through a change of heart, attitude and practice. **There must be a love of country and a willingness to give up selfish interests to seek, through dialogue, ways to build peace in DR Congo. But the peace we want is one that is rooted in justice and love of truth. For peace obtained without justice is illusory and ephemeral.** Justice that does not originate in reconciliation with the truth of love remains incomplete. It is love and the courage of the truth that define the path of justice and true peace; that is what we want in Congo.

15. May the prayer of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Queen of Peace and Our Lady of the Congo, whose heart is always oriented towards the will of God and will sustain any conversion, consolidate all initiatives for reconciliation and dialogue and strengthen all efforts for a Congo that hungers and thirsts for justice and peace.

*Kinshasa, 11 January 2012*
Carter Center: DRC Presidential Election Results Lack Credibility

The Carter Center finds the provisional presidential election results announced by the Independent National Election Commission (CENI) on Dec. 9 in the Democratic Republic of the Congo to lack credibility. CENI results point to the re-election of incumbent President Joseph Kabila with 49 percent of the vote followed by Etienne Tshisekedi with 32 percent and Vital Kamerhe with 7.7 percent. Voter turnout was 58 percent.

Carter Center observers reported that the quality and integrity of the vote tabulation process has varied across the country, ranging from the proper application of procedures to serious irregularities, including the loss of nearly 2,000 polling station results in Kinshasa. Based on the detailed results released by CENI, it is also evident that multiple locations, notably several Katanga province constituencies, reported impossibly high rates of 99 to 100 percent voter turnout with all, or nearly all, votes going to incumbent President Joseph Kabila. These and other observations point to mismanagement of the results process and compromise the integrity of the presidential election. Candidates and parties have a limited time to submit any complaints to the Supreme Court, and tabulation for the legislative elections is ongoing.

The problems observed in the tabulation and announced results are compounded by inadequate access for observers at multiple compilation centers around the country and no official access to the national results center in Kinshasa. The Carter Center is therefore unable to provide independent verification of the accuracy of the overall results or the degree to which they reflect the will of the Congolese people.

Challenges in the results process were further evident in the CENI delays in announcing the results first for two days after the original date of Dec. 6 and then a second one-day delay to Dec. 9. Presidential candidates and the Congolese people are to be commended for waiting peacefully for the announcement of results, and the Center encourages all actors to maintain the same level of responsibility. It is also the responsibility of Congolese political actors and institutions to conduct their own examination of the election results and identify political solutions. The Carter Center is ready to assist in these processes if requested and appropriate.

The Carter Center maintained 26 teams of international, impartial observers deployed in Kinshasa and the 10 provinces for the counting and tabulation. This assessment is based on direct observation during visits to 25 local results compilation centers (CLCRs) where tabulation of results was conducted and a preliminary examination of the published results.

The Tabulation Process

The electoral law provides that immediately after counting, results forms are signed by all members of the polling station and witnesses, a copy of the results form is given to witnesses, a copy of the results form is posted outside the polling station, and results forms and other election materials (ballot boxes, counted and unused ballots) are sent to the 169 CLCR. All materials are supposed to be collected and transported securely to the CLCR.

Heads of polling centers were responsible for collecting and delivering all polling station material from their polling center including four sets of envelopes containing results by
polling centers; one each for the CLCR, the national board of CENI, the provincial executive secretary of CENI (SEP), and the Supreme Court. Upon arrival at the CLCR, heads of polling centers present themselves to a reception desk to sign over all of their election materials. If all material was accounted for, the heads of polling centers were released of responsibility and sent home.

Upon reception, the results envelope for the CLCR is sent to the collation desk, while the others are sent to archiving for later transmission to their final recipients. The results documents then pass through four desks where they are checked for consistency, the data entered on computers and compiled for transmission to the SEP and ultimately posted in front of the CLCR. At one stage, inconsistent documents may be reconstructed the basis of the counting form and polling station activity log by a team of three CENI members. After the compilation of results from all the constituencies under its responsibility, CLCRs transmit them to the SEP who consolidate for the province and send these to the CENI for publication of preliminary results.\[3]\n
**General Findings**

Soon after election day, unofficial results started to circulate online and via SMS. Additional threatening messages were sent to members of domestic and international election observation missions. On Dec. 3, the minister of interior ordered the suspension of the emission and reception of SMS justified by the reportedly massive distribution of anonymous messages of intimidation, death threats, and calls for violence. This measure is an excessive attempt to deny freedom of expression; the authors of such messages could have been identified through regular channels of investigation.

Other heavy handed responses were applied to media. The Superior Council of Audio Visual Communication suspended two broadcast networks without an official decision and one newspaper close to the opposition. In Mbuji Mayi, police closed broadcaster RLTV without cause.

In comparison to the 2006 elections, the counting and tabulation procedures remained similar in their complexity which could have contributed to the uneven application across CLCRs and created opportunities for manipulation of results. As was the case five years ago, the logistical challenges of collecting, securing, and recording the results caused major difficulties for which CENI showed an insufficient level of preparation. CENI staff from voting centers and CLCRs were required to work extremely long hours for days at a time, often without adequate shelter, food, or water in trying and crowded physical conditions.

In most of the cases observed, CLCRs were properly secured by police (military in some cases), however, in 15 percent of the cases their behavior could have influenced or intimidated CLCR personnel. In 15 percent of CLCRs observed, the reception and handling of sensitive election material did not follow the established procedures. Candidate witnesses were present in almost 90 percent of the cases but their physical position in the CLCR and access to information varied, disabling some from following all steps of compilation.

Where problems with results paperwork necessitated a recount of ballot papers, witnesses were present in only a slim majority of cases observed. Archiving was reported to be disorganized in 25 percent of the cases and the results envelopes bound for the SEP, CENI, and the Supreme Court did not leave the CLCRs before the end of tabulation. Equipment to
transmit electronic record of scanned individual polling station results forms to SEP and CENI was present in 73 percent of the cases but observers could not always confirm if they were functional or in consistent use.

In many instances, heads of voting centers waited outside CLCRs for several hours and sometimes days with no organized provision of shelter, food, or water. Bulky items (mainly used and non used ballot papers and ballot boxes) were stockpiled outside of CLCRs, most of the time without care or protection from the weather. Even more importantly, bags of ballot papers and the envelopes containing results forms and other polling station paperwork were opened by heads of voting centers outside before they were officially received. After reception, the working conditions and storage provisions of CLCR varied. In some instances, bags of ballot papers were piled wherever floor space allowed, or spilled to the floor where they were stepped on by personnel because of lack of space. In more spacious centers, material was either stored in warehouses and piled in a more ordered manner or left outside, covered by tents and tarpaulins. Where a lack of organization in the storage of sensitive material prevailed, it was nearly impossible for CENI personnel to recover misplaced material.

In multiple observed CLCR (e.g. Boma, Matadi, Bandundu, Mweka, and others) Carter Center observers found tabulation processes that they rated fair or good in 60 percent of cases. The overall assessment of other locations varied, with 40 percent rated poor based on an overall assessment of the application of procedures.

**Tabulated Results Lack Credibility**

The tabulation process in Kinshasa and Lubumbashi proved to be especially problematic. The lack of preparation evident in these two major cities resulted in serious irregularities and produced a tabulation process that lacks credibility. The generalized deficiencies described above prevailed in the extreme in both locations. Sensitive materials arrived by various means of transport, both official and private, were handled haphazardly, sometimes with bags and results envelopes opened, were stockpiled outside with insufficient or no protection from the elements (after a rain storm results forms were found hanging on sticks to dry), heads of polling centers were observed opening sealed envelopes with results forms and completing or altering paperwork in breach of procedure. Coupled with the general disorganization of these centers, a significant number of polling station results were lost. In Kinshasa, nearly 2,000 polling station results have been lost (representing as many as 350,000 voters) and hence will never be tallied. Another 1,000 polling station results have been lost elsewhere in the country (representing 500,000 voters).

Also in Kinshasa, the uneven application of procedures led to heated debates on how to treat the unsigned results forms, often leading to partisan interpretation of procedures. In some instances, contested documents were said to have been transferred to the Supreme Court which at this stage remains impossible to confirm. CLCR staff sometimes appeared to be poorly trained with some staff reporting that colleagues had received no training. Furthermore, ineffective communication of procedural decisions made while the tabulation was ongoing resulted in important decisions being applied unequally, raising additional possibilities of manipulation of results, as neither CENI staff nor witnesses and observers could verify correct procedures.

Physical and information access for observers and witnesses was inadequate and varied from
day to day and among CENI staff at different CLCR stations resulting in a lack of transparency of the process. In some instances, senior CENI officials directly obstructed observation by Carter Center observers. For example, in Lubumbashi, Carter Center observers witnessed the president of a CLCR instructing his staff during their training not to give out any information to the observers. Similar instructions were given to CENI staff during tabulation in Kinshasa.

According to the electoral law, each CLCR is to send its compiled result form to the SEP, who in turn sends compiled results for the province to CENI in Kinshasa for the announcement of a national result. It appears that only the compiled CLCR result forms have been sent to CENI, although the commission should receive its own envelope with an original copy of the polling station results. No comparison of physical results forms for verification of CLCR compilation at the national level could be observed and therefore assessed by the Center. Although formally requested from CENI, no official access was granted to Carter Center observer (or any others) to the national results center (CNT).[4] Thus, data transmission and management have been conducted in a nontransparent manner, eliminating a possible, and important, avenue to build confidence in the final election results, if observers and witnesses had been able to verify the handling of compiled results (CENI's organizing law contains a general transparency provision, the spirit of which should apply throughout the entire electoral process, even if specific arrangements are not specified in the electoral law).[5]

The provisional results announced by CENI reveal multiple results that lack credibility. In Katanga province, two CLCR results are especially notable. The Mulemba Nkulu CLCR reports 99.46 percent voter turnout with 100 percent of votes, or 266,886 for Joseph Kabila, and fewer than 0.5 percent blank or null votes. All polling stations reported. Kabongo CLCR records similar high voter turnout with 227,885 votes for Kabila and only three votes for other candidates. A total of eight CLCR in Katanga report voter participation above 80 percent, far above the national average of 58 percent, and vote shares of 89 percent or higher for Kabila.

Although the specific mechanism through which such vote totals may have been generated is unclear, numerous conditions cited in previous Carter Center reports may have been enabling factors, notably concerns about the credibility of the voter register and the potential multiple voting through abuse of the derogation votes and list of omitted voters, or through manipulation of vote totals at polling station or various stages of the tabulation. Thorough analysis with the records of domestic observers and candidate witnesses could yield more information.

Review of locations with similar high percentage votes for Etienne Tshisekedi does not reveal the same coincidence of perfect collection of polling station results and extremely high voter turnout. Notably, although Tshisekedi scored very well in much of Kasai Occidental, 11 of 12 CLCR reported voter turnout below the national average, and in nine CLCR returns from Kasai Oriental where he received 90 percent of more of the vote, the rate of results collection and voter turnout were within reasonable variation of national rates.

This assessment does not propose that the final order of candidates is necessarily different than announced by CENI, only that the results process is not credible. However, further analysis of preliminary results could reveal other important patterns and variations suggestive of a vote counting and tabulation that lacked uniform application to all Congolese voters. Additional analysis will be provided in future Carter Center reports.
**Background:** The Carter Center international election observation mission has been in the DRC since Aug. 17, 2011, following an invitation from CENI. The mission was led by former President of Zambia Rupiah Bwezani Banda and Vice President of Carter Center Peace Programs Dr. John Stremlau, and is composed of 70 observers from 27 countries.

The Center thanks CENI and all those Congolese who have welcomed Carter Center observers and given their time to meet with them.

The Center's observation mission in the DRC is conducted in accordance with international standards for elections, and the observation mission was conducted in accordance with the Declaration of Principles for International Election Observation and the Code of Conduct for International Observers that was adopted at the United Nations in 2005 and has been endorsed by 37 observation groups.

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A not-for-profit, nongovernmental organization, The Carter Center has helped to improve life for people in more than 70 countries by resolving conflicts; advancing democracy, human rights, and economic opportunity; preventing diseases; improving mental health care; and teaching farmers in developing nations to increase crop production. The Carter Center was founded in 1982 by former U.S. President Jimmy Carter and his wife, Rosalynn, in partnership with Emory University, to advance peace and health worldwide.

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[1] Electoral Law Art. 68 and 69
[2] Electoral law, Art. 68
[3] Electoral Law Art. 70 and 71
[4] A CENI national results center for data compiled at CLCR and transmitted by SEPs
The Election Observation Mission of the European Union deplores the lack of transparency and irregularities in the collection, compilation and publication of results

 Kinshasa, December 13, 2011 - The Election Observation Mission of the European Union (EU EOM), headed by Ms. Mariya Nedelcheva, has just completed its post-election analysis that addresses the essential steps of the electoral process such as collection of results and their compilation in the 169 local centers for results compilation (CLCR) and the publication of provisional results.

Eager to follow the course of action it has set since arriving in the DRC, in terms of independence, impartiality and transparency, the EU EOM has decided to publish its observations and analysis to the attention of the Congolese people and congratulate on their show of citizenship and sense of responsibility throughout these elections and also thank them for their hospitality.

The EU EOM notes that the assessments that are summarized in the following paragraphs are based on direct observation of several local centers of compilation of results across the entire country and analysis of the results CD-ROM provided by the CENI.

Missing Names Lists
The EU EOM notes that despite the recommendations made by most of observation missions in 2006, nearly 3.2 million people voted on derogation or missing names’ lists, that is, more than 17% of the total number of voters. This rate was 8% in 2006. The provinces mostly affected by this phenomenon are Kinshasa (27.77%), North Kivu (24.5%), Equateur (20.29%), South Kivu (19.02%) and Bandundu (18.54%).

Compilation process at the level of CLCR (compilation local centers) and transmission in Kinshasa
The results compilation process has revealed mixed situations. The EU EOM teams have observed a more effective organization in Bas-Congo, North Kivu or in parts of Eastern Province, compared to the CLCR in Kinshasa, South Kivu, Equateur and South Katanga, which have experienced great organizational difficulties. The transmission of sealed envelopes to the CENI, Provincial Executive Secretariat (SEP) and the Supreme Court of Justice (CSJ) has not been systematic and immediate. Finally, the system of results transmission by satellite, referred to as "V-sat," was not available everywhere.

The results compilation process at the CLCR should have been guaranteed by several safeguards, such as the presence of the candidates / political parties’ witnesses throughout the compilation, their signing of the compilation and Minutes sheet, as well as the public posting of the results approved across the territory (Article No. 70 of the Electoral Act). The credibility of the results from several CLCR could be questioned because this last step has not been fully respected. Therefore, the EU EOM observers have concluded that this process has not been transparent enough in Katanga, South Kivu, and Kinshasa and in Province Orientale, where several observers and candidates / political parties’ witnesses were prevented from observing all the compilation stages. Finally, contrary to the electoral law, the CENI head office required several CLCRs not to immediately post the compilation results prior to sending them to the CENI head office for a “consistency check”. Observers have witnessed this infringement of the law in Goma, Mbandaka, Mbanza-Ngungu, Kinshasa, Kisangani and Lubumbashi.
"Ad Hoc Committee" and access to the National Processing Center (CNT)
In order to consolidate the results, the CENI had established an ad hoc committee, with the participation of experts, in which no witnesses candidates / political parties nor the observers were allowed. The CENI has also denied witnesses access to the National Processing Center (CNT), the anteroom before results are transmitted to the "Ad Hoc Committee." The lack of witnesses and observers, in this essential phase of consolidation and verification can only affect confidence in the published results and their credibility.

Announcement of the December 9, 2011 provisional results
A large number of results of polling stations, located across the territory, were not computerized. According to the CENI, the number of these polling stations is 4,875, of which 2,020 are in the city of Kinshasa, that is, 7.63% of the national total. Taking the average number of voters per polling station given by the CENI, 331, these 4,875 polling stations which have not been counted represent 1.6 million voters.

In addition, the publication of provisional results lacked in transparency. If the CENI has finally released detailed results by polling station, they do not, however, have the scanned copy of the minutes of each BV that were drawn at the end of counting. These results include only the typed out copies of minutes made within the CLCR, sometimes without any witnesses.

Several polling stations’ results released the evening of the count and observed by our field teams, namely in Lubumbashi, do not tally with those published by the CENI.

Media
After the November 28 election, the media situation deteriorated with the closure of several opposition media without any formal decision. The CSAC has sanctioned several media close to the opposition, taking arbitrary measures. The media and journalists have started practicing self-censorship now in an atmosphere made even tenser by the publication of the presidential election results.

Candidates’ Reactions
At the end of this observation, the EU EOM notes that several presidential candidates, allegedly from the opposition, said they did not recognize the results published by the CENI and would like them to be cancelled, even by the Supreme Court.

The Chief Observer, Ms. Mariya Nedelcheva said: "It is the responsibility of political actors and Congolese institutions to conduct their own review of the election results and to identify solutions to the current situation. The EU EOM is also continuing its careful assessment of the compilation of the legislative election results until the completion of the process."

A final report containing all the observations and recommendations will be made public after publication of parliamentary elections final results.

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