

- **Clément Kanku** is one of two elected MPs from Dibaya territory, president of the opposition Social Movement for Renewal. He **comes from**

- **Constantin Tshiboko** is a **journalist**, host of a community radio station in Tshikula, a **teacher** by profession, **responsible for the community centre** Clément Kanji Bukasa wa Tshibuabua, one of the community centres founded by MP Clément Kanku. According to his relatives, heads of Constantin Tshiboko **was arrested on 9 August 2016** in Kananga and released a few days later. His record might have been filed away without further action. Kanku became the Minister of Regional Cooperation of Samy Badibanga's government, before being removed from office after the establishment of Bruno Tshibala's government.

### **Who is recording the conversations?**

These two conversations are part of a set of 129 recordings made by the Congolese security services on 8 and 9 August. These conversations, which include Constantin Tshiboko in all of them, involve dozens of people who have not all been identified by the services themselves. Among the names that are mentioned are fellow journalists, and customary chiefs such as Jean-Luc Ntenda, rival of Kamwina Nsapu, whom Constantin Tshiboko tried to reach with no success.

The two conversations entitled "HONORABLE CLEMANT \_20160808081756" and "HONORABLE CLEMANT \_20160808100404" were labelled. The date indicated is 8 August 2016. The second part indicates the time of the recording starts at: 08h 17 min 56 sec and 10h04 min 04 sec.

### **What are the speakers saying?**

Constantin Tshiboko called MP Clément Kanku twice to inform him of the latest developments in the attack on Tshimbulu on 8 August 2017.

In the first recording, MP Clément Kanku says "it's okay" when his interlocutor informs him that militiamen burnt Tshimbulu. He also replies that "it is a good thing", when Constantin Tshiboko informs him that the militia will burn the office of the Electoral Commission (CENI) or that they will open the doors of the prison. He then asks his correspondent to keep him informed.

In the second recording, Constantin Tshiboko informs the MP that the bodyguard of the police colonel was killed by one of the militiamen. Clément Kanku asks him the same question again, but he seems non-committal and is not pushing for further details. Constantin Tshiboko informs him that the Kamwina Nsapu followers lack petrol and that he himself would need phone credit. The hon. Member replied, "We'll see about that." In a press release (see [Communique-Kanku.pdf](#)) MP Clément Kanku publicly denied being the silent partner behind the violence in Tshimbulu and said he was convinced that everything will become clear in this case. According to his lawyer, he did not grant any of the journalist (and alleged militiaman) Constantin Tshiboko's requests, these phone calls were simply aimed at obtaining information on the

evolution of the situation in his constituency. According Clément Kanku's defence lawyer, these recordings have been cut short and have not been broadcast in their original version. His lawyer was preparing to challenge the authenticity of this "telephone wiretap" by all legal means.

### **Who broadcast these recordings?**

The broadcasting of these recordings followed the publication by the *New York Times* (<https://www.nytimes.com/2017/05/20/world/africa/congo-zaida-catalan-michael-j-sharp-united-nations-democratic-republic-of-congo.html>), on 20 May, an article on the death of the two UN experts. The two NYT reporters say they discovered these recordings among others on Swedish Zaida Catalan's computer. MP Clément Kanku was allegedly informed, according to the *New York Times*, that the group of experts was investigating him. The newspaper obtained a copy of these recordings through the family of the UN expert. The *New York Times* quoted them without making their entirety public.

A few hours after the publication of this article on *Whatsapp*, the instant messaging app, the two phone conversations were gathered into one. The whole thing was put in a video, which was embellished with images, photos of the MP, followed by other images that could resemble what Constantin Tshiboko, Clément Kanku's interlocutor was describing. The video shows a body and burnt buildings, as well as a bucket abandoned in the middle of the ruins, once a fire was extinguished. The same scenes are presented from several angles or frames, and they are also repeated. There also are images of weapons similar to those used by the Kamwina Nsapu, labeled as the police usually do. Were these weapons seized?

### **Video extract Kanku on *whatsapp* in document page**

Both the majority and the opposition have widely spread these recordings on *WhatsApp* as well as on other social networks, up to the point where it is difficult to determine the exact source. Their respective media quickly seized the recordings. Those close to the government insist that these wiretaps definitively prove that the authorities have no responsibility in the death of the two experts. Those who have connections to the opposition call Clément Kanku the ideal scapegoat for a regime whose investigation has been deemed too rapid, including by the United Nations.

## HONORABLE CLEMANT 20160808100404

Minutage	Locuteur	Cilubà	English
01 s	Constantin	Allô honorable	Hello Honourable
02s	Honorable	Oui, Constantin udi mumbikila ?	Yes, Constantin, you called me
03s – 9 s	Constantin	Eee, nvwa mukubikila àmu bwà kukwambila bwà nè bàkaadi bajikija opération wa bureau byônsu. Bàkukàngula prison mpidyewu.	I have called you to inform you that they have already completed the destruction of all the offices. Just now, they've opened the gates of the prison.
10 s	Honorable	hum	Hum
11s–17s	Constantin	Eè, bantu ; balumàna bàkupàtuka. Maintenant, bàkadi bashipà...baa, bashipà basa...bampùlushi six	The <b>people, the brave</b> ones have gotten out of the prison. Now, they have already killed six police officers.
18s	Honorable	hum	Hum
19s-22s	constantin	Balwà kushipa bâna bàbidi bàà kwà kamwèna nsàpu	And the others have killed six kids from the Kamwina Nsapu militia
23s	Honorable	Hum	Hum
24s-32s	Constantin	Nèнку kee bàcidi..balwà kushipa ...kùdi garde-corps wa colonnel parce que c'est comme si colonnel ùdi mu nzùbu bàkèba bwà nè bòshà nzùbu wëndawu. Àpiilà munda mwà nzùbu amu.	The Colonel's bodyguard has just been executed. It seems that the Colonel himself might still be in his house. That is why the militiamen would like to set it on fire in order to burn him alive.
33s	Honorable	hum	Hum
34s	Constantin	Hein ki opération....	This is the operation that's just been underway
35s	Honorable	Bàkulwa kushipa garde du corps ?	The bodyguard was killed?
36s	Constantin	Hein ?	What?
37s	Honorable	Bàkushipa garde du corps ?	Have they killed the bodyguard?
38s-45s	Constantin	Hein, bàkadi bashipà garde-corps, ùkaadi mufwà patùdi twakula apa ; bakùma micì mufwà. Bashipà wa kumpàla, bashipà mwibìdi. Maintenant bàkaadi bàkèba nè bèèlè nzubu awu kapyà	Yes, they've killed the bodyguard, he is no more. They ended his life with blows with a stick. That is how they killed the first, then the second. Now they want to set the house on fire.

45s-48s	Honorable	Mpindyewu essence.... (les voix se chevauchent). <b>Kande à sankè mudimu mwîmpà ùdiye mwênza</b>	And so, the gas... (Voices mix up) <b>Let Kande be happy about the great job done!</b>
50s	Constantin	Ouai ? (il n'a pas bien compris ce qu'a dit l'honorable)	Yeah? (What?)
51s	honorable	Udi wamba munyi ?	What are you saying?
52s-1min02	Constantin	Essence ngudi mubàjikà bàkadi bàya bàkùma beena nzùbù yàkadì nè essence banyenga essence bwà nè bàmonà mwà kujikija opération. Kàdi yêya, Kabila yêya wàkutùpotela, mfùmù. Bìdiye yêya muyà kwakula mu Ouganda abi, mmutùtèèka pa mwaba wètù'anyi ?	They have no more gas. They took some gasoline by force from fuel sellers to complete the operation. But, Kabila has been playing us, chief. Is not it true that what he said in Uganda is humiliating for us?
1min04-1min05	Honorable	Bìdiye mwakùla munyi ?	What did he say? How?
1min06-1min07	Constantin	Bìdiye muyà kwakula mu Ouganda amu, mmutùtèèka pa mwaba wètù'anyi ?	What he said, isn't it humiliating for us?
1min09	honorable	Ah, bàsànkà's mudimu mwîmpà ùdibu bènza ngowù awu	Ah, they're happy to be doing such things
1min11	Constantin	Hum	Hum
1min13-1min21	Constantin	Kùneeku cidì citùkolèla mfùmwanì ngùnitè bwà nànsha nè ndi mwà kukupèsha information. Unités bwà mu <b>Tshikula</b> mônsu emu m̄mushàla mutupù ; kamwèna unités to ; ki lutàtu lùndì nâlù bwà kukupèsha information.	We do not know how to give you information for lack of phone credit. Here in <b>Tshikula</b> , there is not a single shop that has phone credit. This is why I have such difficulties to keep you regularly informed.
1min23-1min24	honorable	Ok, on va voir ça. Merci	OK, we will see about that. Thank you
1min25	Constantin	Merci honorable	Thank you, honourable

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