



EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

**DELEGATION TO OBSERVE THE
SECOND ROUND OF THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS
IN THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO**

(27 October - 1 November 2006)

**Report* by
Mr Jürgen SCHRÖDER,
Chairman of the delegation**

<u>Annexes:</u>	A.	List of participants
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* The Members of the Joint Parliamentary Assembly ACP-EU Members associated to the delegation of the European Parliament associated themselves to this report.

Introduction

Following the results of the first round of the presidential elections and based on the decision of the Conference of Presidents on 14 June that authorised the European Parliament Delegation that would observe the elections on the 30 July to observe "if necessary, the second round of the presidential election", the delegation decided at its meeting on the 6 September to return to DRC for the second round of the election.

At the same meeting the delegation approved the report concerning the first round of the presidential elections and the legislative elections. On this occasion the members held an exchange of views on the political situation in DRC with General Morillon. The EU EOM's Chief Observer briefed the members of the delegation on the security situation in the capital following the events in August and on the activities of the EU Election Observation Mission (EOM) in this particular environment.

Before its departure to Kinshasa the delegation held another two meetings on the 18 October and 24 October when the programme and the deployment plan were discussed by the members. On these occasions it was also decided that two ACP Members, Mr Eustache Akpovi (Benin), Member of the JPA Bureau, and Mr Benjamin Bounkoulou (Republic of the Congo) would join the European Parliament delegation as was the case during the first round.

The election observation mission¹

Friday, 27 October

Press Conference of the seven election observation missions that signed the Common Declaration on the 1st of August

Mr. Jürgen Schröder in his capacity as Chair of the European Parliament Delegation to observe the election in DRC participated in this joint conference.

Meeting with Major General Christian Damay, EU Force Commander

By then EUFOR had been deployed for three months and a half in DRC. Its mandate started on the 30 July and was supposed to expire on the 30 November, following the publication of the final results of the second round.

The most visible moment of EUFOR activities to date was its contribution to the stabilisation of the capital city Kinshasa during the violent events that took place, in August. General Damay explained that these events were composed of three combined facets: (i) the situation remained under control and did not degenerate due to the presence of EUFOR and MONUC, (ii) the population was not involved in the combat and preferred to turn a blind eye to the conflict, (iii) the leaders acknowledged the dangers that these kind of events can lead to, and how much they can affect the general stability of the country.

¹ Full programme in Annex B

General Damay explained EUFOR's tasks as follows: (i) rescue people in danger (e.g. personnel involved in the election process, international observers etc), (ii) participation at the protection of the N'djili airport in Kinshasa and (iii) support MONUC in its activities related to the stabilisation of the security situation and with regard to the electoral process.

Concerning the time limits of the mandate of EUFOR, General Damay mentioned that the mandate would expired on 30 November, the date of the publication of final results - and that at the time of the meeting there was no reason that would justify its prolongation. At the same time, the deterioration of the security situation would at any moment bring its prolongation into discussion.

Saturday, 28 October

Meeting with General Morillon, Chief Observer of the EU EMO

General Morillon welcomed the Delegation of the European Parliament and described the activities of the EU EOM, following the first round of the elections.

Following the tabulation of the results and the departure on 7 September of the long-term observers, the Core Team of the EU EOM maintained a continuous presence in Kinshasa in between the two rounds. The EU EOM would be present in DRC until the end of the electoral process. For the second round 34 long term observers were deployed throughout the country, starting on 13 October, the date when the electoral campaign was launched. For the election day 200 short-term observers were deployed across the country.

Concerning the organisation of the second round, General Morillon was reassured by Revd. Apollinaire Malumalu, President of the Independent Electoral Commission (CEI) at their meeting on 14 October, that CEI was undertaking actions for reinforcing the transparency of the election process. A significant aspect that contributed directly to the increase of the transparency of the process was that the detailed results were to be published by every polling station at the end of the counting for the second round. A positive aspect in this sense was that 200 000 observers from the political parties were accredited by the CEI for the second round.

On the 26th of August, at the request of the High Media Authority, representatives of seven media outlets (Radio Liberté, Radio Television Nationale Congolaise, Canal Congo Télévision, Digital Congo, Canal Kin TV, Moliere TV and Radio Lisanga Television) signed an agreement in the presence of CIAT and a group of Congolese media representatives committing themselves to respect the rules of journalistic ethics during the electoral period. Following this agreement the EU EOM established a media monitoring mechanism to analyse key print and broadcast media during the electoral campaign.

Directly connected with the electoral campaign, several violent incidents have occurred in different parts of the country (Mbandaka, Lodja, Lubumbashi, Bukavu and Kindu). Yet, General Morillon had persistently emphasised during all meetings that he had highlighted the importance of respecting the engagements for non-violence and good development of the elections during his meetings with different

political representatives (Nzanga Gizenga, Tshisekedi, Francois Mwamba, Oscar Kashala, Olivier Kamitatu, and Mbenza Thubi, the president of the provisional bureau of the National Assembly).

Briefing by members of the core team of the EU EOM on different aspects of the election observation

At a special briefing for the EP delegation, General Morillon and the members of the EU EOM core team outlined the main aspects related to the electoral campaign and the election day.

The electoral campaign started on 13 October at midnight and was characterised by a lack of debate between the presidential candidates. The TV debate foreseen by the High Authority of the Media for 26 October did not take place. Due to security reasons both Kabila and Bemba did not leave the capital for campaigning for the second round.

The recurrent theme against the candidate Kabila was one related to ethnicity. During the campaign, Bemba's media was accused of inciting to murder Kabila.

Concerning the media, the EU EOM noticed an unbalanced access for the candidates to the presidential elections. Most of the media outlets and especially RTNC, the only public television channel in DRC offered unbalanced coverage to Kabila. Kabila also benefited from a clear advantage with regard to radio coverage of the campaign.

As a general evaluation, the tone used by the press was less brutal compared to the first round, nevertheless the use of innuendos was constantly noticed.

Eric Des Palliers, deputy chief observer, described several aspects that should have been carefully observed during the election day: (i) the respect of the procedures for the use of the special electoral lists, the *liste des omis* and the derogation registrar, (ii) the uniformity of the criteria used for the qualification of the spoiled ballot papers, (iii) the offer upon request of the minutes containing the results to the observers of the political parties, (iv) the publication of the detailed results for each polling station at the end of the counting.

Meeting with national observers

The delegation met representatives from the following national organisations involved in the monitoring and observation of the election process:

- ROPI (*Civil Society Network*), Mr Djamba wa Djamba
- RODHECIC (*Réseau d'organisations de défense des droits humains et d'éducation civique d'inspiration chrétienne en RDC*), Mr Jean Baptiste Ndundu

Both ROPI and RODHECIC together with other NGOs were associated with the CDCE (*Cadre de concertation de la société civile pour l'observation des élections*). The CDCE had as a main task the coordination of the different civil society platforms of the organisations involved in the observation of the elections.

The two representatives described the activities of their organisations starting with the first round of the elections.

ROPI is a civil society partner coalition of IFES and regrouped 350 NGOs from 6 different provinces of the country. ROPI would deploy 1000 observers for the second turn of the elections (of which 350 would be in Kinshasa).

RHODECIC regrouped 70 organisations that had as the main goal to observe elections at the level of the Congolese society. Special attention was therefore paid to the respect of the rights of the voters and the candidates, and to the organisation of the electoral operations.

Meeting with the political representatives:

MLC/UN - Oscar Kashala

Mr. Kashala underlined that the main objective of the candidate he was representing was to solve the paradox the country finds itself in: DRC is a country that on one hand holds extraordinary human resources and natural wealth and on the other is amongst the least developed countries in the world.

At the time of the visit, the leadership did not represent the needs and requirements of the people. As stated by Kashala all the wealth of the country is concentrated in the hands of the people who have political power. The MLC/UN candidate intended to give the wealth back to the people, to whom it belongs.

In order to build up a country, the leader must have the ability to create opportunity for all the layers of its society. The gap between the rich and poor should be narrowed, Mr. Kashala added.

For ensuring an economic boost, Bemba's programme envisaged to relieve the economy from the pressure of high taxes, a fact that should encourage investment in DRC. The development of agriculture was another objective on the candidate's platform. At the time only 3% of arable land was cultivated in the country. This percentage is far too low for a country with the agricultural potential of DRC.

Mr. Kashala concluded that a stable DRC would contribute significantly to the stability of the African continent.

AMP - Olivier Kamitatu

Mr. Kamitatu explained that the platform of the AMP candidate was based on three general points: (i) security, (ii) state's authority, (iii) economy.

Mr. Kamitatu identified the reunification of the country and the organisation of an inclusive transition as successfully accomplished objectives of the late government. The AMP candidate intended to consolidate peace and stability in DRC and to develop good relations with the neighbouring countries.

The AMP candidate intended to establish the state authority through administrative reform of the country which should be implemented during the following five years and which called for the organisation of 25 provinces in the country. At the same time

public administration would be reformed in the sense that it would be adjusted to the needs of the population. The education and the sanitary system would be key-priorities of the future government.

According to Mr. Kamitatu, the liberalisation of the economy, initiated in 2001 should continue. Furthermore, DRC should develop a stable environment for private investments. The rehabilitation of the country's infrastructure was a high priority for the AMP candidate.

Sunday 29 October, Election Day

The delegation observed the election-day procedures in Kinshasa. The delegation divided itself into four teams that comprised MEPs, JPA Members and EP staff members.

The four teams visited about 25 polling centres which regrouped about 120 polling stations amongst which more than two thirds were closely observed by the members of the delegation. The teams observed the opening, voting and counting procedures during the election-day.

Concerning the opening, all the teams reported a certain delay (about one hour) at the opening of the polling stations. The law stipulated that the polling stations should be declared open between 6h-6.30h. The delay was generally due to bad weather conditions (heavy rain) which made some of the routes impassable and even flooded the first floor of the buildings of some polling centres. One of the teams reported difficulties in getting inside a building, due to the fact that the entire garden and first level of the building were swamped by water.

The entire morning of the day of the election was characterised by a low turn-out. The number of voters increased in the afternoon and in the evening. Even though voting started later in the day, the polling station commission took into account the 11 hours rule, so the time by which the electors could cast that vote was not increased by the morning delay.

The teams were well received in all places. No verbal hostility was registered this time by the members of the delegation.

It was noted that national witnesses and national observers representing different local organisations were present in all polling stations. In some of the polling stations more than one witness (either representing MLC or AMP) was present in the polling station at the same time. In some cases the number of witnesses and national observers exceeded six (the maximum number stipulated by the law). However the large number of national observers and witnesses of the parties did not impede the unfolding of the voting process.

No campaign signs or posters were found in the polling centres or in the vicinity of the polling centres. The distance of 100 meters clearance of posters or any signs of campaign, stipulated in the election law (Art. 28 Measures of application of the Electoral Law) was fully respected.

Polling station agents were aware of their tasks and performed their duties in a disciplined and impartial manner. The delegation noticed that both the voters and the polling staff seemed more familiar with the voting procedures by comparison with the first round. The polling staff clearly described the steps to be taken by the voter in the polling stations. Following the experience from the first round, and in order to avoid confusion with regard to criteria for considering spoiled ballots (6% of ballots cast were considered invalid during the first round), the CEI clearly showed which signs should be used on the ballot paper for registering a valid vote. The signs were explained to each voter and in some of the polling stations posters indicating these signs (published by the CEI) were displayed at the entrance.

In most of the polling stations observed the voting lists were posted outside the polling stations. The posters containing information on the candidates (published by the CEI) were missing in some cases.

In all polling stations the essential electoral material was available (ballot boxes, ballot papers, ink, lists, voting booths). In one polling station it was reported that in the morning the polling staff was lacking ballot papers for the provincial elections. At the level of the polling centre the decision was taken that each polling station should offer a certain number of ballot papers in order to give the possibility to the electors to cast their votes.

The four teams also observed the closing and the counting procedures. The recent experience of the first round seemed to give more confidence and accuracy to the polling staff in executing their specific tasks during this stage of the election-day. At the end of the counting, the minutes were signed by the members of the polling staff and the political witnesses upon request. The detailed results were displayed outside the polling station at the end of the counting.

The EP delegation salutes the commitment of the polling staff committees and appreciates the civic spirit that the Congolese people have shown for the second time in the respective election process.

Monday, 30 October

The delegation visited the Kinshasa compilation centre, where all the national staff, assisted by international representatives, were ready to start the compilation process following the election-day.

The delegation was briefed on the procedures which should be followed as well as logistics in order to overcome the difficulties which existed during the compilation in the first round.

This time, for example, an intermediate stage of pre-sorting was introduced, which had the main target of ordering the electoral materials immediately after their receipt. Besides the CEI representatives and members of the national police, UNDP, UNHR and MONUC representatives were cooperating in the compilation process.

In the afternoon, the Kinshasa observers held a debriefing of which the results had been noted in the previous section.

In the evening, the European Parliament delegation hosted a dinner for the following guests:

- H.E. Carlo de Filippi, Ambassador, Head of Delegation, European Commission;
- H.E. Reinhard Buchholz, Ambassador of Germany, representing the EU Presidency;
- Superintendent Adílio Custódio, Head of Mission, EUPOL Kinshasa;
- Major General Christian Damay, EU Force Commander;
- General Pierre-Michel Joana, Head of Mission, EUSEC Congo
- Mr Ross Mountain, MONUC: Deputy Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General, Resident Coordinator and Humanitarian Coordinator for the DRC;
- General Philippe Morillon, MEP, Chief Observer EU EOM;
- Mr Eric Des Pallieres, Deputy Chief Observer of the EU EOM;
- Mr Jean-Michel Dumont, election expert, European Commission Delegation;
- Mr Olivier Ruysen, European Commission, AIDCO;
- Patrick Dupont, European Commission, RELEX.

Tuesday, 31 October

Meeting with Mr. Ross Mountain, Deputy of the Special Representative of the UN Secretary General, Coordinator of humanitarian aid to DRC

Mr. Ross Mountain made reference to the violent events in August in Kinshasa and to MONUC and EUFOR efforts and cooperation in order to re-establish peace in the capital.

Following these events, MONUC and EUFOR had been directly implicated in the *Arms free Kinshasa* campaign and would continue to survey the situation in the capital and throughout the country for the duration of the compilation process.

Mr. Ross Mountain referred to the efforts made by Mr. William Swing, the UN Special Representative of the UN Secretary General and Head of MONUC, to bring the two presidential candidates together and sign a code of conduct and especially to reach an agreement on respecting the outcome of the elections.

Mr. Ross Mountain described the logistical support that MONUC provided for the compilation process. MONUC was committed to assisting the CEI staff during the compilation process, especially during the pre-sorting stage. In order to speed up the process, MONUC would assist 64 compilation centres, through transportation of election materials by aircraft.

Meeting with the Bureau of the National Assembly

Mr. Mbenza Thubi, President of the Provisional Bureau of the National Assembly welcomed the European Parliament Delegation to the Peoples Palace, the headquarter of the National Assembly.

The Bureau of the Assembly had officially started its activities on 22 September. This was the first democratic elected parliamentary assembly after more than 40 years. The assembly has 500 seats and in accordance with the results of the elections 111 places (22.2%) have been attributed to the People's Party for Reconstruction and Democracy, 64 (12.8 %) to the Movement for the Liberation of Congo, 34 (6.8 %) to the Unified Lumumbist Party, 27 (5.4%) to the Mouvement Social pour le Renouveau, and 26 (5.2 %) to the Forces du Renouveau. The Assembly also comprises 62 other political parties, which were attributed a various number of seats (between 1 and 15 seats) and 63 independent deputies. Women represent about 10% of the members of the Assembly. At present, the Bureau has the task of establishing the rules of procedure of the Assembly.

Mr. Mbenza Thubi underlined that the Assembly will have a broad objective in becoming a democratic forum of debate and decision making that would reflect both the needs and the hopes of the Congolese citizens. Mr. Mbenza Thubi mentioned that the Assembly intends to have a permanent insight into the control of the exploitation of natural resources and to exercise in practical terms the budgetary authority, which it is entitled to by law.

Mr. Jürgen Schröder emphasised the similarity between the Congolese parliament and the European Parliament, as they both need to work in a multi-lingual, multi-ethnic environment. Cooperation between the two could also be discussed in the EU-African, Caribbean and Pacific Parliamentary Assembly, due to be held on the 20-22 November in Barbados.

Mr. Mbenza Thubi explained that both the members of the assembly and the civil servants would greatly benefit from the assistance of the European Parliament. The Assembly intends to closely cooperate with the international community and get benefits from the experience, the assistance and the collaboration with similar parliamentary bodies of established democracies.

Meeting with Ambassador Carlo De FILIPPI, Head of the Delegation of the European Commission, and with the Heads of Mission of the EU Member States

The delegation held an exchange of views on the different aspects of the electoral process with the following Heads of Mission:

- H.E. Carlo De Filippi, Ambassador, Head of Delegation, European Commission
- H.E. Aldo Ajello, EU Special Representative for the African Great Lakes Region, European Council
- H.E. Andy Sparkes, Ambassador, United Kingdom
- H.E. Johan Swinnen Ambassador, Belgium
- H.E. Bernard Prevost, Ambassador, France
- H.E. Boguslaw Nowakowski, Ambassador, Poland
- H.E. Ioannis Christofilis, Ambassador, Greece
- H.E. Miguel Fernandez-Palacios, Ambassador, Spain
- H.E. Alfredo Duarte Costa, Ambassador, Portugal
- H.E. Michael Klor-Berchtold, Ambassador/ Special envoy, Germany
- H.E. Jan Filipensky, Head of Mission, Czech Republic
- Mr. Nikias Bennwik, DHM, Switzerland

- Mr. David Chantor, MP, House of Commons, United Kingdom
- Major General Christian Damay, EU Force Commander
- General Pierre-Michel Joana, Head of Mission, EUSEC Congo
- Mr. Francois-Xavier Delestre, Political advisor, EUPOL
- General Philippe Morillon, MEP, Chief Observer EU EOM

The members of the delegation exchanged views with Ambassador Carlo de Filippi and the Heads of Mission of the EU Member States on the following subjects: (i) the unfolding of the elections and the security aspects, (ii) the activity of the newly elected Parliament and the good governance in DRC, (iii) DRC's relations with the neighbouring countries.

Concerning the election-day, CIAT released a statement in which it showed its satisfaction with the election process and expressed its hopes for the stability to be maintained following the publication of the results. Maintaining the peace was a key issue at the time and the presence of MONUC and EUFOR was essential in this regard.

Reference was made to the visit the European Parliament paid to the Bureau of the Parliamentary Assembly and to the cooperation and assistance initiatives discussed during this visit. The assistance and collaboration activities could also be promoted at the bilateral level between the DRC legislative body and the parliaments of the Member States. Good governance is an essential element of the democratic development in DRC. Good governance should be the next stage of the development initiated by the Congolese people during the elections.

The relations DRC is developing with its neighbouring countries have a vital contribution to the stability of the region. Signs of gradual improvement between DRC and Rwanda have been noticed. An agreement between the presidents of the two countries has been concluded. On 1 August, the Government of Rwanda reiterated its intention to open a diplomatic mission in Kinshasa after the elections. In the meantime, DRC and Uganda have continued to seek solutions to issues that concern both countries, as for example the Lord's Resistance Army presence on Congolese territory. No agreement between the presidents of the two countries has been reached up to the present.

Wednesday, 1 November

The Head of the EP election observer delegation, Mr Jürgen Schröder participated in the joint press statement, organized in the framework of the EU EOM, together with General Morillon and members of the EU EOM core team.

At the press conference the preliminary declaration of the EU EOM was presented. Mr. Schröder presented the preliminary assessment of the EP delegation, based on the delegation's debriefing earlier in the week.

Conclusions

The European Parliament delegation concludes that:

- Having observed the second round of the Presidential Elections, the members of the Delegation, express their admiration and deep respect for the sense of citizenship as well as the courage and determination with which the Congolese people carried out the elections, despite the very difficult circumstances.
- The delegation observed clear improvements in the mastery of voting procedures in comparison to the first round. The members wish to congratulate the IEC for being capable of drawing the lessons from the flaws of the first round, as well as all the electoral agents who showed their competence and a strong will to make the process a smooth one, making it possible to have more transparency during the vote. We refer more specifically to measures reinforcing the electors' confidence in the process (accreditation of more than 200,000 witnesses of the political parties and candidates, renewed presence in polling stations of Congolese national observers, posting of the results immediately after counting operations). Transparency was significantly improved as a result of this (obvious improvement in the preparation of the compilation of results, reduction in the number of special lists). All these measures contributed to the process being conducted in a generally calm atmosphere.
- However the process was far too bureaucratic, especially closing procedures after completion of the counting. We welcome the fact that, despite this, efforts have been made to create maximum transparency.
- Despite a few shortcomings these elections already represent a remarkable success. The Congolese People showed that they could take their future into their own hands through democratic means.
- The delegation wishes to emphasise in particular the parliamentary dimension. This is why our delegation considers the meeting held with the Provisional Bureau of the new National Assembly, elected as a result of the poll on June the 30th, to be of special importance. However having an elected parliament is not sufficient - it must be in a position to exercise its function: ensure democratic pluralism, ensure accountability of the executive and fight against corruption. To this effect the delegation discussed concrete support measures with the Bureau. The delegation calls upon the international community to follow the same path. Democracy has no price, but it has a cost. A strong parliament is the best guarantee for the future government to be able to find solutions to the real problems of the country: poverty, the lack of security and the illegal and irresponsible exploitation of natural resources.
- Democracy is not achieved by simply proclaiming results. This is only a beginning. Therefore the delegation calls upon the candidates, the political parties and their supporters, as well as the international community to do their utmost to make sure that the results of these elections will be respected. The members of the EP delegation are determined to contribute to this. The legitimacy of the new leaders and the politicians will depend on them respecting the results of the vote, which is the expression of the people's will.

EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

PRESIDENTIAL AND LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS IN THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO SECOND ROUND

ELECTION OBSERVATION DELEGATION 28 - 31 October 2006

List of participants

Members

Mr. Jürgen SCHRÖDER, EPP-ED, Germany, President
Mr. Filip KACZMAREK, EPP-ED, Poland
Mr. Richard HOWITT, PES, United Kingdom
Mr. Robert EVANS, PES, United Kingdom
Mr. Ulrich STOCKMANN, PES, Germany
Mrs. Fiona HALL, ALDE, United Kingdom
Mrs. Marie-Hélène AUBERT, Verts/ALE, France
Mr. Koenraad DILLEN, NI, Belgium

Members associated (joint) APP ACP

Mr. Benjamin BOUNKOULOU, APP ACP, Democratic Republic of Congo
Mr. Eustache AKPOVI, APP ACP, Republic of Benin

Political groups

Mr. Jesper HAGLUND (EPP-ED)
Mrs. Ruth DE CESARE (PES)

Secretariat

Mr. Dietmar NICKEL
Mr. Guido VAN HECKEN
Mrs. Adriana BUCHIU
Mrs. Simona IACOBLEV
Mrs. Claudine STAUB

Secretariat APP ACP

Mr. Alioune SENGHOR

Interpreters

Mrs. Claudine PIERSON-VISCOVI (coordinator)

Mr. Benoit CLIQUET

Mr. Vincent Raymond Julien CAPET

Abbreviations :

PPE-DE	Groupe du Parti populaire européen et démocrates européens	UEN	Groupe Union pour l'Europe des Nations
PSE	Groupe socialiste au PE	I-D	Groupe de l'Indépendance et de la démocratie
ALDE	Groupe Alliance des démocrates et des libéraux pour l'Europe	NI	Non inscrits
Verts/ALE	Groupe des Verts/Alliance libre européenne		

EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

PRESIDENTIAL AND LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS IN THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO SECOND ROUND

ELECTION OBSERVATION DELEGATION

28 - 31 October 2006

Programme

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Mr Robert EVANS, PES, United Kingdom
Mr Ulrich STOCKMANN, PES, Germany
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Interpreters

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** **

Friday 27 October

Arrival of the Members and transfer to the hotel:

Hotel MEMLING
5 av. du Tchad
Kinshasa
Tel. +243.81.70.111
Fax. +243.81.301.3333

12h30 Press Conference of the seven election observation missions that signed the Common Declaration on the 1st of August

15h00 Meeting with Major General Christian Damay, EU Force Commander
Venue: EUFOR

Saturday 28 octobre

9h00 Meeting with General Morillon, Chief Observer of the EU Election Observation Mission

10h00-12h00 Briefing by the EU EOM on election observation process
- Analysis of the political situation
- Analysis of the electoral situation
- Logistic
- Security
Venue : EU EOM

12h00-14h00 Lunch at Restaurant Château Margaux

14h00-15h00 Meeting with long term observers
Venue : EU EOM

15h00-15h45 Meeting with national observers (RODHECIC, ROPI)
Venue : EU EOM

15h45-16h00 *Coffee break*

16h00-16h30 Meeting with the political representatives (MLC/UN) (Oscar Kashala)

16h30-17h00 Meeting with the political representatives (AMP) (Olivier Kamitatu)

17h00 Return to the hotel

17h30 Internal preparatory meeting for the Election Day

Venue : Memling Hotel

Sunday 29 October

Election observation in Kinshasa.

Monday 30 October

9h30 Visit of the compilation centre in Kinshasa and of some vote centres observed on 29 of October

14h30-15h30 First briefing of the delegation
Venue : Memling Hotel

20h Dinner offered by the European Parliament delegation with the delegation of the EU EOM, the delegation of the European Commission and EU Presidency
Venue : Memling Hotel

Mardi 31 October

9h30-10h30 Meeting with Mr. Ross Mountain, Deputy of the Special Representative of the UN Secretary General, Coordinator of humanitarian aid to DRC
Venue : Memling Hotel

11h00-12h30 Meeting with the Bureau of the National Assembly
Venue : Peoples Palace

Arrival to the hotel

14h30-16h00 Meeting with Ambassador Carlo De FILIPPI, Head of the Delegation of the European Commission, and with the Heads of Mission of the EU Member States (in the presence of Mr. Aldo AJELLO EU Special Representative for the African Great Lakes Region, and representants of EUFOR, EUPOL and EUSEC)
Venue: European Commission Place, BCDC building, 18 floor

18h00 Departure of the delegation to the airport, except the President

Mercredi 1er novembre

11h Joint press statement: presentation of the preliminary assessment of the EP delegation
Venue : Peoples Palace

12h Departure of the President to the airport

Annexe C



European Union
Election Observation Mission
to the Democratic Republic of Congo
2006 presidential, parliamentary and provincial elections

PRELIMINARY STATEMENT

Elections conducted effectively by the Independent Electoral Commission and in which the people of Congo voted in a calm atmosphere despite a pernicious electoral campaign

Kinshasa, 1 November 2006

At the invitation of the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) and recognising the importance of these elections for the transition process in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), the European Commission decided to send an Election Observation Mission (EU EOM) to observe the 2006 presidential, parliamentary and provincial elections. The EU EOM was led by General Philippe Morillon, MEP. The core EU EOM team maintained a continued presence between the two rounds of elections. It was joined by long-term observers on 9 October.

The EU EOM operates in accordance with the Declaration of Principles for International Election Observation of 27 October 2005. With a total of 300 observers from EU Member States and Norway, Switzerland and Canada, this mission is the largest election observation team ever deployed by the EU. A delegation of eight MEPs led by Jürgen Schröder is working alongside the EU EOM and supports this statement. Observers were sent to all 11 provinces of the DRC in order to carry out a comprehensive and informed evaluation of the electoral process. On the date of the elections, EU EOM observers visited over 1 000 polling stations.

The EU EOM is currently monitoring the compilation of results in most of the local compilation centres and will remain in the country to continue observing the election process until it is completed. It will then publish its detailed conclusions and recommendations in a final report covering the entire electoral process.

Summary

- **Conducted with efficiency by the IEC, the presidential and provincial elections of 29 October took place in a generally calm and orderly atmosphere, despite several serious incidents in Equateur and Ituri, poor weather conditions in part of the country and occasional logistical incidents. Electors turned out peacefully and in large numbers across the country, reaffirming their desire to choose their political representatives by democratic means.**
- **The objective of the elections was to appoint the country's first democratically elected president and to begin the process of establishing representative institutions at provincial level, which will, in time, culminate in the election of senators and provincial governors. These are two essential steps towards the establishment of legitimate institutions in the DRC for the first time in over 40 years.**

- Despite certain shortcomings, particularly concerning the way in which political parties are funded and the organisation and independence of the judiciary, the legal and regulatory framework for these elections complies with the main international standards for democratic elections.
- Drawing lessons from the elections of 30 July, the IEC made significant efforts to improve and clarify its procedures. However, delays in communicating its decisions prevented them from being applied uniformly throughout the country.
- Once again, the IEC has succeeded in meeting the challenge of organising particularly complex elections in a country that is the size of a continent and has little infrastructure. The IEC received vital support from its international partners, particularly through the Electoral Process Support Project and the Electoral Division of the United Nations Organisation Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo (MONUC). Furthermore, the IEC showed its determination by swiftly resuming work after the confrontations in August and maintaining the timetable for the elections of 29 October unchanged.
- International commitment was evidenced by the sending of several observation missions, complementing the considerable efforts made in this area by Congolese civil society organisations. The political parties, for their part, deployed large numbers of witnesses at polling stations throughout the country.
- The pre-election period constituted a veritable ‘non-campaign’, marked by the absence of the presidential candidates and by a pernicious atmosphere. The increase in the number of violent incidents severely reduced the ability of both coalitions to campaign in each other’s traditional strongholds. By contrast, the provincial election campaign, which was longer, remained singularly unanimated.
- While maintaining an attitude of strong mutual mistrust, the two camps belatedly signed three declarations proposed by MONUC, one appealing for calm, another on respecting the preparatory work of the IEC and a third on safeguarding the fundamental rights of the eventual loser.
- In a flagrant breach of Congolese legislation and of signed commitments, the country’s major audiovisual media outlets remained in the exclusive service of the presidential candidates and broadcast messages of hate and incitement to violence, while offering their chosen candidate virtually exclusive coverage. The RTNC (*Radio Télévision Nationale Congolaise*) failed to fulfil its role as a public broadcaster by systematically breaking its obligation to provide each candidate with equal access to the airwaves, to the sole benefit of the outgoing president. However, the balanced coverage provided by Radio Okapi, broadcast throughout the country, and the many community radio stations contribute to a greater diversity of opinion.
- Assisted by increased international support from the end of August, the High Media Authority (HMA) demonstrated great firmness and a level of fairness in its decisions relating to private channels. It remained reticent towards the RTNC.
- On the day of the elections, the EU EOM noted clear improvements in the election officers’ command of the voting and vote-counting arrangements compared with the previous election. The collection of envelopes after the close of polls, helped by better planning, also improved.
- However, EU EOM observers noted that identical arrangements were not applied throughout the country, mainly because of delays in publication. The often premature use of ‘lists of omitted voters’, ‘special electoral lists’ and special

dispensation lists for electors not allowed to vote and the frequent assistance provided to electors by witnesses need to be carefully monitored in order to evaluate their impact on the elections.

- **The presence of witnesses and observers at the local compilation centres during the determination of results is essential for ensuring transparency. Likewise, publishing results broken down by polling station is the only way of guaranteeing the integrity of the national results and of the results for each constituency. The EU EOM is monitoring the compilation of results in most of the local compilation centres and will remain in the country to continue observing the election process until it is completed.**

Preliminary conclusions

Political background

The elections of 29 October were held in an atmosphere characterised by increasing polarisation and deep mutual mistrust. This mistrust was tempered symbolically only during the very last hours before the vote, with the signing of three important declarations under pressure from the international community: the joint communiqué on collaboration with the IEC and acceptance of the outcome, the joint appeal for quiet, order and calm for 29 October (both signed on 28 October) and the declaration on the intentions of the two candidates after the elections, which refers to the rights and responsibilities of the winner and the loser of the second round (signed on 29 October).

Although no meetings were conducted by either of the two candidates, the campaign period was not free of violence, both physical and verbal. The campaign broadly concentrated on the presidential contest, with no real mobilisation for the provincial elections, and was dominated by an atmosphere of security threats, which was used by both camps to justify the reclusive attitude of the respective candidates. In the absence of any substantial social project, the debate was dominated by invective and inflammatory statements, making the second round of the presidential election an acrimonious contest between factions who clashed at the end of August in Kinshasa.

The stepping-up of rearmament over the preceding months, both sides' unwillingness to rein in the media and armed groups, the lengthy delay before appeals for calm before and after the elections were signed and the cancellation of a televised debate between the two candidates led to a generally negative dynamic in the weeks leading up to the second round of the presidential election. The events of late August, which highlighted the risk of a forcible refusal to accept the electorate's choice, continued to cast a shadow over the process, particularly in the form of threats to challenge the outcome. This tense atmosphere made it especially important to ensure the integrity of the results of the second round.

The legal and regulatory framework

The Constitution of the Third Republic, which entered into force on 18 February 2006 and which formed the basis of the legal framework for elections in the DRC, provides for the creation of provincial assemblies – new, elected institutions that would play a vital role in a country in which far-reaching powers would be granted to the provinces. The provincial assemblies, situated in the 11 chief towns of the current provinces until the formation of 26 new provinces, will elect senators, and then governors and deputy governors.

The electoral legal and regulatory framework comprises not only measures from the transitional constitution, applicable until the RDC's new institutions are set up, and from the Elections Act and its implementing measures, which came into force on 9 March 2006, but also includes vital measures making it possible for democratic elections to be held. This framework complies with the main international standards for democratic elections, enshrining the principle of universal suffrage, broadly implemented by the Act, as well as citizens' civil and political rights, vital for

the democratic running of the election process. However, there are significant shortcomings in Congolese legislation, particularly in terms of the public funding of political parties and the organisation and independence of the judiciary. Gender representation in the institutions, a principle enshrined in the Constitution, is not implemented by means of any specific measures. The regulatory framework benefited from successive improvements for these elections to form a relatively complete whole, despite its imperfections and shortcomings.

The electoral system chosen for the provincial elections is identical to that used for the parliamentary elections, combining a single round of majority voting for one member in a third of constituencies with proportional voting using open lists in constituencies with more than one seat, which, in addition to its complexity, risks excluding minorities and undermining the representative legitimacy of those elected. Successful candidates may be elected with a relatively small number of votes, on account of the reduced size of electoral constituencies and the high number of candidates.

The Elections Act confers on the Supreme Court the role of adjudicating disputes in the presidential contest and the appeal courts the role of adjudicating disputes in the provincial elections, without giving significant procedural details beyond stipulating that the proceedings are free of charge and setting particularly short deadlines for appeals to be lodged and for the courts to give a ruling. The deadline for a ruling in the event of an appeal, among other things, is not laid down.

The electoral administration

The IEC, a complex institution established as a result of the Sun City Agreement, managed to achieve an ever-improving operational efficiency despite the cumbersomeness of having to include the various components and entities of the transition among its members. In the particularly tense atmosphere following the clashes of late August, it showed its determination by swiftly resuming compilation of the results of the parliamentary elections and maintaining the timetable for the elections of 29 October unchanged. With vital support from its international partners, it again succeeded in meeting the challenge of organising particularly complex elections in a country that is the size of a continent and has little infrastructure.

Drawing lessons from the elections of 30 July, and taking account of the recommendations of the observation missions and of its partners, the IEC made some significant improvements and clarifications to the procedures governing the conduct of the elections. Above all, it strove to ensure that preparatory activities benefited from better planning and to step up the training of its officers regarding the main weaknesses identified in the first round – particularly the use of lists, report forms and identifying void ballot papers. The late distribution of clarifications concerning the role of witnesses or the categories of people allowed to vote by special dispensation, published in a circular a few days before the election, meant that they were not applied homogeneously.

In response to criticisms concerning favouritism and political bias among its technical staff after the first round, the IEC made only a few replacements. However, cases of diversion of funds and fraud uncovered by the IEC, as well as some significant failings, relating particularly to local staff management and the recurring problem of agents' salaries, have not yet been finally resolved.

The number of ballot papers printed and distributed by South Africa to the 14 principal hubs was lower than the number produced for the first round. Electoral material was delivered from these hubs to the 209 training centres by MONUC. The IEC was responsible for sending them to the 11 856 polling stations, despite the logistical difficulties arising from the lack of infrastructure and exacerbated by the deterioration of the equipment and means of transport used for the first round.

The registration of candidates for the provincial elections was conducted efficiently by the IEC, with the setting up of centres receiving and dealing with supplementary candidatures after the registration of national candidates. The handling of disputes by the courts of appeal led to the validation of candidatures rejected for lack of supporting documents, partially correcting the IEC's shortcomings in the application of procedures rectifying errors in candidature files before closure

of the provisional candidate lists. Despite the lengthy delay before legal decisions were forwarded to the IEC, the final lists were completed on time, allowing the process of verification of voting slips by candidates to be carried out, and for the slips to be produced, on schedule.

Electoral registers

The electoral registers were not updated to include persons on the 'lists of omitted voters' and the 'special lists' for the elections of 30 July, on account of the relatively limited time available to the IEC to prepare the elections of 29 October. In addition, the list of polling stations authorised to use lists of omitted voters and special lists, which was made public only a few days before the election, proved inaccurate, with a considerable number of other polling stations finding themselves with incomplete registers. The lists of omitted voters and special lists did not all arrive at the right polling stations. As checks (valid poll cards corresponding to the polling station concerned, lack of indelible ink on the voter's finger) were not always carried out satisfactorily, doubts remain regarding a significant number of polling stations as to voters' entitlement to vote and whether they voted more than once.

On the other hand, showing who had been removed from the electoral register on the registers themselves rather than on an attached list was an important improvement making it possible to take steps to bar certain voters. Some disputes pertaining to the entitlement to vote before the Congolese courts need to be dealt with for these removals to be completed. The establishment of complete lists is vital for the records for future elections.

Raising awareness

The IEC, responsible for coordinating awareness-raising campaigns among voters and publicising electoral procedures, has sought to correct the major shortcomings identified during previous elections in terms of raising awareness. The lack of receptiveness on the part of the electorate concerning the provincial elections nevertheless revealed the limitations of these late attempts. Several projects launched before the first round of elections did not receive full support from the Electoral Process Support Project on account of financial constraints arising from the complexity of the electoral process and the extension of polling. In addition, the IEC's awareness programmes, which had proven insufficient during the first round, were further reduced. However, the Churches continued to play a fundamental role in terms of civic education and raising awareness.

Election campaign

In stark contrast to the intensity of the campaign for the first round, the pre-election period this time constituted a veritable 'non-campaign' characterised by the absence of the two candidates from some major public meetings of the period and the cancellation of the scheduled televised debate between them. Both candidates limited their public appearances to two televised press conferences each, one of which was an interview given by the outgoing president to the public television channel RTNC a few hours before the end of campaigning. Tours mobilising the electorate in the provinces were essentially dominated by a number of standard bearers from each side, such as Vital Kamerhe (secretary-general of the PPRD) and Joseph Olenghankoy (Jean-Pierre Bemba's national campaign director), and involved close relatives of the two candidates.

The provincial election campaign proved to be particularly lacklustre, handicapped by the low level of funding used by the candidates (with the exception of Katanga), the unobtrusiveness of UN in this election and the reduced awareness of the electorate as to what the elections were about.

The presidential candidates' withdrawn attitude did not in any way contribute to a softening of the tone of the campaign. The campaign concentrated on heated debates comprising personal invective and incitement to violence, revolving around the topics of the supposed 'real' nationality of the president on one side and the alleged 'crimes' of the vice-president on the other. The

frequent use of violent demonstrators, including demobilised soldiers or minors, stirred up tensions throughout the campaign. Against this background, major personalities travelling in the provinces were regularly targeted. The first instance of violence directed at a major figure took place outside the country, however, when the director of the president's office, Léonard She Okitundu, was attacked by unknown assailants in a street in London. In the DRC itself, clashes between supporters of UN under Joseph Olenghankoy and demonstrators for AMP under Lambert Mende in Lodja (Kasaï Oriental) on 16 October were the first significant incident of campaigning. From that date on, most of the violence was linked to reactions by locally dominant political forces to the presence of a representative of the opposing side. In Bukavu, and particularly in Lubumbashi, provincial UN campaign directors were attacked, leading to serious violence lasting a number of days in the capital of Katanga. Elsewhere in the province, representatives of Jean-Pierre Bemba were also systematically harassed, making the UN campaign effectively non-existent, as in other eastern regions (Nord Kivu, Sud-Kivu, Ituri). In Kindu (Maniema), two people putting up posters were seriously injured by supporters of Joseph Kabila on 22 October and, four days later, in Lodja, two people were attacked by militants supporting the president. This incident provoked a violent reaction among the population, leading to the destruction of the three main local radio stations.

Acts of violence against the opposition, very frequent in the president's traditional strongholds from the early days of the campaign and often carried out by state security forces, escalated at the end of the campaign in the regions considered favourable to Jean-Pierre Bemba. The visit of Nzanga Mobutu to Lisala (Equateur) was thus marred by stone-throwing which required police intervention, while in Bas-Congo, the provincial campaign director for AMP was prevented from campaigning in Boma, where pro-Bemba militants had openly threatened their opponents with violence. In Kikwit (Bandudu) on 27 October, a PALU office (favourable to the outgoing president) was attacked by UN militants, while in Idiofa, the home of a PALU MP was attacked by demonstrators. In Mbuji Mayi (Kasaï Oriental), on the same day, an AMP cortège was stoned.

The most serious armed incident of the campaign was a violent clash on 26 October in Gbadolite (Equateur), on the occasion of the presence on the premises of the pro-Bemba Radio Liberté of Nzanga Mobutu (UDEMO), who had stood unsuccessfully in the first round and a recent ally of Joseph Kabila. Exchanges of fire between his men and armed elements of the Bemba-supporting faction left four people dead and led to Nzanga Mobutu having to leave under MONUC protection.

The media

Both candidates received disproportionate coverage from audiovisual networks and press outlets that were entirely devoted to their cause. Digital Congo, Horizon 33 and RTGA were monopolised by Joseph Kabila and CCTV and CKTV by Jean-Pierre Bemba. The RTNC, the only public audiovisual network, was equally prone to unnuanced political bias and was placed entirely at the disposal of Kabila throughout the period observed. No such symmetry between the two candidates could be discerned in the written press. The opposition press, longstanding supporters of UDPS, did not entirely reflect the position of Jean-Pierre Bemba. Titles supporting the presidential camp, on the other hand, engaged in an abundance of personal attacks and disinformation towards Bemba.

Reflecting the stark contrast between a heated presidential campaign and a profoundly lacklustre provincial campaign, candidates for provincial elections generally failed to take up the opportunity made available to them by the HMA to take part in advertisements (funding for 80 radio advertisements throughout the country).

The incidents of August in Kinshasa radicalised the media on both sides, which broadcast incitements to hatred and many offensive comments accompanied by repeated footage of violence attributed to the opposing side. The Bemba camp poisoned the debate on the origins of the outgoing president, adopting an overtly xenophobic approach. For their part, the media supporting the president accused his opponents of responsibility for all the acts of violence that had been

reported and of stirring up violence. The direct involvement of MONUC from 22 August in the negotiations on commitments concerning good conduct by the media of both sides, and the setting up by the EU EOM of a unit monitoring violations of agreements, constituted two important responses by the international community to the politicisation of the media.

On 4 September, a deed of commitment aimed at putting a stop to these excesses was signed by the staffs of the two candidates and part of the Kinshasa audiovisual media. A 'technical media committee' was set up by MONUC to supervise compliance. The general tone adopted by the media, conspicuously extreme throughout the period between the two rounds, did not abate until shortly before the elections, but was replaced by implicit insinuations, which made the debate more underhand. The adoption of the latest code of good conduct on 12 October highlights the ambivalence of the media, divided between its laudable intentions and its paralysing subservience to the political sphere.

Faced with this drift, the HMA toughened its stance following the incidents in Kinshasa, regularly condemning lapses by both sides. The RTNC has remained a striking exception, and for a long time has been free of any control. Indeed, the HMA was very slow to condemn the public network's bias and did not accompany this condemnation with any punishment. Having been given the task of staging a head-to-head debate between Kabila and Bemba, the broadcaster was forced to cancel it on account of serious differences between the staffs of the two sides regarding practical arrangements rather than imposing the conditions of a debate which the presidential camp did not accept. Instead, Jean-Pierre Bemba spoke on his own channels on 26 October, the date initially scheduled for the debate, and Joseph Kabila spoke on the public channel RTNC only a few hours before the end of campaigning. The broadcasting of the presidential press conference by the national public network constituted a serious violation of the neutrality that is a principle of any public channel. Moreover, the lateness of the broadcast prevented any opposing message from being broadcast by Bemba before the statutory end of campaigning. In the provinces, lack of funds considerably restricted regulation of the local media by the HMA.

The authorities did not provide protection for Bemba's media network throughout the country. Radio Liberté, CCTV and CKTV were frequently taken off the air and were subjected to other incidents of varying degrees of seriousness. These deliberate attempts to hinder the freedom of expression of the opposing side continued until the last few hours of campaigning. They testify to the sudden realisation on the part of those involved of the crucial role of the media in a presidential election.

Conduct of the elections

The elections of 29 October 2006, conducted efficiently by the IEC, enjoyed a high turnout, but one which was slightly lower than at the first round of elections and the parliamentary elections. The elections were generally conducted in an atmosphere of calm, demonstrating the commitment of the Congolese people to the electoral process, despite serious incidents that led to several fatalities in Equateur and Ituri. There was also a good female turnout, confirming women's strong involvement in the process. Nevertheless, women remained underrepresented among electoral staff.

The opening of several polling stations was delayed by heavy rain in parts of the west of the country, particularly in the provinces of Bandundu, Bas-Congo and Kinshasa, and, on rare occasions, by the absence of electoral material, particularly in Tshikapa (Kasaï Occidental) and in a number of polling stations in the capital. However, electoral officers responded efficiently and pragmatically, thereby limiting the time the first voters had to wait to a few hours. Elsewhere in the country, polling stations opened at the time scheduled by the IEC. They had been provided with vital electoral material, with only few errors being made regarding the delivery of ballot papers (insufficient numbers or not corresponding to the constituency of the polling station). However, lists of persons omitted and special electoral lists were distributed more irregularly.

The many national observers attending the elections generally made their presence felt at the end of the day, during the count. The large number of political party witnesses ensured balanced representation in the vast majority of polling stations, despite regional imbalances in favour of one or other of the presidential candidates and isolated incidents of witnesses being refused access by polling station chairmen. However, the witnesses did not take full advantage of their potential role in monitoring election results: at the end of the count, they were happy simply to record the results, usually omitting to claim their certified copy of the results sheets provided for this purpose by the IEC.

Altogether, there was a clear improvement in the application of the main voting and vote-counting procedures compared with the previous round, despite the continued existence of shortcomings in reconciling the count – particularly in counting ballot papers received. The late publication of clarifications by the IEC on some key procedures adversely affected their uniform application throughout the country. Thus the observers noted the premature use of lists of those omitted and special lists distributed to polling stations that were not on the IEC's list of polling stations authorised to use them. Special dispensation lists for categories of electors allowed to vote in polling stations that did not correspond to their original registration centre were also subject to a certain laxity. Likewise, the frequent assistance provided by witnesses to electors, often without making their status known, diverges significantly from electoral procedures and may have had an influence on some votes. All in all, however, electors' freedom to vote was deemed satisfactory that the observers. The process of vote-counting in polling stations gave evidence of improved knowledge of the identification of void and violent ballot papers.

All the irregularities and cases of alleged fraud will be analysed, cross-checked and collected centrally by the observers and by the core EU EOM team, making it possible to assess accurately the impact of these incidents on the results.

Compilation of the results, which began the day after voting, constitutes a crucial stage of the electoral process. A close watch must be kept on how the envelopes are handled, from when they are received to when they are filed. Effective planning of the collection of envelopes in Kinshasa is an encouraging factor. Publishing results that are broken down for each polling station, indicating the number of electors who voted as a person omitted from the register, is both essential for ensuring transparency and the only way to prove the integrity of the results nationally and for each constituency. This breakdown must be made available to the public at every stage of the aggregation process (local and national results compilation centres) and published on the IEC's website. The outcome of deliberations on complaints and challenges must also be recorded in a report and made public at the same time as the results of the elections are published by the IEC, and should also be published on its website.

While the results are being determined, all parties must refrain from publishing any trends relating to the results of the second round the presidential election, these being against the law and likely to jeopardise the peaceful completion of the presidential election. Any challenges to the results of the 29 October elections must be lodged within three days before the Supreme Court, which has an extremely limited timescale in which to deal with the cases referred to it. The strict adherence to formalities shown by the Supreme Court during the hearing of appeals in disputes arising from the presidential and parliamentary elections may constitute an obstacle to the efficient rendering of justice. Court of appeal magistrates, trained by members of the Supreme Court and supported by the UNDP, will have two months to deal with disputes in their provinces.

The election process was conducted in a generally safe atmosphere thanks to the deployment of agents of the national Congolese police force (PNC) who had been specially trained for the task by a significant international assistance force. The major problems relating to the payment of officers, which are still in the process of being resolved, did not noticeably affect the mobilisation of PNC officers, who ensured security for the various stages of the process. In some areas, the PNC provided protection for the delivery of electoral material all the way to the local results compilation centres. In contrast, the involvement of paramilitary and military elements that were not specifically trained for these security tasks raised serious concerns.

