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PEACE AND SECURITY COUNCIL

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REPORT

OF THE CHAIRPERSON OF THE COMMISSION TO THE PEACE AND SECURITY COUNCIL
ON ELECTIONS IN AFRICA FOR THE PERIOD OF JULY - DECEMBER 2022



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ABBREVIATIONS/ACRONYMS

AAEA	Association of African Electoral Authorities
AAR	Alternative pour une Assemblée de Rupture
ACDEG	African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance
AGA	African Governance Architecture
AN	Assembleia Nacional
AUDPAPS	African Union Department of Political Affairs, Peace and Security
APC	All People's Congress
APDG	Advisory Panel on Democratic Governance
APM	Allies People's Movement
APRM	African Peer Review Mechanism
AU	African Union
AUC	African Union Commission
AUEOM	African Union Election Observation Mission
AUPSC	African Union Peace and Security Council
BBY	Benno Bokk Yakaar
BGG	Bokk Gis Gis
BVAS	Bimodal Voter Accreditation System
CENA	Commission Electorale Nationale Autonome (Autonomous National Electoral Commission)
CENI	Commission Electorale Nationale Indépendante
CNE	Commission Nationale Electorale
COMESA	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
CSJ	Cour Suprême de Justice
DEU	Democracy and Elections Unit
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EDR	Election Dispute Resolution
EMBs	Electoral Management Bodies
FPTP	First-Past-The-Post
IEBC	Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission
IEC	Independent Electoral Commission
INEC	Independent National Electoral Commission
IRECKE	Inter – REC Knowledge Exchange on Early Warning and Conflict Prevention
IReV	INEC Results Viewing Portal
KPMG	Klynveld Peat Marwick Goerdeler
MPLA	Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola)
NAW	Naataangue Askan Wi
NEC	National Electoral Commission
PCT	Parti Congolais du Travail (Congolesse Party of Labour)
PDGE	Partido Democrático de Guinea Ecuatorial (Democratic Party of Equatorial Guinea)
PR	Proportional Representation
RECs	Regional Economic Communities

REMs	Regional Mechanisms
RFP	Revolution For Prosperity
SLPP	Sierra Leone People’s Party
SPPM	Special Pre-electoral Political Mission
UCGs	Unconstitutional Changes of Governments
UDH-YUKI	Union des Démocrates Humanistes
UNITA	União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola)
UNOAU	United Nations Office to the African Union
UPADS	Union Panafricaine pour la Démocratie Sociale
YAW	Yewwi Askan Wi

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

1. This briefing report of the Chairperson of the Commission captures the outcomes of elections organised in African Union (AU) Member States between July and December 2022¹ and is presented to the Peace and Security Council (PSC) of the AU. The report, being the second for the year 2022, also covers AU's electoral observation and technical assistance interventions during the period under review, and reflects a snapshot of elections scheduled for the first half of 2023. It further traces emerging or continuing political dynamics trends from the reviewed elections and charts concrete policy trajectory for enhancing electoral integrity on the continent. Against this backdrop, the report proffers recommendations for the AUPSC's consideration within its triple mandate to: (a) promote and encourage democratic practices; (b) anticipate and prevent conflicts; and (c) promote peace, security and stability in Africa as enshrined in *article 3* of the Protocol establishing the AUPSC.

2. During the second semester of 2022, presidential and parliamentary elections were held in eight (8) Member States notably in the Republics of: Congo, Senegal, Kenya, Angola, Sao Tome and Principe, Equatorial Guinea, and Tunisia, as well as the Kingdom of Lesotho. In keeping with its mission to enhance the conduct of credible electoral processes on the continent, the African Union Commission (AUC) deployed pre-electoral assessment and/or AU Election Observation Missions (AUEOMs), to the above-mentioned Member States, with exception of São Tomé and Príncipe. The AUC also provided national and continent-wide technical assistance to Member States and Association of African Electoral Authorities (AAEA), and continued its targeted capacity building initiatives to boost meaningful women participation in electoral processes in Africa. The AU made strides in the production of a documentary film on AUEOMs. Currently at its final stage, the documentary film would provide a rare glimpse and insight perspective of the scope and indispensability of AUEOMs. It would also foster reporting and accountability to the PSC and the AU policy organs.

3. Within the framework of reforming and sharpening the pan-African lens on African electoral processes, the AUC's Department of Political Affairs, Peace and Security (DPAPS) proposes an initiative known as "**ELECTIONS IN AFRICA REPORT - Democracy at Work.**" This Knowledge generation concept aims to advance consolidated pluralist democracy in AU Member States, beyond rhetoric, through the compilation of an eponymous annual report summarizing the major findings on the actors, challenges, issues and prospects identified by the AU Missions in the election field. It will embrace the two half-yearly Reports on Elections in Africa to the PSC, while highlighting the democratic developments of the countries concerned in terms of democratic consolidation. The annual report is expected to serve as a flagship knowledge product informed by data collection, analytics of electoral management systems and overall democratic practice driven primarily by sources of the outcomes of AUEOMs. This will be steered by the **AUC DPAPS** and supported by an **Advisory Panel on Democratic Governance (APDG)** composed of eminent African experts, drawn from the five (5) AU regions.

4. The elections conducted in the countries reviewed continue to demonstrate an unflinching determination of Member States to safeguard democratic principles against all odds. Election Management Bodies (EMBs) also demonstrated greater professionalism in election management, while candidates embraced dialogue and prioritized the legal mechanisms for conflict resolution. As such, elections conducted in the continent were generally peaceful and orderly. Women and youth participation in politics remains tepid. Nonetheless, from a broader scope, the elections under review took place against the backdrop of, climate insecurity, violent extremism, and the current repercussions of the Russia / Ukraine war, global rising costs of food, fuel and living and impact on human security, as well as the evolution of state capacity, resilience of electoral institutions and the cost of elections in Africa.

¹ The first report covering January – July 2022 was previously presented to the PSC on August 02, 2022.

5. Looking ahead in 2023, six (6) out of sixteen (16) national-level elections scheduled to take place in AU Member States will hold elections during the first half of the year (January – June) notably: Benin, Nigeria, Djibouti, Mauritania, Guinea Bissau and Sierra Leone. Accordingly, the AUC has envisaged multipronged electoral support engagements in these countries which include: deployment of pre-electoral assessment, short and long-term observation, electoral assistance to EMBs and any other stakeholder or high-level preventive diplomacy measures based on the context. This comes with significant budgetary implications, which require the PSC's and all Member States backing for the procurement of adequate funding to provide the much-needed electoral support thereby contributing to the consolidation of democracy in Africa.

6. Finally, electoral observation and technical assistance missions offer a unique advocacy opportunity to the ratification of the African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance (ACDEG) or its reinforced implementation. It is worth noting, quite commendably, that all six (6) countries with upcoming elections in the first half of 2023, have ratified the ACDEG. The AUPSC is urged to encourage other Member States to emulate those that have signed/ratified ACDEG. Considering the high-stakes nature of most upcoming elections, the PSC is also urged to appeal to the countries concerned to spare no effort at promoting peace, inclusivity, transparency, credibility throughout the electoral cycle.

I. INTRODUCTION

1. The conduct of periodic elections is one of the main mechanisms for democratic and peaceful transfer of political power and an important bedrock for democratic governance, development, peace and stability in Africa. Holding of elections on the continent is anchored on Article 3 (g) of the AU Constitutive Act which tasks the Union to “promote democratic principles and institutions, popular participation and good governance.” The same vision is recast in Agenda 2063, AU’s semi-centennial blueprint for the continent’s transformation. More specifically, aspirations 3 and 4 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 (2002); the African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance (2007); and the Guidelines for African Union Electoral Observation and Monitoring Missions (2002) all provide additional normative benchmarks for the AUC’s multidimensional electoral engagements in Member States presented in this Report.

2. Approximately, twelve (12) national-level elections were scheduled to hold in 2022 on the continent. This bi-annual report follows the first one presented to the PSC in August 2022. It provides an analytical examination of the eight (8) parliamentary/presidential elections conducted in AU Member States between July and December 2022 - Congo (Republic of), Senegal, Kenya, Angola, Lesotho, Sao Tome and Principe, Equatorial Guinea and Tunisia. In so doing, it spotlights AU’s electoral technical assistance to bolster electoral integrity and sustain democratic governance. The report further maps out emerging electoral and political governance trends and previews elections scheduled for the first half of 2023. Finally, recommendations are generated with the three-fold goal of upscaling the quality of electoral processes, reforming default democratic consolidation options, and fostering peace.

3. Drawing on the executive summary and introduction, this report unfolds as follows:

- II. Review of the elections conducted between July and December 2022;
- III. AU electoral assistance interventions;
- IV. Overview of governance trends;
- V. Snapshot of upcoming elections (January-June 2023);
- VI. Policy Recommendations; and
- VII. Conclusion.

II. REVIEW OF ELECTIONS CONDUCTED BETWEEN JULY - DECEMBER 2022

4. For the review period, elections were held in eight (8) Member States, in the following electoral calendar order: Congo, Senegal, Kenya, Angola, Lesotho, São Tomé and Príncipe, Equatorial Guinea, and Tunisia. This section summarizes the outcomes and AU electoral engagements in these countries.

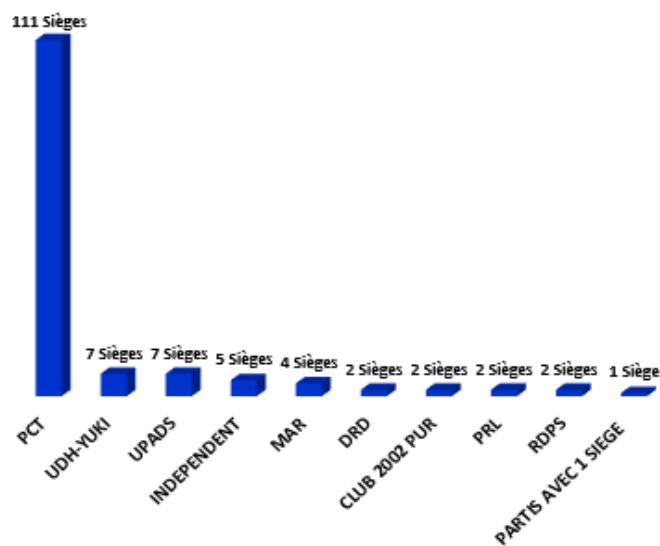
a. Republic of Congo

5. Parliamentary elections were held in the Republic of Congo using the two-round system. The first round was held on 10 July 2022 and was followed by the second round on 31 July in constituencies where no candidates were elected in the first round. Before the elections, voter registration was carried out which showed remarkable increase in the number of voters from 2,591,727 during the 2021 Presidential elections to 2,877,081. Also noteworthy was the increase in the number of political parties and candidates including independents who took part in the elections. This allowed for greater competition and participation and a demonstration of public interest in the electoral process. Overall,

51 political parties and independents presented candidates in the legislative elections, although only 18 parties and five independent candidates secured parliamentary seats.

6. The final results announced by the electoral commission indicated that the ruling party, “Parti congolais du travail” PCT, won 73.5% of seats, followed by “Union panafricaine pour la démocratie sociale” (UPADS), Union des démocrates humanistes” (UDH-Yuki) 4.6%, and independents with 3.3%.

No	FORMATION POLITIQUE	NOMBRE DE SIEGE
1	PCT	111 (73.5%)
2	UDH-YUKI	7 (4.63%)
3	UPADS	7 (4.63%)
4	INDEPENDANT	5 (3.3%)
5	MAR	4 (2.6%)
6	DRD	2 (1.3%)
7	CLUB 2002 PUR	2 (1.3%)
8	PRL	2 (1.3%)
9	RDPS	2 (1.3%)
10	MDP	1 (0.6%)
11	CPR	1 (0.6%)
12	URDC	1 (0.6%)
13	LACHAINE	1 (0.6%)
14	UPDP	1 (0.6%)
15	RC	1 (0.6%)
16	APC	1 (0.6%)
17	MUST	1 (0.6%)
18	MCDDI	1 (0.6%)
TOTAL	18	151
Turnout	46,55%	
Invalid Ballots	84 060	
Voters Registered	2 879 543	



Source: The table is the results received from the Electoral Commission and Decisions of the Constitutional Court of 16 July; 3 and 14 August; and 30 September 2022.

The graphic is proposed based on the results by the AUC DPAPS-Democracy and Elections Unit (DEU).

7. Overall, the AUEOM deployed in Congo, headed by former Prime Minister of the Togolese Republic, **H.E Kwesi AHOOMEY-ZUNU**, noted that the 2022 elections took place in a more peaceful environment compared to the previous elections of 2017. The AUEOM also noted that stakeholders showed exemplary political maturity evidenced by refraining from hate speech and inciting violence and recourse to legal channels for dispute resolution.

b. Republic of Senegal

8. The legislative elections in Senegal took place on 31 July 2022. Although, the period in the lead up to the elections was characterized by heightened political competition, the elections were held in a calm and peaceful atmosphere. This was the result of consultation and mediation initiatives carried out by the various stakeholders, particularly civil society.

9. The legal framework for the conduct of elections in Senegal is robust, though divergence in interpretations relating to validation of party lists on varying legal opinions, was evident. Nevertheless, the Senegalese electoral system offers proportionate male and female representation. However, consensus building in future is required about the criteria for validation of party lists under the proportional representation system in Senegal. Out of the 7,036,466 registered voters, 3,260,886 ballots were cast during the parliamentary elections.

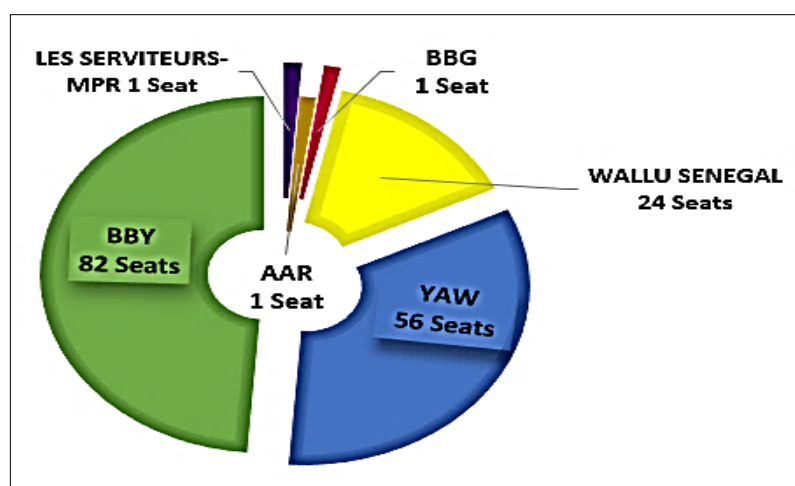
10. The AUEOM, headed by former Prime Minister of the Republic of Rwanda, **H.E Bernard MAKUZA**, noted that the conduct of the poll by the EMB was well organized with a high level of

professionalism. The AU Mission commended the commitment of the Senegalese Government, the political actors and the Senegalese people to work together to strengthen democracy in the country.

11. The results of the legislative elections of July 31, 2022 as officially declared, are as follows:

No.	Coalitions	NO. of vote received	Percentage of votes (%)	No. of Seats		
				SM	SP	Total
1	Benno Bokk Yakaar (BBY)	1 518 137	46,56	57	25	82
2	Yewwi Askan Wi (YAW)	1 071 139	32,85	39	17	56
3	Wallu Sénégal	471 517	14,46	16	8	24
4	Les Serviteurs / MPR	56 303	1,73	0	1	1
5	Alternative pour une Assemblée de Rupture (AAR)	52 173	1,60	0	1	1
6	Bokk Gis Gis (BGG)	44 862	1,38	0	1	1
7	Naataangue Askan Wi (NAW)	25 833	0,79	0	0	0
8	Bunt Bi	20 922	0,64	0	0	0
TOTAL		3 260 886	100	112	53	165

Source: Direction Générale des Elections (DGE) – (General Directorate of Elections)



Source : AUC DPAPS – DEU, based on results above from DGE

c. Republic of Kenya

12. On 9 August 2022, Kenya held General Elections, considered crucial for democratic transition of power and consolidation. After the successful completion of two terms, H.E. President Uhuru Kenyatta was not eligible for another term. The competition in the 2022 general elections was high, with 16,105 candidates contesting for the six elective positions. However, much interest focused on the Presidential election which was keenly contested between the two leading coalitions namely, Azimio La Umoja One Kenya Coalition Party led by veteran politician and opposition leader, a former Prime Minister, Hon. Raila Odinga and Kenya Kwanza Alliance Coalition led by Deputy President William Ruto. Both candidates anchored their manifestos and campaigns on issues that affect the country.

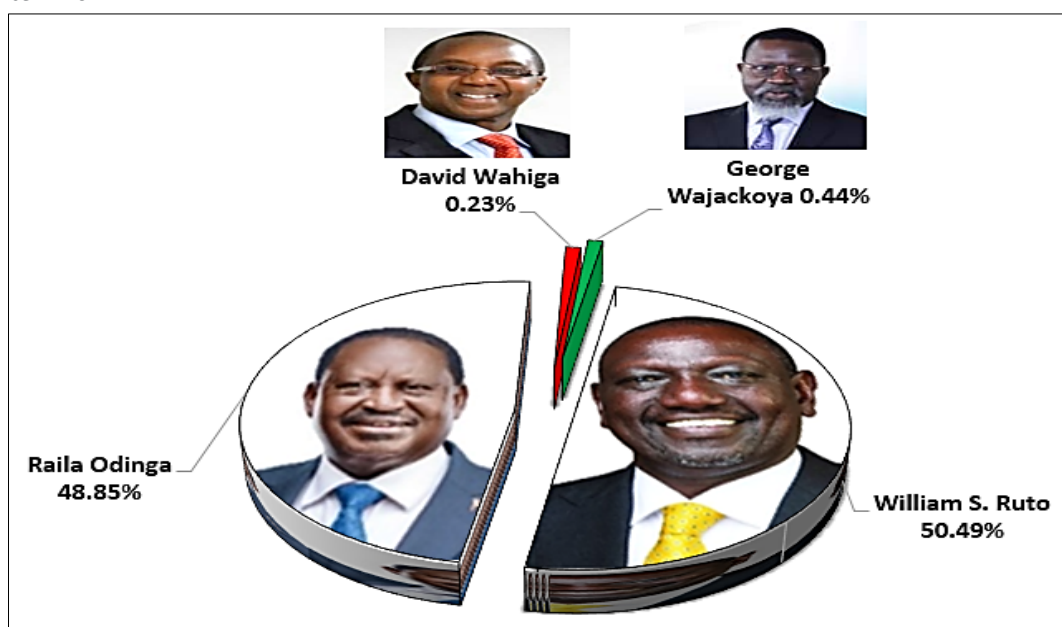
13. Whilst the elections were held in a peaceful and transparent manner, developments during post-election period especially during the announcement of the final results threatened the entire electoral process but for the resoluteness of the EMBs and political stakeholders.

14. On Monday 15 August 2022, the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC) Chairperson announced the results of the Presidential elections and declared Dr. William Ruto as President-elect with 50.49% and Hon. Raila Odinga garnered 48.85% of the votes cast.

Table 1. Presidential Results: Republic of Kenya

No.	Name of Candidate	No. of Votes	Percentage
1	William Samoei Ruto	7,176,141	50.49%
2	Raila Odinga	6,902,930	48.85%
3	George Wajackoya	61,969	0.44%
4	David Wahiga	31,987	0.23%

Source: IEBC



Source: AUC DPAPS – DEU, based on results from IEBC

15. Hon. Raila Odinga rejected the results and opted to challenge the outcome in the Supreme Court in line with the Constitutional provisions. After two days of the hearing, the Supreme Court Judges unanimously delivered judgment on 5 September 2022 upholding the results announced by the IEBC. The case of Kenya reinforces the need for peaceful electoral process in which there will be recourse to the courts instead of the pursuit of violence.

16. The AU-COMESA Electoral Observation Mission headed by former President of the Republic of Sierra Leone, **H.E. Dr Ernest Bai KOROMA**. This joint AU-COMESA Mission also employed the AUC newly-introduced integrated post-election preventive diplomacy and mediation approach, which witnessed conflict prevention and dialogue interventions, spearheaded by the former Sierra Leone President as Head of Mission and the Chairperson of the AU Panel of the Wise, **H.E. Dometien NDAYIZEYE**, former President of Burundi with the support of the AU Commissioner - PAPS and Member of the COMESA Council of Elders. This approach, which was successfully deployed by the AUC

in Zambia and The Gambia in 2021, also proved very effective through the pre-and-post Election Day engagements with the two leading parties, and opinion makers including the inter/religious community and the Diplomatic Corps in Kenya. The joint mission concluded that the IEBC conducted the 2022 Elections in a transparent, peaceful and orderly manner despite some of the administrative and technological challenges that were reported.

d. Republic of Angola

17. The Republic of Angola held General Elections on 24 August 2022. The elections took place against a backdrop of socio-economic challenges exacerbated by drastic drop of revenue from the country's main export commodity, crude oil, and the effect of COVID-19 pandemic. Seven parties and one coalition vied for the presidency and 220 seats in the National Assembly, with the two leading candidates being MPLA's João Manuel Gonçalves Lourenço, incumbent President of the Republic and UNITA's Adalberto Costa Junior. The electoral environment was generally peaceful although there were instances of demonstrations during the electoral process. However, these did not affect the overall planning and conduct of the elections.

18. The AU Election Observation Mission, headed by former Prime Minister of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, **H.E. Hailemariam Desalegn**, noted that while Angola's Proportional Representation (PR) design of the electoral system potentially promotes inclusive governance, it needs to provide for more affirmative action which is important for correcting societal imbalances in ensuring equitable representation in elective institutions, particularly for women, youth, and people living with disabilities. The elections enfranchised voters in the diaspora for the first time in the history of Angola, thereby extending the democratic right to vote to this category of citizens to elect their leaders. The AUEOM was pleased to note that this was one of its recommendations during the 2017 general elections and commended the Angolan authorities for embracing this initiative. There were 14,399,391 registered voters for the 2022 elections, which presents a significant increase from 9,317,292 voters in the 2017 general elections.

19. The chairperson of the CNE announced the official results on 29 August 2022. A total of 6,454,109 (44.82%) of the 14,399,391 registered voters cast their votes. This is a significant drop from the 76.1% voter turn-out in 2017, and the lowest turn-out in Angola elections. The results included 6,272,104 (97.18%) valid votes, 74,259 (1.15%) invalid votes, and 107,746 (1.67%) blank votes. The final results confirmed that the ruling MPLA won most seats, 124, followed by the UNITA with 90 seats.

The table below shows details of the results announced by the electoral commission.

No.	Political Party/coalition	No. of votes	Percentage of votes	No. of Seats
1	MPLA	3,209,429	51.17%	124
2	UNITA	2,756,786	43.95%	90
3	PRS	71,351	1.14%	2
4	FNLA	66,337	1.06%	2
5	PHA	63,749	1.02%	2
6	CASA-CE	47,446	0.76%	0
7	APN	30,139	0.48%	0
8	P-NJANGO	26, 867	0.42%	0

Source: CNE Website²

² <https://resultados2022eleicoesgerais.cne.ao/> accessed on 9 September 2022



Source: AUC DPAPS-DEU, based on results from CNE

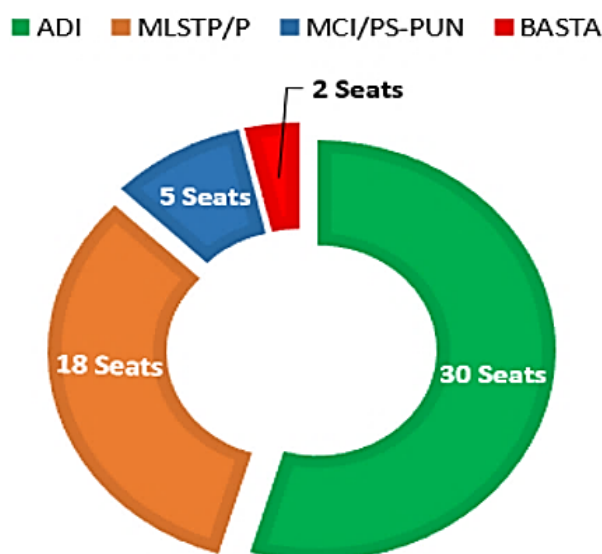
e. Republic of São Tomé e Príncipe³

20. The people of São Tomé e Príncipe went to the polls on 25 September 2022, to elect the 55 members of the legislative body - Assembleia Nacional (AN). A total of ten parties and one coalition participated in the election. The number of voters registered was pegged at 122.596 of which 50.8% were women and 49.2% men.

21. Voting took place in all the six (6) districts, one autonomous region of the country and two (2) diaspora regions, namely: Agua-Grande, Mé-Zochi, Cantagalo, Lobata, Caué, Lembá, Autonomous Region of Príncipe, Africa and Europe diasporas. The AUC could not deploy an election observation mission to São Tomé e Príncipe due to budget constraints.

22. The final results as announced by the Constitutional Court on 3 October 2022 are shown on the table below:

Nº	Political Parties	Seats	Final Results	
			Votes	%
1	ADI	30 (54.5%)	36 212	45,52%
2	MLSTP/PSD	18 (32.7%)	25 287	31,56%
3	MCI/PS-PUN	5 (9%)	4 995	6,23%
4	BASTA	2 (3.6%)	6 788	8,47%
5	UDD	0	697	0,87%
6	MSD/PVSTP	0	275	0,34%
7	PTOS	0	195	0,24%
8	CID-STP	0	458	0,57%
9	MUDA-STP	0	393	0,49%
10	Partido Novo	0	355	0,44%
11	MDFM/UL	0	1597	1,99%
TOTAL		55		
Turnout			80 132	65,36%
Abstention			42 464	34,64%
Invalid Ballots			43	1,71%
Voters Registered			122 596	



Source: The table is the results as announced by the Constitutional Court on 3 October 2022 and the graphic is proposed based on the results by the AUC DPAPS-DEU.

f. The Kingdom of Lesotho

23. On 7 October 2022, the Kingdom of Lesotho held National Assembly Elections, the tenth since 1975, to elect Members of Parliament for the next five years. The successful conclusion of the term

³ Due to funding challenges the AUC did not deploy observers.

of office of Government and Parliament in accordance with constitutional provisions must be seen as a progressive step towards more stable democracy and governance in Lesotho.

24. Before the Elections, the Parliament of Lesotho was also expected to pass the Eleventh Amendment to the Constitution of Lesotho 2022 and subsidiary legislations to pave way for peaceful and credible elections and to ensure that the newly elected government operates under the new legally backed reforms. The purpose of the Bill was to amend the 1993 Constitution of Lesotho to give effect to the resolutions of the Multi-Stakeholder National Dialogue on comprehensive national reforms as espoused in the Plenary II Report of 2019. Although political parties in the National Assembly had expressed commitment that the constitutional amendments would be passed before the expiration of the term of then Parliament, the amendments could not be adopted.

25. Consequently, the elections took place against the backdrop of the failure to pass the constitutional amendment bills (the Omnibus Bill). Although the Government declared a state of emergency and recalled Parliament to approve the constitutional amendments, this was later challenged at the Court and the declaration of the statement of emergency and the subsequently recall of Parliament to pass the bill was declared null and void.

26. Similar to Kenya, the AU mission for the elections in Lesotho was preceded by a pre-election assessment / special political mission led by a Member of the AU Panel of the Wise, **Hon Justice Effie OWOUR**. The integrated post-election preventive diplomacy and mediation approach, which was co-chaired by the Head of Mission, **H.E. Dr Speciosa Kazibwe WANDIRA** and the Member of the AU Panel of the Wise, also produced fruitful outcome through the pre-and-post Election Day engagements with the major political parties and key stakeholders. The AUEOM, as deployed, reached the conclusion that notwithstanding the challenges associated with the political reforms, there was broad consensus among stakeholders on the imperative for successful 2022 elections.

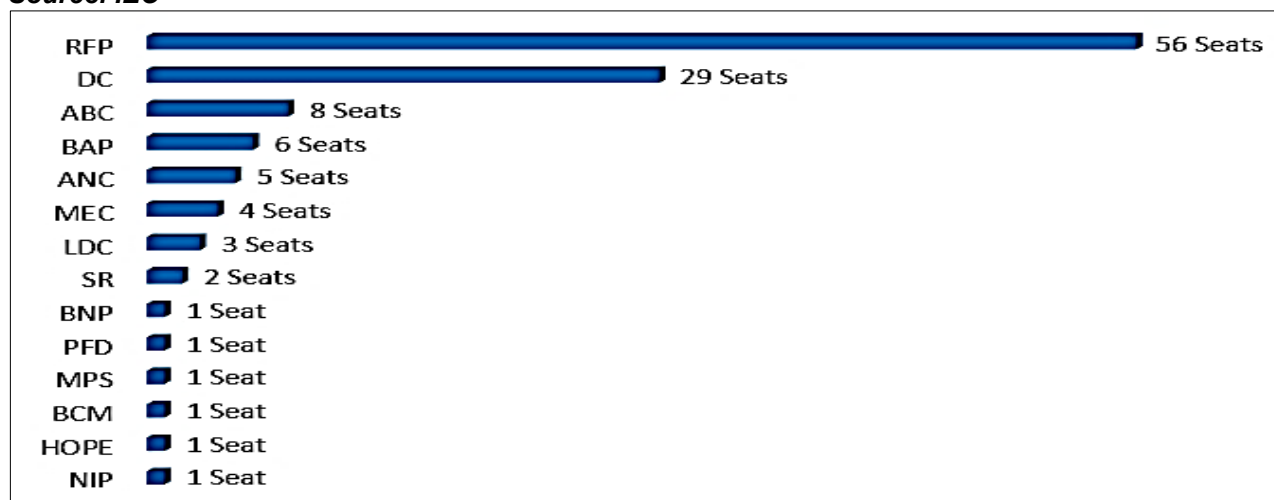
27. The AUEOM further emphasized that the political climate was largely calm and peaceful, conducive to an open competition between political parties and candidates. It also noted that the legal framework for the 2022 Elections conformed, largely, to international, continental and regional norms for the conduct of democratic elections.

28. The final results released by the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) indicated a win for the newly formed opposition Revolution for Prosperity Party (RFP) which won 56 seats of the 80 contested FPTP seats. The RFP could not obtain the required majority of 60 seats to form a government alone meaning it had to form a coalition government with at least one or more political parties. The table below shows the final results released by the IEC.

Party	Votes	% Votes	Constituency Seats	PR Seats	Total seats
Revolution for Prosperity (RFP)	199,867	38.81	56	0	56
Democratic Congress (DC)	128,105	24.87	18	11	29
All Basotho Convention (ABC)	37,553	7.29	0	8	8
Basotho Action Party (BAP)	29,118	5.65	0	6	6
Alliance of Democrats (ANC)	20,798	4.04	2	3	5
Movement for Economic Change (MEC)	17,093	3.32	1	3	4
Lesotho Congress for Democracy (LDC)	12,174	2.36	0	3	3
Socialist Revolutionaries (SR)	10,738	2.08	1	1	2
Basotho National Party (BNP)	7,343	1.43	0	1	1

Popular Front for Democracy (PFD)	4,636	0.90	0	1	1
Mpulule Political Summit (MPS)	4,482	0.87	0	1	1
Basotho Covenant Movement (BCM)	4,112	0.80	0	1	1
HOPE – Mphatlalatsane	3,713	0.72	0	1	1
National Independent Party (NIP)	3,703	0.72	1	0	1
Others	31,583	6.13	0	0	0
Total	515,018	99.99	79	40	119

Source: IEC



Source: AUC DPAPS-DEU, based on the results above

29. Voter turnout fell to 37,44% from 46,37 % in 2017. The turnout could be attributed to limited confidence in the electoral process or political fatigue among the electorate as a result of previous unstable governments.

30. Ahead of future elections, it is recommended that the Parliament should revive the stalled constitutional amendment and pass it into law to further consolidate the gains that Lesotho has made towards democratic stability.

g. Republic of Equatorial Guinea

31. General elections were held in Equatorial Guinea on 20 November 2022 to elect the President and members of Parliament. Previously, presidential and parliamentary elections were held separately. However, in September 2022, the Parliament approved a proposal to merge the elections, citing economic reasons.

32. Three (3) candidates vied for the presidency, including the incumbent H.E. President Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasogo, of the Democratic Party of Equatorial Guinea (PDGE), backed by fourteen (14) of the seventeen (17) opposition parties in a broad presidential coalition.

33. The AUEOM headed by former President of the Republic of Guinea Bissau, **H.E. José Mário VAZ**, which was deployed on the authority of the Chairperson of the AU Commission, to assess the polls, observed that voting took place in a generally peaceful atmosphere in accordance with international standards and the national legal framework governing the elections.

34. The elections witnessed a high turnout of 98%. President Obiang Nguema was declared winner with 405,910 (94.9%) of the votes. His main challenger, Mr. Andrés Esono Ondo got 9,684 votes, or about 4% of the vote and Mr. Buenaventura Monsuy 2,855 votes (1%).

35. With respect to the legislative elections, the ruling party - Democratic Party of Equatorial Guinea (PDGE) and its 14 allied parties won all 100 seats in the National Assembly 55 in the Senate. The remain 15 members of the Senate are appointed by the President in accordance with the Constitution. A table of results as announced by the Electoral Commission is below.

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Voter Registered: 419 817 ▪ Voters: 413 148 ▪ Valid Votes: 411 081 ▪ Invalid Votes: 2 067 ▪ Turnout: 98% ▪ Abstention: 2% 	PRESIDENTIAL	LEGISLATIVE	SENATORIAL	MUNICIPAL
	Obiang Nguema	PDGE and Allies:	55 seats	588 seats
	Mbasogo (PDGE and Allies): 405 910	100 seats		
	Andrés Esono (CPDS): 9 684	CPDS: 0 seat	0 seat	0 seat
	Buenaventura Monsuy (PCSD BABORO): 2 855	PCSD BABORO: 0 seat	0 seat	0 seat

Source: Results announced by the Chairperson of the Electoral Commission on 26 November 2022



Source: AUC DPAPS-DEU, based on the results above

h. Republic of Tunisia

36. The Republic of Tunisia held snap parliamentary elections on 17 December 2022. The elections took place following the dissolution of Parliament on 25 July 2021 and the subsequent constitutional referendum which made changes to the electoral system, among others. The political context surrounding the context of elections was marked by political contestation and boycott by some political parties and actors. The new electoral system applicable to Tunisia is the constituency-based majoritarian two-round system of independent candidates, which is a shift from the closed list proportional representation system. According to the High Independent Authority of Elections (ISIE), there were 9,136,502 registered voters of which 50.56% were women for the parliamentary elections.

37. The elections recorded one of the lowest voters turn-out on the continent of 11.12% which showed conspicuous apathy of voters. In its conclusion of the findings, the AUEOM led by the former Prime Minister of the Republic of Niger and former CEO, AUDA/NEPAD, H.E. Dr Ibrahim Assane

MAYAKI, noted that the elections were peaceful and technically and operationally well organised by ISIE. However, it underscored the question of political consensus on participation of the electoral process and emphasized the need for the consolidation of democracy, stability and development in the country. Amongst its key recommendations, the Mission, after due consultation with stakeholders, called for the AUC DPAPS to conduct a study on the interlocking effect of socio-economic crisis on the conduct of elections, voter turnout and democratic dividends. The AU Mission also canvassed for inclusive political dialogue in order to consolidate the gains of democracy in Tunisia.

38. Result of the elections will be shared once the final results have been published by the Tunisian EMB.

III. AFRICAN UNION INTERVENTIONS IN ELECTORAL PROCESSES OF MEMBER STATES

39. Article 18 of the African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance mandates the AU to provide advisory services or assistance for strengthening and developing their electoral institutions and processes. In this vein, the Department of Political Affairs, Peace and Security (DPAPS) undertook context-specific multi-dimensional electoral assistance initiatives both at the national and continental levels between July and December 2022.

a. Electoral Assistance to the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission in Kenya

40. The AUC DPAPS supported the Association of African Electoral Authorities (AAEA) to deploy a Solidarity Mission to the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC) during the 9 August 2022 general elections in Kenya. The main objective of the peer-support mission was to provide technical advisory and moral support to the chairperson and leadership of the IEBC to organise elections in conformity with the legal framework and international and continental norms for democratic elections.

41. The Solidarity Mission, the first of its kind to be undertaken by the AAEA, was successful and contributed to the effective and transparent management of elections which resulted to peaceful and democratic political transition in Kenya. Lessons drawn from Mission will inform future interventions of this nature in selected countries which plan to hold general elections in 2023.

b. Electoral Assistance to the Independent Electoral Commission of Lesotho

42. In response to a request from the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) of the Kingdom of Lesotho, the DPAPS in collaboration with International IDEA deployed an Electoral Assistance Mission to the Kingdom of Lesotho from 19 to 26 September 2022 in support of the 7 October 2022 General Elections. This provided technical and financial support for the preparations of the elections.

43. Through this AU support, 137 people responsible for different aspects of the electoral process received training, including in the areas of voting process and results announcement management of electoral operations, advanced voting monitoring of the implementation of political party code of conduct. In addition, 50 Police Officers who would train other officers were equipped with training skills and knowledge on electoral security. The trained officers were deployed to secure electoral materials and personnel, advanced voting, Election Day operations as well as post-polling protection of election results documents and other materials in 1654 voting stations.

44. Among key emerging lessons, despite extremely limited resources at the disposal of DPAPS, the interventions made a significant contribution to the IEC by enabling it to build the requisite capacity of its staff as well as those of the security agencies. Also, noteworthy, is the timing of the

assistance was effective as it was aligned to the elections calendar of the IEC.

45. In terms of impact, the electoral assistance, albeit limited in scope, contributed to holding of peaceful, democratic and credible elections which ushered a peaceful and democratic political transition in Lesotho.

c. The 7th AU Continental Forum of Election Management Bodies

46. The AUC organized the 7th Annual Continental Forum of Election Management Bodies under theme, "Building Resilience of Election Management Bodies to Safeguard Democracy in Africa", from 14 to 15 November 2022 in Maputo, Mozambique. The forum was held on the margins of the 10th General Assembly of the Association of African Electoral Authorities (AAEA).

47. One of the salient lessons from the Forum was that building resilience of electoral institutions is reflexive and demands deliberate and sustained efforts by EMBs through effective collaboration with other stakeholders. For instance, in preparation for the future ecological effects of election management, lessons emerging from organizing elections during the COVID-19 pandemic and natural disasters point to the need for a collaborative approach to electoral-risk management.

48. Moreover, given the increasing cost of elections on the back of pressing economic challenges, which have contributed to shrinking economies on the continent, electoral commissions were urged to adopt sustainable cost-cutting measures in the management of elections to keep up with the changing economic times. One of the policy proposals made during the Forum was to develop a strategy for sharing non-sensitive electoral materials among EMBs to cut down the cost of elections. In this light, the AAEA, as well as Regional Economic Communities' networks of electoral commissions, were urged to play a critical coordination role in sharing non-sensitive electoral materials among electoral commissions on the continent. The next EMBs Forum will take place in Benin in 2023 following a resolution of the AAEA General Assembly.

d. Specialized Training of short-term election observers

49. The AUC and the Government of the Kingdom of Morocco jointly organized a Specialized Training Workshop for African Union Short-Term Election Observers from 13 – 17 June 2022 in Rabat. 30 participants drawn from AU Members States formed the core group trained on African Union Election Observation Methodology to enhance the continental institution's capacity to observe and monitor democratic elections in Africa. The training contributed to increasing the pool of election observers which will ultimately enhance the professional conduct of AUEOMs. Subject to availability of funds, the Department will explore the possibility of second edition of the training orientation program for the benefit of more citizens of Member States in the AUEOM methodology before mid-2023, with focus on building the capacity of long-term observers and core team experts.

e. AU-UNOAU Joint Hybrid Workshop on Women Participation in Electoral Processes

50. The UN-OAU, in partnership with the AU Commission, held a Hybrid Workshop on 13 and 14 October 2022 to enhance women's electoral participation. It brought together more than 40 participants including representatives of EMBs in Africa who were preparing to hold their elections during the second half of 2022 and in 2023.

51. Among the lessons that emerged from the workshop was the need for EMBs to play a significant role in defining public policies, raising awareness and operationalizing national strategies aimed at promoting gender with a view to achieving parity in the political spectrum. The workshop

also dwelt on blocked lists, quotas, absolute parity through variegated and striped lists respecting parity in number and order to contribute more to the fundamental improvement of effective promotion of women leadership in the democratic governance of African countries.

52. Recommendations from the process focused on support for progressive legal, political and even socio-economic and cultural reforms aimed at better promoting effective parity in Africa in accordance with relevant international standards and the National Legal Framework of States; Removal of the legal provisions conditioning the participation of women on the prior legal permission of their spouses or their parents in the political field; Encourage African women to embrace enhanced training in political leadership and to participate fully in the expression of suffrage both as voters and as candidates; and Encourage parties to put more women on the lists for eligible positions.

f. Documentary on AUEOM

53. The proposed launch of the documentary film project is billed for 2023 as it received the support of PSC Members. At the moment, the film is work in progress with finalization phase and film editing to be available shortly. The film will be commissioned with the support of AU development partners by the end of the third quarter of 2023.

g. Elections in Africa Report - Democracy at Work and the Setup of AU Advisory Panel on Democratic Governance

54. In the framework of innovations within the African electoral processes, the DPAPS proposes a knowledge management initiative known as Elections in Africa Report - Democracy at Work. This refers primarily to advancing the consolidated multiparty democracy in the Member States.

55. This Report will be an annual analytical distilled from the two bi-annual Reports on Elections presented to the AUPSC, in each calendar year. It will focus on the relevant lessons drawn from these elections and the developments in the related political systems, based on data collected and analyzed from AU electoral observers. The knowledge output will significantly serve as a pan-Africa narrative for regional, continental and global readership. This Annual Report will be published at the end of the first quarter of the following year to better reflect the lessons learned together with relevant recommendations for AU Member States, African citizens as voters, candidates and political parties or coalitions, EMBs, Civil Society, and academia.

56. Additionally, the DPAPS has proposed the setup of an Advisory Panel on Democratic Governance to be made up of eminent African experts from the 5 AU regions, whose skills, probity and professional excellence are recognized nationally and globally. It will serve as a special gateway for reflecting on continental strategies aimed at further consolidating democratic gains in Africa, particularly through the holding of credible, regular, and transparent elections, towards optimal democratic legitimization. The Panel falls within the overall holistic strategic framework of the AU institutional reform and the mainstreaming of political governance in the peace and security sphere premised on pan-African vision of strengthening Democracy.

IV. OVERVIEW OF GOVERNANCE TRENDS

57. Overall, the political developments witnessed during the period under review through elections monitored by the AU, indicate the consolidation of the burgeoning governance trends which beckon sustained emphasis, attention and collection action.

a. *Persistent Impact of Unconstitutional Changes of Governments*

58. The Unconstitutional Changes of Governments (UCGs) had persisted since 2020, including as recently as the second coup d'état in one year through the October 2022 one in Burkina Faso. Sao Tome e Principe also foiled a coup attempt in November 2022, barely months after a successful electoral process, while The Gambian authorities also reported military coup attempt in December 2022. The AU as a whole, remains committed to its “zero tolerance policy” and continues to strive towards strengthening its sanction regime and the setting up of the sanctions committee as a deterrent to coups, in collaboration with relevant RECs. However, recent instances of UCGs indicate that some African countries are more susceptible to military-led unconstitutional changes of government, with ensuing damage to a political culture of pluralism and civilian rule, national growth, development and social cohesion. While this illustrates weak national institutional capacities, recurrent UCGs also corrodes already fragile mechanisms for democratic safeguard. Beyond this challenge of the new wave of military incursion into active political leadership, it is important that the AU system, in the spirit of implementing the Accra Declaration on UCG, steps up to critically diagnose and address this unbecoming high frequency of coups/coup recurrence in some member states, especially in the West African/Sahel region.

b. *Peaceful Electoral Processes*

59. Peaceful, credible elections are crucial for stability and adoption of democratic process. Certainly, election-related violence undermines both the progress and democratic gains. Despite the high political and security stakes surrounding the presidential and legislative elections under review, one common thread in all the elections under review, is the generally vibrant stable and peaceful environment within which the elections took place. The polling and tallying processes were generally peaceful and according to the adopted legal framework, with rather isolated instances of low scale tension and violence, including in the post electoral period. Candidates showed restraint from invoking their supporters to violence during the electoral process. In the light of elections-related violence experienced across the continent barely a decade ago, with some degenerating into civil war, this progress is worth commending.

c. *Tepid Women and youth participation*

60. Women and youth participation still shows a mixed picture, with higher participation at the lower echelons of electoral activities like registration, campaign and party / candidate agents. Although this demonstrate growing political enthusiasm, the participation as main candidates remain abysmal. Both women and youth continue to face challenges associated with limited resources, low access to information, stigmatization, and uneven playing ground.

61. Efforts in this direction are being made by AU Member States, despite the existence of challenges and issues requiring bolder reforms to further strengthen women and youth to scale up full civic and political participation in electoral processes.

62. Relevant to this goal is what informed the holding of the Workshop jointly organized on 13 - 14 September 2022 by the AU and the UNOAU on the theme of strengthening the political participation of women in electoral processes in Africa. The recommendations of the Workshop are reflected above in this Report.

d. Improvement in Election management

63. Election Management has become very critical in consolidating democracy and sustaining peace, security and stability in Africa. This is due to the strong linkages to political legitimacy and democratic mandates in Member States. Any perceived or real disenfranchisement during voter registration, voter verification, voting, counting, transmission and tallying and conclusion of the election phase, among other electoral processes is likely to erode public trust. Article 17 (1) of the African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance (ACDEG), states that an Electoral Management Body (EMB) should be impartial in the performance of its public function and that this encourages public confidence.

64. As in the previous reporting period, the overall election management has seen an appreciable improvement despite, sometimes constraining circumstances. In particular, the majority of EMBs, have also improved on public communication which is key for trust building. Public information and stakeholder consultations, reduced voter irregularities contribute to the trust / confidence building among the citizenry and other key stakeholders. For example, in Kenya, the IEBC engaged the services of Klynveld Peat Marwick Goerdeler (KPMG in Kenya towards this objective of better interface with the citizenry through regular information and independent assessment reports. Some EMBs, like Sao Tome e Principe took exceptional measures to enfranchise diasporans and prisoners, which are in line with international standards on inclusion, participation and accessibility. Public perception and confidence are indispensable for the credibility of the process and acceptance of the electoral outcomes. Due to manifest greater professionalism in their mandate delivery, EMBs generally enjoyed a relatively higher level of public confidence than in the past decades in Africa. They are now generally perceived as becoming more independent and professional in exercising their statutory functions. This was crucial for results acceptance, legitimacy and post-electoral stability.

e. Increased acceptance of legal means for election dispute resolution

65. Election Dispute Resolution (EDR) is a critical component in the electoral cycle. The lack of EDR mechanisms to adjudicate electoral disputes directly impacts the extent to which the elections are viewed as free and fair. With conflicts potentially emerging at all stages of the electoral cycle, effective EDR is key to the delivery of free and fair elections and should be able to resolve any challenges that arise in the electoral process.

66. Recent developments in Africa during the second half of 2022, reveal a significant and commendable regression in the use of extra-judicial or violent means to resolve electoral disputes and a growing penchant towards judicial alternatives. In particular, during this review period, the parliamentary elections in the Republic of Congo and presidential elections in Kenya and Angola were resolved by the Judiciary. In general, political contestants opted to litigate their electoral differences over the election, rather than resort to force. Some scholars, writing on Kenya, for instance, term this trend 'the judicialisation of politics' (Kanyinga and Odote, 2019). Consequently, there is also growing jurisprudence on elections disputes, some of which are ground-breaking. The judiciary now enjoys relative high public confidence and continues to be principally perceived as independent and professional in exercising its statutory function of dispensing justice.

V. OUTLOOK OF UPCOMING ELECTIONS: JANUARY - JUNE 2023

67. The first half of 2023 will be crucial as the continent will organize six (6) elections - an average of one (1) major election monthly - Benin, Nigeria, Djibouti, Mauritania, Guinea Bissau and Sierra Leone. This section analyses the pre-electoral context, the state of preparedness for the upcoming elections, and AU's planned support and Intervention.

a. Republic of Benin

68. The Republic of Benin will hold National Assembly Elections on 8 January 2023 in which about 6.6 million voters are expected to participate. Seven political parties have been accepted by the Autonomous National Electoral Commission (CENA) to participate in the Election. The initial exclusion of the Democrats party, the main opposition from the list of approved parties had caused some political tension. However, the ruling by the Constitutional Court for the Democrats Party to be included in the elections and which had been complied with by the CENA, has eased the political apprehension. Electoral campaigns have taken place from 23 December to 6 January 2023. It is expected that the prevailing calm in the country will continue throughout the campaigns and during the elections and after.

Note: The AU is expected to deploy a Mission of Short-term Election Observers to the parliamentary elections in the Republic of Benin in January.

b. Federal Republic of Nigeria

69. The Federal Republic of Nigeria will hold General elections on 25 February 2023 to elect the President and Vice President, members of the Senate (109 seats) and House of Representatives (360 seats). State elections will be held on 11 March 2023. Within the context of the mandate bestowed on the AUC to promote peace, democratic and credible elections, the DPAPS deployed a Special Pre-electoral Political Mission (SPPM) from 26 November 2022 to 4 December 2022 to Abuja, Nigeria. The special political mission was led by **H.E. Dr Phumzile Ngcuka MMLABO**, Member of the AU Panel of the Wise and former Deputy President of the Republic of South Africa. The mission assessed the state of preparedness for the general elections; and explored opportunities and options for AU engagement in promoting peaceful and democratic elections. The Panel of the Wise member and the entire mission interacted with a range of stakeholders in Abuja including the Chairman of the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC).⁴

70. The 2023 general elections offer an important opportunity for Nigeria to consolidate its democracy after the return to democratic order in May 1999, through a peaceful and democratic political transition as the incumbent President, H.E. Muhammadu Buhari is serving his second and final term in office. Amongst the salient findings of the special political mission the state of preparedness was considered satisfactory with key electoral reforms introduced for the 2023 general elections including revised Electoral Law, use of technology through the Bimodal Voter Accreditation System (BVAS) as well as the improved electronic results transmission system, Election Results Viewing Portal (IREV). These measures seek to improve transparency of the elections management, in particular, on voter identification and transmission of election results. The Stakeholders consulted, generally commended Nigeria's continued and substantial progress in election management since return to democracy in 1999. Although the Pre-electoral environment is generally peaceful, it is characterized by insecurity in some hotspots in Northwest, Northeast and Southeast, geo-political zones. However, the Nigeria Police, the leading agency on electoral security offered assurances that it is well prepared to secure the electoral process.

71. In terms of participation, there are 18 presidential candidates who will contest for the 2023 elections and a total of 96,303,016 registered voters of which 12,298,932 are newly registered voters.

⁴ Stakeholders consulted included the leadership of Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), Nigeria Police Force, representatives of political parties, media, civil society organisations including women and youth organisations, ECOWAS Commissioner for Political Affairs, Peace and Security as well as the United Nations Country Team as well as the Acting Special Representative of the UN Secretary General for West Africa and the Sahel.

In terms of gender distribution, 6, 074, 078 of the newly registered voters are male, while 6,224, 866 are female newly registered voters. The number of female candidates in the 2023 election represents 8.9 percent of the candidates. Out of the 4,259 candidates contesting the 2023 Presidential and National Assembly elections, only 381 are women. Among the 18 political parties contesting the presidency, only the Allied People's Movement (APM) has fielded a female presidential candidate.

Note: *The AU is poised to despatch a Mission of Short-term Election Observers and adopt the integrated approach of post-election preventive diplomacy and mediation for the presidential and National Assembly elections in the Federal Republic of Nigeria in February.*

c. Republic of Djibouti

72. Djibouti is expected to hold its election for the 65 seats in the National Assembly on 24 February 2023. Preparations are underway. In particular, voters previously registered on the electoral lists as they were adopted on 30 September 2022 will be called upon to participate in the election of members of the National Assembly. Based on the assurances of the Independent National Electoral Commission (CENI), Djibouti is set to conduct credible elections in its national political space.

Note: *The AU will deploy a Mission of Short-term Election Observers to the parliamentary elections in the Republic of Djibouti in February.*

d. Islamic Republic of Mauritania

73. Mauritania is gearing to elect its 176 member-legislature on 13 May 2023. The elections will be the first parliamentary elections held after the first peaceful transition of power in the country as a result of the 2019 presidential elections, in which Mohamed Ould Ghazouani was elected president after incumbent Mohamed Ould Abdel Aziz was not able to run due to the two-term constitutional limit.

74. The Independent National Electoral Commission has already approved the timetable for the legislative, recommending the convening of the electoral college on 28 February 2023 and the first round of voting on 13 May 2023.

Note: *The AU will send a Mission of Short-term Election Observers for the legislature elections in the Islamic Republic of Mauritania in May.*

e. Republic of Sierra Leone

75. On 24 June 2023, Sierra Leoneans will vote in a General Elections to elect a new President and new members of Parliament. With the current President, H.E. Julius Maada Bio, seeking re-election, the contest is expected to be highly competitive. The National Electoral Commission (NEC) has already completed voter registration with 3.2m in the provisional register. The NEC is expected to finalise the voter register by the end of December 2022 after reviews of the errors identified during the exhibition. All things being equal, the NEC intends to print voter ID cards by February 2023. Ahead of the elections, a welcome development is that the Sierra Leone Parliament passed a gender equality Act in November 2022, which introduces gender quota in all elected and appointed positions. There are also efforts by the Government to introduce electoral reforms, which will see the country use the proportional representation system during the June 2023 elections. While the ruling Sierra Leone People's Party (SLPP) supports the reforms, the opposition All People's Congress (APC) party opposes it and has vowed to challenge it in the Supreme Court. It is important that Sierra Leone builds consensus around the reforms to avoid electoral crisis. The AUC will engage political stakeholders in

Sierra Leone ahead of the election to help ensure that the country maintains its democratic gains in line with the democratic aspirations of the African Union.

Note: *The AU will deploy a Mission of Short-term Election Observers and employ the integrated approach of post-election preventive diplomacy and mediation for the presidential and National Assembly elections in the Republic of Sierra Leone in June.*

f. Republic of Guinea Bissau

76. In Guinea Bissau, the elections are being prepared through the census which started on 10 December 2022. The operation could take between 2 and 3 months. The elections were initially scheduled for 18 December 2022, but have been postponed and the People's National Assembly has been dissolved. Consultations are currently underway with the objective of a possible consensus between the political parties, in particular on the mandate of the members of CNE. In the meantime, the President of the Republic, H.E. Umaru Sissoco Embaló issued a new Presidential Decree to fix the next legislative elections on 4 June 2023.

77. To assess the political environment and preparations for the elections, DPAPS deployed a technical Pre-Election Assessment Mission to Bissau from 11 to 19 December 2022. The mission reported the question of trust deficit between stakeholders in the electoral process, particularly on the mandate of members of the National Electoral Commission (CNE) whose chairperson is appointed by the Head of State as the president of the Supreme Court of Justice (CSJ). There are currently two blocks of political parties opposed to each other, one in favor of maintaining the current CNE team and the other calling for the replacement of the Commission's members to be replaced before the next elections.

78. It is important for the AU, working in collaboration with the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), and the rest of the international community to help restore confidence among electoral stakeholders in order to hold peaceful elections.

Note: *The AU is expected to send a Mission of Short-term Election Observers and adopt the integrated approach of post-election preventive diplomacy and mediation for the parliamentary elections in the Republic of Guinea Bissau in June.*

VI. POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

79. The strive towards Africa's complete emergence, institutionalizing legitimate and resilient democracies in Africa, and attaining the aspirations of Agenda 2063 – in particular aspirations 3 and 4, is intricately linked to the conduct and outcomes of elections. In this vein, the following recommendations are proposed for the consideration of the AUPSC:

- i. Sustain advocacy and efforts to curb UCGs through the prompt implementation of the Accra Declaration - Robust Response, Deepening Democracy and Collecting Security, 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.
- ii. Encourage more robust platforms for dialogue, consensus building and amicable resolution of disputes among political stakeholders, especially among political parties.
- iii. Fast track the finalisation and adoption of the Guidelines for Constitutional amendments in Africa, and the creation of the Sub-Committee on Sanctions as a deterrent to UCGs.

- iv. Pave the way for smooth, inclusive and credible conduct of elections and building democratic practice, the imperative is to reinforce sub-regional efforts to combatting terrorism in the Sahel; and redouble concerted efforts towards the implementation of the African Union Strategy for the Sahel Region; and re-prioritize governance responses. This is doable through closer partnership between the AUC and RECs/RMs using the platform of AU Inter-REC Knowledge Exchange on Early Warning and Conflict Prevention (IRECKE).
- v. Strongly promote gender/youth inclusivity in the democratic space through reduced cost for candidacy, enforcement of legally prescribed quota including at the intra-party level.
- vi. Calling upon all AU Member States that have not yet done so, to sign, ratify, domesticate and implement the African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance.
- vii. Strongly urge Member States with upcoming elections to take all necessary measures to ensure these elections are organized in an inclusive, peaceful and transparent manner.
- viii. Call for firm display of solidarity and unity with the Member States holding elections 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, the AUC will provide and coordinate technical assistance to EMBs and deploy PAMs, LTOs, STOs and preventive diplomacy missions when and where necessary.
- ix. Renewal of the request for the PSC to work together with the Permanent Representative Committee (PRC) and its appropriate Sub Committee in allocating adequate resources to the AUC in support of electoral processes on the continent.
- x. Address the challenges of the effective funding needs of the AU Election Observation Missions to enable them to better cover the presidential and legislative elections based on invitations to the continental institution.
- xi. Request the AUC to conduct an assessment to explore the interlocking effects of socio-economic crisis on the conduct of elections, voter turnout and democratic dividends.
- xii. Reiterate the imperative of all AU actors in promoting the synergies between AGA and APSA to result in a more holistic integration of the AU goal of political governance, peace security, stability and sustainable development.
- xiii. Note with satisfaction the recent landmark initiatives by the AUC towards entrenching good democratic and political governance in Africa particularly through the reaching gender parity and youth inclusion in AU Election Observers; Setup of Advisory Panel on Democratic Governance; instituting the knowledge product of The Elections in Africa Report - Democracy at Work and the planned delivery of an AU documentary film on Election Observation by third quarter of 2023.
- xiv. Take stock of progress made towards implementation of the governance and peace aspects of the Agenda 2063 within the context of the Second Ten-Year Implementation Plan with a view to re-strategizing and accelerating milestones.

VII. CONCLUSION

80. Africa stands on the eve of the end of the first ten-year implementation plan of Agenda 2063 (2013-2063), the first in a series of five ten-year plans envisaged for 50-horizon of the Agenda's timeframe. The goal of the ten-year plan was to ensure that the Agenda is not only implemented, but that it has measurable results. Reviewing elections conducted in Africa bi-annually, provides important periodic data for measuring progress in this regard, but is also important to zoom out, for a broader perspective.

81. Of the four key factors that influenced the first ten-year plan, democracy sits within the results framework and this is hardly surprising, given its crosscutting relevance. Among the projected transformational outcomes earmarked for a "Well-governed, peaceful and cultural centric Africa in a Global Context," three are noteworthy. It was envisaged that by 2023, the following milestones would have been attained.

- a. Democratic values and culture as enshrined in the African Governance Architecture (AGA) would have been entrenched by 2023.
- b. At least seven out of ten persons in every member state of the Union, will perceive elections to be free, fair and credible; democratic institutions, processes and leaders accountable; the judiciary impartial and independent; as well as the independence of the legislature and key component of the national governance process.
- c. African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) will have been voluntarily subscribed to by all Member States and its positive impact on governance metrics felt.

82. While a more in-depth diagnostic study is needed to measure the above, a cursory glance at the democratic profile of the continent reveals that we are lagging far behind. Progress made calls for cautious optimism because they pale in comparison to the benchmarks we set for ourselves almost a decade ago. It is certainly important celebrate baby steps. However, in order to build the Africa we want by 2063, accelerated and sustained efforts towards forging future proofed and consolidated democracies must be upscaled, and perennial challenges robustly and collaboratively addressed.

ANNEX: AU 2023 PROVISIONAL ELECTIONS CALENDAR IN MEMBER STATES

83. Following the AU 2023 provisional elections calendar, presidential and national assembly elections are scheduled to take place in fifteen (15-16) countries in Africa. Specifically, seven (7) presidential and twelve (12) legislative / national assembly elections will be organised across the continent with regard to the normal electoral cycle of respective countries, as shown in the table below.

AU 2023 Provisional Elections Calendar

No.	COUNTRY	TYPE OF ELECTION	PROVISIONAL DATE	RUN-OFF
1.	Benin	National Assembly	8 January	
2.	Djibouti	Parliamentary	24 February	
3.	Nigeria	President, House of Representatives & Senate	25 February	
4.	Mauritania	National Assembly	13 May	27 May
5.	Guinea Bissau	National Assembly	4 June	
6.	Sierra Leone	Presidential	24 June	
7.	Zimbabwe	General	July	
8.	Gabon	Presidential & National Assembly	August / Oct	
9.	Eswatini	Parliamentary	August / Sept	
10.	Rwanda	National Assembly	September	
11.	Liberia	Presidential	10 October	
12.	Mali	National Assembly	October	November
13.	Madagascar	Presidential	November	December
14.	Togo	National Assembly	November/ December	
15.	DRC	Presidential & National Assembly	20 December	
16.	Libya	Presidential & Parliamentary	TBC	

2023-01-20

Communiqué of the 1132nd Meeting of the Peace and Security Council, Held on 20 January 2023, on the Consideration of the Report of the Chairperson of the Commission on Elections in Africa: July to December 2022 and Outlook for 2023.

Peace and Security Council

African Union Commission

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