



Situation Report

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The Democratic Republic of Congo on the Eve of the Second Round of Elections

Introduction

The Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) peace process is in the final stage of its movement toward a new political dispensation, following the historic inauguration of the parliament on 22 September. The second round of presidential elections (set for 29 October) is already in sight, marking the final stage of a peace process that began in Pretoria, South Africa, on 17 December 2002. The Congolese are appealing for a peaceful campaign by the two presidential candidates ahead of the second round. Incumbent president, Joseph Kabila, faces Jean-Pierre Bemba in the run-off vote of the presidential election after they both failed to garner enough votes to beat a 50% + 1 constitutional requirement for one of them to be declared the outright winner. Kabila won 44.81% of the first round, while Bemba managed 20.03%.

The violence of 20 August that followed the announcement of the first-round results has put a dark cloud over the second round. Diplomats in Kinshasa say that both Kabila and Bemba have shown they can bring the war back into the capital, that they are only pretending to abide by the rules of the game while weapons continue to circulate, and that there are no guarantees that calm will prevail during and after the election. Military observers have also expressed doubts about the efficiency of the weapons verification missions carried out since the end of August. Military and political analysts are concerned that arrangements, including a 'weapon-free Kinshasa', will not be enough to ensure calm. In a recent report, the International Crisis Group think-tank said that the elections could provoke a "generalised violence" affecting Africa's stability. MONUC has deployed additional forces to Kinshasa to ensure stability in that city. The European Force is also now more visibly deployed and it is hoped that it will be willing to support MONUC if force is needed to prevent violence.

This situation report will address the result of the first round, the events of 20 August, the electoral calendar, the political landscape in the run-up to the second round, the security situation, the Independent Electoral Commission's preparations for the elections, factors that will affect the elections, and possible future scenarios.

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The Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) announced the results of the 30 July first-round election on 20 August. None of the candidates obtained more than 50% of the votes and a second round will take place on 29 October. The IEC also confirmed the following statistics:

- Voters registered: 25.4 million (25,420,199)
- Total votes: 17.9 million (17,931,238)
- Spoiled votes: 1 million (993,704)
- Total valid votes: 16.9 million (16,937,534)
- Number of people that did not vote: 7.5 million (7,488,961)

The IEC also made available the detailed results, by province, of the presidential elections. The table below shows the results in each province achieved by the seven candidates with the most votes.¹

Table 1: First round election results

Candidate Province	Joseph Kabila	Jean-Pierre Bemba	Antoine Gizenga	Francios Joseph Mobutu Nzanga	Oscar Kashala	Azarias Ruberwa	Pierre Pay-Pay
Kinshasa	14.73	49.07	21.99	0.22	7.65	0.34	0.57
Bas-Congo	13.91	36.21	1.76	0.67	6.5	0.34	0.41
Equateur	1.85	63.67	0.29	30.57	0.14	0.07	0.41
Bandundu	2.65	9.71	80.09	2.17	0.35	0.07	0.12
Kasai Occidental	11.42	31.93	14.74	0.37	17.78	1.72	1.05
Kasai Oriental	36.09	14.66	1.19	0.51	17.87	0.72	0.48
Orientale	70.26	5.2	0.89	5.14	0.38	6.07	0.49
North Kivu	77.71	0.77	0.44	0.54	0.46	3.81	8.35
South Kivu	94.64	0.28	0.19	0.19	0.08	2.02	0.44
Maniema	89.80	0.38	0.22	0.28	0.17	0.40	0.10
Katanga	77.18	3.51	0.53	0.48	2.78	0.39	2.15
Total	44.81	20.03	13.06	4.77	3.46	1.69	1.58

Note: Percentage of votes

Kabila won 44.81% of the vote, Bemba was second with 20.03%, Gizenga came third with 13%, Nzanga fourth with 4.8%, Kashala fifth with 3.5%, Ruberwa sixth with 1.6% and Pay-Pay seventh with 1.5%. This result immediately opened the field for new alliances in the run-up to the second round of elections.

The new Parliament was inaugurated on 22 September. Kabila gained a majority in Parliament through his alliance, the Alliance for the Presidential Majority (AMP), securing 316 seats, followed by Bemba with 119 seats, and independent candidates 19 seats. Other parties hold 49 seats.

What happened on 20 August was quite unfortunate and the question must be asked: could it have been prevented? The Institute for Security Studies warned in a Situation Report dated 16 August that violence (between followers of Joseph Kabila and Jean-Pierre Bemba) could occur in Kinshasa once the results were announced. The signs of this possibility were all there. Even before the election of 30 July, there were clashes during rallies between Kabila's Presidential Guard (GGSP) and Bemba's Movement for the Liberation of Congo (MLC). The Police National Congolese (PNC) was not able to control the violence because it was outnumbered and out-gunned by soldiers from the GSSP and the MLC. On 20 August, immediate indications of coming clashes were clear, Bemba's people were out on the street *en masse*, clashing with the PNC and resulting in the deployment of the GSSP. This raises another question: why were the GSSP and Bemba's MLC soldiers not demobilised. According to the Sun City Agreement of April 2003, both Kabila and Bemba were to have small groups of soldiers available to protect

them. MONUC was tasked with ensuring the general security of Kinshasa and the protection of political leaders. In the event, the GSSP did play a new role: that of maintaining public order, which was actually the job of the PNC and MONUC's formed police units, supported by EUFOR R.D. Congo. One might also ask whether the violence could have been prevented if MONUC had deployed pro-actively. At the end of the day, Ambassador Swing's mediation skills saved the day by getting Kabila and Bemba to agree to withdraw their soldiers from the street and keep them cantoned.

Guillaume Samba Kaputo (Joseph Kabila's special adviser on security) and Francois Mwamba (secretary general of Jean-Pierre Bemba's MLC), signed a pact on 23 September to transform Kinshasa into a 'weaponless city' ahead of the second round. Both sides agreed that joint patrols including PNC, FARDC's military police, MONUC troops and EUFOR R.D. Congo would check the implementation of the weapon ban in the days ahead.² Following the signing of an act of engagement by the delegates of both presidential candidates on 23 September, MONUC initiated "Kinshasa without arms" on 2 October, with the aim of controlling and reducing the number of unauthorised arms and men with arms circulating in Kinshasa.³ This agreement is implemented through the deployment of an integrated brigade consisting of members of the GSSP and MLC, the PNC, MONUC and EUFOR R.D. Congo. MONUC redeployed almost 250 soldiers from the Eastern Division to support them. MONUC military observer teams had been deployed beside the FARDC military camps in Kinshasa, with a particular focus on the main camps of Kokolo and Tchachi. MONUC military spokesman Lt Colonel Stéphane Lescoffit said:⁴

Other teams will be put in place in six designated sites in the next few days, as a surveillance measure. These military observer teams will act as permanent liaison, as well as control and advice contacts, to observe in particular the activities of the Republican Guard of President Kabila and the security forces of Vice President Bemba, both of which are members of the FARDC.

Unfortunately, this plan is unlikely to solve the problems; tensions are still high in Kinshasa. It was confirmed that nine T55 tanks have been delivered to Kinshasa and are currently controlled by the GSSP. Weapons and ammunition were also delivered to Bemba's MLC protection element. It is estimated that Kabila has 6,000 GSSP soldiers, and Bemba has about 2,000 MLC soldiers in and around Kinshasa. Although these soldiers are cantoned, nothing can prevent them from going onto the streets. The week in the run-up to the elections will be a good indication of what can be expected from them. The real solution is to demobilise both groups of soldiers (Kabila and Bemba) before the elections and to trust their protection to small protection elements supported by MONUC.

THE ELECTORAL CALENDAR

The IEC announced a campaigning period of 30 days for local elections and a period of 15 days for the second round of the presidential election.

- Presidential elections: 13 to 27 October 2006.
- Local elections: 28 September to 27 October.

The announcement that there was no outright winner immediately opened the political landscape for a campaign involving new alliances. The main players are the two candidates with the most votes: Joseph Kabila and Jean Pierre Bemba. Joseph Kabila's alliance, the Alliance for the Presidential Majority (AMP) is well organized and ready to look for new partners to ensure a victory in the second round. After the election Jean Pierre Bemba immediately formed a new alliance called 'Anybody but Kabila'. Bemba soon realised the name was too controversial and changed it to 'Union of the Nation' (UN). He also started a campaign to convince other losing candidates from the first round to support him. The key political leaders for Joseph Kabila and Jean Pierre Bemba are those with a considerable support base, and who can swing the vote in their/his favor.

The kingmaker amongst these losing leaders is Antoine Gizenga, leader of the *Parti Lumumbiste Unifié (PALU)* who got 13.06% of the votes in the first round. Political leaders who got a small percentage of the vote are Mobutu Nzanga 4.8%, Oscar Kashala 3.6%, Azarias Ruberwa 1.69% and Pierre Pay-Pay 1.58%. Another political leader that can play a key role is Etienne Tshisekedi of the Union for Democracy and Social Progress (UPDS), a party still outside the formal process. The official campaign for the second round of the presidential elections has started and it is clear that the election will be contested by two alliances: the AMP led by Joseph Kabila, and the UN led by Jean-Pierre Bemba.

Alliance for the Presidential Majority (AMP)

The Alliance for the Presidential Majority, set up by Kabila's PPRD, is a political platform for 31 political parties and 26 political personalities not affiliated to political parties. AMP's spokesman is Oliver Kamitatu, the former secretary general of Bemba's MLC and former chairman of the National Assembly. Other important defectors have joined this coalition such as the former minister of planning, Alexis Thambwe (ex-MLC) and the ex-RCD minister of state assets, Joseph Mudumbi. After the first round, Antoine Gizenga was the kingmaker. An agreement between Gizenga's PALU and AMP was signed, meaning that if Kabila wins a PALU prime minister would be appointed. AMP has also gained the support of three other political groups: the DCF-Cofedec (Pay-Pay's party), the PDC, and UNADEC. According to Article 4 of the Constitutional Act of the AMP, its objectives are:

- To reassemble and mobilise the Congolese men and women to maintain the patriotic flame and safeguard the territorial integrity;
- To work together in view of winning the presidential election and scrutiny in order to govern under the leadership of President Joseph Kabila.

The presidential alliance consists of the following main different political parties:

- *Parti du Peuple pour la Reconstruction et la Démocratie (PPRD)*
- *Mouvement Social pour le Renouveau (MSR)*
- *Parti de l'Alliance Nationale pour l'Unité (PANU)*
- *National Union of Congolese Federalists (UNAFEC)*
- *Parti Lumumbiste Unifié (PALU)*
- DCF-Cofedec
- PDC
- UNADEC
- Union of Mobutuist Democrats (UDEMO)
- CODECO
- UDPS-NM or UDPS-Kibassa (*Note that this is different to the other UDPS of Tshisekedi*)

Although Joseph Kabila does have the support of Antoine Gizenga and Mobutu Nzanga, it does not mean their supporters will vote for Joseph Kabila.

Union of the Nation

Jean-Pierre Bemba has established a coalition called 'Union of the Nation' and he hopes to rally all the anti-Kabila supporters into this coalition. During a rally two weeks ago in Kinshasa, he obtained the support of Oscar Kashala of the *Union pour Reconstruction du Congo (UREC)*. He hoped to get the support of Etienne Tshisekedi and the Union for Democracy and Social Progress (UDSP). Tshisekedi, however, decided to stay outside the process. This was a big setback for Bemba. Bemba, however, did manage to align the following parties and individuals with his coalition:

- *Mouvement de Liberation du Congo (MLC)*
- *Union pour Reconstruction du Congo (UREC) (Sure?)*
- *RSF (Regroupement des Forces sociales et fédéralistes) with Lunda Bululu*
- *Kengo wa Ndongu (Former prime Minister during Mobutu's time)*
- *FONUS of Joseph Olenghankoy*
- *MPR fait prive*

Another key player, Azarius Ruberwa, announced at his recent party conference that the RCD-G was not going to take a party position and that members could vote as they wish. Both Bemba and Kabila can possibly still lobby for his support in the next few days.

The main focus of the security forces in the run-up to, during the elections, and afterwards, would be Kinshasa, the eastern DRC and provinces that are highly contested.

Kinshasa

The focus of the security forces is surely on Kinshasa in the aftermath of the 20 August violence. The agreement between the GSSP and Bemba's MLC protection unit in Kinshasa is no guarantee that they will not return to the streets of Kinshasa. The behaviour of these forces in the run-up to the election day will be a good indication of their possible actions when the second-round results are announced. The security forces, MONUC's military and formed police Units, EUFOR R.D. Congo, the PNC and FARDC military police will all play a key role in ensuring that Kabila's GSSP, Bemba's MLC protection units and FARDC are under control. EUFOR R.D. Congo will, however, remain as a reaction force, and will only deploy if requested to do so by MONUC. This will mean that these units must be deployed in a proactive manner, dominating and controlling all activities concerned with security in Kinshasa.

Ituri

The situation in Ituri was defused to a certain extent by an agreement reached just before the election with Peter Karim, the commander of *Front Nationaliste et Intégrationniste* (FNI). Karim's FNI was responsible for attacks on FARDC and MONUC, and it had taken seven Nepalese soldiers hostage. Karim and his militia agreed to join the demobilisation process and released the Nepalese hostages. Peter Karim and M. Ngudjoro were recently appointed officers with the rank of colonel in the FARDC. Not everyone in Ituri, such as national and international NGOs, appreciates the circumstances of this agreement. The main threat in Ituri is still posed by the more than 15,000 militia members who have been disarmed and demobilised but are not successfully integrated. A group of fighters belonging to the Ituri Patriotic Resistance Front (FPRI) has also not given up fighting. This group, under command of a fighter with the name of Cobra Matata, is one of several that have refused to demobilise. According to MONUC, these groups have received fresh supplies of ammunition and are trying to push the FARDC out of its positions. FARDC and MONUC are continuing to carry out operations against them on a daily basis. There is still uncertainty about the position of the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) and the talks going on in Sudan. There have been reports that LRA fighters will possibly return to the Garamba forest if the talks fail.

North Kivu

The situation in North Kivu remains fragile. The presence of General Nkunda is not very supportive of stability. He is deployed near Masisi with almost 1,200 soldiers who are well equipped and are a concern to the FARDC and to MONUC. He recently indicated to the media that he intends to be integrated into the FARDC, despite the international warrant of arrest issued for him. Also, two other militia groups, the Mai-Mai and the *Forces Démocratiques de Liberation du Rwanda* (FDLR) continue to attack civilians in North Kivu province. The biggest concern is the slow pace of army integration and the unwillingness to integrate shown by the hard core of the *ex-National Congolese Army* (ANC), the military wing of the RCD, and the Mai-Mai brigades.

South Kivu

FDLR rebels still roam around this province and their attacks on civilians pose the greatest threat. Elements of the Mai-Mai, and the ex-National Congolese Army (the military wing of the *Rassemblement Congolais pour la Démocratie* (RCD) not integrated into the FARDC is still a security problem.

Katanga

The Mai-Mai elements not yet integrated into FARDC are still a threat to stability in this province. The region between Pweto, Manono and Mitwaba has attracted particular attention and is referred to as the 'triangle of death'. The situation was partly defused when Commander Gedeon and his wife surrendered to MONUC before the elections.⁵ Commander Gedeon has recently been appointed as a colonel in the FARDC. Elements of non-integrated soldiers are still a security concern in Katanga. Tension between Kabila and Bemba supporters in Lubumbashi are high. The Congolese and UN police had to escort Bemba's campaign team through the streets of the south-eastern town of Lubumbashi, a Kabila stronghold, after they were attacked on 20 October by stone-throwing mobs. This is not a good omen for the last week of campaigning.

The Independent Electoral Committee is in the final stage of preparing for the elections. The ballot papers are being printed in South Africa and will be transported to 14 delivery points in the DRC, from where they will be distributed to 166 territorial centres. Those centres will distribute the ballots to 53,000 voting stations. To give readers an idea of the magnitude of the operation, the ballot papers weight 1,260 metric tons, 60,000 election kits are being distributed, and 300,000 people will be employed to run the elections.⁶ The IEC has already addressed the issues identified by international observer missions during the first round of elections. It is foreseen that international observer missions will again play an important role in monitoring the elections.

The following factors can be used to anticipate the situation during the second round of elections:

- Slow military reform
- The potential for violence in Kinshasa after second-round results are announced
- Political tension between Kabila and Bemba
- The media and its role in provoking tension
- The ability of various forces (MONUC, EUFOR R.D. Congo and PNC) to ensure a secure environment for the election

Slow military reform

This issue has been addressed in detail in a previous ISS situation report, *The impact of slow military reform on the transition process in the DRC*, dated 10 July 2006. The situation has not changed much since then. The key issue is that the FARDC has not completed the demobilisation process. On 8 September the *Commission Nationale de Démobilisation et Réinsertion* (CONADER) announced that more than 76,614 ex-combatants had been demobilised. Some 85,000 ex-combatants still need to be demobilised. The CONADER budget of \$200 million has been spent and new funds will hopefully be received in November 2006, after the election. This is a challenge for the government of the DRC; it means that the disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration (DDR) can not continue until then. This will have a significant effect on the *brassage* process⁷ because *brassage* follows demobilisation and any delays will have a direct impact on army integration, thus affecting the stability of the Kivus, Katanga and Ituri. The Joint Commission for Security Sector Reform has identified the DDR of the 44,000 troops in Ituri, the Kivus, and Katanga as a priority. The key, however, is to start the process of *brassage* for the Republican Guard (GSSP), the FARDC Kinshasa Garrison, and Bemba's protection unit in Kinshasa (30,000 troops in total).⁸

Potential violence in Kinshasa after announcement of second-round results

The potential for conflict between Kabila's GSSP and Bemba's protection unit still exists. It is estimated that the GSSP has almost 6,000 soldiers in Kinshasa armed with small arms, anti-tank weapons, anti-aircraft weapons, 20 armoured personnel carriers and 12 T55 tanks. Bemba's protection unit is mostly armed with small arms and RPG-7s. This is a recipe for new conflict, in our view. The agreement signed on 22 August 2006 (between Kabila's and Bemba's forces) in Kinshasa made provision for cantonment of their troops and for soldiers to be kept off the street. Despite this agreement, no-one can be certain that these soldiers will not take to the streets once the results of the second round are announced. It is up to the security forces in Kinshasa to prevent this from happening.

Political tension between Kabila and Bemba

The period before the first round of elections was marred by political intolerance between Kabila and Bemba. These differences did play out in the media; violence during the campaigns and the ugly scenes after the voting results were made known. The international community, led by Mr Swing, the Special Representative of the Secretary General of the UN Mission in DRC, managed to declare Kinshasa a city free of weapons and soldiers. The issue of Mr Bemba's destroyed helicopter was also resolved by MONUC. Two helicopters were made available by MONUC to the IEC for use by the two candidates. The international community is in the process of trying to get an agreement between the two candidates to formally agree to confidence-building measures for the post-electoral period. The proposed agreement would guarantee the loser immunity from prosecution, freedom of movement, and reassurance that financial assets would not be seized. In return, the loser would pursue any challenge to the result only through legal channels. Bemba's campaign coordinator, Francois Muamba, said Bemba was ready to sign. Kabila's camp said they would agree to the safety and freedom of movement but not agree to immunity for the loser.⁹ This does not indicate any guarantee that either of the two would likely accept losing the election.

The media and its role in provoking tension

Both MONUC and the International Crisis Group have raised concerns about the possibility that the media could incite hatred and violence during the second round of the electoral process, as was the case during the first round. Although a mechanism to monitor the behaviour of the media was established, the Higher Media Authority (HAM), it was not very effective during the first round of elections. There were once again calls for several media outlets to respect journalistic ethics during the second round of elections. Very few newspapers, radio stations or television channels are neutral; they are usually either pro-Kabila or pro-Bemba. There are 119 radio stations, 59 television station and 76 newspapers and magazines in the DRC. The control of radio and television as well as newspapers is as follows:¹⁰

- Pro-Kabila
 - *Digitalcongo*
 - *RadionTelevision Group l'Avenir*
 - Congolese National Radio and Television (RTNC)
- Pro-Bemba
 - *Canal Kin TV*
 - *Canal Congo TV*
 - *Radio Liberté*

It was not unexpected that the HAM, on various occasions, closed some of these stations because of ethnic-related hate speech. In the run-up to the elections and afterwards, these stations must be closely monitored and (where necessary) closed by HAM and the international community to prevent them from provoking or fuelling violence between Kabila and Bemba supporters.

The forces' ability to ensure a secure environment for the election

One question that must be asked is: Do the security forces, more specifically MONUC and EUFOR DR Congo, have the mandate and capability to secure a stable environment for the election to take place? The question of political will must also be raised. In the case of MONUC, the Eastern Division commanded by Maj. Gen. Cammaert has shown that MONUC is willing to use force to implement its mandate.

The violent event of 20 August raised questions about the willingness of MONUC and EUFOR R.D. Congo to deal with violence. It seems that both MONUC and EUFOR R.D. Congo have learned some lessons from the events of 20 August. EUFOR R.D. Congo is now fully operational with 1,100 soldiers in Kinshasa and almost the same number in Gabon.¹¹ MONUC has strengthened its capacity by redeploying some elements of the Western Brigade and a South African element from the Eastern Division to Kinshasa; the force level is now 1,709. The events after the election and the announcement of the results will give a good indication of whether there is a need to extend the mandate of EUFOR R.D. Congo beyond 30 November 2006. Both MONUC and EUFOR R.D. Congo have indicated that they have planned to prevent any violence during the second round of elections.

The planning and security forces for the east of DRC are in place, including a division of MONUC supported by air capacity consisting of transport and attack helicopters. The PNC is responsible for the security of the electoral process, including the maintenance of law and order. The PNC will deploy 72,274 members to provide security for the electoral process, including 53,274 territorial officers, 2,588 intelligence officers, and 14,000 crowd-control officers. They will be supported, if necessary, by 2,396 FARDC soldiers trained in crowd management. MONUC has strengthened the PNC by deploying six formed-police units in Kananga, Kinshasa, Kisangani, Lubumbashi and Mbuji-Mayi.

In the current environment there are four scenarios that could play out, influenced by the factors described above:

- Peaceful elections, with no incidents before, during or afterwards
- A peaceful election but violence when the results are made known
- A possible coup before the elections, or after the elections before the results are made known
- One of the two candidates withdraws from the election process

Scenario One: Peaceful elections; no incidents before, during and afterwards

This scenario is only possible if certain assumptions play out. These include, inter alia, the political will of both Kabila and Bemba to contest the elections in a peaceful way. Both candidates must refrain from using the media to broadcast hate speech and from mobilising the population to use violence to obtain political support. Both candidates will also have to control their protection elements and, if possible, demobilise them. Both candidates will have to display political will to accept the outcome of the elections and the winner must also be open to accommodate the loser in the new cabinet. The security forces must also be ready and willing to implement their mandate to secure the elections.

Scenario Two: A peaceful election but violence when the results are made known

This is a possible scenario. It is not expected by analysts that there will be violence before and during elections, with the possible exception of Kinshasa, Kananga, and Lubumbashi, as well as cities in the west. When the election results are made known, violence will possibly occur in the traditional west, areas controlled by Bemba. Once again, it is the responsibility of the security forces to prevent it.

Scenario Three: A possible coup before the elections, or after the elections before the results are made known

This scenario is highly unlikely. The position of the international community and the United Nations is clear: they will not allow a coup, and there is a sufficiently credible international force to prevent it from happening.

Scenario Four: One of the two candidates withdraws from the election process

This scenario is also unlikely. Kabila is almost certain that he will win, so withdrawal will not be part of his planning. Bemba's aim is to strengthen his support base with a bigger vote in his favour, to ensure that he can make a stronger case for being part of the government after the election, even if he loses the run-off vote. Rumours of Bemba withdrawing because his helicopter was not repaired by Kabila after the violence of 20 August, were resolved when two helicopters were made available by MONUC to the IEC for use by the two candidates.

The Congolese process is entering an important phase: the completion of the electoral process and the start of the reconstruction process. These processes are, however, points for later discussion. In the short term, it is important that the second round of elections is completed successfully. For them to succeed, stability must be ensured in the DRC. MONUC and EUFOR R.D. Congo must be willing to implement their mandates and to act against any spoilers. The international community, MONUC, and all civil society organisations must convince Kabila and Bemba to accept the outcome of the elections and, hopefully, to allow space for opposition in the new government. In our view, Kabila and Bemba should also be pressured to demobilise their armies to ensure a peaceful election.

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- 1 International Crisis Group, Policy briefing no. 42. Nairobi/Brussels, 2 October 2006. p10.
 - 2 South Scan, 6 October 2006.
 - 3 Media statement issued by MONUC on 11 October 2006 in Kinshasa.
 - 4 Ibid.
 - 5 Stephanie Wolters and Henri Boshoff. Situation Report: *The Impact of slow military reform on the transition process in the DRC*. Institute for Security Studies, Pretoria, 10 July 2006.
 - 6 United Nations. Twenty-second report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Organisation Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo. New York, 21 September 2006. p12.
 - 7 The mixing process of ex-combatants.
 - 8 United Nations, op cit, p12.
 - 9 Reuters, 20 October 2006.
 - 10 International Crisis Group, op cit, p5.
 - 11 United Nations, op cit, p11.