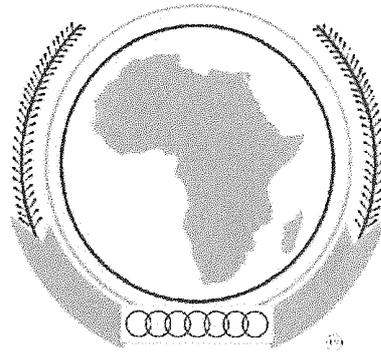


African Union



**AFRICAN UNION ELECTION OBSERVATION MISSION
FOR THE FIRST ROUND OF THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 28 DECEMBER 2025
REPUBLIC OF GUINEA**

PRELIMINARY STATEMENT

Conakry, 30 December 2025

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I. INTRODUCTION

Following an official invitation from the Government of the Republic of Guinea, the Chairperson of the African Union Commission (AUC), **His Excellency Mr Mahamoud Ali Youssouf**, authorized, upon the recommendation of the African Union (AU) Commissioner for Political Affairs, Peace and Security (PAPS), **His Excellency Ambassador Bankole Adeoye**, the deployment of an African Union Election Observation Mission (AUEOM) to observe the first round of the presidential election of 28 December 2025. This poll constitutes a key step in Guinea's transition process and is intended to facilitate the restoration of constitutional order in the country.

The Mission is led by **His Excellency Mr Domitien NDAYIZEYE**, former President of the Republic of Burundi and Member of the African Union Panel of the Wise. It is composed of sixty-two (62) short-term observers drawn from thirty (30) AU Member States, namely: South Africa, Algeria, Benin, Burundi, Botswana, Cameroon, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Djibouti, Egypt, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Malawi, Morocco, Mauritania, Namibia, Nigeria, Lesotho, Uganda, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the Central African Republic, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, South Sudan, Chad, Tanzania, Togo, Tunisia and Zimbabwe.

The Mission's members include ambassadors and permanent representatives to the African Union, members of the Pan-African Parliament, representatives of Election Management Bodies (EMBs), African civil society organisations, FemWise, as well as independent experts. The Mission is deployed in the Republic of Guinea from 20 December 2025 to 1 January 2026.

The AUEOM incorporates a strong preventive diplomacy and mediation component, in line with the AU's current approach to the management of electoral processes, particularly in countries in political transition, with a view to fostering a dynamic conducive to a rapid return to constitutional order. The Mission builds on the visit conducted by the AU Peace and Security Council (PSC) to the Republic of Guinea on 30 and 31 May 2025, and follows the constitutional referendum of 21 September 2025, which laid the foundations for the entry into force of the new Constitution adopted by the People and promulgated on 26 September 2025, as well as the adoption and promulgation of the new Electoral Code on 27 September 2025.

The observed election stems from the decision of the President of the Transition, who convened the electorate on 13 October 2025. It represents an historic turning point for the Nation, as it enables the sovereign people of Guinea to freely choose the person who will assume the functions of President of the Republic, Head of State and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces.

This Preliminary Statement presents the Mission's findings and will be followed by a more detailed and comprehensive Final Report. It also offers pertinent, constructive and objective recommendations aimed at consolidating democratic gains, strengthening the rule of law, and promoting national peace, security and stability, which are indispensable foundations for sustainable development.



II. OBJECTIVE AND METHODOLOGY OF THE MISSION

In keeping with its principles of neutrality, impartiality and objectivity, the Mission took into account the multidimensional changes underway in this Member State. The changes aim to accelerate the implementation of institutional and normative processes with a view to the full and effective restoration of constitutional order. In this regard, the election constitutes a crucial step in the evolution of the transition initiated following the events of 5 September 2021.

In line with its methodology, the Mission undertook a thorough assessment of the ongoing reforms and their current and future impact on the national political system, and formulated constructive recommendations to improve the governance of electoral processes, strengthen pluralist democracy and consolidate the rule of law. The Mission's assessment is informed by empirical observation conducted by its electoral experts, who followed the end of the campaign, election day, and the initial post-electoral phase relating to the aggregation and announcement of results by the General Directorate of Elections (DGE).

III. ACTIVITIES AND MEETINGS OF THE MISSION

The Mission held meetings with:

- The Prime Minister
- The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, African Integration and Guineans Abroad
- The National Transitional Council (CNT)
- The Supreme Court
- The High Authority for Communication (HAC)
- The General Directorate of Elections (DGE)
- The National Independent Observatory for the Supervision of the Referendum (ONASUR)
- Heads of international election observation missions, in particular those of ECOWAS, the International Organisation of La Francophonie (OIF) and the Mano River Union (MRU)
- The African diplomatic corps
- The Delegation of the European Union and European Ambassadors
- Civil society organisations grouped within the platform "Citizens' Dynamics – The Citizen's Eye"
- Presidential candidates and representatives of parties and coalitions, including:
 - The Campaign Director of the incumbent candidate, Mr Bah Oury
 - Dr Faya Lansana MILLIMONO of the Liberal Bloc (BL)
 - Mr Abdoulaye KOUROUMA of the Rally for Renaissance and Development (RRD)



- Mr Mohamed NABE of the Alliance for Renewal and Progress (ARP)
- El Hadji Bouna KEITA of the Rally for a Prosperous Guinea (RGP)

Despite efforts made to receive all candidates at the Radisson Blu Hotel, where all the others had been hosted, the Mission was unable to meet candidates Ibrahima ABE SYLLA of the New Generation for the Republic (NRG), Mohamed Shérif TOUNKARA of Renouveau Citoyen (Independent) and Dr Makale CAMARA of the Front for the National Alliance (FAN), which prevented the Mission from fully reflecting their views in an entirely inclusive manner.

IV. SOCIO-POLITICAL CONTEXT OF THE ELECTION

The first round of the presidential election took place exactly three (3) months and one (1) week after the constitutional referendum. The overall climate has so far been characterised by a sense of stability combined with a strong will to undertake legal and institutional reforms of the national political system. These constitutional, legislative and regulatory reforms are essentially based on the adoption of a new corpus juris, which restructures the overall governance architecture of the country.

Pending the effective establishment of the new institutions of the Republic, transitional arrangements have been put in place to manage this electoral process. From a socioeconomic perspective, the election is being held in the wake of the SIMANDOU 2040 iron-ore megaproject, considered one of the largest in the world and on which the current authorities are placing considerable emphasis in this phase of electoral competition.

While these reforms represent progress in terms of institutional, constitutional, political and socioeconomic engineering, certain controversies have emerged regarding the drafting of some of the new legal instruments and their adequacy to ensure a full return to constitutional order.

Moreover, the effective non-participation of some leading opposition figures in this election has raised additional concerns regarding the overall inclusiveness of the process.

The transitional authorities, however, maintain that they have undertaken far-reaching reforms and consistently prioritised inter-party dialogue, while strengthening the legal framework governing political parties following an audit that has led to a reshaping of the national political landscape.

V. LEGAL FRAMEWORK AND ELECTORAL SYSTEM

In line with its mandate, the Mission assessed the election against the relevant regional, continental and international standards, as well as the national legal framework, including the Constitution and applicable laws of the Republic of Guinea. The presidential election is conducted by direct universal suffrage in two (2) rounds, for a seven-year term renewable once. All the above-mentioned candidates, together with the Transitional President, H.E. Mamadi DOUMBOUYA, were validated by the Supreme Court through its Ruling No. 002-CS-2025 publishing the final list of candidates.



VII. ELECTION ADMINISTRATION

The General Directorate of Elections (DGE) is the central body responsible for the operational and logistical management of the election. It was retained to conduct this election, as it did for the constitutional referendum, in accordance with the transitional arrangements in force. The DGE distinguished itself by its openness to dialogue, which was commended by most stakeholders met by the Mission, as well as by its efforts to ensure transparency and impartiality among the competing candidates. It set up a website and a new voters' register, and organised capacity-building sessions for its members and its structures at both national and local levels. The DGE also cooperated with other state institutions, as necessary, to effectively discharge its mandate, and worked in close collaboration with various branches of the State and, externally, with diplomatic and consular services under the authority of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, African Integration and Guineans Abroad. The DGE further benefited from African Union support through a BRIDGE training programme. Ongoing reforms provide for its replacement by an Independent Technical Election Management Body (OTIGE).

The Supreme Court is responsible for adjudicating disputes relating to candidatures, as well as post-electoral disputes arising from provisional results, before proclaiming the final results. Complaints must be filed with its registry within the prescribed deadlines, and its decisions have the force of *res judicata*. For this election, the Court organised capacity-building for its members to better supervise the conduct of the poll in the field, and received technical support from the AU during a BRIDGE training held in Dakar, Senegal, from 17 to 24 August 2025, which also enabled exchanges of experience with Senegalese counterparts on election administration. The constitutional reform provides for the establishment of a Constitutional Court; however, pending its effective establishment, the transitional arrangements maintain this competence with the Supreme Court, thereby allowing the electoral timetable to proceed.

The National Independent Observatory for the Supervision of the Referendum and Elections (ONASUR) oversees the regularity and control of all phases of the electoral process. Although its members were appointed shortly before the referendum, they were able to perform their functions during this election without hindrance. The High Authority for Communication (HAC) guarantees pluralism of opinions, media and political currents, and ensures equal access of candidates to public media, while encouraging private media to respect journalistic ethics and the pluralism necessary to foster national cohesion, objectivity and neutrality in their coverage of parties and candidates. The HAC organised training for its members in Senegal and Gabon, with the support of the AU and its partners, enabling them to exchange with their peers, and also benefited from the presence in Conakry of the Network of Audiovisual and Communication Regulatory Authorities from countries including Gabon, Chad and Mali.

The Ministry of Territorial Administration and Decentralisation, the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of the Budget, the Ministry of Justice and their local branches; the Court of Auditors; the courts; the President of the Republic; and the CNT all exercised their respective competences in the administration of the electoral process.



VIII. ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN AND CAMPAIGN FINANCING

The campaign was mainly governed by the relevant provisions of the Electoral Code, Decree D/2025/0226/PRG/SGG setting the opening and closing dates of the presidential campaign, and other applicable legal instruments. Most stakeholders met by the Mission indicated that the campaign was conducted in a generally peaceful manner, without major incidents. It lasted thirty (30) days and ended on 25 December 2025 at 23:59.

A national schedule of rallies and media appearances was adopted by the DGE in agreement with the candidates and their representatives, which helped to avoid overlapping rallies and potential clashes between rival supporters in the same locality. Nonetheless, some candidates reported disruptions to their official campaign itineraries or to the venues initially allocated to them by the DGE and listed in the national campaign calendar. Whenever such incidents occurred, the DGE, under the leadership of its Director General, intervened to resolve the issues in line with the principle of equal treatment of candidates, ensuring strict compliance with the campaign timetable and the restoration of the rights of the aggrieved party without favouritism.

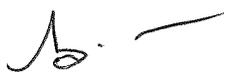
According to the HAC, equal airtime was granted to all candidates on public media. One foreign media outlet was requested to leave the country for having covered the campaign illegally, without having obtained the requisite accreditation. Overall, the restraint shown by political leaders and the rejection of hate speech and ethnic rhetoric in the political arena contributed to preserving a largely peaceful campaign.

Each candidate was allocated one hour of airtime to present his or her policy platform to the public. The interview was conducted by two (2) journalists from public media, one of whom could be freely chosen by the candidate, provided that the journalist held a valid press card or accreditation. A public-service production team was made available to each candidate, which facilitated media coverage of the campaign and the live broadcast of rallies on public media, in accordance with HAC Decision No. 017/HAC/P/2025 on campaign coverage. From a security standpoint, each candidate was provided with an armed mobile escort and a static team of National Defence and Security Forces posted at their residence to ensure their safety and that of their families.

Some stakeholders met by the Mission deplored the throttling of internet access and the blocking of certain social-media platforms in the days leading up to the election, considering that such measures undermine the right to connectivity as an integral part of modern life and citizens' well-being. Several candidates indicated that they had received public financial support distributed in equal shares, which helped to fund some of their campaign activities. The State financed the election from the national budget, which was widely viewed as a positive sign of national ownership and sovereignty.

IX. PARTICIPATION OF CIVIL SOCIETY

Civil society participation in the electoral process took place freely, reflecting a degree of openness and democratic maturity in the country. However, many organisations expressed concern about the modification of the administrative chain for granting and renewing legal status, which now involves the Presidency of the Republic, rather than being handled exclusively by the ministry in charge of territorial administration. They nevertheless continue



to advocate for a return to a more orthodox and decentralised management of such procedures.

For this election, civil-society umbrella organisations grouped together within the platform “Citizens’ Dynamics – The Citizen’s Eye”, which trained and deployed around eight thousand (8,000) domestic observers in order to ensure broad coverage of the process.

X. ELECTION-DAY OBSERVATIONS

The election involved 6,768,458 registered voters distributed across 23,602 polling stations and 16,702 voting centres. The Mission deployed twenty-four (24) teams across the eight (8) administrative regions of the country, that visited 583 polling stations, of which 487 (83.53%) were in urban areas and 96 (16.47%) in rural areas. The polling stations observed were distributed as follows:

- 53% in Conakry;
- 9% each in Nzérékoré and Kindia;
- 8% each in Labé and Kankan;
- 6% in Boké;
- 5% in Faranah; and
- 4% in Mamou.

Overall, voting took place in a peaceful environment, without obstacles or major incidents likely to affect the integrity of the ballot in the polling stations observed. The Mission observed the opening of polling stations, voting operations, closing and counting.

1. Opening of polling stations

The Mission noted that voters turned out in good numbers, forming queues of varying length, generally between fifteen (15) and thirty (30) people, in the polling stations visited. In almost all polling stations observed, the presence of the National Defence and Security Forces was deemed professional and non-intrusive. Around half of the polling stations opened at the official time, while the other half experienced delays of between fifteen (15) and thirty (30) minutes, mainly due to the late arrival of electoral materials and staff.

However, in 96% of observed polling stations, electoral materials were available and in sufficient quantity. Calm prevailed outside the polling stations, all polling-station staff demonstrated a good command of voting procedures, and party and candidate agents were able to carry out their duties without hindrance. Ballot boxes were properly sealed.

2. Voting operations

Election day proceeded in a manner that reflected citizens’ ownership of the electoral process and a strong spirit of participatory democracy, as evidenced by the mobilisation of voters. Most polling stations visited were located in the communes of Boké, Conakry, Urban Commune of Labé, Damankania, Kaloum, Kindia, Kouroussa, Lambanyi, Mamou, Matam, Ratoma, Sonfonia, Tombolia and Nzérékoré. Polling staff wore distinctive vests, which facilitated their identification by observers and voters. There was an average of five (5) polling-station officials per station, 36% of whom were women, while persons with disabilities or reduced mobility were almost absent from polling staff.



The average number of registered voters per polling station was estimated at 363, and the vast majority appeared on the voters' lists in the polling stations observed. The use of indelible ink, signature lists and posted voters' lists, voting booths, seals and ballot boxes bearing identifiers of regions, prefectures, communes, districts, centres and polling stations all contributed to enhancing the transparency and regularity of the process. Derogatory and proxy voting were observed in some polling stations. Party and candidate agents carried out their duties on the basis of valid accreditation and without hindrance, although their level of representation was uneven.

The Generation for Modernity and Development (GMD) was the most represented, with 528 agents present in the polling stations visited (96%), followed by the Front for the Defence of Guinea (FDG) with 345 representatives (63%), the Liberal Bloc (BL) with 153 representatives (28%), the Alliance for Renewal and Progress (ARP) with 101 representatives (18%) and the Rally for a Prosperous Guinea (RGP) with 100 representatives (18%). Other candidates and parties had more sporadic representation. Nonetheless, all party agents generally cooperated well among themselves and with polling staff, and no formal complaints were reported in the polling stations visited. Around 70% of polling stations were accessible to persons with disabilities, while the remaining 30% posed access challenges due to uneven ground, stairs and the absence of ramps. Special assistance was provided to elderly voters, pregnant and breastfeeding women, who could be assisted by a person of their choice, whether a polling-station official or a relative.

3. Closing and counting

Closing and counting operations took place in a peaceful environment and at the official time in 96% of polling stations observed. In the remaining 4%, there were still queues of between one (1) and fifteen (15) voters at closing time, but they were allowed to vote without hindrance. In some areas, minor confusion arose due to the absence or late transmission by the DGE of the decision to extend voting hours to 19:00, leading to some controversy in the implementation of this measure.

After closing, polling stations were rearranged for counting, which was conducted by two (2) counting officers chosen from among the voters present. Counting and result compilation procedures, including the completion of related forms, were generally conducted in accordance with the applicable rules. Party and candidate agents were able to perform their duties without obstruction; each agent or representative present received a copy of the results sheet, a second copy was posted outside the polling station, and a third was placed in a sealed envelope destined for the Administrative Commission for the Centralisation of Votes (CACV), as required by law. In some polling stations, lighting was insufficient, which hampered visibility during counting. Overall, the Mission considers that closing and counting operations were carried out properly and in an orderly manner, without major difficulties.

X. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

a) Conclusion

The Mission extends its sincere compliments to the people of Guinea, the Government, the election management bodies, civil society organisations, as well as the candidates, parties and coalitions for the sense of responsibility they demonstrated, which enabled the election



to be held in a peaceful, orderly and credible environment, consistent with relevant international standards and the national legal framework. The Mission notes a genuine democratic maturity in the Republic of Guinea, reflected in the priority given to inter-party political dialogue within consultation frameworks, which has fostered republican consensus, helped to overcome latent divisions and facilitated the adoption of constructive reforms in support of state-building and the modernisation of the political system. These advances have also led to decisions that strengthen national unity and cohesion, which are essential to consolidating peace, security, stability and sustainable development.

The Mission commends the excellent cooperation maintained with national and international observer missions deployed in the country, with the African diplomatic corps, the Delegation of the European Union and all stakeholders who agreed to engage in positive and constructive dialogue. It also highlights the exemplary leadership of its Head of Mission, whose wisdom, tact and diplomatic skills contributed significantly to the success of the Mission's deployment. The Mission congratulates the Republic of Guinea for funding the election from its own resources, ensuring the security of candidates and the electoral process, training polling-station staff and election officials, and encouraging the positive involvement of civil society organisations in civic and voter education.

The Mission welcomes the commitment expressed by the Guinean authorities to continue implementing multidimensional reforms in order to complete the electoral cycle and achieve a full, rapid and orderly return to constitutional order. In this regard, the presidential election represents an important milestone towards deepening state-building and reshaping the political system and governance model. In light of these complex changes, the Mission reiterates its call on the African Union and the wider international community to enhance their support to the Republic of Guinea in implementing and completing the electoral timetable, notably by considering the lifting of the sanctions still in force, with a view to facilitating the successful conclusion of the transition, strengthening national resilience and consolidating reconciliation among Guineans, so that they can build the present and future of their Nation in renewed confidence and tranquillity.

b) Recommendations

The Mission makes the following key recommendations:

To the Government

- Consolidate peace, security and national stability by placing at the forefront the strengthening of democratic gains, the rule of law and republican dialogue in all circumstances.
- Continuously reinforce the human, logistical, financial and technical resources allocated to election management bodies, in order to enable them to fully discharge their mandate.
- Combat more effectively the phenomenon of abductions and enforced disappearances, which undermines citizens' trust, by clarifying the fate of victims and supporting their families in a spirit of national solidarity.
- Simplify procedures for granting and renewing legal status for civil society organisations, while preserving their apolitical and independent character.



- Publish the remainder of the electoral timetable in full, in order to facilitate preparation for upcoming elections and guarantee greater fairness between governing and opposition actors.
- Address, with discernment and a constructive spirit, the situation of political actors who could not participate in this election, with a view to restoring confidence among all stakeholders and preventing future tensions that could affect the country's stability.
- Continue aligning legal instruments, in particular the Electoral Code, with the Constitution, by clarifying contentious provisions (such as the minimum age for presidential candidates) and ensuring consistency with general principles of law, especially regarding arrest warrants, presumption of innocence and the integrity of political life.

To the election administration

- Pursue and intensify training for electoral staff and strengthen their operational capacities, in order to avoid delays and dysfunctions, promote a culture of dialogue among stakeholders and further enhance the transparency and credibility of elections.
- Substantially improve the circulation of information within election management bodies and between their structures down to the polling-station level, particularly regarding any extension of voting hours, so as to avoid misunderstandings such as those observed.
- Introduce braille ballots, large-print materials and install access ramps to facilitate voting for persons with disabilities or reduced mobility, pregnant and breastfeeding women, and elderly voters.
- Strengthen the representation of women and youth within electoral staff.
- Provide designated spaces for campaign materials reserved for all candidates, in order to ensure effective implementation of Article 51 of the Electoral Code and equal treatment among them.

To civil society

- Maintain a constructive engagement aimed at preserving and consolidating social cohesion, and at strengthening democracy and the rule of law.
- Continue playing a watchdog role in civic and voter education, to promote citizens' ownership of electoral processes.
- Persist in creating conditions conducive to the holding of free, transparent, inclusive and regular elections.

To political parties

- Sustain dialogue among themselves, with election management bodies and with the State, in order to overcome present and future divisions.
- Use legal channels to contest results and refrain from hate speech.



- Strictly comply with the administrative and legal rules governing political parties, to avoid a recurrence of practices that could lead to the exclusion of certain actors from electoral competition.
- Nominate more women and young candidates, in order to strengthen inclusive participation and democratic representativeness.

To the African Union and the wider international community

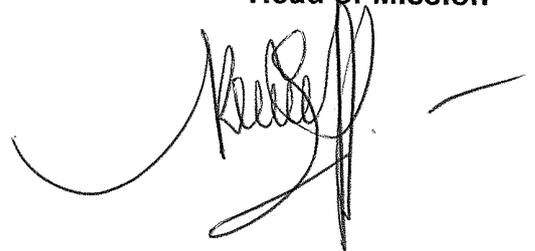
- Continue and reinforce technical, diplomatic and political support to the Republic of Guinea during this sensitive phase of return to constitutional order.
- In light of the progress achieved, consider the possibility of lifting the sanctions imposed on the country, as a sign of increased solidarity, to encourage the acceleration and successful completion of structural reforms, support national reconciliation and create a conducive environment for forthcoming elections as vectors of social stabilisation and democratic consolidation.

Conakry, 30 December 2025

For the Mission,

H.E. Domitien NDAYIZEYE

Head of Mission

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Domitien NDAYIZEYE', with a long horizontal line extending to the right.