# Business and Politics in the Muslim World Global Election Reports Weekly Report January 7, 2010 to January 13, 2010

# Iffat Humayun Khan Presentation on January 14, 2010

# Week # 100

This report is about the presidential elections held in Uruguay and Equatorial Guniea on November 29, 2009.

# Uruguay

Contents	Page#
1. Introduction	3
2. Politics	8
3. Elections in Uruguay	9
4. Presidential elections 2009	14
5. Results	25
6. Analysis	28

# **Oriental Republic of Uruguay**

Capital (and largest city)		Montevideo
Official languages		Spanish
Ethnic groups		88% European, (Spanish, Italian, others), 6% Mestizo, 4% West African, 2% Asian, (Lebanese, Chinese, Japanese, Turkish)
Demonym		Uruguayan
Government		Presidential republic
-	President	Tabaré Vázquez
-	Vice President	Rodolfo Nin Novoa
-	President- elect	José Mujica
Independence		from Empire of Brazil
-	Declaration	August 25, 1825
-	Constitution Jury	18 July 1830
Area		
-	Total	176,215 km2 (90th) 68,037 sq mi
-	Water (%)	1.5%
Population		
-	2009 estimate	3,494,382
-	Density	19.8/km2 51.4/sq Mi
GDP (PPP)		2008 estimate
-	Total	\$42.624 billion
-	Per capita	\$12,784

# **1.Introduction**

Uruguay, officially the Republic of Uruguay is a country located in the southeastern part of South America. It is home to some 3.3 million people, of whom 1.1 million live in the capital Montevideo and its metropolitan area. An estimated 88% of the population are of European descent.

Uruguay's only land border is with Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil, to the north. To the west lies the Uruguay River, to the southwest lies the estuary of Río de la Plata, with Argentina only a short commute across the banks of either of these bodies of water, while to the southeast lies the South Atlantic Ocean. Uruguay is the second smallest country in South America, being larger than only Suriname.

Colonia del Sacramento, one of Uruguay's oldest European settlements, was founded by the Portuguese in 1680. Montevideo was founded by the Spanish in the early 18th century as a military stronghold. Uruguay won its independence in 1825–1828 following a three-way struggle among Spain, Argentina and Brazil. It is a constitutional democracy, where the president fulfills the roles of both head of state and head of government.

The economy is largely based on agriculture (making up 10% of GDP and the most substantial export) and the state sector. According to Transparency International, Uruguay is rated as the least corrupt country in Latin America (along with Chile), with its political and labor conditions being among the freest on the continent.

Uruguay is one of the most economically developed countries in South America, with a high GDP per capita and the 47th highest quality of life in the world. In 2007, it became the first Latin American country to legalize same and different sex civil unions at a national level.

### History

### **Pre-Columbian times and colonization**

The only documented inhabitants of Uruguay before European colonization of the area were the Charrua, a small tribe driven south by the Guaraní of Paraguay. There have also been identified examples of ancient rock art, at locations such as Chamangá, and elsewhere. The Spanish arrived in the territory of present-day Uruguay in 1516, but the people's fierce resistance to conquest, combined with the absence of gold and silver, limited settlement in the region during the 16th and 17th centuries. Uruguay became a zone of contention between the Spanish and the Portuguese empires. In 1603 the Spanish began to introduce cattle, which became a source of wealth in the region. The first permanent settlement on the territory of present-day Uruguay was founded by the Spanish in 1624 at Soriano on the Río Negro. In 1669–71, the Portuguese built a fort at Colonia del Sacramento. Spanish colonization increased as Spain sought to limit Portugal's expansion of Brazil's frontiers.

Montevideo was founded by the Spanish in the early 18th century as a military stronghold; its natural harbor soon developed into a commercial area competing with Argentina's capital, Buenos Aires. Uruguay's early 19th century history was shaped by ongoing fights between the British, Spanish, Portuguese, and colonial forces for dominance in the Argentina-Brazil-Uruguay region. In 1806 and 1807, the British army attempted to seize Buenos Aires as part of their War with Spain. As a result, at the beginning of 1807, Montevideo was occupied by a 10,000-strong British force who held it until the middle of the year when they left to attack Buenos Aires.

### Struggle for independence

In 1811, José Gervasio Artigas, who became Uruguay's national hero, launched a successful revolt against Spain, defeating them on May 18 in the Battle of Las Piedras. In 1814 he formed the Liga Federal (Federal League) of which he was declared Protector. The constant growth of influence and prestige of the Federal League frightened Portugal (because of its republicanism), and in August, 1816 they invaded the Eastern Province (with Buenos Aires's tacit complicity), with the intention of destroying the protector and his revolution. The Portuguese forces, thanks to their numerical and material superiority, occupied Montevideo on January 20, 1817, and finally after a struggle for three years in the countryside, defeated Artigas in the Battle of Tacuarembó.

In 1821, the Provincia Oriental del Río de la Plata (present-day Uruguay), was annexed by Brazil under the name of Província Cisplatina. In response, the Thirty-Three Orientals led by Juan Antonio Lavalleja declared independence on August 25, 1825 supported by the United Provinces of the Río de la Plata, present-day Argentina.

This led to the 500-day Argentina-Brazil War. Neither side gained the upper hand, and in 1828 the Treaty of Montevideo, fostered by the United Kingdom, gave birth to Uruguay as an independent state. The nation's first constitution was adopted on July 18, 1830. The remainder of the 19th century under a series of elected and appointed presidents saw interventions by — and conflicts with — neighboring states, political and economic fluctuations, and large inflows of immigrants, mostly from Europe.

#### Modern Uruguay

Sanguinetti's economic reforms, focusing on the attraction of foreign trade and capital, achieved some success and stabilized the economy. In order to promote national reconciliation and facilitate the return of democratic civilian rule, Sanguinetti secured public approval by plebiscite of a controversial general amnesty for military leaders accused of committing human rights violations under the military regime and sped the release of former guerrillas.

The National Party's Luis Alberto Lacalle won the 1989 presidential election and served from 1990 to 1995. President Lacalle executed major economic structural reforms and pursued further liberalization of trade regimes, including Uruguay's inclusion in the Southern Cone Common Market (MERCOSUR) in 1991. Despite economic growth during Lacalle's term, adjustment and privatization efforts provoked political opposition, and some reforms were overturned by referendum.

In the 1994 elections, former President Sanguinetti won a new term, which ran from 1995 until March 2000. As no single party had a majority in the General Assembly, the National Party joined with Sanguinetti's Colorado Party in a coalition government. The Sanguinetti government continued Uruguay's economic reforms and integration into MERCOSUR. Other important reforms were aimed at improving the electoral system, social security, education, and public safety. The economy grew steadily for most of Sanguinetti's term until low commodity prices and economic difficulties in its main export markets caused a recession in 1999, which has continued into 2002.

The 1999 national elections were held under a new electoral system established by a 1996 constitutional amendment. Primaries in April decided single presidential candidates for each party, and national elections on October 31 determined representation in the legislature. As no presidential candidate received a majority in the October election, a runoff was held in November. In the runoff, Colorado Party candidate Jorge Batlle, aided by the support of the National Party, defeated Broad Front candidate Tabaré Vázquez.

The Colorado and National Parties continued their legislative coalition, as neither party by itself won as many seats as the 40% of each house won by the Broad Front coalition. The formal coalition ended in November 2002, when the Blancos withdrew their ministers from the cabinet, although the Blancos continued to support the Colorados on most issues.

Batlle's five-year term was marked by economic recession and uncertainty, first with the 1999 devaluation of the Brazilian real, then with the outbreaks of foot-and-mouth disease (aftosa) in Uruguay's key beef sector in 2001, and finally with the political and economic collapse of Argentina. Unemployment rose to close to twenty percent, real wages fell, the peso was devalued and the percentage of Uruguayans in poverty reached almost forty percent. These worsening economic conditions played a part in turning public opinion against the free market economic policies adopted by the Batlle administration and its predecessors, leading to popular rejection through plebiscites of proposals for privatization of the state petroleum company in 2003 and of the state water company in 2004.

In 2004 Uruguayans elected Tabaré Vázquez as president, while giving the Broad Front coalition a majority in both houses of parliament. The newly elected government, while pledging to continue payments on Uruguay's external debt, has also promised to undertake a crash jobs programs to attack the widespread problems of poverty and unemployment.

### Departments

Uruguay consists of nineteen departments (departamentos, singular "departamento"). The first departments were formed in 1816 and the newest, Flores, dates from 1885. The

departments are governed by an intendente municipal who is elected for five years. The members of the Departmental Assembly (Junta Departamental) form the legislative level of the department.

# Paysandú.

Department	Area (square kilometres)	Population*	Capital
- Artigas	11,928	79,317	Artigas
- Canelones	4,536	509,095	Canelones
- Cerro Largo	13,648	89,383	Melo
- Colonia	6,106	120,855	Colonia del Sacramento
- Durazno	11,643	60,926	Durazno
- Flores	5,144	25,609	Trinidad
- Florida	10,417	69,968	Florida
- Lavalleja	10,016	61,883	Minas
- Maldonado	4,793	147,391	Maldonado
- Montevideo	530	1,342,474	Montevideo
- Paysandú	13,922	115,623	Paysandú
- Río Negro	9,282	55,657	Fray Bentos
- Rivera	9,370	109,267	Rivera
- Rocha	10,551	70,614	Rocha
- Salto	14,163	126,745	Salto
- San José	4,992	107,644	San José de Mayo
- Soriano	9,008	87,073	Mercedes
- Tacuarembó	15,438	94,613	Tacuarembó
- Treinta y Tres	9,676	49,769	Treinta y Tres

### **2.** Politics

Uruguay is a multiparty presidential representative democratic republic, under which the President of Uruguay is both the head of state and the head of government. The president exercises executive power with his cabinet. Legislative power is vested in the two chambers of the General Assembly of Uruguay. The Judiciary branch is independent from that of the executive and legislature.

The Colorado and National parties have been locked in a power struggle, alternating throughout most of Uruguay's history. The elections of 2004, however, brought the Broad Front, a coalition of socialists, former Tupamaros, communists, social democrats, and Christian Democrats among others to power with majorities in both houses of parliament. A majority vote elected President Tabaré Vázquez.

Uruguay adopted its first constitution in 1830, following the conclusion of a three year war in which Argentina and Uruguay fought as a regional federation: the United Provinces of Río de la Plata. Sponsored by the United Kingdom, the 1828 Treaty of Montevideo built the foundations for a Uruguayan state and constitution.

For most of Uruguay's history, the Partido Colorado has been the government. The other "traditional" party of Uruguay, Partido Blanco has ruled only twice. The Partido Blanco has its roots in the countryside and the original settlers of Spanish origin and the cattle ranchers. The Partido Colorado has its roots in the port city of Montevideo, the new immigrants of Italian origin and the backing of foreign interests.

The Partido Colorado built a welfare state financed by taxing the cattle revenue. The elections of 2004, however, brought the Frente Amplio, a coalition of socialists, communists, former Tupamaros, former communists and social democrats among others to govern with majorities in both houses of parliament and the election of President Tabaré Vázquez by an absolute majority. The Reporters Without Borders worldwide press freedom index has ranked Uruguay as 43rd of 173 reported countries in 2008.

According to Freedom House, an American organization that tracks global trends in political freedom, Uruguay ranked twenty-seventh in its "Freedom in the World" index. According to the Economist Intelligence Unit, Uruguay scores a 8.08 on the Democracy Index, located in the 23rd position among the 30 countries considered to be Full Democracies in the world. The report looks at 60 indicators across five categories: Free

elections, civil liberties, functioning government, political participation and political culture. Uruguay ranks 25th in the World Corruption Perceptions Index composed by Transparency International.

The Uruguayan Constitution allows citizens to repeal laws or to change the constitution by referendum. During the last 15 years the method has been used several times; to confirm a law renouncing prosecution of members of the military who violated human rights during the military regime (1973–1985), to stop privatization of public utilities companies, to defend pensioners' incomes, and to protect water resources.

Attempts to reform the 1830 constitution in 1966 led to the adoption of an entirely new document in 1967. A constitution proposed under a military revolution in 1980 was rejected by a vote of the entire electorate. Uruguay's Constitution of 1967 created a strong presidency, subject to legislative and judicial balance. Many of these provisions were suspended in 1973 but reestablished in 1985.

The president, who is both the head of state and the head of government, is elected by popular vote for a five-year term, with the vice president elected on the same ticket. Thirteen cabinet ministers, appointed by the president, head various executive departments. The General Assembly (Asamblea General) has two chambers.

The Chamber of Deputies (Cámara de Diputados) has 99 members, elected for a five year term by proportional representation. The Chamber of Senators (Cámara de Senadores) has 31 members; 30 members are elected for a five year term by proportional representation and the Vice-president who presides over it.

The Supreme Court is the highest court. Its judges are elected for 10-year terms by the General Assembly. Below the Supreme Court are appellate and lower courts, as well as justices of the peace. There are also electoral and administrative ("contentious") courts, an accounts court, and a military justice system.

# **3. Elections in Uruguay**

#### **Description of government structure:**

- Chief of State: President Tabare VAZQUEZ \*
- Head of Government: President Tabare VAZQUEZ

• Assembly: Uruguay has a bicameral General Assembly (*Asamblea General*) consisting of the Chamber of Senators (*Cámara de Senadores*) with 31 seats and the Chamber of Representatives (*Cámara de Representantes*) with 99 seats.

\* The electoral system is two-round.

### **Description of electoral system:**

- The President is elected by absolute majority vote to serve a 5-year term.
- In the Chamber of Senators (*Cámara de Senadores*), 30 members are elected through a closed-list proportional representation system to serve 5-year terms and 1 members are ex officio \*. In the Chamber of Representatives (*Cámara de Representantes*) 99 members are elected through a closed-list proportional representation system to serve 5-year terms.\*\*

\* There is one nationwide district. One party may field multiple lists. Under the double simultaneous vote (DSV), the voter must vote for one of the lists fielded by the same party she has chosen in a Presidential contest. The Vice President is ex officio presiding officer of the Senate.

\*\* There are 19 multi-member constituencies corresponding to the country's departments. The minimum magnitude is two. One party may field multiple lists. Under the double simultaneous vote (DSV), the voter must vote for one of the lists fielded by the same party she has chosen in a Presidential contest.

# Main parties in the electoral race:

- Bloc: Encuentro Progresista-Frente Amplio (EP-FA) (ProgressiveEncounter) Leader: Tabaré VÿZQUEZ Seats won in last Chamber of Senators election: 12 Seats won in last Chamber of Representatives election: 40
- Party: Partido Nacional Blancos (PN-B) (National Party-Whites)

Leader: Luis Alberto LACALLE Herrera Seats won in last Chamber of Senators election: 7

Seats won in last Chamber of Representatives election: 22

### • Party: Partido Colorado (PC) (Red Party)

Leader: Jorge BATLLE Ibañez

Seats won in last Chamber of Senators election:10Seats won in last Chamber of Representatives election:33

### • Party: Independent Party

Leader: N/A

Seats won in last Chamber of Senators election: N/A Seats won in last Chamber of Representatives election: N/A

### • Party: Other Parties

Leader: N/A

SeatswoninlastChamberofSenatorselection:0SeatswoninlastChamberofRepresentativeselection:0

\* The Progressive Encounter consists of 12 parties including the Uruguay Assembly (AU), Frente Amplio Conflunence (CFA), Current 78 (C78), Movement of Popular Participation (MPP), Christian-Democratic Party (PDCU), Party of the Communes (PdIC), and Vertiente Artiguista (VA).

### Population and number of registered voters:

- Population: 3,494,382 (July 2009 est.)
- Registered Voters: 2,487,816 (2004)

### **Elections 2004**

General elections to elect a President and Parliament were held in Uruguay on 31 October 2004 alongside a simultaneous constitutional referendum.

### **Presidential election**

In the presidential election, Tabaré Vázquez won comfortably, beating his closest rival, Jorge Larrañaga, by over 16 percentage points.

# Results

Summary of the 31 October 2004 Uruguay presidential elections election results

Candidates - Parties	Votes	%
Tabaré Vázquez (Broad Front – Progressive Encounter – New Majority)	1,124,761	51.67
Jorge Larrañaga (National Party)	764,739	35.13
Guillermo Stirling (Colorado Party)	231,036	10.61
Pablo Mieres (Independent Party)	41,011	1.89
Victor Lissidini (Intransigent Party)	8,572	0.39
Aldo Lamorte (Civic Union Party)	4,859	0.22
Julio Vera (Liberal Party)	1,548	0.07
Rafael Fernández (Workers Party)	513	0.02
Total (turnout 89.6 %)		
Source: Electoral Court		-

# **Parliamentary election**

In the parliamentary election, the Broad Front emerged victorious, taking over 50% of the vote and claiming 52 of the 99 seats in Chamber of Deputies.

# Results

Summary of the 31 October 2004 General Assembly of Uruguay election results

Parties and alliances	Votes	Chamber	of Deputies	Chambe	r of Senators
			Seats	%	Seats
Broad Front – Progressive		51.7	52		17
Encounter – New Majority					
(Frente Amplio – Encuentro					
Progresista – Nueva Mayoría)					
Movement of Popular					
Participation (Movimiento de					
Participación Popular)					
Uruguay Assembly (Asamblea					
Uruguay)					
Christian Democratic Party of					
Uruguay (Partido Demócrata					
Cristiano del Uruguay)					
Communist Party of Uruguay					
(Partido Comunista del					
Uruguay)					
Socialist Party of Uruguay					
(Partido Socialista del Uruguay)					
Artiguista Fall (Vertiente					
Artiguista)					
New Space (Nuevo Espacio)					
National Party (Partido		35.1	36		11
Nacional-Blancos)					
Colorado Party (Partido		10.6	10		3
Colorado)					
Independent Party (Partido		1.9	1		-

Independiente)					
Total (turnout %)			99		31
Source: Electoral Court and El País Uruguay, Angus Reid					

# 4. Uruguayan general election, 2009

October 25 and November 29, 2009

Nominee	José Mujica	Luis	Alberto
	Jose Wujica	Lacalle	
Party	Broad Front	National Par	rty
Running mate	Danilo Astori	Jorge Larraí	ñaga
Darcontago	53%	43%	
Percentage	1,183,503	974,857	

Incumbent	President
Tabaré	Vázquez
Broad Front	
President-elect	
José	Mujica
Broad Front	

General elections for President and Parliament took place in Uruguay on 25 October and 29 November 2009. In parliamentary election results, the Broad Front (left-wing coalition) emerged the winner, electing 16 senators and 50 deputies, while the National Party elected 9 senators and 30 deputies, the Colorado Party 5 Senators and 17 Deputies, and the Independent Party 2 deputies.

In the presidential contest, the first round of voting produced no majority winner, with José Mujica of the incumbent Broad Front receiving 48% of the vote and Luis Alberto Lacalle of the National Party 29%. In the runoff, Mujica handily defeated Lacalle to win the presidency. Two ballot referendums failed. One would have revoked a previously granted amnesty and the other would have permitted absentee ballots.

### **Presidential elections**

# Background

Uruguay became an independent nation after seceding from Brazil in 1828. Over the past two decades, the country has achieved impressive economic results, maintaining its status as one of South America's success stories. Uruguayans lived under a terribly repressive military dictatorship from 1973 to 1984. The regime fell amidst massive public demonstrations against it. General Gregorio Conrado Álvarez Armelino had been in charge of the regime since 1981. Civilian rule returned with a national election in 1984. Julio María Sanguinetti Coirolo of the liberal Red Party (PC) won the presidential ballot.

Sanguinetti had been a politician before the dictatorship but worked as a journalist while the military junta was in office. The new president played an important balancing act, trying to bring together a party including progressive liberal figures and some nationalists who supported the dictatorship. As soon as he took office, Sanguinetti lifted the ban on political parties and democracy returned to Uruguay. He signed an amnesty for all political prisoners, revamped the economy and began a campaign for regional integration with other South American countries.

In 1989, Luis Alberto Lacalle, candidate of the opposition conservative National Party-Whites (PN-B), won the presidential election. Sanguinetti returned to power in 1994, winning a new election. Sanguinetti's administration, in coalition with the PN-B, introduced several electoral reforms, including a new rule saying that each party could only nominate one candidate to presidential elections. Run-off votes also were introduced for cases in which no candidate garnered more than 50 per cent of the vote in the first round.

Jorge Luis Battle was elected in a run-off in November 1999, as the candidate for the PC. Battle had finished second in the first round of voting against Tabaré Vázquez of the Progressive Encounter - Broad Front (EP-FA), a coalition of left-leaning parties. The PC established an alliance with the PN-B to back Battle's bid.

Battle introduced a series of financial reforms aimed at attracting foreign investors to Uruguay, while maintaining the country's effective social programs. The president was also instrumental in setting up an independent Peace Commission to investigate human rights violations and disappearances during the period of military dictatorship. As Argentina's economy plummeted in the early years of the decade, Uruguay's tourism industry suffered greatly.

In a December 2003 referendum, 60 per cent of Uruguayan voters rejected a proposal to open the state oil monopoly to foreign investment. Vázquez once again headed the EP-FA into the 2004 ballot. He won the November election with 50.45 per cent of all cast ballots, and assured EP-FA majorities in both the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate. Vázquez became the first Uruguayan president to represent a political organization other than the PC and the PN-B.

In 2005, a spat between Uruguay and Argentina broke out over the construction of two paper mills along the shared border. Then Argentinean president Néstor Kirchner opposed the construction of the facilities citing environmental concerns, and defined the situation as "a national cause." The Argentinean Senate launched an official complaint, and brought the issue before the International Court of Justice (ICJ) in The Hague.

The rift continued to erode bilateral relations throughout 2007. People on both sides staged blockades at the border crossings, hurting the bilateral trade of goods and services. Under Vázquez's tenure, several lawmakers tried to introduce legislation to loosen existing restrictions on abortion. The president is a physician and oncologist.

On Dec. 17, 2007, former dictator Gregorio Álvarez was detained on charges of forcing the disappearance of dissidents during his tenure. Álvarez—who governed from 1981 to 1985—is now in a prison especially built for army generals and aides who are accused of violating human rights in the South American country. Vázquez's administration has

remained significantly popular for its entire term. The president has been credited for drastically reducing poverty in a country of 3.5 million where at least one million were living in poverty by the time he took office.

In February 2008, the Uruguayan Congress approved new legislation banning tobacco advertising. Vázquez had led a fierce campaign against smoking since taking office. In 2006, his government approved restrictions on smoking in all public buildings, bars, offices and shopping malls. In 2007 and 2008, some members of the EP-FA coalition began calling for a constitutional amendment to allow Vázquez to run for a second, consecutive term in office. According to Uruguayan law, presidents are allowed to seek re-election as long as it is not immediately after their term. Vázquez made clear that he did not intend to run again in the 2009 election.

#### **2009 President, General Assembly Election**

In 2004, incumbent president Tabaré Vázquez became the first representative of the left to win an election in Uruguay since the end of a dictatorship in 1984, as a candidate of the Progressive Encounter - Broad Front (EP-FA), a coalition of left-wing parties. Until 2004, two parties had shared power in the country: the liberal Red Party (PC), and the right-wing National Party-Whites (PN-B).

On Jun. 28, Uruguay's four main political parties held a non-mandatory primary ballot to select their presidential candidates. Senator José Mujica secured the nomination for the EP-FA, former president Luis Alberto Lacalle won the PN-B nod, Pedro Bordaberry will run for the PC, and Pablo Mieres will be the contender for the Independent Party (PI). The 74-year-old Mujica is a former leader of the rebel Tupamaros National Liberation Movement (MLN). Lacalle was president between 1990 and 1995.

On Jul. 11, Mujica picked former economy minister Danilo Astori—who he defeated in the primary—as his running mate. Astori told the official candidate: "I will work until the last drop so that you become president." Senator Jorge Larrañaga will be Lacalle's running mate. During his own campaign for the EP-FA's nomination, Astori proposed a new approach to dealing with drug trafficking, saying, "We have to propose measures that the country never understood, such as legalizing the consumption of some light drugs."

On Jul. 16, the PC's Bordaberry nominated former soccer player and coach Hugo de León as his vice-president candidate. The PC running mate expressed satisfaction, declaring, "My greatest pride in the coming October election is going to be when our candidate garners the most voters possible, those many votes that the Colorado party and its long tradition of dedication to Uruguay and its people, deserves." In July, Bordaberry—who is the son of former dictator Juan M. Bordaberry—said that Uruguay should abandon the Mercosur bloc, a group including Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay. The PC candidate said his country should seek bilateral free trade agreements in the region instead of doing it as part of a group, adding that Mercosur "has not complied with its first article, which is the free movement of people and goods within its membership."

On Aug. 5, Oscar López Goldaracena, an expert in international humanitarian law who leads a special commission advocating for the annulment of the Expiry Law, said that, for him, "The only way to strengthen the legality of a State is that this norm is terminated in order to give true guarantees to the Uruguayan people." On Aug. 6, Bordaberry said that if elected his administration's focus would be "education, education and education." On Aug. 11, Astori said that the ticket is committed to "deepen the social transformations" that the Vázquez administration started, adding, "We will seek a better distribution of wealth in Uruguay." On Aug. 12, Astori expressed confidence in his ticket's success in the ballot, saying,

"Mujica and I appeal to different sectors of the electorate."

On Sept. 3, Lacalle expressed dismay with a series of inquiries related to his tenure launched by the MLN, saying, "These investigations are forbidden by the constitution, but there are people who habitually go against the constitution." On Sept. 17, Vázquez criticized Mujica, saying, "I share many of the things Mr. Mujica says but not all of them. (...) I particularly disagree with his criticism of everything and everybody, sometimes with a pontificating attitude, on philosophical grounds which finish turns him prisoner of

his expressions. Some of them are simply stupidities and I certainly don't share them." On Sept. 30, Vázquez discussed his tenure, saying, "The country has a respectable image, honours its debts and complies with its obligations, and has clear and established rules. (...) We want foreign investors to come to this country, but to place their money in the production sector, which is the one that generates decent job opportunities for the people."

On Oct. 1, Mieres expressed dismay at a speech from Vázquez, where the outgoing president outlined the achievements of his government, saying, "It seems to me that, as the days go by, it becomes clear that the events featuring the president are campaign acts for the Broad Front." On Oct. 6, Uruguayan planning and budget minister Martin Dibarboure said that a new EP-FA government would pursue a free-trade agreement with Peru, declaring, "Both countries have been approaching each other recently, and we have already signed a memorandum of understanding to advance on this path towards a trade agreement." On Oct. 13, Astori-Mujica's running mate-said that the country "needs another leftist government in order to deepen the achievements" of the outgoing administration, adding, "Despite the international troubles Uruguay has very good economic numbers; there is stability and international confidence" in the country's management. n Oct. 19, Lacalle commented on a potential government led by Mujica, saying "We will have a more biased country, [a country] more divided in which an orthodox radicalism will persist that was not registered in the current government; a government the left." more to Voting took place on Oct. 25. Preliminary results suggested that a run-off between Mujica and Lacalle would be necessary to settle the presidential race. Mujica declared: "We are at a very optimistic point to win the second round. (...) We have more support than the other top two parties combined. How can we not be happy about the indisputable fact that we are headed to a victory?" Mujica finished in first place with 47.96 per cent of all cast ballots, followed by Lacalle with 29.07 per cent. Since no candidate garnered more than 50 per cent of the vote, a run-off was scheduled for Nov. 29. In the legislative election, the EP-FA secured 50 lower house and 16 upper house seats, followed by the PN-B with 31 deputies and nine senators.

On Nov. 1, Mujica accused the PC and the PN-B of having "coup leaders" within their ranks, adding that the parties are "full of disguised coup leaders who held posts during the dictatorship. (...) they can't just come and give us lessons about democracy now." On Nov. 8, Lacalle acknowledged the endorsement of PC presidential candidate Pedro Bordaberry, saying, "I think it is worth noting that there were no conversations or accords. Bordaberry immediately established a position of patriotism and generosity. (...) I want to thank PC voters who know that this is no longer the PN-B ticket, but the country's ticket."

On Nov. 21, Lacalle expressed confidence in a close outcome, saying, "The reason there was no absolute majority in the first round is because people want to properly ponder their choices. And we know they are thinking very seriously." On Nov. 22, Olivio Dutra, a former governor from the Brazilian state of Rio Grande do Sul, which neighbours with Uruguay, said that he was speaking as "a messenger" for Brazilian president Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva when he called Mujica "an emblematic, charismatic figure capable of working in diversity and with a plurality of ideas".

On Nov. 23, Mujica discussed his views on Venezuela, saying, "It is our biggest buyer of powdered milk, as well as a formidable provider of oil. (...) I would like to remind every Latin American who feels antipathy towards [Venezuelan president] Hugo Chávez that Venezuela was there before Chávez and will be there afterwards." On Nov. 26, Lacalle called on voters to support his party—which he defined as "the defender of all that is Uruguayan and sovereignty"—adding, "Our general idea is to awaken the country so that it can reach its full potential." In the legislative election, the EP-FA secured 50 lower house and 16 upper house seats, followed by the PN-B with 30 deputies and nine senators.

# **Purpose of elections**

Elections were held for all the seats in the House of Representativeson the normal expiry of the members' term of office.

At stake in the 2009 elections were all 99 seats in the House of Representatives and the 31 seats in the Senate. They were held in parallel with the presidential elections and two referenda: one on whether to repeal the amnesty law concerning human rights abuses committed during the military rule between 1973 and 1985 and another on allowing voters abroad to use postal ballots. In the previous elections held in October 2004, the Broad Front (Frente Amplio, FA) coalition - comprising the Progressive Encounter, the Broad Front and the New Majority - took 53 seats in the House of Representatives and 17 in the Senate. The FA's victory effectively ended 170 years of political control by the National Party (PN) and the Colorado Party (PC). The former took 34 seats in the House and 10 in the Senate, while the latter won 10 and three seats respectively. The Independent Party (PI) took the two remaining seats in the House of Representatives. The FA candidate, Mr. Tabaré Vázquez, won the run-off presidential elections in November 2004.

Upon assuming office in March 2005, Mr. Vázquez implemented large public works, including the construction of a new airport, and distributed personal computers to school children. Despite the global economic crisis, the country's economy remained stable. Gross domestic product (GDP) is expected to rise by 1.2 per cent in 2009.

In March 2009, the House of Representatives approved a law to increase the percentage of women on the candidates' lists for elections at all levels. However, it will only apply as of the parliamentary elections due in 2014 (see note). In the 2009 elections, the FA endorsed Senator José Mujica as its presidential candidate. A former member of the rebel Tupamaros National Liberation Movement (MLN), he was challenged by former president Luis Alberto Lacalle (PN) and Mr. Pedro Bordaberry (PC). Mr. Bordaberry is the son of former president Juan María Bordaberry, who ceded control of the government to the military in 1973 and was arrested in November 2006 in connection with the 1976 assassination of two legislators in Buenos Aires.

The FA pledged to solve housing problems, create jobs and fight poverty. Mr. Mujica, who advocates a simple life, ran on an anti-consumerism platform. He used public

transport during the election campaign. Thanks to his popularity, the FA reportedly enjoyed increasing support from the youth, the poor and the liberal classes.

The PN pledged to work for security, employment and independence. It also promised to remove the income tax introduced by the FA government. PC leader Bordaberry promised a lower tax burden for people and promised to establish a merit-based pay system. Although voting is compulsory, only 89 per cent of the 2.6 million registered voters cast their ballot. The FA retained the majority in both chambers, taking 50 seats in the House of Representatives and 16 in the Senate. The PN took 30 and nine seats respectively. The PC followed with 17 and five. The PI, led by Mr. Pablo Mieres, retained two seats in the House of Representatives and four to the Senate.

Neither referendum received the required majority: 47 per cent of the voters supported the abolition of the amnesty law while 36 per cent supported the postal ballot for overseas citizens. No candidate won the required majority in the presidential elections to be elected in the first round. The run-off elections between Mr. Mujica (FA) and Mr. Lacalle (PN), backed by the PC, were held on 29 November. Mr. Mujica (FA) was elected with over 52 per cent of the votes.

Note:

Party lists must comprise candidates of both sexes in every three places from the beginning to the end of the list, or at least in the first 15 places of the list. This rule applies to both the list of titular and substitute members. In the electoral districts used for the House of Representatives where only two seats are being contested, the two titular candidates must include one man and one woman. The government promulgated the law on 13 April, but it will only apply starting from the parliamentary elections scheduled for 2014.

#### **Political Players**

President:
Tabaré
Vázquez
–
EP-FA

Vice-president:
Rodolfo Nin Novoa- EP-FA
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
–
<

The president and the vice-president are elected in the same ticket to a five-year term by popular vote.

<u>Legislative Branch</u>: The *Asamblea General* (General Assembly) has two chambers. The *Cámara de Diputados* (Chamber of Deputies) has 99 members, elected to five-year terms by proportional representation. The *Cámara de Senadores* (Chamber of Senators) has 31 members; 30 members are elected to five-year terms by proportional representation. The vice-president completes the Senate.

# **Parliamentary elections**

The Broad Front retained a majority in parliament with 16 senators (plus Danilo Astori, later elected vice-president and thus president of the General Assembly) out of a total of 30 and 50 deputies out of a total of 99. The National Party came in second with 9 senators and 30 deputies. Both parties lost votes and legislative seats in comparison with 2004. The historically dominant Colorado made gains and increased its representation to 5 senators and 17 deputies. Finally, the Independent Party did not achieve its main goal of winning a seat in the Senate, but obtained 2 seats in the lower chamber.

Pedro Bordaberry led the Colorado Party to a notable electoral recovery, practically doubling its votes cast in 2004. The Independent Party, with candidates Pablo Mieres and Iván Posada, gained an additional seat in the Chamber of Deputies. Popular Assembly, a small, new extreme left party, did not win much support.

Parties			Seats	
	Votes	%	Chamber of Deputies	Senate
Broad Front	1,093,869	47.49	50	16
National Party	657,327	28.54	30	9
Colorado Party	383,912	16.67	17	5
Independent Party	56,156	2.44	2	

2009 Uruguayan parliamentary election results

Popular Assembly	15,166	0.66		
Total	2,303,336	100.00		
Registered voters	2,563,250	89.86%	turnout	
Source: Corte Electoral				

# Referenda

Two referenda were on the ballot. One would have removed amnesty for human rights abuses under the 1973–85 dictatorship, during the presidencies of Juan María Bordaberry, Aparicio Méndez, and Gregorio Álvarez. The other was to enable mail-in votes by citizens living outside Uruguay. Both referenda failed, the first obtaining 47.3% of votes and the second only 36.9%

Uruguayan amnesty revocation referendum, 2009			
Yes or No	Votes	Percentage	
No	1,212,477	52.64%	
Yes	1,090,859	47.36%	
Total votes	2,303,336	100.00%	
Voter turnout	89.86%		
Electorate	2,562,589		

Uruguayan voting from abroad referendum, 2009				
Yes or No Votes Percentage				
No	1,452,645	63.07%		
Yes	850,691	36.93%		
Total votes	2,303,336	100.00%		

Voter turnout	89.86%
Electorate	2,562,589

### Primaries

Primaries were held on 28 June 2009. Three parties had several contenders:

Broad Front

José Mujica (Espacio 609, Communist Party of Uruguay (Partido Comunista del Uruguay), Corriente Acción y Pensamiento Libertad) – winner

Danilo Astori (Uruguay Assembly (Asamblea Uruguay)), Alianza Progresista, Nuevo

Espacio (New Space), Socialist Party of Uruguay (Partido Socialista))

Marcos Carámbula (Vertiente Artiguista (Artiguistan Slope))

National Party

Luis Alberto Lacalle (Unidad Nacional, Soplan Vientos Nuevos) - winner

Jorge Larrañaga (Alianza Nacional (National Alliance of Uruguay), Civic Union)

Irineu Riet Correa

Colorado Party

Pedro Bordaberry (Vamos Uruguay (Let's Go, Uruguay)) - winner

José Amorín (Batllismo Siglo XXI)

Luis Hierro (Foro Batllista)

Daniel Lamas

Independent Party

Pablo Mieres

Iván Posada

Popular Assembly

Raúl Rodríguez

# **General Election**

# 5. Results

On 25 October 2009 the general election was held, this time with compulsory voting. The clear favorites were José Mujica and Luis Alberto Lacalle. Although they held very

different political philosophies that tended to polarize the electorate, both struggled to win the centre of the political spectrum. The Uruguayan constitution requires a presidential candidate to obtain at least 50% of the vote plus one. As Mujica received 48% of the initial vote, a run-off was held on 29 November. In the runoff round, Mujica easily defeated Lacalle, 53% to 43%, to win the Presidency.

Analysts indicated that Mujica won largely because of the popularity of the Broad Front and incumbent President Tabare Vazquez's pro-business policies that strengthened the country's economy. After taking office in 2005, Vazquez cut the unemployment rate from 12.3 to 7.3 percent, encouraged trade and foreign investment, increased wages and social spending, and boosted the central bank reserves and the country's credit rating.

Voting took place on Nov. 29. Lacalle conceded defeat, declaring, "José Mujica will be our president. We must think carefully about that and accept it." Final results gave Mujica 52.39 per cent of the vote. Mujica will be sworn in on Mar. 1, 2010.

2009 Uruguayan presidential election results					
Candidates (Parties)	First round		Runoff		Result
	Votes	%	Votes	%	
José Mujica (Broad Front)	1,105,262	47.96	1,197,638	52.39	President
Luis Alberto Lacalle (National Party)	669,942	29.07	994,510	43.51	
Pedro Bordaberry (Colorado Party)	392,307	17.02			
PabloMieres(Independent Party)	57,360	2.49			
RaúlRodríguez(Popular Assembly)	15,428	0.67			
Ballots with YES	14.410	0.63			

2009 Uruguayan presidential election results

sheets only (no presidential vote cast)					
Blank votes	22,828	0.99	53,100	2.32	
Total null ballots	26,950	1.17	40,103	1.75	
Null provisional ballots	199	0.01	607	0.02	
Total votes cast	2,304,686	100.00	2,285,958	100.00	
Registered voters	2,563,250	89.91% turnout	2,563,285	89.18% turnout	
Source: Corte Electoral (first round), El Dictamen (runoff)					

# First Round

	Mujica	Lacalle	Bordaberry
TOTAL	48.16%	28.91%	16.90%
Artigas	36.20%	39.54%	18.05%
Canelones	50.78%	27.90%	14.12%
Cerro Largo	39.09%	41.15%	13.19%
Colonia	38.06%	35.17%	20.68%
Durazno	33.75%	39.87%	17.48%
Flores	30.55%	43.75%	20.61%
Florida	37.51%	34.89%	19.64%
Lavalleja	30.40%	40.94%	22.02%
Maldonado	40.54%	31.21%	21.07%
Montevideo	55.91%	21.54%	14.73%
Paysandú	44.55%	33.64%	13.68%
Río Negro	40.07%	29.80%	24.26%
Rivera	33.18%	34.07%	26.35%
Rocha	40.65%	33.08%	18.79%
Salto	45.55%	26.44%	21.95%
San José	42.02%	34.51%	16.11%
Soriano	42.99%	29.38%	20.77%
Tacuarembó	36.39%	40.89%	15.92%
Treinta y Tres	36.86%	41.65%	13.87%

Second Round

	%	%
Departamento	MUJICA	LACALLE
Montevideo	59,79	35,95
Canelones	55,68	40,21
Maldonado	46,36	48,94
Rocha	45,49	49,53
Treinta y Tres	42,16	54,29
Cerro Largo	45,89	50,70
Rivera	41,01	55,17
Artigas	42,48	54,77
Salto	52,02	44,48
Paysandú	48,90	47,33
Río Negro	45,81	50,15
Soriano	48,86	46,69
Colonia	43,53	52,54
San José	47,08	48,79
Flores	38,10	57,35
Florida	43,51	52,16
Durazno	40,57	55,75
Lavalleja	35,81	60,01
Tacuarembó	40,51	56,06
Total	52,39	43,51

# 6. Election Analysis

Unfortunately for Uruguay, the Swiss vote on minarets stole their potential headlinemaking runoff election ("Guerrilla leader elected President") which resulted in the predictable election of former communist guerrilla member José Mujica over former right-wing President Luis Alberto Lacalle. In a first round held on October 28, José Mujica of the ruling Broad Front was far ahead of National Party ("white") candidate Luis Alberto Lacalle, with around 48% against Lacalle's 29%. However, Lacalle benefited from the support of most of the Colorado Party's voters, whose candidate, Pedro Bordaberry had received around 17%. The PN and the Colorados, both right-wing parties, had ruled the country since independence, with the exception of military regimes here and there, until the election of the left in 2004.

Tainted by corruption and a brand of neoliberalism unpopular in the region, the experienced right-wing candidate faced a tough runoff against his well-liked down-toearth left-wing rival. José Mujica (FA) 52.60%

Luis Alberto Lacalle (PN) 43.33%

white and null votes 4.07%

José Mujica of the Broad Front becomes the second left-wing President in Uruguayan history. It remains to be seen if he will be similar in actions to his predecessor, Tabaré Vázquez, who was a member of the 'moderate' left-wing rulers in South America. His rhetoric was mostly humanist and opposed at the consumerist society of this era, but there was not much Chavez-like fiery rhetoric to his speeches. In addition, his running mate, Danilo Astori, is a rather centrist former finance minister. The Broad Front maintains a majority in both houses of Uruguayan Parliament.

# **Republic of Equatorial Guinea**

Contents	Page#
1. Introduction	32
2. Politics	34
3. Elections in Uruguay	39
4. Presidential elections 2009	41
5. Results	44
6. Analysis	47

# **Republic of Equatorial Guinea**

Capital (and largest city)		Malabo		
Official languages		Spanish, French and Portuguese		
Recognised		Fang, Bube,		
regional langu	lages	Annobonese		
National langu	lage	Spanish		
Ethnic groups		85.7% Fang, 6.5% Bubi, 3.6% Mdowe, 1.6% Annobon, 1.1% Bujeba, 1.4% other (Spanish)		
Demonym		Equatoguinean, Equatorial Guinean		
Government		Presidential Republic		
-	President	Teodoro Obiang		
-	Prime Minister	Ignacio Milam		
Independence				
-	from Spain	October 12, 1968		
Area	-			
-	Total	28,051 km2 10,828 sq mi		
Population				
-	2009 estimate	676,000		
-	Density	24.1/km2 62.4/sq mi		
GDP (PPP)		2008 estimate		
-	Total	\$22.389 billion		
-	Per capita	\$18,058		

# **1. Introduction**

Equatorial Guinea, officially the Republic of Equatorial is a country located in Central Africa. With an area of 28,000 km2 it is one of the smallest countries in continental Africa. It has a population of 676,000. It comprises two parts: a Continental Region (Río Muni), including several small offshore islands like Corisco, Elobey Grande and Elobey Chico; and an Insular Region containing Annobón island and Bioko island (formerly Fernando Po) where the capital Malabo is situated.

Annobón is the southernmost island of Equatorial Guinea and is situated just south of the equator. Bioko island is the northernmost point of Equatorial Guinea. Between the two islands and to the east is the mainland region. Equatorial Guinea is bordered by Cameroon on the north, Gabon on the south and east, and the Gulf of Guinea on the west, where the island nation of São Tomé and Príncipe is located between Bioko and Annobón. Formerly the colony of Spanish Guinea, its post-independence name is suggestive of its location near both the equator and the Gulf of Guinea. It is one of the few territories in mainland Africa where Spanish is an official language, besides the Spanish exclaves of Ceuta and Melilla.

Equatorial Guinea is the third smallest country in continental Africa in terms of population. It is also the second smallest United Nations (UN) member from continental Africa. The discovery of sizeable petroleum reserves in recent years is altering the economic and political status of the country. Equatorial Guinea has been cited as an example of the 'natural resource curse'; gross domestic product (GDP) per capita ranks 31st in the world; however, most of the country's considerable oil wealth actually lies in the hands of only a few people.

Out of 44 sub-Sahara countries, Equatorial Guinea ranks 9th in terms of the Human Development Index (HDI) and 115th overall, this is among the "medium" HDI countries.

#### History

In the continental region that is now Equatorial Guinea there are believed to have been pygmies, of whom only isolated pockets remain in northern Río Muni. Bantu migrations between the 17th and 19th centuries brought the coastal tribes and later the Fang. Elements of the latter may have generated the Bubi, who immigrated to Bioko from Cameroon and Rio Muni in several waves and succeeded former Neolithic populations. The Bubi were the very first human inhabitants of Bioko Island. The Annobon population, native to Angola, was introduced by the Portuguese via São Tomé Island (São Tomé and Príncipe).

The Portuguese explorer Fernão do Pó, seeking a path to India, is credited as being the first European to discover the island of Bioko in 1472. He called it Formosa ("Beautiful"), but it quickly took on the name of its European discoverer. The islands of Fernando Pó and Annobón were colonized by Portugal in 1474.

In 1778, the island, adjacent islets, and commercial rights to the mainland between the Niger and Ogoue Rivers were ceded to Spain in exchange for territory in the American continent (Treaty of El Pardo, between Queen Maria I of Portugal and King Charles III of Spain). Between 1778 and 1810, the territory of Equatorial Guinea depended administratively on the viceroyalty of Rio de la Plata, with seat in Buenos Aires.

From 1827 to 1843, the United Kingdom established a base on the island to combat the slave trade, which was then moved to Sierra Leone upon agreement with Spain in 1843. In 1844, on restoration of Spanish sovereignty, it became known as the Territorios Españoles del Golfo de Guinea Ecuatorial. The mainland portion, Rio Muni, became a protectorate in 1885 and a colony in 1900. Conflicting claims to the mainland were settled by the Treaty of Paris (1900), and periodically, the mainland territories were united administratively under Spanish rule. Between 1926 and 1959 they were united as the colony of Spanish Guinea.

In September 1968, Francisco Macías Nguema was elected first president of Equatorial Guinea, and independence was recognised on October 12, 1968. In July 1970, Nguema created a single-party state. Nguema's reign of terror led to the death or exile of up to 1/3 of the country's population. Out of a population of 300,000, an estimated 80,000 had been

killed. The economy collapsed, and skilled citizens and foreigners left. Teodoro Obiang deposed Francisco Macías on August 3, 1979 in a bloody coup d'état.

### Administrative divisions

Equatorial Guinea is divided in 7 provinces (provincias, singular - provincia); Annobon, Bioko Norte, Bioko Sur, Centro Sur, Kie-Ntem, Litoral, Wele-Nzas. The President appoints the governors of the seven provinces. Each province is divided administratively into districts and municipalities. The internal administrative system falls under the Ministry of Territorial Administration; several other ministries are represented at the provincial and district levels.

### **Provinces and districts**

### 2. Politics of Equatorial Guinea

The president of Equatorial Guinea is Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasogo. The 1982 constitution of Equatorial Guinea, written with help from the UN, gives Obiang extensive powers, including naming and dismissing members of the cabinet, making laws by decree, dissolving the Chamber of Representatives, negotiating and ratifying treaties and calling legislative elections. Obiang, a former brigadier general, retains his role as commander-in-chief of the armed forces and minister of defence. The Prime Minister, Ignacio Milam Tang, is appointed by the President and operates under powers designated by the President. The Prime Minister coordinates government activities in areas other than foreign affairs, national defense and security.

Under President Obiang, the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) entered into a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) with the Republic of Equatorial Guinea, in April 2006, to establish a Social Development Fund in the country, implementing projects in the areas of health, education, women's affairs and the environment. [13] President Obiang also initiated projects with MPRI to improve the country's human rights practices.

The incumbent president has never equalled the bloodthirsty reputation of former dictator Francisco Macías Nguema, whom he overthrew. On Christmas of 1975, Macías had 150 alleged coup plotters executed to the sound of a band playing Mary Hopkin's tune Those Were the Days in a national stadium.

According to a March 2004 BBC profile, politics within the country are currently dominated by tensions between Obiang's son, Teodorin, and other close relatives with powerful positions in the security forces. The tension may be rooted in power shift arising from the dramatic increase in oil production which has occurred since 1997.

A November 2004 report named Mark Thatcher as a financial backer of a 2004 Equatorial Guinea coup d'état attempt to topple Obiang, organized by Simon Mann. Various accounts also name the United Kingdom's MI6, the United States' CIA, and Spain as having been tacit supporters of the coup attempt. Nevertheless, the Amnesty International report released in June 2005 on the ensuing trial of those allegedly involved highlighted the prosecution's failure to produce conclusive evidence that a coup attempt had actually taken place.

Simon Mann was pardoned and released from prison on November 3, 2009.

On February 29, 2008, President Obiang dissolved parliament and announced that municipal and parliamentary elections would be held on May 4. His decree also called for a presidential election in 2010.

Politics of Equatorial Guinea takes place in a framework of a presidential republic, whereby the President is both the head of state and head of government. Executive power is exercised by the government. Legislative power is vested in both the government and the Chamber of People's Representatives

#### **Political conditions**

In the period following Spain's grant of local autonomy to Equatorial Guinea in 1963, there was a great deal of political party activity. Bubi and Fernandino parties on the island preferred separation from Río Muni or a loose federation. Ethnically based parties in Río Muni favored independence for a united country comprising Bioko and Río Muni, an approach that ultimately won out. (The Movement for the Self-Determination of

Bioko Island (MAIB) which advocates independence for the island under Bubi control, is one of the offshoots of the era immediately preceding independence).

Equatorial Guinea became officially independent from Spain on October 12, 1968. Since then, the country has had two presidents: Francisco Macías Nguema, the former mayor of Mongomo under the Spanish colonial government, and Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasogo (Macías's nephew), who has ruled since 1979 when he staged a military coup d'état and executed Macías.

The 1982 constitution of Equatorial Guinea gives Obiang extensive powers, including naming and dismissing members of the cabinet, making laws by decree, dissolving the Chamber of Representatives, negotiating and ratifying treaties and calling legislative elections. Obiang retains his role as commander-in-chief of the armed forces and minister of defense, and he maintains close supervision of the military activity. The Prime Minister is appointed by the President and operates under powers designated by the President. The Prime Minister coordinates government activities in areas other than foreign affairs, national defense and security.

After the accession of Macías to power, political activity largely ceased in Equatorial Guinea. Opposition figures who lived among the exile communities in Spain and elsewhere agitated for reforms; some of them had been employed in the Macías and Obiang governments. After political activities in Equatorial Guinea were legalized in the early 1990s, some opposition leaders returned to test the waters, but repressive actions have continued sporadically.

With the prodding of the United Nations, the United States, Spain, and other donor countries, the government undertook an electoral census in 1995. Freely contested municipal elections, the country's first, were held in September. Most observers agree that the elections themselves were relatively free and transparent and that the opposition parties garnered between two-thirds and three-quarters of the total vote. The government delayed announcement of the results and then claimed a highly dubious 52% victory overall and the capture of 19 of 27 municipal councils. Malabo's council went to the opposition. In early January 1996 Obiang called presidential elections to be held in 6 weeks. The campaign was marred by allegations of fraud, and most of the other candidates withdrew in the final week. Obiang claimed re-election with 98% of the vote.

International observers agreed the election was not free or fair. In an attempt to ameliorate his critics, Obiang announced his new cabinet, giving minor portfolios to some people identified by the government as being opposition figures.

Since independence, the two Presidents (Macías and Obiang) have been the dominant political forces in Equatorial Guinea. Since 1979, President Obiang has been constrained only by a need to maintain a consensus among his advisers and political supporters, most of whom are drawn from the Nguema family in Mongomo, in the eastern part of Río Muni. The Nguema family is part of the Esangui subclan of the Fang. Alleged coup attempts in 1981 and 1983 raised little sympathy among the populace.

President Obiang's rule, in which schools were permitted to reopen and primary education expanded, and public utilities and roads restored, compares favorably with Macías' tyranny and terror. It has been criticized for not implementing genuine democratic reforms. Corruption and a dysfunctional judicial system disrupt the development of Equatorial Guinea's economy and society. In March 2001 the President appointed a new Prime Minister, Cándido Muatetema Rivas, and replaced several ministers perceived to be especially corrupt. However, the government budget still does not include all revenues and expenditures. The United Nations Development Programme has proposed a broad governance reform program, but the Equatorial Guinean Government was not moving rapidly to implement it.

Although Equatorial Guinea lacks a well-established democratic tradition comparable to the developed democracies of the West, it has progressed toward developing a participatory political system out of the anarchic, chaotic, and repressive conditions of the Macias years. In power since 1979, the Obiang government has made little progress in stimulating the economy. Extremely serious health and sanitary conditions persist, and the educational system remains in desperate condition. Although the abuses and atrocities that characterized the Macias years have been eliminated, effective rule of law does not exist. Religious freedom is tolerated.

On December 15, 2002, Equatorial Guinea's four main opposition parties withdrew from the country's presidential election. Obiang won an election widely considered fraudulent by members of the western press. According to a March 2004 BBC profile, politics within the country are currently dominated by tensions between Obiang's son Teodoro (known by the nickname Teodorín, meaning Little Teodoro), and other close relatives with powerful positions in the security forces. The tension may be rooted in a power shift arising from the dramatic increase since 1997 in oil production.

A November 2004 report named Mark Thatcher as a financial backer of a March 2004 attempt to topple Obiang organized by Simon Mann. Various accounts also name Britain's MI6, the CIA, and Spain as having been tacit supporters of the coup attempt. Nevertheless, an Amnesty International report on the ensuing trial highlights the government's failure to demonstrate in court that the alleged coup attempt had ever actually taken place.

#### **Executive branch**

Office	Name	Party	Since
President	Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasogo	PDGE	3 August 1979
Prime Minister	Ignacio Milam Tang	PDGE	8 July 2008
Minister of National Security	Manuel Nguema Mba	n/a	n/a

Main office holders

The 1982 constitution of Equatorial Guinea gives the President extensive powers, including naming and dismissing members of the cabinet, making laws by decree, dissolving the Chamber of Representatives, negotiating and ratifying treaties and calling legislative elections. The President retains his role as commander in chief of the armed forces and minister of defense, and he maintains close supervision of the military activity. The Prime Minister is appointed by the President and operates under powers designated by the President. The Prime Minister coordinates government activities in areas other than foreign affairs, national defense and security. Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasogo seized power in a military coup. He is elected by popular vote to a seven-year term. Another official branch of the government is the State Council. The State Council's main function is to serve as caretaker in case of death or physical incapacity of the President. It

comprises the following ex officio members: the President of the Republic, the Prime Minister, the Minister of Defense, the President of the National Assembly and the Chairman of the Social and Economic Council.

# Legislative branch

The Chamber of People's Representatives (Cámara de Representantes del Pueblo) has 100 members, elected for a five year term by proportional representation in multimember constituencies. Equatorial Guinea is a One party dominant state. This means that only one political party, the Democratic Party of Equatorial Guinea is in fact allowed to hold effective power. Although minor parties are allowed, they are de facto required to accept the leadership of the dominant party.

# **3.** Political parties and elections

Equatorial Guinea elects on national level a head of state - the president - and a legislature. The president is elected for a seven year term by the people. President Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasogo was re-elected unopposed on 15 December 2002. The Chamber of People's Representatives (Cámara de Representantes del Pueblo) has 100 members, elected for a five year term by proportional representation in multi-member constituencies.

Equatorial Guinea is a one party dominant state. This means that only one political party, the Democratic Party of Equatorial Guinea (PDGE) is de facto allowed to hold effective power. Although minor parties are allowed, they are de facto required to accept the leadership of the dominant party.

In the May 2008 parliamentary election, the PDGE won 99 seats and the opposition Convergence for Social Democracy won one seat.

The next presidential election is scheduled for 2010.

	I						
Candidates	Parties						%
Teodoro Obiang Nguema	Democratic	Party	of	Equatorial	Guinea	(Partido	97.1

## Summary of the 15 December 2002 President of Equatorial Guinea election results

Mbasogo		Democrático de Guinea Ecuatorial)	
Celestino Bacalé	Bonifacio	Convergence for Social Democracy (Convergencia para la Democracia Social)	2.2
Total (turnout	98%)		100
Source: Africa	an Elections		

Summary of the 25 April 2004 Chamber of People's Representatives election results

Parties	Votes	%	Seats
Democratic Party of Equatorial Guinea (Partido Democrático de Guinea Ecuatorial)	99,892	49.4	68
Democratic Opposition in alliance with PDGE	85,822	42.4	30
Convergence for Social Democracy (Convergencia para la Democracia Social)	12,202	6.0	2
Total (turnout 96%) (boycotted by the majority of the opposition)	202,269		100
Source: African Elections		•	

# 2004 parliamentary election

Summary of the 25 April 2004 Chamber of People's Representatives election results

Parties	Votes	%	Seats
Democratic Party of Equatorial Guinea (Partido Democrático de Guinea Ecuatorial)	99,892	49.4	68
Democratic Opposition in alliance with PDGE	85,822	42.4	30
Convergence for Social Democracy (Convergencia para la Democracia Social)	12,202	6.0	2
Total (turnout 96%) (boycotted by the majority of the opposition)	202,269		100

Source: African Elections

## 2002 presidential election

Summary of the 15 December 2002 President of Equatorial Guinea election results

Candidates	Parties	%
Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasogo	Democratic Party of Equatorial Guinea (Partido Democrático de Guinea Ecuatorial)	97.1
Celestino Bonifacio Bacalé	Convergence for Social Democracy (Convergencia para la Democracia Social)	2.2
Total (turnout 98%)		100
Source: African Elections		

# 4. Elections 2009

# At stake: President

## Background

Equatorial Guinea is a coastal territory located between Cameroon and Gabon, which also includes the islands of Bioko and Annabon. Two relatives have ruled the African nation since it attained its independence from Spain in 1968. Francisco Macías Nguema administered the country for 11 years, but constant abuses to human rights forced a third of the population to flee.

Teodoro Obiang Nguema ousted his uncle in 1979, and ordered his execution. Despite releasing many political prisoners during his first few days as ruler, Obiang has maintained Equatorial Guinea's overly repressive culture, where dissent frequently leads to punishment.

In the 1980s, Obiang forced opposition leader Severo Moto into exile and sentenced him in-absentia to 68 years in jail for allegedly planning several coups to overthrow him. Moto settled in Spain, where he was granted political asylum.

When petroleum deposits were discovered in the island of Bioko in 1996, Obiang turned the country into one of Africa's leading oil and gas producers. The opposition claims that the average inhabitant has seen little or no benefits from the gleaming industry.

The oil boom meant that Equatorial Guinea's economic growth went up by 71.2 percentage points in 1997. Macro-economic indicators still talk today of a robust growth but, besides having a richer elite, the country remains practically unchanged.

Equatorial Guinea has endured racial tensions involving the Fang community, located in the mainland, and the minority Bubi who live in Bioko. In 1998, 15 people were sentenced to death by a military tribunal after violence erupted in the island.

The first open presidential election in the country was held in 1996, with Obiang garnering 99 per cent of the popular vote as the candidate for the Democratic Party of Equatorial Guinea (PDGE). The ballot was internationally rebuked for its fraudulent conditions.

After the 1999 legislative election, several members of the opposition Popular Union (UP) were arrested after declaring that the vote had been rigged. In July 2001, exiled activist Florentino Ecomo Nsogo of the Party of Reconstruction and Social Well-Being (PRBS) returned to Equatorial Guinea after Obiang made a public commitment to allow opposition parties to register.

The 2002 presidential election was also marred by irregularities, as four candidates withdrew before the vote took place. Celestino Bonifacio Bacale of the Convergence for Social Democracy (CPDS) complained that citizens were not allowed to cast their votes in secret, and Buenaventura Moswi of the Social Democratic Coalition Party (PCSD) claimed that only the president's name was included in the ballots used in several voting stations, making it impossible for the electorate to choose an opposition contender.

In November 2003, the European Union (EU) committed international observers to the Equatorial Guinea parliamentary election. The proposal was brought forth to the EU by Plácido Micó Abogo, leader of the CPDS. Micó was arrested for political dissent along with 67 political activists in 2002, for his role in an alleged coup attempt. After a

confession purportedly obtained through torture, Micó was kept in jail for more than a year. The trial originally considered capital punishment as a possible sentence.

The interior ministry agreed to fund the electoral campaigns of the country's 13 contending parties in the 2004 parliamentary vote. Each political organization received \$18,230 U.S. to finance their activities. In March 2004, just weeks before a legislative election, authorities foiled an attempted coup d'état against Obiang allegedly led by former British soldiers. In August, Sir Mark Thatcher, the son of former British prime minister Margaret Thatcher, was arrested in connection with the purported operation. The charges read that Mark Thatcher was related to the "possible funding and logistical assistance in relation to [an] attempted coup in Equatorial Guinea." Thatcher ultimately pleaded guilty to negligence in investing in an aircraft without knowing what it would be used for and received a four-year suspended jail sentence.

In the 2004 legislative election, the ruling PDGE was the winner with 68 seats, followed by the Democratic Opposition (OP), a loose alliance of several political organizations with close ties to the president. The CPDS—widely regarded as the lone alternative to government-friendly parties—won only two seats with 5.8 In August 2006, the PDGE's Ricardo Mangue Obama Nfubea became prime minister, after Biteo Borico stepped down.

On Mar. 11, 2008, former British army officer Simon Mann admitted in a televised interview that he plotted to oust Obiang in 2004.

The 2008 legislative ballot proved as unreliable as the previous ones. The president defended his decision to hold an early legislative ballot that year, saying it would be cheaper to combine it with municipal elections.

In at least two constituencies, official tallies showed that every single vote went to the PDGE. Interior minister Clemente Engonga—who also served as the president of the National Electoral Commission—stated that the PDGE and the pro-government Democratic Opposition had secured 99 of the 100 seats at stake. The CPDS secured only one seat in the legislature. In February 2008, a presidential decree called for the next presidential election to take place in 2010.

# **Equatorial Guinean presidential election, 2009**

## **Pre-poll Phase**

In October, Equatorial Guinea's current autocratic ruler, Teodoro Obiang Nguema, changed the date of a presidential election originally scheduled for 2010 to Nov. 29, 2009. Obiang, who has been in office since ousting his uncle in 1979, will seek a new seven-year term.

On Oct. 16, opposition leader Plácido Micó Abogo of the Convergence for Social Democracy (CPDS) accused the government of changing the election date to its advantage, declaring, "45 days [to prepare], that's very little. (...) It's to stop us being able to prepare ourselves well."

Micó said that the CPDS and the other members of the so-called "radical" opposition would nonetheless participate in the election "in spite of the acts of fraud [planned] by the PDGE."

On Nov. 3, British ex-military officer Simon Mann and four South African mercenaries were granted a presidential pardon and freed from jail for their participation in a plot to oust the government in 2004. Mann's case was of extremely high profile worldwide, as he implicated Mark Thatcher, the son of former British prime minister Margaret Thatcher, as a financier in the operation. Mark Thatcher denied the allegations, but pleaded guilty in 2008 to unknowingly financing the operation. Mann also assured that the plot was condoned by the American, Spanish, and South African governments.

A presidential election was held in Equatorial Guinea on November 29, 2009. Teodoro Obiang Nguema, who has been President of Equatorial Guinea since 1979, ran for another term and won re-election with 95.4% of the vote, according to official results. Opposition leader Plácido Micó Abogo placed second with 3.6%. However, international observers and the main opposition candidate questioned the legitimacy of this election, noting the poor management which created an unfriendly field for other candidates to take part, media manipulation and the unbalanced results.

#### **Planning and campaigning**

According to a presidential decree on February 29, 2008, the election was planned for 2010. However, it was announced on October 16, 2009, that the election would be held on November 29, 2009. Micó Abogo criticized the election date, arguing that the government intended to deprive the opposition of adequate time to prepare for the election by announcing the date only 45 days in advance. He said that his party, the Convergence for Social Democracy (CPDS), would participate in the election, along with other opposition parties, although he alleged that the ruling Democratic Party of Equatorial Guinea (PDGE) was planning fraud.

Campaigning began on November 5. The Equatoguinean Ambassador to the United States, Purificacion Angue Ondo, stressed that the government was "committed to holding fair and democratic elections. As part of our reform efforts we aim to ensure all voices are heard. We view open access of the media to political candidates as crucial in this process. We are committed to ensuring all of our candidates are able to exercise their right to speak to the press." The government pointed to an interview given by Micó Abogo on the Spanish International Channel, which was broadcast on television in Equatorial Guinea, as a sign of its commitment to openness.

Parties running candidates in the election were to receive public funds for campaigning purposes. There were about 291,000 people registered to vote. There is substantial variation in estimates of the total population, with low estimates of around 600,000 people and high estimates of more than one million.

#### **Electoral competition**

Five candidates stood in the election, although two of them were characterized by the international press as mere proxies for President Obiang. Obiang's campaign presented him as the candidate representing continuity and successful management of Equatorial Guinea's lucrative oil industry, promising redistribution of oil wealth and economic development. Declaring himself to be "the candidate of the people", Obiang said that no one could contradict the will of the people and expressed confidence that he would win more than 97% of the vote (he officially won the previous presidential election, held in 2002, with 97.1%). Meanwhile, Mico Abogo denounced the government as oppressive

and said that it won elections only through fraud. He also said that oil wealth had only served to enrich the small elite surrounding Obiang and that it helped to reinforce the regime.

According to a diplomat posted in Malabo, who pointed to Micó Abogo's severe criticisms of the government, the campaign had been marked by an increased "freedom of tone" for the opposition. Noting that the government wanted the election to appear credible, he believed that the increased degree of freedom was the result of negotiations with the government. The active participation of the opposition in the campaign was nevertheless considered limited by Almani Cyllah of the International Foundation for Electoral Systems: "These elections would have been a turning point if the opposition had actually participated. We would have felt that yes, things are moving in the right direction. But the opposition felt that the elections were not going to be free and fair." Popular Action of Equatorial Guinea candidate Carmelo Mba Bacale announced on 28 November that he had decided to boycott the election. He alleged that the PDGE was planning fraud, saying that PDGE members were heading polling stations as well as the electoral commission.

### **Polling-day**

#### Voting and announcement of results

On election day, 29 November, voter turnout was reportedly low. Mico Abogo denounced the conduct of the election, saying that fraud and manipulation were rife, and he declared that he would not accept the official results. Observers noted irregularites in the election. Nearly complete provisional results were released by 1 December, showing Obiang winning 95.19% of the vote; Micó Abogo was credited with 4.05%, while Popular Union candidate Archivaldo Montero was credited with 0.39%, Party of the Social Democratic Coalition candidate Bonaventura Monsuy Asumu was credited with 0.19%, and Mba Bacale (who had announced a boycott the day before the election) was credited with 0.17%. 292,585 people were said to have voted, a figure that slightly exceeded the official number of registered voters (about 291,000).

According to official results, Obiang's lead increased slightly when the final results were released on 3 December. According to those results, Obiang received 95.4% of the vote,

Micó Abogo received 3.6%, Montero received 0.34%, and Monsuy Asumu received 0.17%. Speaking to a gathering of thousands of supporters in Malabo on 3 December, Obiang declared that the people had chosen "progress and peace" by re-electing him. He vowed "to focus on health and education" as well as more training for women and the youth, while stressing the importance of spending the country's oil wealth responsibly. Obiang was sworn in for his new seven-year term in a ceremony at the Palace of Congress in Bata on 8 December 2009; various other African heads of state were in attendance. On the occasion, Obiang spoke of a "bright and promising future". He also said that he would promote cooperation between parties so that there could be a political consensus for the good of the nation.

## 5. Results

Candidate	Party	Votes	%
Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasogo	Democratic Party of Equatorial Guinea (Partido Democrático de Guinea Ecuatorial)	260,462	95.36
Plácido Micó Abogo	Convergence for Social Democracy (Convergencia para la Democracia Social)	9,700	3.55
Archivaldo Montero Biribé	Popular Union (Unión Popular)	931	0.34
Buenaventura Moswi M'Asumu Nsegue	Party of the Social Democratic Coalition (Coalición Socialdemócrata Baboro)	462	0.17
Carmelo Mba Bacale	Popular Action (Acción Popular)	437	0.16
Valid votes		271,992	99.58
Blank and invalid votes		1,163	0.43
Total (turnout 93.35%)			100
Source: Ministry of Inform	nation, Culture and Tourism		

Summary of the 29 November 2009 President of Equatorial Guinea election results

Final results released on Dec. 3 gave Obiang 95.36 per cent of all cast ballots. Human Rights Watch issued a statement, which read: "In recent weeks [the Equatorial Guinea government] has stifled and harassed the country's beleaguered political opposition (and) imposed serious constraints on international observers."

### **Results of Last Election:**

President - Nov. 29, 2009

Vote%

Teodoro Obiang Nguema - Democratic Party of Equatorial Guinea	95.36%
Plácido Micó Abogo - Convergence for Social Democracy	3.55%
Archivaldo Montero Biribé - Popular Union	0.34%
Buenaventura Moswi M'Asumu Nsegue - Social Democratic Coalition	0.17%
Carmelo Mba Bacale - Popular Action	0.16%

Chamber of People's Representatives - May 4, 2008

							Seats
Democratic Democratic O	Party pposition (		Equatorial	Guinea	(PDGE)	and	99
Convergence	for a Socia	l Demo	ocracy (CPDS)				1

# **Criticism of results**

Opposition leader Placido Mico Abogo claimed that "government agents voted in place of the public and some polling stations closed early."

Micó Abogo's allegation of fraud came amidst international observations that the media had been subjected to manipulations throughout the election, including the refusal of visas for the press and enhanced public relations activity by a private firm supporting President Obiang. Soon after the election, Human Rights Watch said "In recent weeks it [the government] has stifled and harassed the country's beleaguered political opposition ... [and] imposed serious constraints on international observers."[16] With similar observations and accounts in mind, IFES commentator Almani Cyllah said that "it is a little difficult to see how we can say that those elections are free and fair."