

AFRICA RISK CONSULTING DRC Monthly Briefing November 2018

DRC Summary 13 November 2018

DRC opposition leaders meeting in Geneva (Switzerland) choose minor party Engagement pour la citoyenneté et le développement (ECiDé) leader Martin Fayulu as their joint candidate in the 23 December elections, but Felix Tshisekedi and Vital Kamerhe withdraw from the agreement to support a joint candidate, claiming their supporters asked them to do so. Western diplomats state that the European Union (EU) plans to renew sanctions in December against DRC senior officials, including presidential candidate Emmanuel Ramazani Shadary, ahead of the elections. The DRC and the Republic of Congo (ROC) sign an agreement with the African Development Bank (AfDB) and AfDB-established infrastructure investment platform Africa50 to develop and finance a \$550m road-rail bridge project linking Kinshasa and Brazzaville.

Tshisekedi and Kamerhe withdraw from agreement on joint opposition candidate

Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) opposition leaders **Felix Tshisekedi** and **Vital Kamerhe** withdrew from an agreement on 12 November to support a joint candidate in the 23 December elections.¹ Their withdrawal will make it difficult for the chosen joint candidate to challenge President **Joseph Kabila's** (2001-present) chosen successor, **Emmanuel Ramazani Shadary**, as the splitting of the opposition is exactly what Kabila needs to install his 'dauphin' into power. Opposition leaders meeting in **Geneva (Switzerland)** chose minor party **Engagement pour la citoyenneté et le développement (ECiDé)** leader **Martin Fayulu** as their joint candidate on 11 November,² but Tshisekedi and Kamerhe claim their supporters asked them to withdraw from the agreement.³ The decision to choose the lesser-known Fayulu over more visible candidates, such as Tshisekedi, was surprising. Most analysts assumed the leaders would pick Tshisekedi as having the best chance of beating Shadary.

Opposition leaders, including Tshisekedi and Kamerhe, agreed at the end of October to name a joint candidate to face Shadary.⁴ Tshisekedi seemed a sure bet to be named as the opposition candidate, particularly since a **Groupe d'étude sur le Congo** pre-election survey released on 30 October found that 36% of respondents chose Tshisekedi as their preferred leader.⁵ Kamerhe was second with 17% and Shadary third with 16%.⁶ Fayulu received 8% support in the poll.⁷ Government spokesperson **Felix Kabange** denounced the poll and blamed exiled opposition leader **Moïse Katumbi** for altering the results to discredit Shadary.⁸

The choice of Fayulu is an odd one as he is relatively unknown. However, he is a staunch opposition leader and has been at the front of anti-Kabila marches since Kabila's mandate expired in December 2016. Fayulu is a successful businessman and former oil executive.⁹ He was present in Geneva for the talks to choose a joint candidate, as were barred leaders **Moïse Katumbi**, **Jean-Pierre Bemba** and

¹ Jeune Afrique, 12 Nov 2018

² Daily Nation, 11 Nov 2018

³ Jeune Afrique, 12 Nov 2018

⁴ News24, 26 Oct 2018

⁵ Africanews, 31 Oct 2018

⁶ Africanews, 31 Oct 2018

⁷ Jeune Afrique, 30 Oct 2018

⁸ Chronicle, 2 Nov 2018

⁹ Al Jazeera, 11 Nov 2018

former prime minister **Adolphe Muzito**, as well as those allowed to run, such as former finance minister **Freddy Matungulu**, Tshisekedi and Kamerhe.¹⁰

All seven leaders signed the agreement to support a joint candidate and create a coalition called **Lamuka** ("Wake up" in **Lingala** and **Swahili**). The agreement states that the candidate will be a transitional choice and will govern for two years before free and transparent elections are held, in which Bemba and Katumbi would presumably be able to run. This explains the choice of Fayulu as joint candidate, as he would rely on support from Bemba, Katumbi and Tshisekedi to win the election and would not be tempted to remain in power after the end of the two-year term.

Both Tshisekedi and Kamerhe initially signed the agreement, but appear to have withdrawn their signatures in response to opposition from their respective parties, the **Union pour la démocratie et le progrès social (UDPS)** and the **Union pour la nation congolaise (UNC)**.¹¹ Tshisekedi regards himself as a major opposition leader with Bemba and Katumbi and may have decided to wait until he could run in elections that would not be transitional. It is also possible that UDPS leaders thought Tshisekedi would be unlikely to win a free and fair election against both Bemba and Katumbi in two years (if this were to happen in terms of the agreement) and wanted him to be the main candidate for these elections. Muzito and Matungulu have stated their support for Fayulu and it appears that Bemba and Katumbi have also kept their support for Fayulu, though there has been no public mention of this.¹² UNC spokesperson **Billy Kambale** stated that the UNC would contest the elections, which will take votes away from Fayulu.¹³ It is unclear whether Tshisekedi will contest the elections, but if he does, this will most certainly end any hope of Fayulu beating Shadary. The in-fighting in the opposition is exactly what Kabila's party had hoped for. A united opposition may have had a chance to beat Shadary, even with electoral fraud, but there is now an argument to be made that Shadary can win the elections, even fairly, with a splintered opposition.

There is little risk of a postponement of the presidential election, which would result in further criticism of Kabila. If Kabila plans to use Shadary as a front, it is essential that Shadary's electoral win is seen as free and fair. A splintered opposition and split votes will make a Shadary win more likely. The increased likelihood of a Shadary victory and the use of the electronic voting machines increase the risk of post-electoral violence. Some analysts believe this will allow Kabila to introduce a transitional political authority and remain in de facto political power.¹⁴ However, it is more likely that Kabila will use any conflict as a distraction to put Shadary in power with Kabila pulling the strings from behind.

EU plans to renew sanctions against Shadary ahead of elections

Western diplomats stated that the **European Union (EU)** plans to renew sanctions in December against DRC senior officials, including presidential candidate Emmanuel Ramazani Shadary, ahead of the 23 December elections.¹⁵ The renewal of the sanctions will do little, if anything, to affect the upcoming elections or Shadary if he does win the presidency as Kabila has moved to isolate himself and the DRC from the EU and the **United States (US)** over the past few months. The EU sanctions, as well as similar US sanctions, ban travel for those sanctioned and freeze all assets in the EU and the US.¹⁶ The EU sanctions renewal is scheduled for vote on 12 December and requires a unanimous decision from the 28 member states.¹⁷ **Spain** reportedly proposed to take Shadary off the EU sanctions list because a Spain-led consortium is developing the \$14 billion **Inga 3** hydroelectric dam (see *ARC Briefing DRC October 2018*).¹⁸

¹⁰ Jeune Afrique, 12 Nov 2018

¹¹ Jeune Afrique, 12 Nov 2018

¹² Reuters, 11 Nov 2018

¹³ Deutsche Welles, 12 Nov 2018

¹⁴ HIS Jane's Intelligence Weekly, 2 Nov 2018

¹⁵ Reuters, 30 Oct 2018

¹⁶ Mail & Guardian, 14 Aug 2018

¹⁷ Reuters, 30 Oct 2018

¹⁸ Reuters, 30 Oct 2018

The sanctions mean that Shadary, if elected, would be unable to enter the US or EU. This would not have much effect on Shadary and his government: Kabila has isolated himself from the US and EU in his last few months in power and, considering his proximity to Shadary, this policy is likely to remain if Shadary wins in December. However, Shadary has labelled the sanctions as "*humiliating*" and in early October asked for the sanctions to be lifted.¹⁹ He may want to renew his image in the DRC and internationally if he wins the election and try to renew ties with the EU and US, though this is not likely if Kabila is, indeed, playing the role of puppet-master in the background.

While there is no guarantee that the sanctions extension will pass, it will not have any impact on the election. If anything, it gives Kabila and his government extra evidence for DRC citizens that the EU is trying to interfere in the election process, as it stated in early October.²⁰ Kabila and Shadary may use this as a campaign tool against a divided opposition – many of which have links to the EU and reside or have resided in **Belgium** – as proof that the opposition are puppets of the West.

Congo-Brazzaville and DRC agree to build \$550m connecting bridge between capitals

The DRC and the **Republic of Congo (ROC)** signed an agreement with the **African Development Bank (AfDB)** and AfDB-established infrastructure investment platform **Africa50** on 8 November to develop and finance a \$550m road-rail bridge project linking **Kinshasa** and **Brazzaville**.²¹ The bridge will help cross-border trade between the two countries, increasing investment opportunities in both capitals. The bridge is part of a larger **Kinshasa-Illebo** railway project that will decrease costs for river crossings between the two countries.²² The bridge is expected to increase traffic from 750,000 people to three million people per year and freight from 340,000 tonnes to two million tonnes by 2025.²³ The increased trade is also hoped to improve regional integration between the two countries.²⁴

The AfDB will provide loans for the project while Africa50 will head the development of the project and assist in choosing a strategic partner in return for equity in the project.²⁵ The 1,575-kilometre toll bridge will cross the **Congo River** and include a single railway track, double-lane road, sidewalks and a border checkpoint at each end.²⁶ The DRC's minister of planning, **Modeste Bahati Lukwebo**, and the ROC's minister of large construction works, **Jean-Jacques Bouya**, signed the agreement on the sidelines of the **Africa Investment Forum in Johannesburg (South Africa)**.²⁷

Planner

23 Dec 2018 **(DRC)** President, legislative and provincial elections scheduled

9 Jan 2019 **(DRC)** Electoral results published

13 Jan 2019 **(DRC)** President to be sworn into office

Chronology

12 Nov 2018 **Kinshasa (DRC)** *Al Jazeera*. Opposition leaders **Felix Tshisekedi** and **Vital Kamerhe** pull out of an agreement to field a joint candidate in December's presidential elections;

11 Nov 2018 **Kinshasa (DRC)** *RFI*. Opposition parties nominate **Martin Fayulu** as their joint

¹⁹ News24, 10 Oct 2018

²⁰ Reuters, 4 Oct 2018

²¹ IOL, 8 Nov 2018

²² www.au-pida.org

²³ IOL, 8 Nov 2018

²⁴ IOL, 8 Nov 2018

²⁵ Roadtraffic Technology, 9 Nov 2018

²⁶ IOL, 8 Nov 2018

²⁷ www.afdb.org

candidate for the December elections;

8 Nov 2018 **Kinshasa (DRC)** *IOL*. The **African Development Bank (AfDB)** and infrastructure investment bank **Africa50** agree to develop a road-rail bridge project between **Kinshasa (Democratic Republic of the Congo)** and **Brazzaville (Congo)**;

6 Nov 2018 **Kinshasa (DRC)** *Mining Weekly*. **Katanga Mining**, a subsidiary of **Switzerland-based Glencore**, temporarily suspends cobalt exports from **Kamoto** mine after detecting low levels of radioactivity;

6 Nov 2018 **Kinshasa (DRC)** *Business Day*. Opposition leaders will meet in **Geneva (Switzerland)** on 8 November to choose a joint presidential candidate;

2 Nov 2018 **Kinshasa (DRC)** *News24*. The health ministry reports that the **Ebola** outbreak death toll has reached 180 people with 10 more reported deaths in recent days;

31 Oct 2018 **Kinshasa (DRC)** *Reuters*. The **European Union** plans to renew sanctions on **Democratic Republic of the Congo** senior officials, including presidential candidate **Emmanuel Ramazani Shadary**;

31 Oct 2018 **Kinshasa (DRC)** *africanews*. A **Groupe d'étude sur le Congo**-run election survey finds that **Felix Tshisekedi** is the favoured candidate with 36% of the vote, followed by **Vital Kamerhe** with 17% and Shadary with 16%.