

EXCEPTIONAL MEN: CAPE VERDE'S PEDRO PIRES AND OF NIGER'S SALOU DJIBO WON'T BE RUNNING



BENIN

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS (MARCH)

Incumbent President **Yayi Boni** is preparing to run for a second term having taken office in 2006, with almost 75 per cent of the vote, replacing General Mathieu Kérékou who had dominated the political scene for 30 years.

This time around, it may be harder for Boni to secure a large majority. His re-election campaign is becoming increasingly fragile due to conflicts between his party and the coalition. In



addition, he has two heavyweight opponents to contest against — Adrien Houngbedji and Abdoulaye Bio-Tchane.

Last year floods hit the country leaving two-thirds of it under water and 37 per cent of harvest lost; food prices went up while corruption has increased. The populace will be largely disillusioned with Boni's regime, but the chronic disunity that plagues the opposition could mean he has a chance of re-election.



CAMEROON

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS (OCTOBER)

President **Paul Biya** came to power in 1982 and is now preparing for his third election. In the most recent 2004 elections, Biya won with over 70 per cent of the vote. Biya's desire to remain in power saw him change the Constitution in 2008, allowing him to run for president for a third time in 2011, even as protests erupted over the "constitutional coup."



It looks like Biya's bid will be a successful one: He has no credible opponent and has been making a variety of populist promises on the campaign trail. However, his victory will be a rocky one. Increases in the cost of living, a GDP in 2010 that fell below government predictions and a lack of employment and services mean that popular unrest cannot be ruled out.



CAPE VERDE

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS (AUGUST, CHANGED FROM FEBRUARY)

The incumbent, President **Pedro Pires**, affirmed his desire to retire from politics in 2010, at the end of his second five-year term as the nation's head of state.

As demonstrated by the president's peaceful resignation, this is one of the most stable countries in Africa, a reason why the ruling party, Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde (African



Party for the Independence of Cape Verde) is expected to win both legislative and presidential elections this year.

The country is expected to have 6 per cent GDP growth this year and 5.5 per cent GDP growth in 2012. This will largely be a result of foreign direct investment in infrastructure and tourism, predominantly from Europe, both indicators of a nationally sound political and social environment.



CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS (JANUARY, FIRST ROUND, MARCH, SECOND ROUND)

President **François Bozizé Yangouvonda** will be contesting for a second term. He came to power in March 2003 after leading a rebellion against former president Ange-Félix Patassé and went on to scrape through to the presidency following a run-off election in 2005. His term ended on June 11, 2010 but was extended by the National Assembly.

The African Union declared that the polls were "democratic, free and fair" despite three of five candidates in the presidential race rejecting the results "in advance" and demanding the vote be annulled. Bozizé is expected to win the majority as his two main rivals are likely to split the opposition vote, making outright conflict less likely. A government of national unity will however be needed to maintain political stability.



CHAD

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS (MAY, POSTPONED FROM APRIL)

President **Idriss Déby Itno** will seek to renew his tenure this year. He came to power in 1990 after toppling former president Hissene Habré. After three months of provisional government, a charter was approved for Chad with Déby as president.

Déby's previous three election victories have all been contentious with international observers alleging electoral irregularities. The Constitution was also changed via a referendum in June 2005 to scrap the two-term limit. Despite widespread hunger and Chad's last place on World Bank index that measures the ease of doing business worldwide, there are prospects for stability after the elections. Déby's rapprochement with neighbouring Sudan's President Omar al-Bashir has meant that the country's rebel forces effectiveness has been diminished by the withdrawal of the backing of the Sudanese government.



DRC

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS (NOVEMBER)

President **Joseph Kabila** first took office in January 2001, 10 days after the murder of his father and DRC president Laurent-Désiré Kabila. On November 27, 2006, Joseph Kabila was confirmed as president following the July 2006 general election. He will be running for a second term.

In the previous election, Kabila was not the outright victor, the irregularities surrounding the elections results prompting a run-off vote between Kabila and Jean-Pierre Bemba. Eventually,



Kabila was declared the winner with 58.05 per cent of the vote. In this election, Kabila is expected to win by a comfortable margin. His potential opponents are too weak; in fact, the main opposition party's president Jean-Pierre Bemba is currently on trial at the ICC for war crimes! But political continuity does not translate into stability. The country's infrastructure has not improved, local democratic elections have not been held and unemployment figures are high. There are stark inequalities, and



EGYPT

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS (SEPTEMBER)

President Muhammad Hosni Sayyid Mubarak who has been in power since 1981 seems determined to hang on, and probably will. It will be the second presidential election in Egypt's history, following the 2005 election and presidential confirmation referenda in 1999, 1993 and earlier.

The current protests in Egypt are the first sign that Mubarak's reign may be



Africa's 2011 Elections: Not an easy walk to the house on the hill for incumbents

We have countries where violence is expected to erupt because of a divided populace — Nigeria; or an incumbent who may not want to leave — Zimbabwe, Uganda, Cameroon



DJIBOUTI

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS (APRIL)

The incumbent, President **Ismaïl Omar Guelleh**, is expected to win a third term. The opposition is heavily suppressed to the point that any campaign is promptly quashed, and the strategic importance of Djibouti means that international actors are willing to overlook electoral lapses. The opposition has criticised the US Agency for International Development (USAid) decision to fund supervisory processes as it may lend credibility to deeply flawed elections.

Guelleh came to power in 1999 when president Gouled Aptidon announced his retirement. He got 74.02 per cent of the vote, defeating his only challenger Moussa Ahmed Idriss. Idriss was later arrested for "threatening the morale of the armed forces" and detained at an undisclosed location. In 2005, Guelleh was re-elected for a second term with 100 per cent of the ballots cast.



GAMBIA

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS (SEPTEMBER)

Gambia's President **Yahya Jammeh** has declared that he will not run for presidency in the 2011 elections — the end of his third five-year term. But he does however want to be king! This comes as no surprise as it is highly unlikely that neither the ruling party, the Alliance for Patriotic Reorientation and Construction nor Jammeh will concede power easily — the country is plagued by patronage and repression. The Gambian president has also warned that elections or campaigns marred by political upheaval, politics of violence, hatred and tribalism will not be tolerated in any form in the country in 2011. From the regime's body language, it appears that a coup may be imminent; however, almost everyone with the capability to orchestrate a coup is in jail or in exile.

Corruption is rampant and business reforms





MADAGASCAR

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS (JULY)

No one is entirely sure what **Andry Rajoelina** will do. He threw the country into turmoil when he was "given" the presidency in March 2009, after the military handed over the executive power that was given to it by president Marc Ravalomanana. Since then, Rajoelina has been scheduling and cancelling elections and accepting and refusing mediations. It appears he won't be running for the presidency neither will Ravalomanana. The latter may however back a candidate, what with his considerable financial resources, making it harder for Rajoelina to stay in power. Political instability will probably persist even after the polls as the country appears heavily divided; any indication of unfairness will likely cause turmoil among a populace who have suffered greatly as a result of the loss of aid flows and suspension from the US Africa Growth and Opportunity Act (Agoa) agreement, which has seen its textile industry collapse.



...ing to an end due to pent-up civilian frustrations, however, the government has taken 'decisive measures' against its protesting citizens and has even locked up key opposition figures. Seems the ruling National Democratic Party and the current dynasty will not budge without a good fight, this may not be too difficult considering the upcoming presidential elections will not to be under any national court supervision or international supervision



NIGERIA

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS (APRIL)

President **Goodluck Jonathan** (a southern Christian) took over as president following the death of Umaru Musa Yar'Adua (a northern Muslim). Jonathan will now run in the elections.

The elections usher in a period of political instability as under an unwritten arrangement within the ruling People's Democratic Party (PDP), the presidency is supposed to rotate every two terms between politicians from the north (Muslim) and

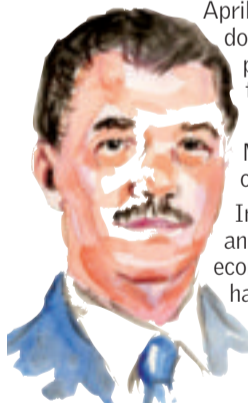
the south (Christian). Nevertheless, Jonathan won the presidential nomination of the PDP at its primaries, making him the frontrunner to win the national election. His main rivals are all northern Muslims. Despite predictions of high levels of GDP growth, over 6.5 per cent for 2011-2015, and a 2011 budget that sought to rein in spending and promote job creation, there are fears that political instability will erupt in areas — particularly in situations where candidates are exploiting divisions for their own gain.



SEYCHELLES

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS (JULY)

President **James Alix Michel** came to power after serving as vice-president for nearly eight years. Michel became president in April 2004, when France-Albert René stepped down. In 2006, Michel won his first presidential election with 53.7 per cent of the vote. Now he seeks to secure a second term.



Many expect Michel to win. The country continues to perform well in Transparency International's Corruption Perceptions Index and the Ibrahim Index and following the economic crisis, the macroeconomic picture has greatly stabilised. Real GDP growth is expected to remain positive in 2011 and 2012 at 4.5 per cent and 4.9 per cent respectively.



ZAMBIA

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS (BEFORE OCTOBER)

Incumbent President **Rupiah Banda** was vice-president when Levy Mwanawasa suffered a stroke in June 2008. Banda took over and subsequently, as Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD) candidate, narrowly defeated Michael Sata of the Patriotic Front, a breakaway faction of the MMD in the October 2008 election. Once again, the real competition will be between these two men, provided that Sata, whose popularity has grown, isn't convicted of money laundering first! Economically, the nation is looking good; Zambia's position in the World Bank's Ease of Doing Business rankings has improved markedly, from 90th in 2010 to 76th, while real GDP growth is forecast at 6.4 per cent and public investment is rising sharply. However, this may not give Banda the golden ticket.



NIGER

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS (JANUARY)

Niger's current leader, **Lt-Gen Salou Djibo** has been in power since soldiers ousted President Mamadou Tandja in February 2010, after which they promised to restore civilian rule within 12 months. He will not be running for presidency as he seeks to make Niger a model of democracy.

The country has suffered greatly from famine this past year, though joint efforts between the junta

and aid agencies have seen the situation improve. The government's implementation of economic policy has also encouraged the EU to resume development aid.



The presidential seat will be hotly contested; the main opposition parties have formed an alliance backing a single candidate, should a run-off occur, in order to prevent the election of a former prime minister, Seyni Oumarou, as president. The only issue will arise if the run-off is between two candidates from the opposition.



SÃO TOME AND PRÍNCIPE

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS (JULY)

President **Fradique Bandiera Melo De Menezes** is expected to step down, having completed two consecutive terms. This is expected to create a political vacuum and has raised concerns over instability. Patrice Trovoada (the current prime minister) and a former president, Manuel Pinto da Costa, are likely contenders.

Political stability has been a huge issue for the current government; the ruling Acção Democrática Independente (ADI) party lacks a working majority and hostilities between the ADI and the previously incumbent parties, the MLSTP-PSD and its coalition partner, Partido da Convergência Democrática (PCD), are likely to persist.

The country is particularly volatile and increasingly prone to popular uprisings due to high levels of poverty, steep rises in the costs of living and the poor provision of basic services.

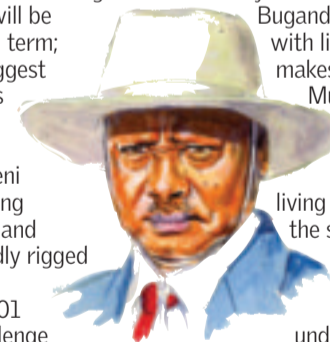


UGANDA

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS (FEBRUARY - MARCH)

Yoweri Museveni has been president since 1986. He has passed two milestones: Longest-serving president of Uganda and longest-serving East-African leader. He will be running for a fourth term; this could be the biggest challenge he and his National Resistance Movement (NRM) have faced. Museveni came to power having contested elections and disputed the allegedly rigged results. He was re-elected in 1996, 2001 and 2006. The challenge

this year comes from Kizza Besigye of the Forum for Democratic Change. He could well succeed if key regions deny Museveni support, particularly Buganda, and a youthful population with little loyalty to the NRM makes its votes felt. However,



Museveni is popular and could win again this year, particularly considering the improvements in living standards. His control over the security forces and army is also so tight that any outbreaks of instability will be quickly brought under control.

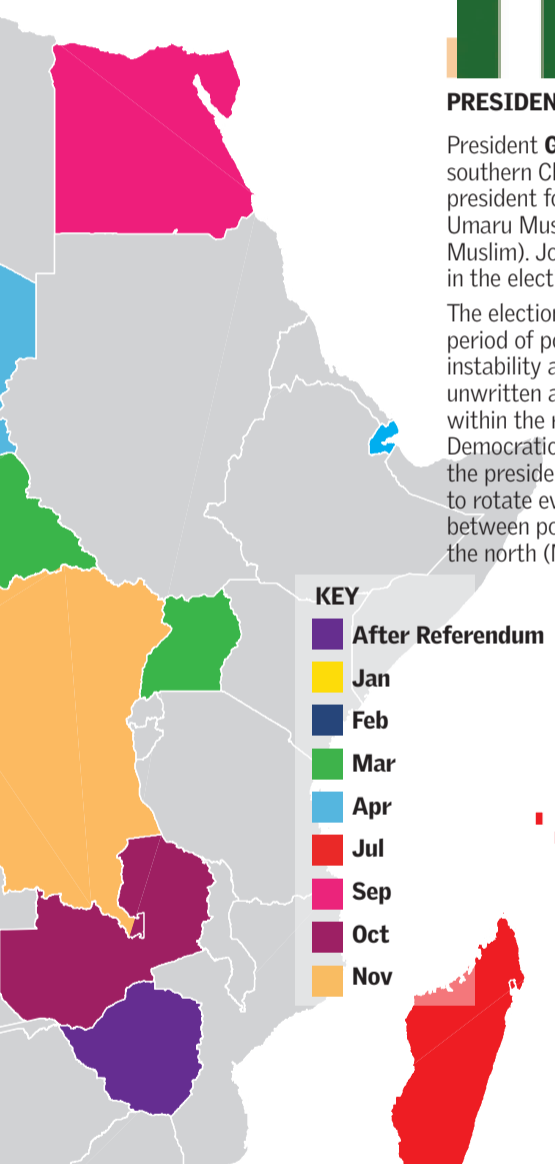


ZIMBABWE

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS (AFTER REFERENDUM)

President **Robert Mugabe** seems determined to cling to power until his last breath. He came to office in 1987 when the position of prime minister was abolished and Mugabe assumed the new office of executive president of Zimbabwe, gaining additional powers in the process. He was re-elected in 1990, 1996, 2002 and 2008 amid claims of widespread vote-rigging and intimidation. He has no clear successor.

It is unclear whether the elections will in fact take place this year. Mugabe was forced into a power-sharing pact with his rival Prime Minister Morgan Tsvangirai more than a year ago after a crisis over the 2008 national elections. While Zanu-PF and the MDC have called for presidential polls in 2011, there is a huge political uncertainty due to dissenting opinions within both parties. The country's economy is in a shambles. Growth is negatively affected by political uncertainty and inflation is high. Nevertheless, it would be no surprise if Mugabe were to win again, then delegate a successor to take the reins.



KEY
 After Referendum
 Jan
 Feb
 Mar
 Apr
 Jul
 Sep
 Oct
 Nov

Illustrations: John Nyaga



LIBERIA

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS (OCTOBER)

Liberia's popular President **Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf** has backtracked on her 2005 campaign promises of one term and announced that she will contest the 2011 presidential election following numerous petitions across the country asking her to run again. She hasn't always had this support though. Her popularity reflects the real GDP growth that Liberia has experienced in the past year, of over 6 per cent in 2010 from 4.5 per cent in 2009. Her government has been successful in garnering goodwill among donors, creditors and investors.

However, Johnson-Sirleaf will certainly not win the election outright. Corruption scandals and slow improvements in living standards mean the opposition, particularly if

