



ECOWAS PRELIMINARY DECLARATION ON GUINEA PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION HELD ON 28 DECEMBER 2025

I. INTRODUCTION

1. By a presidential decree made public on Saturday, 27 September 2025, the Head of State and Leader of the Transitional *Comité national du rassemblement et du développement* (CNRD) Government, General Mamady Doumbouya, convened the electoral corps for a Presidential election held on 28 December 2025. This election constitutes a significant milestone and the final major step in the completion of the transition roadmap towards the restoration of constitutional order in Guinea. The election was contested by nine (9) candidates duly validated by the Supreme Court, including seven candidates representing political parties and two independents, namely the transitional President, Mamadi Doumbouya, and Mohamed Chérif Tounkara. A solitary woman, Makale Camara, also contested the poll. The announcement of the Presidential election followed the successful conduct of a Constitutional Referendum on 21 September 2025, when a new Constitution with a two-term 7-year residential mandate was adopted.
2. In line with the provisions of Articles 14 to 17 of the 2001 ECOWAS Supplementary Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance (A/SP1/12/01), the President of the ECOWAS Commission, **His Excellency Dr. Omar Alieu TOURAY**, deployed an Election Observation Mission (EOM) to Guinea from 20 December 2025 to 3 January 2026. The Mission comprised fifteen (15) Medium-Term Observers and one hundred and twenty (120) Short-Term observers. The Mission's mandate was to observe the electoral processes preceding, during, and immediately after Election Day, in accordance with Guinea's electoral legal framework, regional, and continental standards. In



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addition, the EOM served as a rapid-response mechanism for preventive diplomacy initiatives aimed at addressing challenges related to the electoral process.

3. The Mission was led by **H.E. Dr. Abdoulie JANNEH**, former Under-Secretary-General and Executive Secretary of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA), with the support of **Senator Lawan Gana GUBA**, former Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. The Mission was supported by a technical team from the ECOWAS Commission, led by the ECOWAS Commissioner for Political Affairs, Peace and Security, **Ambassador Abdel-Fatau MUSAH** and accompanied by the ECOWAS Resident Representative to Guinea, **H.E. Louis-Blaise AKABROU**.
4. The membership of the EOM comprised delegations from the ECOWAS Parliament, the ECOWAS Community Court of Justice, the ECOWAS Permanent Representatives Committee, Foreign Affairs Ministries and Electoral Management Bodies (EMBs) of ECOWAS Member States, as well as representatives of Civil Society Organizations, media and electoral experts within the ECOWAS region.

II. CONTEXT OF THE DECEMBER 2025 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

5. The 28 December 2025 presidential election constitutes Guinea's first national poll since the military coup of 5 September 2021, and followed the Constitutional Referendum, held on 21 September 2025. It would be recalled that on 5 September 2021, Guinea experienced a military coup d'état



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that resulted in the removal of President Alpha Condé from office by the *National Committee for Reconciliation and Development* (CNRD), led by Colonel Mamadi Doumbouya. The coup occurred amidst growing public discontent over mismanagement of state resources, governance challenges, and the manipulation of constitutional provisions, particularly regarding presidential term limits. These dynamics contributed to heightened political tensions, widespread public protests, the killing and detention of protesters and, ultimately, the overthrow of the previous government through a military coup d'état.

6. Following the coup, the CNRD committed to restoring constitutional order and returning the country to civilian rule. In this regard, the transitional authorities initially reached an agreement with the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) on a 24-Month chronogram that was expected to culminate in elections by December 2024. This deadline was, however, not met, leading to further consultations with both national stakeholders and international partners, including ECOWAS, to recalibrate and strengthen the transition framework. In this context, ECOWAS deployed a Technical Mission led by the Commissioner of Political Affairs, Peace and Security, Ambassador Abdel-Fatau Musah, to Conakry in April 2025 to assess the state of Guinea's transition. A key objective of the Mission was to evaluate the level of implementation of a 10-point agreement concluded between the Guinean authorities and ECOWAS, which outlined the roadmap for the restoration of constitutional order.
7. Following the ECOWAS Technical Assessment Mission, the election month was eventually announced by the Prime Minister, H.E. Amadou Oury BAH,



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at the Africa CEO Forum in Abidjan, Côte d'Ivoire, on 12 May 2025. This announcement was in furtherance of a commitment made by the Head of the Transition Government, General Mamady Doumbouya, in his New Year's address, in which he pledged to hold the Presidential election before the end of 2025. Consequently, in June 2025, the Transition Government, established the Directorate General for Elections (DGE) as the body responsible for the administration and management elections. This development was followed by the conduct of a Referendum on 21 September 2025 to approve a Draft Constitution that had been developed by the National Transitional Council (CNT) in April 2025. In line with the provisions of the ECOWAS Supplementary Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance (2001), H.E. Dr. Omar Alieu TOURAY, President of the ECOWAS Commission, authorized the deployment of a Technical Observer Mission to the Referendum, underscoring the continuous commitment of ECOWAS to supporting the Government and people of Guinea in their efforts to restore constitutional order.

8. However, in the lead up to the Presidential election, several prominent leaders of major traditional parties, including Mr. Cellou Dalein Diallo of the *Union des Forces Démocratiques de Guinée* (UFDG), former President Alpha Condé of the *Rassemblement du Peuple de Guinée* (RPG), and Mr. Sidya Touré of the *Union des Forces Républicaines* (UFR) - were unable to submit nominations. This was due to factors, including age restrictions introduced under the new Constitution, exile, or the disqualification of their political parties for non-compliance with applicable political party regulations. Meanwhile, out of the 51 prospective candidates that filed their nominations, the Supreme Court, on 12 November 2025, validated and published



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the final list of candidates, after reviewing the appeals lodged by candidates whose applications had been rejected, in accordance with the constitutionally required 72-hour deadline, clearing nine (9) candidates as eligible to contest.

9. In addition, the transition government suspended three main political parties for three months (through Jan 2026), effectively weakening organised opposition, a situation that raised questions about the election's inclusiveness. There were also reports of a shrinking civic space, media freedom and political rights in the run-up to the Presidential election, thus limiting the conditions for full and open electoral competition.
10. Despite the foregoing, the election campaign period, which began on 29 November and concluded at midnight on 25 December 2025, took place in a generally peaceful and serene atmosphere, with no major incidents reported. Overall, the socio-political climate in the country in the lead-up to Election Day remained relatively calm.

III. ENGAGEMENTS WITH STAKEHOLDERS

11. Upon arrival in Conakry on 23 December 2025, the Head of Mission and his delegation held a series of consultations and engagements with the national authorities and key stakeholders in the electoral process. The stakeholders included the Prime Minister, H.E. Amadou Oury BAH, and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, African Integration and Guineans Living in the Diaspora, H.E. Morissanda Kouyaté and the President of the National Transi-



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tional Council (CNT), Mr Dansa KOUROUMA. The Mission equally held consultations with the Directorate General of Elections (DGE), the body responsible for organizing elections, and the Supreme Court.

12. In addition, the Mission engaged other international observer groups and diplomatic partners, including ECOWAS Ambassadors and the Group of 5 International Partners of Guinea, in a bid to exchange assessments and to coordinate support.

IV. ELECTION DAY

13. On Election Day, the ECOWAS Observer Mission deployed a total of 145 observers, grouped into 55 observer teams across all eight (8) administrative regions of the country. Collectively, the teams observed a combined total of one thousand one hundred and seventy-six (1,176) Polling stations nationwide. Following the close observation of the electoral process, in particular on Election Day, the Mission puts forward the following key preliminary findings:

Opening of Polls

14. During the opening phase of the voting process on 28 December 2025, the Mission observed the commencement of voting in **(55) polling stations** across all the administrative regions. Overall, the opening of polls was reported as peaceful and orderly. Of the **55** polling stations observed at the start of the polls, **42**, representing **76.3%** opened on time while **12** (representing **22%**), experienced slight delays not exceeding 30 minutes after the official opening time. Only one polling station (**Polling Unit 04 at Madiba**

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in Dixin, Conakry) was reported to have opened at 8:30 am due to the late arrival of voting materials.

15. The Mission further noted that at the start of polls, security personnel were present in 47 out of the 55 polling stations visited **representing 85.5%**. Only eight (8) polling stations (**representing 14.5%**) had no security personnel present at the start of polls. The absence of security personnel was largely observed at polling stations in Conakry (4 polling stations), Labe (2 polling stations), and Faranah (2 polling stations). It is to be noted, however, that the absence of security personnel did not in any way stop or hinder the start of polls in the above listed locations. Besides, 81% of the polling stations visited at the commencement of polls had party/candidate agents present.

16. In summary, the commencement of polls was smooth and orderly. Voting procedures were largely respected, the environment was calm, and voters had no difficulty locating their voting centres. Specifically, 53 out of the 55 stations observed, representing 96%, indicated that voters were able to easily locate their polling stations or centres. Overall, the opening process was rated by our observers as 34% **Excellent** and 66% **Good**.

Voting Process

17. During the voting process, the Mission observed a total of one thousand, one hundred and nineteen (1,119) polling stations across all the eight (8) administrative regions in the country. Overall, the voting process was assessed as peaceful, orderly and well organized. Of the total number observed, 705 polling stations representing 63% were rated as '**Good**' and 376 polling stations representing 33.6%, were assessed as '**Excellent**'. Observ-



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ers further reported that voters were required to present proper identification, specifically the official voters' card, before being permitted to vote. However, in a limited number of cases, individuals on official duty away from their registered polling centres, primarily election officials and security personnel, were allowed to cast their votes, and their details recorded on a special list.

18. The Mission also observed varying levels of candidate's representation at polling stations. With the exception of Independent Candidate Mamady Doumbouya, most of the candidates did not have polling agents in most of the polling centres. ECOWAS observers reported the presence of agents of candidate Mamady Doumbouya in about 93% of polling stations visited. By contrast, agents of most candidates were present in fewer than 10% of polling stations visited. An exception was noted for *Le Front Démocratique de Guinée*, whose agents were present in about 58% of the polling stations visited.
19. With regards to inclusion, accessibility at the polling stations was generally fair in several polling stations observed but some faced challenges. For instance, 177 polling stations, representing 17% of those visited had accessibility challenges. These included the presence of steeply stairways, the absence of ramps for persons with disability, and narrow entrances and exits, all of which significantly limited access. Notable concentrations of such challenges were observed in Labé City (20 polling stations), Nzérékoré (11 polling stations), Pita (9 polling stations), and Téliélé (6 polling stations).
20. In fifty-two (52) polling stations, representing 5%, Observers reported the absence of stationed security personnel, raising concerns about security of



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these locations. Most of these cases were observed in Conakry Region. Specifically, 35 polling stations without security presence were observed in Conakry, and four (4) each in Faranah and Kankan Regions. Notwithstanding these observations, the absence of security personnel did not result in any disruption to the voting process. The at-times overbearing presence of *Chefs de quartiers* (local representatives of the Administration in communities) posed potential challenges of influence peddling and intimidation.

21. It was also observed that party and candidate agents in the polling stations observed lacked proper training, were aloof and were not in a position to verify the identity of voters due to an absence of duplicate voter lists in their possession and distance from the verification teams overseeing the voting process.
22. Overall, the voting process was conducted in a calm, orderly and peaceful manner across the country. There was also a high number of women voters and polling officials, indicating inclusive participation on election day. No major incident was observed or reported by the ECOWAS observers. Nonetheless, there were few reported cases of unusually high presence of overzealous security personnel at some polling stations, notably in the context of escorting government officials to cast their votes and during routine patrols, particularly in the Conakry region, creating an intimidating atmosphere.

Closing and Counting of Votes

23. The closing and counting were observed in **55 polling stations**. However, in a twist of events, Observers reported moments of confusion in a number



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of polling stations at the official close of polls at 6:00 pm, following the late announcement that voting hours had been extended by one additional hour to 7:00 pm. This seemed not to have happened in all polling stations across the country as the “order” came at the nick of the official closing time. ECOWAS’s subsequent checks with the Directorate General for Elections (DGE) confirmed the said extension, even though some polling stations in other regions had started the sorting and counting of ballots and had to stop the process midway upon receipt of the “order”. At this time, the seals of ballot boxes had already been broken in most polling stations the Missions observed. In several polling stations, including in Kankan, Labe, Boke, Mamou and other parts of Conakry, ECOWAS observers reported that the counting process had already started and, in some places, almost completed, when they were abruptly stopped in compliance with the “order” for extension of time to allow voting to continue.

24. Nonetheless, observers reported that a few polling stations proceeded with the closing and counting process despite the announced extension of voting hours. This occurred mainly in polling centres that did not have voters waiting to cast their ballots as at 6:00 pm. Furthermore, ECOWAS observers informed that no formal notification or directive regarding the extension was received at these polling stations and as a result, electoral officials continued with the originally scheduled closing procedures. These polling stations included **EP/Centre 01** at Kourouka Diawiya in Dinguiraye, Faranah Region; **Ecole Griupe Scolaire Djemory Diakite** at Mandiana, Kankan Region, **Asia Ecole** at Bantouka 2, and **Plein Air 1** at Dixinn Mosquée, both in Conakry Region.



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25. The announcement of the extension of the closing time, per **Decision D/1335/MATD/CAB/DGE**, appeared to have been issued and communicated too late in the day, thus causing the confusion on the actual closing time. The last-minute confusion on the extended closing time, therefore, impacted the otherwise peaceful, calm and orderly conduct of the Presidential election.
26. Notwithstanding the aforementioned confusion, the directive on extending the voting hours was complied with in most polling stations that received the directive on time. In such locations, the closing and counting processes were conducted in accordance with the applicable electoral regulations. However, observers reported an incident in the Kankan region, in which at the close of polls, ballot boxes from polling stations 1 & 2 at Tribute Polling Centre, in Kérouané, were taken away by the polling staff. Upon inquiry, the polling staff informed that the Coordinator of the DGE had instructed that the ballot boxes be transported to the DGE office for counting, citing inadequate lighting conditions at the polling centre. Consequently, the counting of ballots took place outside the polling centre rather than on-site as prescribed by law.
27. Despite the overall assessment of the closing and counting process as **27.7% Excellent** and **57.4% Good**, this appeared to have been impacted negatively by the sudden extension of closing time that generated a bit of confusion for both voters and observers.

V. PRELIMINARY CONCLUSIONS



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28. The ECOWAS Observer Mission notes the relatively good voter turnout and the peaceful, orderly conduct of the presidential election from the opening of polls through the completion of voting. The Mission also observes that the last-minute announcement extending the closing time from 6:00 p.m. to 7:00 p.m. generated some confusion on Election Day.
29. The Mission commends voters, election officials, and security personnel, for their disciplined and peaceful conduct of the election process. The Mission further commends the efforts of the Government and the competent authorities in the country for fulfilling their commitment to restore constitutional order, including the national ownership demonstrated through the autonomous funding of the entire electoral process, including the financial support extended to the presidential contestants by the Directorate General for Elections (DGE).
30. The ECOWAS Observer Mission will continue to closely monitor the concluding phases of the electoral process, with particular attention to the collation and transmission of the electoral results, the processing and declaration of provisional results and the validation of final results by the competent authorities and will make further pronouncements should the situation warrant it.
31. The Mission will also prepare a comprehensive report of the electoral process once the electoral cycle is completed. The comprehensive report will include concrete recommendations to the electoral management bodies and the national authorities based on the shortcomings identified in the



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transition and electoral processes, including the issues of eligibility, inclusivity, party financing, monitoring of the verification process by party agents and oversight roles of local administrative officials.

32. The Mission calls on ECOWAS and development partners to intensify their support to Guinea in consolidating democracy, peace, and social cohesion by facilitating inclusive dialogue amongst all stakeholders. To this end, it urges all stakeholders in the country to leverage on the restoration of constitutional order to build national consensus on critical developmental initiatives to the benefits of the people of Guinea.

Done in Conakry, on 30 December 2025

**H.E. DR. ABDOULIE JANNEH,
HEAD OF ECOWAS ELECTION OBSERVATION MISSION**