ECOWAS Peace and Security Report



Is there a risk of a new coup in Guinea-Bissau?

Introduction

The first round of the presidential and parliamentary elections in Guinea-Bissau is scheduled for 13 April 2014. The elections are to bring to a close the transition period that followed the military coup of 12 April 2012, which occurred between the two rounds of the presidential election, interrupting the electoral process. Carlos Gomes Júnior, the Prime Minister from 2008 to 2012 and a presidential candidate, was significantly ahead in the first round of voting at the time. The election was being held following the natural death of the former president, Malam Bacai Sanhá in this lusophone West African country which has a semi-presidential system based on the Portuguese model.

Two years almost to the day after the military intruded on the electoral process, the question needs to be asked if there is a risk of a new military coup in Guinea-Bissau. To shed light on this question, this report, based on field research conducted in Bissau in January 2014, sets out to recall the events that led to the 2012 coup from the point of view of the dynamics at play on both the national and international scene. It then analyses the developments that occurred between April 2012 and April 2014 from a political and security perspective.

The analysis shows that while the immediate causes of the 2012 coup seem to have faded, the root causes of the country's instability remain. The holding of general elections will not be sufficient to resolve the underlying problems that have led to repeated coups and chronic political instability since the country's independence in 1974, following a national liberation struggle. This situation highlights the extent of the post-election challenges the future government will face and the close and attentive international support that will be required.

The interrupted 2012 electoral process

On 12 April 2012, as the electoral campaign for the run-off of the presidential election was about to start, the candidate and then Prime Minister, Carlos Gomes Júnior, was arrested at home by members of the military. The following day a communiqué signed by a 'Military Command' announced the arrest of the interim president, Raimundo Pereira, and the Army Chief of Staff, General António Injai.

Although there is still some doubt about the identity of those who sponsored this coup, the objective of the coup is clear. It aimed to interrupt the electoral process in which Carlos Gomes Júnior, candidate of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde (*Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo*

ECOWAS PEACE AND SECURITY REPORT SERIES

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Giant portrait of Amilcar Cabral, a historical figure of the national liberation struggle, at the PAIGC headquarters.

Verde – PAIGC) was, with 48,97% of the vote, leading by a wide margin. The run-off, scheduled for 29 April 2012, would have seen him dueling with former president Kumba Yalá, candidate of the Social Renovation Party (Partido para a Renovação Social – PRS), who was lying second with 23,36% of the votes.

Detained for two weeks after the coup, freed following mediation by the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), then forced into exile, Carlos Gomes Júnior previously had had tense relations with the army. The Angolan Technical Military Assistance Mission in Guinea-Bissau (*Missão de Segurança de Angola na Guiné-Bissau* – MISSANG), present in the country since March 2011, was increasingly being viewed as the Pretorian guard of Carlos Gomes Júnior, then prime minister. In a letter dated of 9 April 2012, ¹ Gomes Júnior asked for the deployment of a UN peacekeeping mission to safeguard political stability in Guinea-Bissau, a prospect that might have further irritated the military.

A successful businessman and major yet controversial figure in Guinea–Bissau politics, Gomes Júnior had also antagonised numerous politicians, even from his own political party. The results of the first round were at the time of the putsch being contested by five of the nine candidates, all of whom denounced large-scale fraud. Among them was the runner-up, Kumba Yalá. Their appeal was considered groundless by the Supreme Court.

Furthermore, the first round was considered fair and credible by electoral observers from the AU, the Community of Portuguese-Speaking Countries (CPLP) and ECOWAS.²

In addition, since Gomes Júnior showed more interest in Portuguese-speaking than neighbouring countries, he could not rely on large support from ECOWAS countries. His links perceived as too close with Angola, a military and economic power from another region of the continent, were difficult to accept, especially by Côte d'Ivoire, Nigeria and Senegal. Current Ivorian authorities had not forgotten the political and military assistance Luanda had provided former president Laurent Gbagbo, including during the post-electoral crisis. Nigeria could hardly be in favour of the presence, in particular the military presence, of another African power in its own backyard. To quote the analogy of a West African observer: 'What would Angola say if Nigeria deployed military troops in the Democratic Republic of Congo?' And Senegal, which tends to view the developments in Guinea-Bissau through the lens of the Casamance conflict, was more interested in having a friendly neighbour in Bissau, a condition that Gomes Júnior would not necessarily have met.

The context and dynamics of the coup have largely guided the action of both national and international actors, both regarding their discussions and initiatives on the restoration of constitutional order and the establishment of the transition. At the national level there were, on one hand, the PAIGC, convinced that the putsch was conducted to bar it from getting to power, and segments of civil society that were against any anti-constitutional way of accessing power. On the other hand there were the five candidates who contested the results and other actors who considered it an opportunity to exercise power. The PRS was for a while divided on how to position itself on this issue.

The international community's response was similarly marred by disagreements and rivalries on how to handle the crisis. The two most different stances were those of ECOWAS and the CPLP. While the West African organisation condemned the coup and demanded restoration of the constitutional order, it also accepted quite rapidly the establishment of a transitional government that would include supporters of the coup. Even though pragmatic, given the limited number of alternatives, the decision was nonetheless against the zero-tolerance principle that is part of ECOWAS's Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance. As for the CPLP, strongly influenced by Angola and Portugal, it called for months for the resumption of the electoral process where it was interrupted.

The other international actors involved in managing the crisis – the UN, represented by the UN Integrated Peacebuilding Office in Guinea-Bissau (UNIOGBIS), the AU and the European Union (EU) – situated themselves at different degrees between these two antagonistic stances. Divided on how to handle the coup, the international community was during this period more part of the problem than the solution.



During the extraordinary summit of ECOWAS Heads of State and Government of 26 April 2012 in Abidjan, a Regional Contact Group on Guinea-Bissau was created to monitor the implementation of the decisions taken by ECOWAS. Subsequent mediation with the 'Military Command', political actors and the civil society resulted, on 11 May 2012, in the selection of the interim president of the National Assembly, Serifo Nhamadjo, as president of the transition.³ The consultations saw the signature of a transition pact and a political agreement on 16 and 18 May 2012 respectively. These agreements paved the way for the establishment of a one-year transitional government and on 18 May 2012 Rui Duarte de Barros was sworn in as the new transitional prime minister. Installed on 23 May 2012, the first government of the transition was boycotted by the PAIGC and deprived of the support of all international actors except for ECOWAS.

After numerous months of political deadlock and given the impossibility of returning to the pre-coup situation, positions among national actors and international partners started to converge. Enabled by the signing of an agreement between the PAIGC and the PRS under the aegis of the AU and UN on 17 May 2013, an inclusive government was formed on 7 June 2013. The new government benefited from larger support in the international community, which, in its desire to bring the transition to an end, decided to significantly support the electoral process.

Initially scheduled before the end of the first year of the transition, the presidential and legislative elections were first postponed to 24 November 2013, then to 16 March 2014, before being set down for 13 April 2014. On the eve of the first round of the general elections, it is important to assess the risks of a repetition of the 2012 scenario. A comparative analysis, between 2012 and 2014, of the stakeholders involved and the national and international contexts in which the elections are to be held, casts light on what has changed, but also and maybe more so on the patterns of continuity.

What seems to have changed since the 2012 coup

1. The absence of the most controversial political figures

Apart from Afonso Té, none of the candidates who were at the heart of the controversy surrounding the 2012 presidential election are in this year's race. Serifo Baldé, running in 2012 for the Democratic Socialist Party for the Salvation of Guinea (*Partido Socialista Democratico Salvação Guineense* – PDSSG) is not a candidate. Henrique Rosa, an independent candidate in 2012, passed away in May 2013. Serifo Nhamadjo, as the president of the current transition, is not eligible.

Former president Kumba Yalá, the PRS candidate who came second in the first round of the 2012 elections, announced his

retirement from political life in January 2014. The political legacy of his 2000–2003 presidential period did not convince the international partners that he could be a positive factor of change for Guinea-Bissau. Before the elections, he openly supported Nuno Nabiam, an independent candidate, without prior consultation with his party leadership. On the night of 3 April, in the middle of the election campaign, Kumba Yalá died unexpectedly of heart failure in Bissau.

Finally Carlos Gomes Júnior, against whom the 2012 coup was obviously directed and who still appears to represent a threat to the military elite, is not in the race. He filed his candidacy for the PAIGC primaries through his lawyer on 22 February 2014, but the party chose an alternate candidate, former finance minister and former mayor of Bissau, José Mário Vaz.

The absence of such stalwart political figures from the list of candidates may be a key factor in calming tensions. However, this statement must be put into perspective. On the one hand, the clear or tacit support being given by strong political personalities to the candidates could give the impression of an electoral competition by proxy. On the other hand, with regard to Carlos Gomes Júnior, beyond the man himself, it was above all his policies and practices that posed a threat to some politicians and the military in Bissau. Another politician who adopts the same positions could equally cause concern to influential national or regional actors.

2. A reconfigured political landscape

The withdrawal of the main 2012 candidates from the forefront of the electoral scene has resulted in a new slate of political actors and created a new dynamic in the parties that held a majority in the previous legislature. Already, the installation of the first post-coup transitional government made possible the entry into government of parties that had little or no representation in the People's National Assembly and that exercise power for two years. On 10 January 2014, 20 parties created the Forum of Guinea-Bissau, which is represented in the forthcoming elections by candidates of the Republican Party for Independence and Development (Partido Republicano da Independência e Desenvolvimento – PRID), with the former military man, Afonso Té, standing for the presidency and Fernando Vaz, state minister in the transitional government, standing for prime minister in the event of a victory in parliamentary elections.

New candidates, whether standing as independents or backed by a party or by political stalwarts, have also emerged. For example, Nuno Nabiam, the current director of the Civil Aviation, has received the public support of not only the former leader of the PRS, the late Kumba Yalà, but also that of the General Injai. Among the independent candidates there are Paulo Gomes, a businessman and a former administrator at the World Bank, Domingos Quadé, president of the Bar Association, and Luis Nancassa, president of the National Teachers Union.



Even before the start of the electoral campaign in Bissau, the posters of party candidates for the primaries compete with those of presidential candidates.

In 2012, while the official candidate of the PAIGC was Carlos Gomes Júnior, Serifo Nhamadjo defected and presented himself as an independent presidential candidate. This year, the first political force in the country has struggled to elect candidates for the posts of prime minister and president. In the end, Domingos Simões Pereira, former executive secretary of the CPLP, and José Mário Vaz, a former finance minister and a former mayor of the city of Bissau, were chosen as candidates for the positions of prime minister and president respectively. No party member has broken ranks despite intense internal power struggles. It seems that an unknown number of party members intend to vote for the PAIGC in the parliamentary elections, but are considering to support the independent Paulo Gomes, former administrator of the World Bank, as president.

As for the PRS, the second largest political force in Guinea-Bissau, division seems prevalent. The late Kumba Yalá benefited from the support of the party in the 2012 elections. This year, the PRS appears severely weakened, especially as far as the presidential race is concerned. Often accused of being an ethnic party that draws its main support from the Balanta electorate, the country's largest community, the PRS could see its base divided between Abel Incada Balanta, its official candidate; Nuno Nabiam, a fellow-Balanta and an independent candidate supported by the former but deceased party leader, Kumba Yalá; and two other candidates who chose to dissent and denounced the tribal management of the party after the primaries. They are Jorge Malù, vice-president of the PRS and former president of the People's National Assembly, who is running as an independent, and Ibrahima Sory Djaló, also a party vicepresident and president of the People's National Assembly during the transition, who is now representing the National

Reconciliation Party (*Partido Nacional da Reconciliação* – PRN). These departures and more specifically the intensification of an ethnic rhetoric could weaken the PRS, whose electorate is not entirely Balanta.

Given this reconfiguration of Guinea-Bissau's political landscape, it is difficult to predict the behaviour of voters, the possible alliances if there is a run-off and the final outcome of the elections.

3. ECOMIB replaced MISSANG

A seemingly major change compared to 2012 is that MISSANG left Guinea-Bissau and was replaced by the ECOWAS Mission in Guinea-Bissau (ECOMIB).⁵ MISSANG was deployed in March 2011 as part of a bilateral agreement between Luanda and Bissau to assist Guinea-Bissau in reforming its security sector. However, not only the military of Guinea-Bissau but also some West African regional actors found it increasingly difficult to accept the mission's presence in the territory.

The main argument used by the Military Command to justify the coup was an alleged secret agreement signed between Angola and Carlos Gomes Júnior that envisaged the deployment of Angolan forces in Guinea-Bissau under the mandate of the AU⁶. This accusation demonstrates how MISSANG was, rightly or wrongly, perceived by the military as a foreign occupation force defending the interests of Carlos Gomes Júnior.

The deployment of a military force that would ensure the protection of candidates and institutions, and at the same time support the national security forces to secure the electoral



process and the defence and security sector reforms (DSSR) was first envisaged at the ECOWAS Extraordinary Summit of the Conference of Heads of State and Government of 2 April 2012 held in Dakar. ECOMIB was deployed on 18 May 2012, notably to be present during MISSANG's withdrawal which ended on 9 June 2012.

Unlike MISSANG, which ended up having a tense relationship with the military hierarchy, ECOMIB seems to be pretty well accepted by it. The working relationship established to secure the transition and to implement the DSSR, especially the renovation of the barracks, appears to be characterised by trust. However, doubts persist about the ability of the ECOWAS force to prevent another coup. While some observers believe that the presence of ECOMIB is a deterrent on the military, others think that it cannot prevent another irruption of the army in the political sphere.

4. The military elite under surveillance

Since the 2012 coup, many events have affected the military sphere, but without limiting its influence on the political scene. UN Resolution 2048 of 18 May 2012 created the Sanctions Committee of the Security Council on Guinea-Bissau. Its mandate is to oversee the application of travel bans against 11 military officials, including the General Injai. These measures do not seem to concern those affected greatly and did not prevent General Injai from visiting Côte d'Ivoire and Mali, via Senegal, to attend meetings of the ECOWAS Committee of Chiefs of Defence Staff on 25 July and 18 August 2012.⁷

It is the indictment of General Injai by the US justice system on, amongst others, narco-terrorism conspiracy charges, that seems to concern military authorities in particular. For now, the priority for General Injai is to avoid the same fate as the former Navy Chief of Staff, José Americo Bubo na Tchuto, who was arrested in April 2013 as part of an operation by the US Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA).

The military elite has an interest in keeping a low profile and forming new alliances within the international community. The best way to do so would be to avoid interference in the electoral process. Another option would be to obtain guarantees from presidential candidates concerning the fate that awaits them after the elections. It is perhaps in this sense that the public support announced by António Injai for the independent candidate, Nuno Nabiam, must be understood.

Despite the international community's efforts to prevent the military from meddling in politics, Guinea-Bissau's army, which must of course not be seen as a monolithic ensemble, remains a major and unpredictable player in crisis-solution initiatives, and one that has influence on the electoral process. Its return to the political scene, should the candidates about to win the elections not serve its interests, or at least the interests of the military elite, cannot be discarded completely.

5. Reforms to lend credibility to the electoral process

Given the appeals lodged with regard to the results of the first round of the 2012 election, which, according to some observers, served as political backing for the military coup, it was important to take measures that would give credibility to the current electoral process. It is through this lens that the changes to the voter registration system and the composition of the National Electoral Commission (NEC) must be understood.

The period leading up to the 2012 elections was characterised by an intense debate on the necessity of updating the 2008 electoral lists. This was not done in order to avoid the constitutional delay this would have entailed in organising the presidential election following the death of the sitting president. In August 2013, after a protracted debate, the People's National Assembly unanimously voted for a voter registration system dubbed 'enhanced manual and digital'. The voter's card is now a plastic card bearing the photograph, fingerprint and signature of the owner, as well as a serial number.

It was a compromise as most parties wanted a fully biometric and thus more secure system. But that would have required more funding and a longer registration period. Despite criticisms – the PAIGC for example denounced a selective voter-registration process – and the limitations of the registration process, particularly during the initial phase, the voter registration card should result in an improvement compared to the voters' identity documents used in previous elections. Previous voters' cards only included a fingerprint of the holder thus permitting limited identification of the voter.

In a further attempt to safeguard the transparency of the process, the membership of the Executive Secretariat of the NEC was also reconsidered. Previously, its members were elected by the People's National Assembly, its president being chosen by the majority party and the executive secretary by the second legislative power. The Executive Secretariat of the NEC is now composed solely of magistrates proposed by the Higher Judicial Council, from which the National Assembly makes its final choice. This change does not guarantee a fully apolitical NEC, but it ensures that the Executive Secretariat holds the level of legal expertise required by the function.

6. The commitment of the international actors

Divided on their response to the 2012 coup, international actors now seem to have reached consensus on the necessity to hold elections to end the transition and to implement the reforms Guinea-Bissau needs. Indeed, different actors, including ECOWAS, the AU, the UN, the EU, the International Organisation of la Francophonie, and East-Timor, have become involved in the electoral process by providing significant financial, logistical or technical support.¹⁰

Guinea-Bissau nevertheless remains a battleground for actors with different interests. For some, such as the US, the EU and France, the establishment of legitimate authorities will allow the resumption of bilateral cooperation, which is necessary for the fight against drug trafficking. For others, such as ECOWAS and the AU, in addition to the previously mentioned reasons, Guinea-Bissau's reintegration into the regional and continental space will contribute to the stabilisation of West Africa and safeguard the interests of some of its members. As for the CPLP, whose position in the crisis remains influenced by Angola and Portugal, the stake is to maintain a foot in an area it considers to fall within its area of influence.

Issues that remain

Neither the coup nor the transition has led to sharp breaks in the historical development of the country. The immediate reasons for the 2012 coup seems to have faded, but the underlying causes of instability remain at the political, security and institutional levels. In the short, medium and long term the possibility of a new coup cannot therefore be ruled out completely.

From a political point of view, the main figures behind the 2012 election controversy are no longer running in 2014 and the political landscape has changed significantly. But some of the former political figures still have a bearing on the political landscape. In addition, the transition has shown that some practices, including those affecting economic governance, have not been more virtuous simply because the government has been led by new players. The semi-presidential system in place in Bissau, which implies power-sharing between the president and the prime minister, often leads to rivalries, and this could still remain a problem in the aftermath of the 2014 elections.

On the security front, MISSANG, which preoccupied the military, has given way to ECOMIB. The military hierarchy may have used the Angolan presence to mobilise regional support. Because key army leaders are targeted by UN sanctions or are closely monitored by the US justice system, their reactions could be unpredictable, even more so given that they feel cornered. Without genuine reform of the army there is no indication that the upcoming leaders will be more respected by the military, especially if they make reforms that go against the military's interests. It is all the more problematic given that some groups in the army are profiting from deals in illegal fishing or logging, in addition to drug trafficking.

Reforms to give credibility to the electoral process have been undertaken and should facilitate the acceptance of the results, provided that they do not directly threaten the interests of some key players. As for the consensus by international actors with regard to the importance of organising elections, it could shatter if normative positions were one again required by a new political situation, given that each actor who seeks to play a role in resolving the crisis in Bissau has specific interests.

Clearly, the risk factors that existed in 2012 are essentially the same today. Since the political, security and institutional changes that have been introduced have not fundamentally changed the situation, a new coup is still possible during or after the electoral period. The winner of the first round or the qualifier for the run-off will be a deciding factor. Nuno Nabiam's defeat or a double victory for the PAIGC are probably the military elite's most dreaded scenarios. It is also possible that the election results will be respected at first, but that in the medium or longer term relations between the political and military spheres worsen and lead to a new coup.

Post-election challenges

General elections, if held properly, will enable the restoration of constitutional order, the resumption of economic cooperation with partners, and Guinea-Bissau's return to the continental and international political scene. However, the hardest part will start after the elections, given the extent of the challenges to be overcome. Hence the importance of introducing reforms, particularly in the defence, security and justice sectors, and significant support by the international community in the post-election phase.

The reform strategy for the defence and security sectors must not be designed and controlled exclusively or predominantly by external partners since these have already tried to do so unsuccessfully in the past.

On the political front, the main challenge will be the ability of the new authorities to launch a national dialogue that will bring together all political, military and civil society actors to discuss orientation and establish a 'new social contract'. Subsequent to this, a permanent framework for dialogue should be established that will also serve as a forum to ease tensions.

The new authorities will also have the daunting task of taking Guinea-Bissau out of its economic slump. The country is among the world's poorest with 80 per cent of the population living below the poverty line, according to the UN Human Development Index. The 2012 coup led to the suspension of most channels of development aid and had a negative impact on the daily lives of the citizens and the economic growth of the country. A strong commitment from the new government with regard to good governance will be essential, as will close and attentive involvement by international actors in the long run.



Guinea-Bissau's stabilisation also requires an end to the interference of military leaders in politics. This calls for wide consultations with not only officials of the defence and security forces but also the political class and civil society. The reform strategy for the defence and security sectors must not be designed and controlled exclusively or predominantly by external partners since these have already tried to do so unsuccessfully in the past. A common strategy developed together with the actors of Guinean-Bissau must be determined more by an obligation of results than by an unrealistic ambition of radical change in the relationship between the civilian, political and military powers. The armed forces should not be considered solely as part of the problem but also as part of the solution.

The international mobilisation during the second phase of the transition should continue after the elections because Guinea-Bissau needs external support, even supervision, to implement the reforms needed to stabilise the country. However, the international partners must act in a coordinated manner to avoid adding difficulties to an already complex situation. External partners will need to reach a minimal consensus on the lines not to be crossed by the military.

Conclusion

The military coup of April 2012 and subsequent transition that is supposed to end with the 2014 general elections have not fundamentally changed the political, security and institutional situation in Guinea-Bissau. Although the immediate reasons for the 2012 coup seem to have faded, the structural causes of instability remain. With the risk factors being substantially the same two years on, fears of a new coup, whether during or after the electoral process, are not unfounded. This has implications for the accountability and credibility of ECOWAS since it has a peace mission in Guinea-Bissau and was the most influential external actor to assist in establishing the transition. A new coup would be a major blow for the regional organisation.

Although necessary to end a transitional period that was not characterised by a positive shift in the mode of governance, the presidential and legislative elections come with significant risks. Even if the electoral process goes well, this will not guarantee the resolution of the structural problems the country is facing. The post-election phase should be considered as the beginning of the true transition, one that this time round is led by elected officials. It will require the close, attentive and coordinated support from ECOWAS, the AU, the EU, the CPLP, the UN and other partners of Guinea -Bissau.

Key recommendations

- 1. The special representative of ECOWAS in Bissau should continue, in collaboration with the representatives of the AU, the CPLP and the UN, to meet with all political and military actors to ensure the peaceful nature of the electoral process and the respect of its results. These measures could be strengthened by the visit to Bissau, before the election, of a high-level delegation led by members of the regional contact group on Guinea-Bissau.
- 2. The Conference of Heads of State and Government of ECOWAS at its 44th Ordinary Summit held in Yamoussoukro from 28 to 29 March 2014 tasked the regional contact group on Guinea-Bissau to analyse the post-election challenges and to propose measures to deal with them. This included an analysis of the facilitation role that could be played by ECOWAS. A joint meeting of the external partners of Guinea-Bissau and the newly elected officials of Guinea-Bissau should be considered by the ECOWAS Commission to reach a common understanding of the challenges facing the country and to coordinate international support after elections more effectively.
- 3. The Conference of Heads of State and Government of ECOWAS at its 44th ordinary summit extended the mandate of ECOMIB until 31 December 2014. After the election, the conference should support a review of the mandate of the mission to make assistance with the reform of the defence and security sectors its main activity. Despite the limited experience of ECOWAS in this area, given the working relationship it has forged with the army of Guinea-Bissau, the organisation appears to be the external actor that is most likely to move the reform process forward, provided it receives support in the form of finance and technical expertise, and draws lessons from past failures.
- 4. Effective reforms can be undertaken only in the context of a peaceful atmosphere between the political and military spheres. The ECOWAS representation in Bissau, with the support of the AU, the EU, the CPLP and the UN, should assist the new authorities to establish a permanent framework for dialogue between different national actors (political, military and civil society) to assist the making of consensual decisions in the future.



Important dates

9 January 2012: Passing away of President Malam Bacai Sanhá

18 March 2012: First round of the presidential elections

12 April 2012: Military takeover between the two rounds of the presidential elections

11 May 2012: Nomination of Serifo Nhamadjo as interim president

18 May 2012: Deployment of ECOMIB

23 May 2012: Installation of the first transitional government

9 June 2012: Withdrawal of the MISSANG mission

20 November 2012: Extension of the mandate of the People's National Assembly to the end of the transitional period

17 January 2013: Signature of a transitional pact and a political agreement by the PAIGC

2 April 2013: Arrest of Rear Admiral Bubo Na Tchuto by the US DEA

6 June 2013: Formation of a government of national unity

2 September 2013: Presentation of the final draft of the electoral budget to the AU, ECOWAS and the UN by the transitional president

16 January 2014: The UN office at Buba is visited by security forces following rumours about the return to Guinea-Bissau of Carlos Gomes Júnior

10 February 2014: End of the voter registration phase

15 March 2014: Publication of the preliminary list of candidates for the presidential election and the parties for the parliamentary election

22 March to 11 April 2014: Electoral campaign for the first round

13 April 2014: First round of the general elections

18 May 2014: Scheduled date for the elections run-off

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Notes

- Letter from the UN Secretary-General dated April 2012 addressed to the President of the Security Council, S/2012/254.
- 2 Report of the UN Secretary-General on the situation in Guinea-Bissau, S/2012/280, 30 April 2012, p. 1–2, para. 3.
- 3 UN Security Council 2048 of 18 May 2013 acknowledges ECOWAS's role as mediator and calls for better coordination with the AU, CPLP and the UN.
- 4 The visit by the members of the security forces to UNIOGBIS Buba office on 16 January 2014, following a rumour that Carlos Gomes Júnior had returned to Guinea-Bissau by road and found asylum there, is a good illustration of this point.
- 5 According to Article IV of the Status of Mission Agreement signed on 7 November 2012, the ECOMIB mandate includes ensuring the safety of the transition process, supporting the organisation of free and democratic elections, and providing assistance with the implementation of the security sector reform program.
- 6 Report of the UN Secretary-General on the situation in Guinea-Bissau, S/2012/280, 30 April 2012, p. 2, para. 5.
- 7 Report of the UN Secretary-General on the restoration of constitutional order in Guinea-Bissau, S/2012/704, 12 September 2012, p. 9-1,0 para. 3.
- 8 National Electoral Commission, Summary Report: operational control and supervision of the voter registration process, Bissau, 1–14 December 2013.
- 9 Law no. 12-2013 of 27 December 2013.
- 10 The government of Timor-Leste, encouraged by the Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General and Timorese former president, José Ramos-Horta, has been heavily involved in the Guinea-Bissau census process.

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