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**AU PEACE AND SECURITY COUNCIL  
1096<sup>TH</sup> MEETING**

**ADDIS ABABA, ETHIOPIA  
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**REPORT OF THE CHAIRPERSON OF THE AFRICAN UNION COMMISSION TO  
THE PEACE AND SECURITY COUNCIL  
ON ELECTIONS IN AFRICA FOR THE PERIOD OF  
JANUARY - JUNE 2022**

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## **I. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY**

1. This bi-annual report provides a succinct analytical review of elections conducted in African Union (AU) Member States between January and June 2022. It also distils key emerging electoral and governance trends, highlights AU’s electoral technical assistance to Member States and previews elections scheduled to take place between July and December 2022. Drawing from key observations, the report concludes with targeted policy recommendations aimed at bolstering the quality of electoral processes, respect for democratic principles, and peace and security on the continent.
2. During the reporting period, presidential and parliamentary elections were held in two Member States notably: The Gambia and Somalia. In keeping with its mandate, the African Union Commission (AUC) deployed a short-term election observer mission to undertake an impartial assessment of the process in The Gambia, and leveraged the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) / African Union Transition Mission in Somalia (ATMIS) to reinforce electoral security in Somalia. The AUC also provided continent-wide technical assistance to the Association of African Electoral Authorities (AAEA) and engaged in finalisation of the draft AU Guide for Electoral Assistance to the Member States. It further engaged in targeted capacity building of youth with a bid to enhance their participation in political and electoral processes in Africa.
3. The elections in Gambia and Somalia demonstrated the continued commitment of Member States to democratic consolidation and respect for the electoral calendars. These elections took place in a broader continental political climate marked by the resurgence of Unconstitutional Changes of Government (UCGs), ongoing threats posed by COVID-19 pandemic which imposed additional operational challenges, insecurity, and brewing ripple implications of the war in Ukraine on governance delivery and cost of elections in Africa.
4. For the second half of 2022, nine national-level elections are scheduled to take place in nine AU Member States namely, in Congo, Senegal, Kenya, Angola, Lesotho, Sao Tome and Principe, Equatorial Guinea, Tunisia and Guinea Bissau. In order to sustain its efforts in fostering electoral integrity to ensure peaceful, democratic and

credible elections, the AUC plans to carry out various interventions in these countries which include deployment of pre-electoral assessment, short and long-term observation, electoral assistance to Election Management Bodies (EMBs) and other stakeholders and preventive diplomatic actions as context warrants. The high cost of involvement in providing electoral assistance and support to Member States holding elections also requires that the Council and the entire AU membership back the efforts of the PAPS to secure adequate funding for electoral support.

5. Amongst the 9 countries with upcoming elections, four (Republic of the Congo, Senegal, Equatorial Guinea and Tunisia) are yet to ratify the African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance (ACDEG). The Peace and Security Council (PSC) is urged to encourage these Member States to strongly consider doing so. Considering the high-stakes nature of most upcoming elections, the PSC is also urged to implore the countries concerned to take all the necessary measures to ensure that their electoral processes are inclusive, transparent, credible and peaceful.

## **II. INTRODUCTION**

6. The African Union upholds elections as central to democratic consolidation, peacebuilding and political stability. This commitment is firmly ensconced in the AU's objective promote democratic principles and institutions, popular participation and good governance (Article 3 (g) of the Constitutive Act). It also aligns with Aspirations 3 and 4 of Agenda 2063 which respectively envisage an "Africa of good governance, democracy and respect for human rights and rule of law"; and "a peaceful and secure Africa." The Declaration on the Principles Governing Democratic Elections in Africa; the African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance; the Guidelines for African Union Electoral Observation and Monitoring Missions also provide additional normative anchors for the AU's electoral engagements in Member States through election observation, electoral assistance and preventive diplomacy.
7. This briefing report encapsulates the outcomes of elections organised between January and June 2022 notably in The Gambia and Somalia and highlights AU's multi-level electoral assistance carried during the period under review. Furthermore, the report previews upcoming elections in Congo, Senegal, Kenya, Angola, Lesotho, Sao Tome and Principe, Equatorial Guinea, Tunisia and Guinea Bissau. Finally, it underscores crucial issues emerging from the reviewed elections and proffers recommendations for the PSC within its mandate of democracy building, peacebuilding, conflict prevention, management and resolution.
8. The report is structured into the following eight sections: (I) Executive Summary; (II) Introduction; (III) Review of the Elections held between January and June 2022; (IV) Overview of Governance Trends; (V) Interventions in Electoral Processes of AU Member States; (VI) Preview of upcoming elections (July-December 2022); and (VII) Policy Recommendations and Conclusion (VIII).

## **III. REVIEW OF ELECTIONS CONDUCTED BETWEEN JANUARY - JUNE 2022**

9. During the period under review, elections were held in two Member States, the Republic of The Gambia and the Federal Republic of Somalia. This section reviews the conduct of the elections as well as the nature of AU engagement in electoral processes of these countries

a. ***Republic of The Gambia: National Assembly Elections***

10. The Republic of The Gambia held National Assembly Elections on 9 April 2022, the second since the political transition in 2016. The parliamentary polls took place against the backdrop of a successful Presidential Election in December 2021, which was adjudged as peaceful and credible by the African Union Election Observation Mission (AUEOM) as well as other local and international observers. The electoral process from 2021 up to the 2022 parliamentary elections was generally contextualised by delayed constitutional and electoral reforms. Despite the delays in these reforms the National Assembly Elections were generally well-conducted in peaceful. There were total of 246 candidates comprising 19 female and 227 male, drawn from 12 political parties and 85 independent pool of candidates.
11. As a continuation of efforts made during last year's presidential elections, the AU deployed short-term observers to assess and report on the elections. The assessment of the AUEOM showed that the elections were competitive and well-managed, in a peaceful and democratic environment that allowed all candidates to campaign freely. As noted during the presidential polls, the AUEOM reported that the country's legal framework is largely adequate and in accordance with AU norms and standards for the conduct of democratic elections. However, some of the gaps noted in the legal framework include the absence of special measures to promote women and youth inclusion and participation in political processes, particularly with respect to the National Assembly elections. As recommended during the presidential elections, the AUEOM reiterated the need for Gambia to take bold steps to adopt a new constitution and electoral act in order to consolidate its democracy and governance. Given that the December 2021 presidential election was close to the April 2022 National Assembly Elections, the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) did not update the voters register through new registration process. Consequently the same number of voters: 962,157 was eligible to take part in the April polls. Of the total registered voters: 545,318 (57%) were female and 416, 839 (43%) were male.
12. Voter turnout was 51.21% far lower than that of the presidential elections which stood at 89.34%. There are perceptions that voters' interests in National Assembly elections are relatively lower compared to participation in presidential elections. Therefore, Gambia could consider coupling of presidential and national assembly elections in future. This also has cost-reduction bearing on future management of elections in the country.

13. The results of the elections announced by the IEC on 10 April 2022 are as follows: National People’s Party won 18 seats; United Democratic Party 15, Independent 12; Alliance for Patriotic Reorientation and Construction 2; National Reconciliation Party 4; and People’s Democratic Organization for Independence and Socialism 2. The results show that remarkable performance of independent candidates in the election, ranking third, ahead of a number of political parties. In terms of women’s representation in the National Assembly, only three seats from Banjul South, Foni Berefet and Sanneh Mentereng constituencies were won by women. Out of these seats two were elected as independent and one from the UDP party.

**Table 1: Results of the 2022 National Assembly Elections in the Republic of The Gambia**

| <b>Party Name</b>   | <b>Seats</b> |
|---|--------------|
| National People’s Party   | 18           |
| United Democratic Party   | 15           |
| Independent   | 12           |
| Alliance for Patriotic Reorientation and Construction           | 2            |
| National Reconciliation Party                                   | 4            |
| People’s Democratic Organization for Independence and Socialism | 2            |
| Total   | 53           |
| <b>Source: IEC, The Gambia</b>                                  |              |

**b. *The Federal Republic of Somalia: Lower House assembly and Presidential Elections***

14. Somalia concluded indirect Lower House elections whose process begun in 2021 as well as conducted indirect presidential elections during the period under review. The AU through AMISOM/ATMIS buttressed by the Department of Political Affairs, Peace and Security provided the much required electoral security support during the electoral process.

**Lower House Elections**

15. Following the revised political agreement on 27 May 2021 and protracted delays due to the series political challenges between the Federal Government of Somalia (FGS) and some Federal Member States (FMSs), Somalia’s months-long Lower House elections which commenced on 1 November 2021 was concluded 04 May 2022. The Lower House electoral process lasted for a period of about seven

months. It entailed election of 275 members. While the election was concluded, the election result of House of People (HoP) seat #086 was suspended by the Federal Election Implementation Team (FEIT) due to allegations of the election not conducted in accordance with the agreed electoral procedures.

16. In regard to women's representation in the Federal Parliament (Lower and Upper House), a total of 14 women or 26 per cent were elected to the Upper House, representing an increase from 24 per cent in 2016 and 54 women or 20 per cent to the Lower House, falling short of the 30 per cent target agreed in both the 17 September 2020 and 27 May 2021 Electoral Agreements and a decrease from the 24 per cent achieved in 2016. However, the Lower House elections recorded a positive development with the election of Sadia Yasin Haji Samatar as the first female Deputy Speaker of the Lower House. The Somali Women's Association welcomed development and termed the election of Sadia Samatar as the first step toward greater female participation in decision-making at the national level.

### **Presidential elections**

17. After protracted delays, 39 presidential candidates participated in indirect elections organised by the Parliamentary Election Committee. The polls took place at Afisyonu (Hangar) within ATMIS protected camp. The number of presidential candidates was the largest on record since Somalia began to elect its presidents, through both direct and indirect elections.

18. Somalia's Federal Parliament elected former President Hassan Sheikh Mohamud as Somalia's 10<sup>th</sup> president. President Hassan Sheikh Mohamud became Somalia's first leader to be elected twice, having served as the country's 8th president from September 2012 to February 2017.

19. After failing to secure the required majority in the first and second rounds, the final third round of voting saw only two candidates contesting for the presidency, with the former President Hassan Sheikh Mohamud contesting against the incumbent president, Mohamed Abdullahi Farmaajo. Hassan Sheikh won by 214 votes against 110. President-elect Hassan Sheikh was sworn in immediately after the vote – and thanked the Speakers and parliamentarians, promising his tenure would be a time of forgiveness and not recrimination. President Mohamed Abdullahi Farmaajo also congratulated President-elect Hassan Sheikh, encouraging unity and solidarity, a gesture commendable for the country's long-term peace and stability. Of the 39 candidates, there was one woman presidential candidate, Fowsiya Yusuf Haji Adan, who attained only one vote in the first round of the election. The presidential election marked the end of Somalia's most protracted



electoral process, which has lasted almost nine months since commencing in July 2021.

### **AMISOM / ATMIS Role**

20. In line with AU PSC (1068) and UNSCR (2628), the African Union Transition Mission in Somalia (ATMIS), the successor of AMISOM, was mandated to support the Somali security forces in providing security for Somalia's political processes at all levels, including elections, notably election security. This role was also robustly played by AMISOM up to the end of its mandate on 31 March 2022 and continued to be played by ATMIS during the concluding stages of the Lower House elections and the presidential elections. AMISOM/ATMIS worked closely with the Somalia Police Force (SPF); and Somali National Security Forces (SNAF) in providing electoral security. It should be recalled that the Department of Political Affairs, Peace and Security, together with the AMISOM civilian component, also provided significant technical and operational support to Somalia up to 31 December 2021. This support included the deployment of African experts, which provided an important impetus for ensuring a well-managed indirect election culminating in the presidential polls.

**Table 2: Final Results of the 2022 Presidential Elections  
in the Federal Republic of Somalia**

| #   | Candidate Names             | Number of Votes |
|---|-----------------------------|-----------------|
| 1.  | Hassan Sheikh Mohamud (HSM) | 214             |
| 2.  | Mohamed Abdullahi Farmaajo  | 110             |
| <b>Source:</b> Parliamentary Election Committee |                             |                 |

### **IV. OVERVIEW OF GOVERNANCE TRENDS IN AFRICA**

21. Given that only two elections with distinctly different political experiences were held in the period under review, no specific trend could be established to allow for a comparative analysis with the previous reporting period. However, four developments with governance implications which either emerged or percolated from the previous reporting period are noteworthy:

### ***a. Resurgence of Unconstitutional Changes of Governments***

22. The surge in a spate of Unconstitutional Changes of Governments (UCGs) witnessed during the second half of 2021 stretched into the first quarter of 2022. Within barely days apart, Burkina Faso and Guinea Bissau respectively suffered a successful coup and coup attempt in February 2022. Responding to this scourge, and other derailments of democratic processes in Africa, the Department of Political Affairs, Peace and Security (DPAPS), acting on a PSC mandate of January 27th, 2022, organised a 3-day Reflection Forum on Unconstitutional Changes of Government from 15-17 March 2022 in Accra Ghana, with support from the Government of Ghana. The overarching goal of the Forum was to reflect on the state of UCGs in Africa with the aim of proffering enduring solutions to the problem. The Forum brainstormed on the challenges of unconstitutional changes of government, its structural triggers, and how to strengthen the AU and RECs/RMs normative frameworks, decisions and actions to vigorously and systematically check the surging phenomena in the continent. It culminated in the adoption of the historic Accra Declaration on UCGs which serves as part of broader efforts to strengthen advocacy for a more robust institutional response to the UCGs, calling, amongst other things for the elaboration of a Protocol to the ACDEG on UCGs in Africa. The Declaration also formed part of the Working Documents adopted by the Extra-Ordinary Summit of the AU Assembly held in Malabo, Equatorial Guinea from 27-29 May 2022 which focused on “Terrorism and Unconstitutional Changes of Government” as recommended by the Accra Forum.

### ***b. Terrorism Violent Extremism***

23. Terrorism poses a major threat to democracy and peace in Africa. This remains a salient concern particularly in the Central, Sahel, Horn and Southern Africa regions where terrorist activities and violent extremist groups are resilient in the face of several multilateral counter interventions. It remains a looming challenge for the electoral, transition, stabilisation and peacebuilding efforts in these countries. The electoral process in Somalia, for instance, was subjected to constant threats of Al Shabaab terrorist activities.

### ***c. Russia-Ukrainian conflict and Implications for Governance delivery and cost of Elections in Africa***

24. The Russia Ukraine conflict is fast becoming a global attrition on state capacities for effective governance delivery in responding to needs of citizens on the continent of Africa. Soaring prices of food, fuel, fertilizers, and other commodities due to the Russia-Ukraine war could have a profound destabilizing impact on the

African continent, as well as on the cost of elections. Analytical forecasts and empirical evidence already point to rising tensions and heightening food insecurity in hot spots such as the Sahel, parts of Central Africa, and the Horn of Africa as the Russia-Ukraine war continues to fester.

***d. Voter and Women participation in electoral process***

25. As noted during in previous reports, there is persistence of voter apathy signified by generally low turnout during the National Assembly elections compared to presidential elections. Also, the participation of women candidates is equally low. For instance, voter turnout was in the Gambian 2022 Legislative elections (51.21%) was far lower than that of the presidential elections which stood at 89.34%. Female voter registration was also below average (43%). Women also won three seats in the National Assembly, two of which were independent and one only from the UDP party. By contrast, women election into the National Assembly in Somalia witnessed a 26% increase, although this remains below the 30% requirement. These challenges of electoral participation continue to demonstrate the need for multi-faceted responses of citizen engagement in electoral processes on the continent.

**V. AFRICAN UNION INTERVENTIONS IN ELECTORAL PROCESSES OF MEMBER STATES**

26. Pursuant to Article 18 of the African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance which mandates the AUC to provide electoral assistance to the Member States, the DPAPS engaged in multi-level and multi-pronged electoral assistance during the period under review. The DPAPS multi-level approach to electoral assistance entails continental and national level interventions.

***a. Development of the Draft AU Electoral Assistance Guide***

27. In order to effectively execute its mandate in electoral assistance to Member States in line with provisions of ACDEG, the Department of PAPS engaged in validation process of the draft African Union Guide on Electoral Assistance to the Member States. The Guide is an internal document which seeks to systematize its approach to electoral assistance in order to render it more predictable, coherent and effective in the ultimate bid to promote peaceful, democratic and credible elections in Africa. To this end, the DPAPS convened an expert workshop from 29-31 March 2021 in Senegal to provide a comprehensive appraisal of the draft Guide. The draft is undergoing finalization and will be completed in 2022 for adoption by MS.

**b. Support in the Revitalisation of the Association of African Electoral Authorities**

28. The Department of Political Affairs, Peace and Security (PAPS) provided technical and operational support to the revitalisation of the Association of African Electoral Authorities (AAEA) which held its Executive Committee meeting in Accra, Ghana from 12-13 May 2022. The meeting attracted chairpersons of Election Management Bodies (EMBs) from Senegal, Malawi, Mozambique, Kenya, Ghana, as members of the Executive Committee. The main aim of the meeting was to explore strategies for revitalising the Association in order to render it more effective in supporting African EMBs in managing elections in line with international and continental norms and standards of democratic elections. This meeting took place on the backdrop of an ongoing challenging context on the continent as witnessed in the recent resurgence of unconstitutional changes in governments where a number of countries are undergoing political transitions, with elections planned as a strategy for restoration of democratic political order. The AAEA, therefore, occupies a central place in promoting democratic renewal by supporting EMBs as essential pillars for democratic governance.
29. The AAEA is a continental organisation made up of African EMBs. The AUC is the principal partner of the Association as stipulated in the AAEA Charter in promoting the management of democratic elections on the continent. In this regard, the AAEA in partnership with the Department of PAPS, with, convenes an annual continental forum of EMBs, which serves as a policy platform for peer-learning on election management in Africa.
30. Among key decisions made during the Executive Committee meeting, include
- (a) the AAEA General Assembly and the 7<sup>th</sup> annual continental forum of EMBs which gathers senior officials of electoral commissions from the 55 Member States under the theme “**Building Resilience of EMBs to Safeguard Democracy**” will be hosted by Mozambique in November 2022.
  - (b) It was also decided that an AAEA peer-support mission comprising several African EMB chairpersons will be deployed to Kenya during the general elections on 9 August 2022 in order to express solidarity and support to the Independent Boundaries and Electoral Commission with ultimate goal of promoting peaceful, democratic and elections. This kind of inter-EMB cooperation through peer-support missions have previously been deployed by RECs networks of EMBs such as ECOWAS Network of Electoral Commissions (ECONEC) as well as Electoral Commissions Forum of SADC (ECF-SADC).

**c. *Capacity Building of Youth Participation in Political and Electoral Processes***

31. The Department of PAPS through the AGA-APSA Secretariat in collaboration with the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission held a national Training of Trainers on youth participation in Political and Electoral processes in Zimbabwe from 6 - 10 June 2022 in Zimbabwe. The five-day program aimed at empowering young people to meaningfully engage in the electoral process in Zimbabwe as the country ramps up preparations for its 2023 harmonized elections. The capacity building initiative is based on the broader electoral assistance programme of the Department PAPS built around the AGA-APSA Youth Engagement Strategy. This was the second initiative on the continent after Gambia in 2021 which seeks to enhance strengthen capacities of young to effectively engage in democratic governance processes in their countries.

**d. *Specialized Training of short-term election observers***

32. The Department of PAPS in collaboration with the Government of the Kingdom of Morocco jointly organized a Specialized Training – Workshop of African Union Short-Term Election Observers, in line with the African Union Election Observation Methodology to enhance the continental institution's capacity to observe and monitor democratic elections in Africa. The 30 participants in the five-day training which begun on 13 to 17 June 2022, were drawn from across the continent and reflected gender parity. The capacity building initiative contributes to increasing the pool of trained election observers which will ultimately enhance the professional conduct of AU election observation missions. Subject to availability of funds, the Department will explore the possibility of training more citizens of Members States in the AUEOM methodology.

**e. *Filmed Documentary on AUEOMs***

33. The AUC deploys an average of ten EOMs in its Member States yearly. However, these efforts remain largely under-popularised due to the relatively limited dissemination platform and format. While a comprehensive report on each of these missions is often written and published on the AU website, none of these missions has ever benefited from a structured and succinct video coverage as part of broader efforts to systematically document, calcify, valorise and disseminate information on AUC's electoral observation work on a wider scale. Against this backdrop, the DPAPS is working on the production of a video documentary on AUEOMs. It will serve as a testament to the added value of AUEOMs to the quality of electoral processes and their impartial assessment. Finally, it would reinforce

accountability to Member States on the impact of their financial contributions to election management; and offer a tool for advocacy, constructive internal scrutiny and quality control of the work we do.

## VI. **OUTLOOK OF UPCOMING ELECTIONS: JULY - DECEMBER 2022**

34. In the second half of 2022, elections are scheduled to hold in nine countries in the following order: Republic of Congo, Senegal, Kenya, Angola, Lesotho, Sao Tome and Principe, Equatorial Guinea, Tunisia and Guinea Bissau. This section reviews the political context, state of preparedness and stakes of the upcoming elections.

### a. ***Republic of Congo: Legislative elections***

35. The Republic of Congo has scheduled to hold the first round of legislative elections as well as local elections are scheduled on 10 July 2022, preceded an early vote of the defence and security forces on 4 July 2022. The electoral campaign will run from 24 June to 7 July 2022. The election be will subject of a contest of 151 seats of the National Assembly. So far, the electoral process is unfolding peacefully and without major incident.

36. The AU plans to deploy a short term observation mission to observe the polls.

### b. ***Republic of Senegal: Legislative elections***

37. The Republic of Senegal will hold legislative elections on 31 July 2022. The elections will be subject of contest for 165 parliamentary seats. The elections will take place against a backdrop of the quest to increase the number of seats from 165 to 172 in line with the recent establishment of new regional administrative department. However, the number of seats was still maintained at 165.

38. The pre-electoral political situation is dominated by stiff competition among the political parties as the AUC continues to monitor.

39. The AU plans to deploy a short term observation mission to observe the polls.

### c. ***Republic of Kenya: General elections***

40. General elections are scheduled to be held in Kenya on 9 August 2022. Voters will elect the President, members of the National Assembly and Senate, county governors and members of the 47 county assemblies. Since the reintroduction of

multi-party democracy in 1992, the country has held six successive elections, each highly competitive. However, politically motivated violence accompanied all the previous elections, most notably the 2007 elections.

41. As part of the joint efforts to promote free, fair, peaceful and credible elections in Kenya, the AUC, the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) and the East African Community (EAC) deployed a high-level pre-election assessment mission from 14 - 21 May 2022. The purpose of the Mission was to assess the state of preparedness for the 9 August 2022 General Elections and engage in consultations and dialogue with key stakeholders to ensure violence-free, fair and credible elections that will strengthen Kenya's democratic process. The joint mission was led by the Chairperson of the AU Panel of the Wise.
42. Following consultations with the various stakeholders, the mission noted a generally vibrant and stable political environment, high state of preparedness by key institutions and stakeholders, a conducive legal framework and high public trust in the IEBC and judiciary. It also noted a shift from ethnocentric to issue-based political discourse in the 2022 elections.
43. There are however concerns that as Kenya moves gets closer to election day, tensions may heighten between the two main rival coalitions (Kenya Kwanza Alliance led by Deputy President William Ruto and Azimio la Umoja Alliance led by former Primer Raila Odinga) due to trust deficits, continue use of inflammatory rhetoric by leading political contenders, the general divisions in the population along ethnic lines, the presence of organised criminal gangs allegedly supported by politicians, and climate-induced insecurity in some parts of the country, especially in the North where a decrease in natural resources like water and pasture has created tension between communities over the use of scarce resources.
44. Despite these risks and challenges, the Assessment Mission notes with satisfaction the intense desire and determination of Kenyan stakeholders to have peaceful elections. Therefore, the Mission commended the authorities and people of Kenya for their endeavour toward holding successful elections in August 2022 and encouraged all stakeholders to continue with efforts geared toward creating a conducive environment for peaceful, credible and inclusive elections. It also encouraged political tolerance and peace cultivation among citizens before, during and after the 9 August 2022 elections.
45. The AUC's engagement in the electoral process in Kenya will further include the deployment of a High-Level Political Mission, Long- and Short-Term Observation

Missions (LTO, STO), and a post-electoral Follow-up Mission. The AU Long term Observation team is already on ground in Kenya.

d. ***Republic of Angola: General Elections***

46. The general elections will be held on 24 August 2022 in the Republic of Angola. These elections will comprise presidential and legislative elections. Incumbent President João Lourenço is eligible to contest for a second and final term in office. The National Assembly elections will be subject of a contest for 220 seats. The novelty in the 2022 general elections is that Angola diaspora will be enfranchised and therefore able to participate in the elections for the first time in the country's political history.

47. In view of the above, the Commissioner for Political Affairs, Peace and Security, H.E Ambassador Bankole Adeoye undertook a Special Political Mission to Angola from 4-6 April, 2022. The mission engaged with the national authorities on issues related to the preparation of the 2022 general elections in Angola and the Malabo Extraordinary Summit on Terrorism and Unconstitutional Change of Government in Africa. It also presented an opportunity for the government to reaffirm its absolute commitment to democratic principles and strategic objectives of the AU.

48. The AU plans to deploy a short term observation mission to observe the polls in Angola.

e. ***The Kingdom of Lesotho: National Assembly Elections***

49. On 7 October 2022, people of The Kingdom of Lesotho will hold National Assembly Elections to elect members of the legislature, following the Legal Notice No. 63 of 19 July 2022, fixing the date of an Election to Elect Members of the National Assembly. The National Assembly Elections are deemed as crucial to consolidate democratic gains registered since the last elections in 2017. In the past, Lesotho had experienced protracted political challenges interposed by snap elections as a result of unstable political coalitions, and the involvement of the military in the politics of the country. Instability of coalition Governments triggered a number of political transitions, accompanied by political and security sector reforms.

50. Before the Elections, the Parliament of Lesotho is also expected to consider *Eleventh Amendment to the Constitution of Lesotho 2022* and subsidiary legislations to pave way for peaceful and credible elections and to ensure that the new government after the elections operates under the new legally backed reforms. The Bill is a result of consultations and debates among members of the



National Reforms Authority and a wide number of stakeholders. The purpose of the Bill is to amend the Constitution of Lesotho 1993, to give effect to the resolutions of the Multi-Stakeholder National Dialogue on comprehensive national reforms as espoused in the Plenary II Report.

51. Another major exercise ahead of the elections is a fresh voter registration which was expected to have taken place in May 2022. However, the exercise has been halted due to a court case challenging the procurement processes. Given the circumstances, it is unlikely that a fresh voter's registration will take place before the elections, compelling the electoral commission to use the same register used for the 2017 elections. This has potential implications on the integrity of the electoral process if the existing register is found to be inaccurate and excludes a significant number of potential voters. This may heighten the risks for electoral fall out and violence.
52. The AUC-DPAPS deployed a Pre-election Special Political Mission to Lesotho in June under the leadership of a member of the Panel of the Wise Hon. Justice E. Owour of Kenya. The objectives of the mission, among others, include the following: Examine the country's preparation for elections in September/October 2022, and means towards a robust and visible role for the AU in the election monitoring and observation process; Review the progress made by the National Reform Authority towards constitutionalism and the rule of law as well as security sector reforms in Lesotho; Recommend a short and long-term plan inclusive of partnership and resource mobilization, to support the Kingdom of Lesotho in its political reform and stabilization agenda; and Submit a comprehensive report on the required steps to ensure free, fair, credible and transparent elections.
53. The AU will deploy both long term and short term EO to follow, observe and report on the important aspects of the National Assembly Elections.

f. ***Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe: Legislative elections***

54. Following the Decree No. 05/2022 of 31 March 2022, the President of the Republic called the legislative elections for 25 September to elect the 55 Members of the National Assembly. The Decree also announced that local and regional elections will be on the same date. The power alternation has been observed with several peaceful changes of ruling parties' through multiparty legislative elections since 1991. The previous legislature (2014-2018) was governed by the Independent Democratic Action (ADI) party. In the current term (2018-2022), although the ADI gained the most votes the party did not achieve a majority, and the government is the result of a post-electoral coalition of the Movement for the Liberation of São

Tomé and Príncipe (MLSTP) and the Democratic Convergence Party (PCD) - Force for Change Democratic Movement (MDFM) - Union of Democrats for Citizenship and Development (UDD).

55. These elections will be held in compliance with the new electoral legislation published in the Government gazette (Diário da República) in January 2021. The new legal framework establishes that for the first-time emigrants are eligible to vote for the National Assembly. Previously the diaspora could only vote for the President of the Republic. The Law on political parties enacted in 2021 obliges at least 30% of eligible seats occupied by women.
56. On 16 May 2022, the National Assembly Plenary elected the 8 members of the National Electoral Commission. For the first time in the country's history a woman was elected member of the National Electoral Commission, as Secretary.
57. Convening the 3 elections on the same day will minimise the total cost. On 12 May the Council of Ministers passed a resolution approving the creation of a basket fund for elections for the first time in the country's history.

**g. *Republic of Equatorial Guinea: Legislative elections***

58. In keeping with the country's constitutionally mandated electoral cycle, the Republic of Equatorial Guinea will organize the legislative elections later this year, 2022. The date is yet to be announced. The general political climate is calm, as evidenced by the successful organisation of the recent AU Extraordinary Summit in the country from 25-28 May 2022.
59. The Law No.8/2015, of 28 May regulates the elections for the Chamber of Deputies, the Senate, the municipal elections and the Referendum in Equatorial Guinea. Considering the provisions of this Law and with the approach of the end of the mandate of the deputies and senators, Decree No. 34/2022 of April 5 was published, to carry out the voter registration.
60. The AU plans to deploy a short-term mission of experts to observe and report on the holding of elections..

**h. *Republic of Tunisia: Referendum & Snap Legislative Elections***

61. In Tunisia, the Presidency of the Republic, the Independent High Authority for Elections (ISIE) and all other stakeholders are currently focusing exclusively on

the forthcoming referendum. In this wake, several legislative texts have been drawn up, in particular Presidential Decree No. 2022-506 of 25 May 2022 summoning voters on 25 July 2022 to a referendum on a new Constitution. For Tunisians residing abroad, the vote in the referendum will take place from 23 - 25 July 2022 in the dedicated voting centres.

62. The electoral Law was also amended by Decree-Law No. 2022-34 of 1 June 2022, amending and supplementing Organic Law No. 2014-16 of 26 May 2014 relating to elections and referendums. Decree-Law No. 2022-22 amends and completes certain provisions of Organic Law No. 2012-23 of 20 December 2012 relating to the ISIE. This Decree-Law provides for the change in the composition of the ISIE Council and the revision of the procedures for appointing and dismissing its members. Following Presidential Decree No. 2022-459 of 9 May 2022, appointing new members of the ISIE Council, the latter took the oath in the presence of the Head of State, H.E. President Kaïs Saïed on 12 May 2022.
63. Several associations, as well as political parties have threatened to boycott the referendum and the vote on a new Constitution to be organized by a Commission appointed by the President of the Republic.
64. The President of the Republic announced on 25 July 2021 that snap legislative elections will be organized on 17 December 2022. AU may deploy a short-term mission to that effect, if resources permit.

i. ***Republic of Guinea Bissau: Snap Legislative Elections***

65. In Guinea Bissau, the political environment is characterized by a longstanding discord between the main political parties represented in the National People's Assembly (ANP), including the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC), Alternation Group of 15 (MADEM G15) and Party for Social Renewal (PRS), and the President of the Republic. This is linked, among other, to questions on the revision of the Constitution, the ANP's refusal to lift the immunity of deputies suspected of having committed crimes and the refusal of the ANP's Board of Directors to accept an audit by the Court of Auditors.
66. This situation meant that by Decree No 24/2022 of 16 May 2022, the President of the Republic dissolved the ANP. The same Decree sets the date of the snap legislative elections for 18 December 2022 to renew the 102 members of the ANP. A more recent decree appointed new members of government.

67. Another factor of tension is linked to the fact that this date of elections is fixed at a time when the two largest parties (PAIGC and MADEM) are still not holding their congresses to renew the mandate of their representative bodies, an essential condition for the presentation of party candidacies in the next elections. This limits the possibility of knowing whether or not they will participate in the December 2022 elections.
68. With regard to Articles 103 and 104 of the Constitution, consultations are underway for the formation of a new Government in the coming days which will be responsible for organizing these elections. The Law of the National Electoral Commission (CNE) provides in its Article 3, paragraph 6, that the mandate of the members of the executive secretariat of the CNE begins with the investiture of the members taking office and ends with that of the newly elected members. This would therefore mean that the question of the vacancy at the level of the CNE does not arise.
69. Meanwhile, preparations for a new voter registration are underway. This could start by July for a period of 3 months, according to the Technical Support Office for the Electoral Process (GTAPE). The CNE has already prepared the budget for the snap legislative elections of 2022, which is estimated at 4.5 million dollars and nothing is yet available on this amount. It is up to the Government to mobilize the necessary funds to finance the voter registration and election budget. To this end, the Government had instituted since 2021 a tax called the "democracy tax". The funds collected under this tax will be used to finance the elections, but the amount collected so far will not be enough to finance the registration of voters and electoral operations. Thus, the Government will be tempted to turn to traditional development partners to finance the electoral budget deficit and in the hope that the funds will be available on time so as not to jeopardize the date of the elections.
70. Election security has been one of the most significant challenges of any electoral process. The presence of the ECOWAS stabilization support forces, deployed following the coup attempt last February, will greatly contribute to the security aspect of the elections in consultation with the defence and national security forces. The AU also intends to deploy short-term observers, resources permitting.

## **VII. POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS**

71. To enrich the quality of elections, deepen democratic governance and promote peaceful political processes and transitions on the African continent, the following policy recommendations are proposed for the PSC's consideration:

- Sustain advocacy and efforts to curb UCGs through the implementation of the Accra Declaration, the outcomes of the Malabo Extraordinary Summit, the elaboration of additional tools to fill gaps in existing normative frameworks notably: a Guideline on constitutional amendments in Africa and a protocol to the ACDEG on UCGs.
- Encourage the creation of platforms for dialogue, consensus building and pacific resolution of disputes among political stakeholders, especially political parties, candidates, activists' members and sympathizers.
- Fast track the finalisation and adoption of the AU Guide for Technical Assistance and the documentary on election observation in Africa.
- Reinforce sub regional efforts against terrorism and the cross-border crime in the Sahel; and redouble concerted efforts towards the implementation of the African Union Strategy for the Sahel Region; and re-prioritize governance responses for peace, consolidated democracy and sustainable development.
- Encourage gender/youth inclusivity through reduced cost for candidacy, enforcement of legally prescribed quota including at the intra-party level for participatory democracy in the decision-making bodies of State Governance in our Countries and Organizations.
- The PSC is urged to work together with the Permanent Representative Committee (PRC) in allocating adequate resources to the AUC in support of electoral processes on the continent.
- The PSC is urged to implore all AU Member States that have not yet done so, to sign, ratify, domesticate and implement the African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance; accede to the African Peer Review Mechanism.
- Reflect on the implications of the war in Ukraine on conflict drivers in Africa, as well as socio-economic and natural resource governance; with a view to generating concerted action-oriented measures to leverage the opportunities for economic transformation. This is to avoid hunger crises that could negatively impact the social peace and political stability of our member states.
- Call for more diversity in the representation of African women & youth in AUEOM, for inter-generation leaving experience & more buy-in for AU vision

## VIII. CONCLUSION

72. Democratic governance is evolving in a remarkably thorny global and regional context marked by increasing regional global-scale conflicts, pandemic, political turbulence and climate change effects. In spite of these converging risks and vulnerabilities, African States are demonstrating commendable resilience and determination to upholding electoral democracy. During this year 2022, general and legislative elections should take place in eleven (11) Member States. Despite a difficult start of the year, with two coup/attempts and violent insurgencies, national-level elections are proceeding largely unperturbed. Two landmark elections have already successfully taken place - in The Gambia and Somalia - in a generally peaceful environment, paving the way for democratic consolidation.
73. The next half of the year will be very crucial as the continent will organize nine - an average of 1.5 major election monthly- across all the five regional blocks, notably in: Congo, Senegal, Kenya, Angola, Lesotho, Sao Tome and Principe, Equatorial Guinea, Tunisia and Guinea Bissau. Member States are strongly urged to consider the policy recommendations preferred in this report, and take all necessary measures to ensure that these elections are organized in an inclusive, peaceful and transparent manner. In solidarity with the Member States and in keeping with its mandate, the AUC, through its DPAPS/DEU, remains committed to providing various forms support as needed to strengthen national electoral capacities to organize credible elections. Accordingly, subject to funding availability, it will provide technical assistance to EMBs and deploy PAMs, LTOs, STOs and preventive diplomacy or political missions when and where necessary.

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2022-08-02

# 1096th Meeting (Virtual) of the Peace and Security Council (PSC) to Consider the Report of the Chairperson of the African Union Commission on Elections in Africa, held on 2 August 2022.

Peace and Security Council

African Union Commission

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