

Listing of supporting documents

ANGOLA

Angola 1992 – Constitutional Amendment – two 5-year terms; **Art. 59.** „The President of the Republic shall serve a five-year term of office.... The President of the Republic may be re-elected for two consecutive or discontinuous terms of office. *Constitution of the Republic of Angola: November 11, 1975 (as Amended to 26 August 1992).*

Angola 2004 – New Electoral Law - change of terms; **Art. 17 (d)** „have held the position of President of the Republic for two consecutive or three non-consecutive mandates.“ *Law 7/2004 published in the Official Bulletin of the Republic, June 17, 2004.*

Angola 2009 – New Constitution – no direct presidential election; means no presidential limit; executive power president; **Art. 109 (1) (Election).** „The individual heading the national list of the political party or coalition of political parties which receives the most votes in general elections held under the terms of Article 142 onwards of this Constitution shall be elected President of the Republic and Head of the Executive.“ Republic of Angola National Assembly (2010). *Constitution of the Republic of Angola*, p. 38. See also: *Africa Research Bulletin* , 2010, No. 1, p. 18254A; *Angola News Agency ANGOP*, 21 January 2010.

Angola 2021 - new two-term limit, not yet confirmed by alternation

BENIN

Benin 1990 – New Constitution - two 5-year terms; absolute majority; age limit 40-70 years; **Art. 42.** „The President of the Republic shall be elected by direct universal suffrage for a mandate of five years, renewable only one time. In any case, no one shall be able to exercise more than two presidential mandates.“; **Art. 43.** „The election of the President of the Republic shall take place with a uninominal majority ballot in two rounds.“; **Art. 44.** „He is at least 40 years old but not more than 70 years old at the date of the filing of his candidacy.“ *Constitution of the Republic of Bénin (Law No. 90-32): December 2, 1990.*

Benin 2004-2006 – Rejected Constitutional amendment – to remove presidential term limit; efforts to postpone the elections due to lack of funding (‘Do Not Touch My Constitution’ civil society campaign, *Africa Research Bulletin* 2005: 16109; Before and immediately after the 2006 *national consensus* decision, the general approach to amendment was ‘Do Not Touch Our Constitution’ as attempts were viewed as ‘opportunistic’, that is aimed at allowing incumbent presidents to run for a third term, against the two five-year term constitutional limit. Constitutional Court decided that the economic arguments used to seek amendments of the Constitution and to extend presidential terms were not constitutionally justified. See *Constitutional Court decisions DCC 05-139 of 17 November 2005 and DCC 05-145 of 1 December 2005*; see also Gisselquist. Ravhel (2008). Democratic Transition and Democratic Survival in Benin. *Democratization*, Vol. 15, No. 4, pp. 789-814; Stroh, Alexander (2018). Sustaining and jeopardising a credible arbiter: Judicial networks in Benin’s consolidating Democracy. *International Political Science Review*, Vol. 39, No. 5, pp. 600–615.

Benin 2015 – Efforts to amend the Constitution – Third term; *Reuters News*, 22 April 2015; *Xinhua News Agency*, 21 May 2015.

Benin 2017 – Rejected Constitutional Amendments – One 6-year term (President Talon), See Dr Sègnonna Horace Adjolohoun, Benin’s fourth failed constitutional reform effort: The decisive legacy of participatory processes, 16 May 2017.

BURKINA FASO

Burkina Faso 1991 – New Constitution - 5 years term; two terms; absolute majority system; **Art. 37:** „The President of Faso is elected for seven years by universal, direct, equal and secret suffrage. He is re-eligible one time. *Constitution of Burkina Faso: June 11, 1991*; **Art. 39:** „The President of Faso is elected by the absolute majority of the suffrage expressed.“ *Constitution of Burkina Faso: June 11, 1991*.

Burkina Faso 1997 – Constitutional Amendment - Presidential limit removed; **Art. 37:** „The President of Faso is elected for five years by universal, direct, equal and secret suffrage. He is re-eligible.“ *Constitution of Burkina Faso: June 11, 1991 (The constitutional amendment of 27 January 1997)* See e.g. Moestrup, Sophia (2019) Presidential Term Limit in Burkina Faso. In: Baturo, Alexander – Elgie, Robert (2019). *The Politics of Presidential Term Limits*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 363-384.

Burkina Faso 2002- 2003 - Constitutional Amendment – two 5-year terms; **Art. 37** „The President of Faso shall be elected for five years by universal, direct, equal and secret suffrage. He may be re-elected once. *Constitution of Burkina Faso: June 11, 1991 (The constitutional amendment of 11 April 2000 and January 22, 2002)*. The constitutional council concurred and ruled Compaoré eligible, allowing him to run for another two new terms. See e.g. Moestrup, Sophia (2019) Presidential Term Limit in Burkina Faso. In: Baturo, Alexander – Elgie, Robert (2019). *The Politics of Presidential Term Limits*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 363-384.

Burkina Faso 2014 – Unsuccessful Constitutional Amendment - Increase in the number of presidential terms from two to three; („eligible for re-election twice“). October 21, 2014, not passed. See e.g. Moestrup, Sophia (2019) Presidential Term Limit in Burkina Faso. In: Baturo, Alexander – Elgie, Robert (2019). *The Politics of Presidential Term Limits*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 363-384.

Burkina Faso 2015 – Constitutional Amendment – „The President of Burkina Faso is elected for a five-year term by universal, direct, equal and secret suffrage. He may be re-elected only once. On no account may any person serve more than two terms as President of Burkina Faso, either consecutively or intermittently.“ *The constitutional amendment of 5 November 2015*. Locking in of two-term limits (verroitiillage), by including term limits Provision among fundamental constitutional components that cannot be altered. See e.g. Moestrup, Sophia (2019) Presidential Term Limit in Burkina Faso. In: Baturo, Alexander – Elgie, Robert (2019). *The Politics of Presidential Term Limits*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 366)

Burkina Faso 2017 – New Constitution – Point Zero; **Art. 59**, the preliminary draft constitution provides that no one can serve more than two five-year presidential terms; even more importantly, this provision is included among key democratic components of the constitution (listed in Article 192) that cannot be altered through constitutional revisions. (*Commission Constitutionnelle 2017*). The draft new constitution for the opposition of the parliamentary opposition was not submitted to the referendum and the subsequent military coup. See e.g. Moestrup, Sophia (2019) Presidential Term Limit in Burkina Faso. In: Baturo, Alexander – Elgie, Robert (2019). *The Politics of Presidential Term Limits*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 363-384.

BURUNDI

Burundi 2004 – New Constitution – two 5-year terms; age 35; absolute vote majority; **Art. 96.** “The President of the Republic is by direct universal suffrage for elected for a term of five (5) years, and may be re-elected once”; **Art. 97.** “...candidate for the office of President of the Republic shall: (3) be thirty-five (35) years old at the time of the election.“ *Constitution of the Republic of Burundi: September 17, 2004*

Burundi 2014 – Decision of Constitutional Court – Third term; the legal interpretation that Mr Nkurunziza can run for a third time because he was elected by Parliament in 2005. Vandeginste, Stef (2016). Legal Loopholes and the Politics of Executive Term Limits: Insights from Burundi. *Africa Spectrum*, No. 2, pp. 39–63.

Burundi 2017-18 – New Constitution – Two 7-years term; age 40 years; point zero; **Art. 97.** “The President of the Republic is elected by direct universal suffrage for a renewable term of seven years. No one can hold more than two consecutive terms”; **Art. 98.** „A candidate running for the President of the Republic must: (3). Be aged over 40 years at the moment of election“. *Burundi's Constitution of 2018*

CAMEROON

Cameroon 1990 – New Constitution - removed term limits, maintained longer presidential 7-years limit and FPTP.

Cameroon 1992 – Constitutional Amendment - Shortening the presidential term from five to four years, the number of terms is unlimited. See Mehler, Andreas (1999). Cameroon. In: *Elections in Africa. A Data Handbook*. Ed. By Dieter Nohlen, Michael Krenerich and Bernhardt Thibaut. Oxford: Oxford University Press, Pp.167-185. See also Kingue, Edourad. *1990-1992: Comment la démocratie est confisquée au Cameroun-Biya, Fru Ndi, Bello Bouba, Dakoté Daïssala. Les grands acteurs*. Le Messenger, 1 October 2012.

Cameroon 1996 – Constitutional Amendment - Extending the length of terms from 4 to 7 years and limiting it to two terms. *Law No. 96-06 of January 18, 1996 to Amend Constitution of June 2, 1972 – Art. 6 (2)* „The President of the Republic shall be elected for a term of office of 7 (seven) years. He shall be eligible for re-election once.“ See also *Reuters News*, 24 December 1995.

Cameroon 2008 – Parliamentary Decision - Removing the number of presidential terms. „The Cameroon National Assembly approved a revision of Article on 6(2) which, whilst maintaining the seven-year tenure, removed the two-term limit on 10 April 2008. *Law No. 2008/001 of April 14, 2008*. See also *AFRICA RESEARCH BULLETIN*, 2008, No. 1, p. 17382A; No. 4, p. 17495B; See also *Le Monde*, 12 April 2008; *Reuters News*, 15 April 2008; *Pambazuka News*, 1 November 2018; etc.

CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Central African Republic 2016 – New Constitution - Introduction of 2 terms, reduction in length from 6 to 5 years, abolition of FPTP, introduction of two-round system See Constitute Project. *Constitution of the Central African Republic (2016)*.

Central African Republic 2023 – Constitutional Amendment. Number of terms removed from 5 to 7-year terms.

CHAD

Chad 1996 – New Constitution – two 5-year terms; age limit 35-70; absolute majority; **Art. 61** „The President of the Republic is elected for a five-year mandate by direct universal suffrage. He is eligible once.“; **Art. 62** „...to be born Chadian, of Chadian father and mother and to have no other nationality but Chadian; to be at least 35 years old and at the most seventy;“ *Constitution of the Republic of Chad: April 14, 1996*.

Chad 2005 – Constitutional Amendment – no limited 5-year term; **Art. 61** „The President of the Republic is elected for a five-year mandate by direct universal suffrage. He is re-eligible”; *Law No. 008/PR/2005 of 15 July 2005*.

Chad 2018 – New Constitution – two 6-year terms; age 45 years; **Art. 66**. “The President is elected by universal direct suffrage for a term of six (6) years, renewable once; **Art. 67**. be a minimum of forty-five (45) years old. *Constitution of Chad 1918*; National Forum on constitutional reform opens, *Africa Research Bulletin*, 2018, No. 3, p. 21795; Opposition rejects reforms, *Africa Research Bulletin*, 2018, No. 4, 21822C, President’s power boosted under new Constitution, *Africa Research Bulletin*, 2018, No. 5, p. 21858

Chad 2021 – Transitional President – unconstitutional, son of killed his father, Marshall Idriss Déby, Constitution annulled. *CE Noticias Financieras*, 22 August 2024.

COMOROS

Comoros 1996 – New Constitution - the 6-year term; no term limit; absolute vote majority; age 40-75 years limit; **Art. 7**. “The President of the Republic is elected by direct universal suffrage for a six-year term. Candidates for the presidency must be at least forty years of age and not more than seventy-five years by December 31 of the year preceding the vote. They must have resided on the national territory continuously for at least twelve months prior to the deposit of the candidacies, except in case of force majeure ascertained by the High Council of the Republic and be of Comorian nationality by birth.” *The Comoros Constitution 1996*.

Comoros 2001 – New Constitution - 4 years term no term limit absolute vote majority; rotation system **Art. 13**. The Presidency rotates between the islands. The President and Vice-Presidents are elected together by direct universal suffrage in a single ballot for a term of four (4) years, renewable years renewable in accordance with the rotation between the islands. A primary election is held on the island to which the Presidency falls and only the three candidates who obtain the highest number of votes cast may stand for election. presidential election.” *Constitution de l’Union des Comores adoptée par référendum le 23 décembre 2001*

Comoros 2009 - New Constitution – 5-year term; no term limit; absolute vote majority; rotation system; **Art. 13**. “The presidency shall rotate among the islands. The President and the Vice Presidents shall be elected by direct universal suffrage under a system of majority voting in two rounds for a term of five years, subject to the rotation. A primary shall be held in the island concerned and only the three candidates which have received the highest numbers of votes cast may stand in the presidential election. In no case may the presidential primary be held on two successive occasions on the same island.” *Constitution of the Union of the Comoros: December 23, 2001 (as Amended to May 17, 2009)*

CONGO

Congo 1990 – New Constitution. Two 5-years terms. **Art. 24**. „The President of the Republic shall be elected by direct universal suffrage. The length of his term shall be five years, renewable only once.“ **Art. 26**. „Each candidate for the Presidency of the Republic shall be of Guinean nationality, in possession of his civil and political rights and be at least forty and no more that seventy years old.” *Basic Law of the Republic of Guinea: December 23, 1990*.

Congo 2001 – Constitutional Amendment – No term limit; 7-year term; no 70 age limit; **Art. 24**. „The President of the Republic shall be elected by direct universal suffrage. His term of office shall be seven years and shall be renewable.“ **Art. 26**. “Each candidate for the Presidency of the Republic must be of Guinean nationality, enjoy all civil and political rights and be at least forty years old.” *Basic Law of the Republic of Guinea: December 23, 1990 (as Amended to November 11, 2001)*

Congo 2010 – New Constitution - Two 5-years terms; reducing the age from 40 to 30; **Art. 27.** „The President of the Republic shall be elected by direct universal suffrage. His term of office shall be five years, renewable once. In no case may anybody serve more than two presidential terms, consecutive or not.“ **Art. 29,** president „be at least thirty years old.“ Constitute Project. *Constitution of the Democratic Republic of the Congo.*

Congo 2017 – Financial deposit for presidential candidates of 160 million Congolese francs. Commission Électorale Nationale Indépendante. *Loi électorale - Textes coordonnés 2017.*

DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO

DRC 2005 – New Constitution – absolute vote majority; two 5-year terms; age 30 years; **Art. 70.** „The President of the Republic is elected by direct universal suffrage for a term of five years which is renewable only once.“; **Art. 72.** „A person may not stand as a candidate in the presidential elections, if they do not meet the following requirements: possess the Congolese nationality of origin; be at least thirty years of age”, etc.; *Constitution of the Democratic Republic of the Congo: May 13, 2005.*

DRC 2011 – Constitutional Amendment - FPTP; **Art. 71.** “The President of the Republic is elected by a simple majority of the votes cast.“; *Amended by Law No 11/002 of 20 January 2011*; See also Rupiya, Martin (2018). What Explains President Joseph Kabila’s Quest for a Third Term until Pressured to Reluctantly Relinquish Power, late in 2018? *International Journal of African Renaissance Studies - Multi-, Inter- and Transdisciplinary*, Vol. 13, No.2, pp. 42-58.

DRC 2016 – Unconstitutional temporarily prolonged presidential term until 2017, then until 2018; Rupiya, Martin (2018). What Explains President Joseph Kabila’s Quest for a Third Term until Pressured to Reluctantly Relinquish Power, late in 2018? *International Journal of African Renaissance Studies - Multi-, Inter- and transdisciplinary*, Vol. 13, No.2, pp. 43.

DJIBOUTI

Djibouti 1992 – New Constitution – two 6-year terms; absolute vote majority; age 40 years; **Art. 23.** “The President of the Republic shall be elected for six years by direct universal suffrage and majority vote, by means of the second ballot system. He may be re-elected only once.“; **Art. 24.** „Any candidate for the office of President of the Republic shall be of Djiboutian nationality, to the exclusion of any other, shall enjoy civil and political rights and shall be at least forty years of age.“; **Art. 27.** „The President of the Republic shall be elected by an absolute majority of the votes cast.“ *Constitution of the Republic of Djibouti: September 4, 1992.*

Djibouti 2010 – Constitutional Amendment – age 40-60 years limit; 5-year terms; no term limit; **Art. 23.** “Any candidate for the office of President of the Republic shall be of Djiboutian nationality, to the exclusion of any other, shall enjoy civil and political rights and shall be at least forty years of age and at most sixty years on the date of the official declaration of his candidacy“; **Art. 24.** „The President of the Republic shall be elected for five years by direct universal suffrage and majority vote in two rounds (scrutin majoritaire à deux tours). He shall be eligible for re-election in the conditions provided for in Article 23.“ *Constitution of the Republic of Djibouti: September 4, 1992 (as Amended to April 21, 2010)*

EQUATORIAL GUINEA

Equatorial Guinea 1991 – New Constitution – two 7-years terms; absolute vote majority; age 40-75 years limit; **Art. 31.** “The President of the Republic shall be Chief of State, embodying national unity and representing the Nation. He shall be elected through universal direct suffrage, with a secret ballot, by a majority of the votes validly cast“; **Art. 33.** „The President of the Republic must meet the following criteria:(a) He shall be a native Equatoguinean... (c) He shall be not less than forty years of

age nor more than seventy-five, except in the case of an incumbent. (e) He shall have been a landowner in the country for ten years...“; **Art. 34.** „The President of the Republic shall be elected for a period of seven years; he may be re-elected once.“ *Constitution of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea: November 16, 1991.*

Equatorial Guinea 1995 – Constitutional Amendment – no term limit, shorter residency. **Art. 33.** “The following requirements shall have to be fulfilled to become President of the Republic: (c). Live in the country since 5 years.”; **Art. 34.** „The President of the Republic shall be elected for a term of office of 7 (seven) years renewable.” *Constitution of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea: November 16, 1991 (as Amended to January 17, 1995).*

Equatorial Guinea 2012 - Constitutional Amendment – Two 7-years term; age 40; **Art. 35.** “To be president of the Republic it is required: (f) To have forty years as a minimum.”; **Art. 36. (1)** „The President of the Republic is elected for a term of seven years renewable with the possibility of being re-elected. **(2).** The mandate of the President of the Republic is limited to two consecutive periods, not being able to present himself for a third mandate until alternation is produced.“ *Equatorial Guinea's Constitution of 1991 with Amendments through 2012.*

GABON

Gabon - 1991 – New Constitution - two 7-year terms; absolute majority system; Age limit 30 to 65; **Art. 9.** „The President of the Republic is elected for seven (7) years, by direct universal suffrage. He is re-eligible one time. The President of the Republic is elected by an absolute majority of the votes cast...” *Gabon's Constitution of 1991.*

Gabon 2003 – Constitutional Amendment – No limit; **Art. 9.** „The President of the Republic is elected by direct universal suffrage for a term of seven (7) years. He may be re-elected. The election is won by the candidate who receives the highest number of votes. *Gabon's Constitution of 1991 with Amendments through 2003.*

Gabon 2011 – Constitutional Amendment – new age limit; 12 months residence; **Art. 10.** „All Gabonese of both sexes who enjoy their civil and political rights, are at least forty (40) years of age and have been resident in Gabon for at least twelve months may stand for election to the Presidency of the Republic.“ *Gabon's Constitution of 1991 with Amendments through 2011*

Gabon 2024 – Draft of new Constitution. *Emerging Market Watch CEEMAR*, 13 September 2024.

GAMBIA

Gambia 1996 – New Constitution – 5-year term; no term limit; age 30-65 years; **Art. 63 (1):** „The term of office of an elected President shall, subject to subsection (3) and (6), be for a term of five years;“ **Art 62 (1b)** he or she attained the minimum age of thirty years but not more than sixty-five years.”; (*Constitution of the Republic of the Gambia: August 8, 1996*)

Gambia 2001 – Constitutional Amendment – FPTP; *Act No. 6 of 2001*; See also Fombad, C. - Inegbedion, N.A ‘Presidential term limits and their impact on constitutionalism in Africa’, In: C. Fombad and C. Murra, *Fostering Constitutionalism in Africa*, p. 15.

Gambia 2017 – Constitutional Amendment – no age limit, only 30 years; **Art. 62 (1b):** „he or she has attained the minimum age of thirty years“. *Constitution of the Republic of The Gambia: January 16, 1997 (as Amended to 2017)*; See also „Mr. President don't backtrack on promise Imposition of Term Limit.“ *The Point Newspaper*, May 3, 2017. See also *Africa Research Bulletin* , 2017, No. 3, p. 21357C, No. 8, 21543C.

Gambia 2019 – Constitutional Amendment – two 5-year terms; **Art. 100 (1)** Subject to subsection (3), the President shall hold office for a term of five years; **Art. 100 (2)** No person shall hold office as President for more than two terms of five years each, whether or not the terms are consecutive.“ *Constitutional Review Commission (2019)*.

GHANA

Ghana 1992 – New Constitution – two 5-year terms; **Art. 66 (1)**. „A person elected as President shall, subject to clause (3) of this article, hold office for a term of four years.; **Art 61 (2)** „A person shall not be elected to hold office as President of Ghana for more than two terms.“ *Constitution of the Republic of Ghana: April 28, 1992*.

GUINEA

Guinea 1990 – New Constitution – two 5-year terms; age 70; **Art. 24**: The President of the Republic shall be elected by direct universal suffrage. The length of his term shall be five years, renewable only once; **Art. 26**. Each candidate for the Presidency of the Republic shall be of Guinean nationality, in possession of his civil and political rights and be at least forty and no more that seventy years old. *Basic Law of the Republic of Guinea: December 23, 1990*.

Guinea 2001 – Constitutional Amendment. The length of the presidential term was extended from five to seven years; the reform also eliminated the provision that a President can be re-elected only once; abolished the maximum age of 70 years for presidential candidates; **Art. 24**. „The President of the Republic shall be elected by direct universal suffrage. His term of office shall be seven years and shall be renewable.“ **Art. 26**. “Each candidate for the Presidency of the Republic must be of Guinean nationality, enjoy all civil and political rights and be at least forty years old.” *Basic Law of the Republic of Guinea: December 23, 1990 (as Amended to November 11, 2001)*. See also *BBC Monitoring Africa*, 15 November 2001.

Guinea 2010 – New Constitution – Absolute majority; two 5-years terms; **Art. 27**. „The President of the Republic shall be elected by direct universal suffrage. His term of office shall be five years, renewable once. In no case may anybody serve more than two presidential terms, consecutive or not.“ *Constitution of the Republic of Guinea: 2010*.

Guinea 2019-2020 – New Constitution – two 6-year terms; resetting the current term count for the purposes of term limits of the incumbent president; **Art. 40**. „The President of the Republic is elected by direct universal suffrage for a term of six (6) years, renewable once.“ See *République de Guinée, Constitution du 22 mars 2020*.

IVORY COAST

Ivory Coast 2000 – New Constitution – Two 5-years terms; age 40-65 years limit; absolute vote majority; **Art. 35**. „The President of the Republic is elected for five years by universal direct suffrage. He is only reeligible one time. The candidate to the presidential election must be forty years of age at least and sixty-five years at most. He must be Ivorian by birth, born of a father and of a mother themselves Ivorian by birth.“ **Art. 36**. „The election of the President of the Republic is acquired by an absolute majority of the suffrage expressed.“ *Constitution of the Republic of Côte d'Ivoire: July 23, 2000*.

Ivory Coast 2004 – Constitutional Amendment - age 35; **Art. 35**. „The President of the Republic is elected for five years by direct universal suffrage. He is only re-eligible one time. The candidate must enjoy his civil and political rights and be at least 35 years old. He must be exclusively of Ivorian nationality, born of a father or mother of Ivorian origin.“ *Constitution of the Republic of Côte d'Ivoire: July 23, 2000 (as Amended to 2004)*.

Ivory Coast 2016 – New Constitution – Point Zero; Art. 55. „The President of the Republic is elected for five years by direct universal suffrage. He may be re-elected only once. He chooses a vice-president of the Republic, who is elected concurrently with him. The candidate for the presidential election should be in possession of his civil and political rights and should be at least thirty-five years old. He must be exclusively of Ivoirian nationality, born of a father or mother who is of Ivoirian origin. *Côte d'Ivoire's Constitution of 2016*.

KENYA

Kenya 1997 – New Constitution - Stricter conditions for the election of the President; set the number of signatures (1,000) for a presidential candidate; **Art. 138 (4)**. A candidate is declared elected President if he obtains - a) more than half of all votes cast in the election and b) at least 25% of the votes cast in each of more than half of the precincts. *The Constitution of Kenya 1997*.

Kenya 1999 – Unsuccessful discussion of a third presidential term for President Daniel arap Moi. E.g. Cheeseman, Nic (2019). Should I Stay or Should I go? Term Limits, Elections, and Political Change in Kenya, Uganda, and Zambia. In: Baturo, Alexander – Elgie, Robert (2019). *The Politics of Presidential Term Limits*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 326-328.

Kenya 2010 – New Constitution - Two 5-year term limit; no age limit; **Art. 138 (4)** A candidate shall be declared elected as President if the candidate receives (a) more than half of all the votes cast in the election; and (b) at least twenty-five per cent of the votes cast in each of more than half of the counties. **(5)** If no candidate is elected, a fresh election shall be held within thirty days after the previous election and in that fresh election the only candidates shall be (a) the candidate, or the candidates, who received the greatest number of votes; and (b) the candidate, or the candidates, who received the second greatest number of votes.“ **Art. 142. (1)** The President shall hold office for a term beginning on the date on which the President was sworn in, and ending when the person next elected President in accordance with Article 136 (2) (a) is sworn in. (2) A person shall not hold office as President for more than two terms. *The Constitution of Kenya, 2010*.

LIBERIA

Liberia 1986 – New Constitution – two 6-year terms; absolute vote majority; age 35 let; 10 years residency. **Art. 50.** „The Executive Power of the Republic shall be vested in the President who shall be Head of State, Head of Government and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of Liberia. The president shall be elected by universal adult suffrage of registered voters in the Republic and shall hold office for a term of six years commencing at noon on the third working Monday in January of the year immediately following the elections. No person shall serve as President for more than two terms.“ **Art. 52.** „No person shall be eligible to hold the office of President or Vice–President, unless that person is (a) a natural born Liberian citizen of not less than 35 years of age; (b) the owner of unencumbered real property valued at not less than twenty-five thousand dollars; and (c) resident in the Republic ten years prior to his election, provided that the President and the Vice–President shall not come from the same County.“ *Constitution of the Republic of Liberia (1986)*

Liberia 2011 - Unsuccessful Constitutional Amendment – 5 years residency - **Art. 52(c)** “A proposed amendment would have shortened the residency requirement to five years, as well as specify that residency must be held for five continuous years immediately prior to the election”. *AllAfrica.com*, 14 July, 2010; *Daily Observer*, 21 September, 2011, *AFP*, 31 August 2011.

Liberia 2020 – Unsuccessful Constitutional Amendment – Reducing the term of from six to five years. *FrontPage Africa*, 1 July 2021.

MALAWI

Malawi 1995 – New Constitution – two 5-years terms; **Art. 83. (1)** „The President and the Vice-President shall hold office for five years. **(2)** The President or Vice-President may serve a maximum of two consecutive terms.“ *Constitution of the Republic of Malawi: May 16, 1994* See VonDoepp, Peter (2019). The Politics of Presidential Term Limits in Malawi. In: Baturo, Alexander – Elgie, Robert (2019). *The Politics of Presidential Term Limits*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 291-310.

Malawi 2000-2003 – Campaign for Third Presidential Term by UDF, 2002 unsuccessful attempt to abolish presidential terms altogether. *Africa Research Bulletin*, 2002, No. 6, p. 14888B+C, 14889A; *Africa Research Bulletin*, 2002, No. 7, p. 14928. Again, in July 2003 rejected by Parliament. See in detail: VonDoepp, Peter (2019). The Politics of Presidential Term Limits in Malawi. In: Baturo, Alexander – Elgie, Robert (2019). *The Politics of Presidential Term Limits*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 294-298; Morrow, Seán (2006) Toxic mushrooms? The Presidential third-term debate in Malawi. In: Southall, Roger – Melber, Henning (eds.). *Legacies of Power. Leadership Change and Former Presidents in African Politics*. Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, pp. 151-174.

Malawi 2006–2007 – Malawi Law Commission – Muluzi’s content interpretation „two consecutive terms“ means possibility to candidate for third mandate in 2009 election. Malawi Election Committee rejected Muluzi’s nomination application. Ampofo, Nana Adu, „Election 2009: Malawian Constitutional Court Confirms Former Leader’s Ineligibility as Presidential Candidate. *Global Insight Daily Analysis*, 18 May 2009; VonDoepp, Peter (2019). The Politics of Presidential Term Limits in Malawi. In: Baturo, Alexander – Elgie, Robert (2019). *The Politics of Presidential Term Limits*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 299-300.

Malawi 2009 – Discussion on Mutharika’s third presidential term or extending the presidential terms to seven years. See *Nation*, 25 August 2009; *BBC Monitoring Africa*, 10 December 2009;

Malawi 2012 – After the death of President Mutharika, an **unconstitutional attempt** to not appoint vice-president Joyce Banda for ineligibility (she resigned from the ruling DPP). See e.g. Dionne, Kim Yi – Dulani, Boniface (2012). Constitutional Provisions and Executive Succession: Malawi’s 2012 Transition in Comparative Perspective. In: *African Affairs*, Vol. 112, No. 446, pp.117-118,

MALI

Mali 1992 – New Constitution – Two 5-years terms (previously unlimited number of presidential terms; **Art. 21:** „The President of the Republic is elected for a five-year term by direct universal suffrage. Candidates for the office of President of the Republic must be of Malian nationality, enjoy all their civil and political rights and be at least thirty-five years of age on the date of the election.“ *Constitution of the Republic of Mali (Decree No. 92-073): February 25, 1992.*

Mali – 2001 – Constitutional Amendment (In addition, presidential immunity). The referendum was cancelled by the President on the basis of the negative attitude of the majority of political actors *Africa Research Bulletin*, 2001, No. 1, p. 14266; Wing (2008). Wing, Susanna D. 2008. *Constructing Democracy in Transitioning Societies of Africa: Constitutionalism and Deliberation in Mali*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan pp. 88 – 89.

MAURITANIA

Mauritania 2006 – New Constitution - Two 5-year terms; absolute majority; age 40-75 years limit; **Art. 26** “The President of the Republic is elected for five years by universal direct suffrage. He is elected with the absolute majority ... Every citizen born Mauritanian enjoying their civil and Political rights and at least forty (40) years old, and at most seventy-five (75) year old... **Art. 28.** „The

President of the Republic is re-eligible one sole time.“ *Mauritania's Constitution of 1991 with Amendments through 2012*

Mauritania 2016 – Constitutional Commission - Suggested constitutional changes including no term limit – constitutional commission – rejected. *Agence France Presse*, 8 October 2016; *Africa Confidential*, 2016, Vol. 57, No. 13, 24 June, p.7;

Mauritania 2019 – Constitutional Commission - Suggested constitutional changes including no term limit – rejected by parliament. See *BBC Monitoring Middle East*, 14 January 2019.

NAMIBIA

Namibia 1998 – Constitutional Amendment - Notwithstanding **Art. 29(3)**, the first President of Namibia may serve three terms as President. (*First Amendment to the Namibian Constitution, Act No. 34 of 1998 (GG 2014)*); See also *Africa Research Bulletin*, 1998, No. 10, p. 13281B; *Africa Research Bulletin*, 1998, No. 11, p. 13320A, *Africa Research Bulletin*, 1998, No. 12, 13360C-13361A37; Melber, Henning (2006). 'Presidential indispensability' in Namibia: moving out of office but staying in power? In: Southall, Roger – Melber, Henning (eds.). *Legacies of Power. Leadership Change and Former Presidents in African Politics*. Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, pp. 98-119.

NIGER

Niger 1996 – New Constitution – two 5-year terms, absolute majority, age 40 years. **Art. 37.** „The President of the Republic is elected for five (5) years by free, direct, equal and secret universal suffrage. The President is re-eligible only once. Any native-born Nigerian who is at least 40 years old.“ *Constitution of the Republic of Niger: May 22, 1996*.

Niger 2008-2009 – Presidential Memorandum - Attempt to remove presidential terms, memorandum: „We call on the government and the National Assembly to find a way of extending President Mamadou Tandja’s term for a three-year period so as to allow the definitive resolution of the insecurity in the north,“ ended by military coup *Demonstration Over Presidential Term, Africa Research Bulletin*, 2008, No. 12, p17782B; President seeks third term, *Africa Research Bulletin*, 2009, No. 5, p.17967A; No. 6, 18000A; No. 7, 18035A; President’s mandate not recognised, *Africa Research Bulletin*, 2009, No. 12, 18213B.

Niger 2010 – New Constitution – two 5-year terms; age 35 years; **Art. 47.** „The President of the Republic is elected for five (5) years by universal, free, direct, equal and secret suffrage. The President shall be re-eligible only once. No one may exercise more than two (2) presidential terms or extend the term of office for any reason whatsoever. Are eligible to the Presidency of the Republic, male and female persons who are Nigerian citizens by birth, of nationality of origin, who are at least thirty-five (35) years old on the day of filing the candidacy, enjoying their civil and political rights.“ *The Constitution of the Republic of Niger of 25 November 2010 as amended by Constitutional Amendment Act 2017-50 of 6 June 2017 relating to the amendment of Article 47(5)*.

NIGERIA

Nigeria 1999 - New Constitution – two 4-year terms; Art. 137, par. 1(b) ...he has been elected to such office at any two previous elections; Art. 135, par. 2, ...the President shall vacate his office at the expiration of a period of four years. *Nigerian Constitution 1999*

Nigeria 2005-2007 – Memorandum – third term; Omotola, J. S. (2006). Constitutional review and the third term agenda: Nigeria's democracy at the crossroads. *The Constitution*, Vol. 6, No. 3, pp. 57-77; Alemoh, Thomas Anomoaphe (2011). Strategic Silence as a Tool of Political Communication: A Reflection on Third Term Saga and Etteh Gate in Nigerian Politics. In: *LWATI: A Journal of*

Contemporary Research, Vol. 8, No. 1, pp. 272-285, 2011. See also „Nigeria’s Obasanjo won’t seek third term: Instability feared: Senate rejects bid for constitutional amendment“ In: *National Post*, 19 May 2006; „Obasanjo is a joker, liar, he was behind third term.“ *Punch*, 27 September 2013, *Vanguard*, 7 April 2012; Gillies, Alexandra (2007). Obasanjo, the donor community and reform implementation in Nigeria. In: *The Round Table*, Vol. 96, No. 392, p. 581-582; Olaniyi, Lamidi Kamal (2014). Democracy and Succession Problems in Nigeria: The Fourth Republic Experience. In: *An International Journal of Arts and Humanities*, Vol. 3, No. 3, p. 53-54; Falode, A. J. (2013). Nation-building Initiatives of the Olusegun Obasanjo Administration in the Fourth Republic, 1999-2007. In: *University of Mauritius Research Journal*, Volume, p. 6-7; Campbell, J. (2011). *Nigeria: Dancing on the Brink*. New York: Rowman and Little field Publishers, INC. There are other new restrictive conditions for the election of the President: „The presidential candidate with a plurality of votes has to secure at least 25 per cent of votes in two-thirds of the states, in order to be declared elected.“ *Africa Confidential*, Vol. 54, No. 18, 6 September 2013, p.4

Nigeria 2019 – Movement for the Approval of Buhari Third Term. See *Daily Independent*, (London), 1 December 2019; Akinwale, Adedayo (2019): Falana: Emasculation of Opposition, Constriction of Democratic Space Signs of Buhari’s Alleged Third Term Bid. *This Day* (Lagos), 24 December 2019.

RWANDA

Rwanda 1991 – New Constitution – Two 5-year term; absolute vote majority; age 35 years; **Art. 40.** The President of the Republic shall be elected by direct universal suffrage by an absolute majority of votes, according to the procedure prescribed by law. Candidates to the Presidency of the Republic must be at least thirty-five years of age. The President of the Republic shall be elected for a 5-year mandate. He may be re-elected. However, he may not exercise more than two successive mandates.“ *Constitution of the Republic of Rwanda, May 30, 1991.*

Rwanda 2003 – New Constitution – FPTP, two 7-year terms; **Art. 99.** „A candidate for the office of the Presidency of the Republic must: (3) have at least one parent of the Rwandan nationality by origin; (7) be at least thirty-five (35) years old on the date of submission of his or her candidacy;“ **Art. 100.** „The election of the President of the Republic shall be by universal suffrage through a direct and secret ballot with a simple majority of the votes cast.“; **Art. 101.** „The President of the Republic is elected for a term of seven (7) years renewable only once. Under no circumstances shall a person hold the office of President of Republic for more than two terms.“ *Constitution of the Republic of Rwanda: May 26, 2003*

Rwanda 2010 – Constitutional Amendment – no change.

Rwanda 2015 – New Constitution (Approved by Referendum)– two 5-year terms; **Art. 101.** The President of the Republic is elected for a five (5) year term. He or she may be re-elected once. *The Constitution of the Republic of Rwanda of 2003 Revised in 2015.* See also *Dow Jones Institutional News*, 18 December 2015; *Africa Confidential*, Vol. 56, No. 19, 25 September 2015, p.12.

SAO TOME

Sao Tome 1990 – New Constitution - Two 5year terms; absolute majority, age 35 years; **Art. 71 (1)** „The President of the Republic is elected by universal, direct and secret suffrage“; **(2)** „Only a citizen of Sao Tomean origin, older than 35 years, may be elected President of the Republic“; **Art. 5 (1).** „The President of the Republic is elected for five years“; **(3)** „The number of successive mandates of the President must not exceed two.“ *Constitution of the Democratic Republic of São Tomé and Príncipe (Law No. 7/90): November 5, 1975 (as Amended to September 20, 1990).*

Sao Tome 2003 – New Constitution - Three years residence, Sao Tome origin of parents; **Art.78 (2)**. „Eligibility for election as President of the Republic is open only to Sao Tomean citizens of origin, the children of a Sao Tomean father or mother, who are over 35 years of age and have no other nationality, and who, in the three years immediately preceding the date of their candidature, have been permanently resident in the national territory.“; **Art. 79 (1)**. „The President of the Republic is elected for five years.“; **(3)** Re-election for a third consecutive term of office, or during the five-year period immediately following the end of the second consecutive mandate, is not permitted.“ *Constitution of the Democratic Republic of São Tomé and Príncipe (Law No. 1/2003): November 5, 1975 (as Amended to January 29, 2003)*

SENEGAL

Senegal 2001 - New Constitution – Two 5-year terms; age limit 35 years; absolute majority; **Art. 26**. „The President of the Republic shall be elected by direct universal suffrage and by majority vote in two rounds.“; **Art. 27**. „The duration of the mandate of the President of the Republic is five years. The mandate is renewable only one time.“ This provision cannot be revised except by a referendary or constitutional law.” *Constitution of the Republic of Senegal: January 22, 2001*

Senegal 2008 – Constitutional Amendment – Two 7-year terms; **Art. 27**. “The term of office of the President of the Republic shall be seven years. The mandate shall be renewable only once.“ *Constitutional Act No. 2088- 66 of October 21, 2008, Africa Confidential, Vol. 52, No. 25, 2011, p. 9.*

Senegal 2016 – Constitutional Amendment – Two 5-years terms; age limit 35-75; **Art. 27**. „The term of office of the President of the Republic shall be five years. No one should exercise more than two consecutive terms.“; **Art. 28**. „Every candidate for the Presidency of the Republic must be exclusively of Senegalese nationality, enjoy his civil and political rights, be at least thirty-five (35) years old and not more than seventy-five (75) years old the day of election.“ *Referendum Act No. 2016-10 of April 5, 2016.*

SEYCHELLES

Seychelles 1993 – New Constitution – three 5-year terms; no age limit; absolute vote majority; **Art. 52. (1)** “Subject to this article, a person elected as President shall hold office for a term of five years.“; **(2)** A person shall hold office as President under this Constitution for not more than three terms.; **Schedule 3 (6)**. „Where immediately prior to the day appointed for holding an election to the office of President, there is only one candidate for election and that candidate has, since the day immediately following the day of the closing of nominations, been the sole candidate, no ballot shall be held and that candidate shall be declared by the Electoral Commissioner to be elected to the office of President.“ **(8)**. „Where in an election to the office of President three or more candidates take part in any ballot and no candidate receives more than fifty percent of the votes cast, then, if the result of the ballot is that (a) all the candidates receive the same number of votes; (b) two or more candidates receive, equally, the highest number of votes; or (c) one candidate receives the highest number of votes and two or more candidates receive, equally, the second highest number of votes, only the candidates referred to in subparagraph (a), subparagraph (b) or subparagraph (c), as the case may be, shall take part in the subsequent ballot and the other candidates, if any, shall be eliminated.“ *Constitution of the Republic of Seychelles (Preparation and Promulgation) Act (No. 2 of 1992): June 21, 1993.*

Seychelles 1995 – Constitutional Amendment – presidential candidate’s residency; **Art. 10A**. "Persons born outside Seychelles after Independence Day but before 5th June 1979 whose mother was a Seychellois at the time of the person's birth is eligible to become a citizen of Seychelles by naturalisation or registration." *Constitution of the Republic of Seychelles (Third Amendment) Act (No. 19 of 1995): November 15, 1995.*

Seychelles 2016 – Constitutional Amendment – two 5-year terms; **Art. 52. (1).** „Subject to this article, a person elected as President shall hold office for a term of five years; **(2).** “A person shall hold office as President under this Constitution for not more than two terms. *Constitutional Amendment, Act 4 of 2016, 16 October 2016.*

SIERRA LEONE

Sierra Leone 1991 – New Constitution –two 5-years terms; absolute majority; age 40 years; **Art. 46. (1)** „No person shall hold office as President for more than two terms of five years each whether or not the terms are consecutive.“ *Constitution of the Republic of Sierra Leone: September 24, 1991.*

SOUTH SUDAN

South Sudan 2005 – Provisional Constitution – two 5-years terms; absolute vote majority; age 35 years; **Art. 97.** “There shall be a President for the Government of Southern Sudan who shall be directly elected by the people of Southern Sudan in general elections according to this Constitution and the provisions set forth by the National Elections Commission in accordance with the electoral law.“; **Art. 98.** “A candidate for the office of the President of the Government of Southern Sudan shall: (a) be a Sudanese by birth; (c) be at least forty years of age,“ etc.; **Art. 102.** “The tenure of the office of the elected President of the Government of Southern Sudan shall be five years, commencing from the date of assumption of office, and the same President may be re-elected for one more term only.“ *The Interim Constitution of Southern Sudan, 2005.*

South Sudan 2011– New Constitution – 5-year term; no term limit; absolute vote majority; age 35 years; **Art. 100 (1).** „The tenure of the office of the President of the Republic of South Sudan shall be five years.“ **(2).** „Notwithstanding Article (1) above, during the transitional/ period the tenure of the office of the President of the Republic of South Sudan shall be four years from July 9, 2011.“ *South Sudan's Constitution of 2011.*

South Sudan 2013 – Constitutional Amendment – Age 40 years; **Art. 98.** “A candidate for the office of the President shall: (c) Minimum age of head of state be at least forty years of age“. *South Sudan's Constitution of 2011 with Amendments through 2013.*

South Sudan 2015 – Constitutional Amendment – Unconstitutional three-year extension of the presidency by parliament. *Transitional Constitution 2011 (Amendment No.3 Act 2016)*; See *Voice of America Press Releases and Documents*, 10 July 2015; *Sudan Tribune*, 21 July 2015

South Sudan 2018 Constitutional Amendment 5/2018 - Unconstitutional three-year extension of the presidency by parliament. **Art. 100 (2).** The term and mandate of the Office of the President of the Republic of South Sudan is hereby extended from 12th August 2018 to 12th August, 2021. *The Republic of South Sudan, National Legislature, office of the Clerk, Sitting No. 7/2018, 2 July 2018.*

SUDAN

Sudan 1998 – New Constitution – two 5-year terms; absolute vote majority; age 40 years. **Art. 37.** „There shall be required for eligibility for nomination for the Presidency of the Republic, that the candidate shall be: (c) forty years of age.“; **Art. 38. (2)** „The winning candidate for the President's office is the one who obtains the highest number of votes; provided that the votes shall be more than fifty percent of the total votes of the polling electorate **(3)** Where the percentage mentioned in Sub-article (2) has not been achieved, polling shall be repeated between the two candidates who have obtained highest number of votes.“; **Art. 41.** „The term of office of the President of the Republic shall be five years, commencing from the date of his assumption of office, and the same President may be re-elected for another term only.“ *The Constitution (of Sudan) (1998).*

Sudan 2005 – New Constitution – no change but Point Zero.

Sudan 2015 – Unconstitutional Third term – *Africa Confidential*, 2015, Vol. 56, No. 2, 23 January, p. 5.

TANZANIA

Tanzania 1995 – Constitutional Amendment - absolute majority, **Art. 40 (2)** No person shall be elected more than twice to hold the office of President; Art. 42 (3) ...the person elected as President ... shall hold the office of President for a period of five years...“ See *Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania: April 26, 1977 (as Amended to June 30, 1995)*.

Tanzania 1999 – Memorandum - Discussion on the introduction of a third presidential mandate in Zanzibar, and possibly in Tanzania. See *Africa Research Bulletin*, 1999, No. 11, p. 13760.

Tanzania 2020 – Parliamentary Debate - Renewed debate in Parliament 2020, petition to remove presidential terms. *Daily News*, 8 September 2020.

TOGO

Togo 1992 – New Constitution – two 5-year terms; absolute majority; age 45 years; **Art. 59.** „The President of the Republic shall be elected by direct universal suffrage for a term of five years, renewable one time only. In no case may he serve more than two terms.“ **Art. 62.** „he has not reached the age of 45 years when he announces his candidacy.“ *Constitution of the Togolese Republic: September 27, 1992*.

Togo 2002 – Constitutional Amendment – No limit, 5-year term; FPTP; age 35 years; **Art. 59.** „The President of the Republic is elected by universal, direct and secret suffrage for a mandate of five (5) years. He may be re-elected.“ **Art. 60.** „The election of the President of the Republic shall take place through uninominal majority vote with one (1) ballot. The President of the Republic is elected by the majority of the votes cast.“ **Art. 62.** is not at least thirty-five (35) years of age on the date of the registration of the candidacy. *Constitution of the Togolese Republic: September 27, 1992 (as Amended to December 31, 2002)*.

Togo 2005 – Unconstitutional Amendment + Change of Electoral law - The amendments to the rule on incompatibility allowed Faure Gnassingbé, who was Minister of Mines, to become on that same Sunday successively a Member of the National Assembly, President of the National Assembly and interim President of the Republic. See Togo’s Popular protests and demands for constitutional reform. *Constitutionet*, 25 September 2017.

Togo 2017 – Unsuccessful Constitutional Amendment – limiting the term of the President to five years; renewable only once; making presidential elections follow a two-round system instead of FPTP; Togo: que contient l’avant-projet de loi sur la réforme de la Constitution?, *RFI Afrique*, September 19, 2017.

Togo 2019 – Constitutional Amendment – two 5-years term without the retroactive application. *IHS Global Insight Daily Analysis*, 1 November 2017; Togo’s Popular protests and demands for constitutional reform. *Constitutionet*, 25 September 2017; République Togolaise Travail-Liberté-Patrie, *La Constitution De La IVe République Adoptée par Référendum le 27 septembre 1992 Promulguée le 14 octobre 1992 Révisée par la loi n°2002-029 du 31 décembre 2002 modifiée par la loi n°2007-008 du 07 février 2007 et modifiée par la loi n° 2019 - 003 du 15 mai 2019*.

Togo 2024 – New Constitution – Parliamentary System; President elected by parliament. A Constitutional Coup or Institutional Revolution in Togo? *Constitutionet*, 15 April 2024. „The leader

of the majority party in the Assembly is de facto elected President of the Council for a six-year term. He derives his legitimacy from the National Assembly. In short, he is the head of government, conducts the nation's policy and appoints to civil and military posts.“ *Togo: les députés adoptent la nouvelle Constitution.*

UGANDA

Uganda 1995 – New Constitution - two 5-year terms, no-party system. *Constitution of the Republic of Uganda: September 27, 1995*

Uganda 2005 – Constitutional Amendment – multiparty-system; majority vote system; term limit removed; age limit 35-75 years; **Art. 105 (1)**. „A person elected President under this Constitution shall, subject to clause (3) of this article, hold office for a term of five years.“; **(2)** „A person may be elected under this Constitution to hold office as President for one or more terms as prescribed by this article.“; **Art. 102** „A person is not qualified for election as President unless that person is (b) not less than thirty-five years and not more than seventy-five years of age,” etc.; *Constitution of the Republic of Uganda: September 27, 1995 (as Amended to 2005)*. See Sekindi, Fredrick Derek (2015). *A Critical Analysis of the Legal Construction of the Presidency in Post-1995 Uganda*. Pretoria (A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy); Tangri, Roger – Mwenda, Andrew M. (2010). President Museveni and the politics of presidential tenure in Uganda. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, Vol. 28, No. 1, pp. 31-49; See e.g. Cheeseman, Nic (2019). Should I Stay or Should I go? Term Limits, Elections, and Political Change in Kenya, Uganda, and Zambia. In: Baturo, Alexander – Elgie, Robert (2019). *The Politics of Presidential Term Limits*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 324-326; Okuku, Juma Athony (2005). *Beyond Third-Term Politics. Constitutional amendments and Museveni's quest for the life presidency in Uganda*. Johannesburg: Institute for Global Dialogue; Okuku, Juma Athony (2005). *Beyond Third-Term Politics. Constitutional Reform and Democratic Government in Uganda*. *East African Journal of Peace and Human Rights*, Vol. 11, No. 2, pp.182-219; Makara, Sabiti (2010). Deepening Democracy through Multipartyism: The Bumpy Road to Uganda's 2011 Elections. In: *Africa Spectrum*, Vol. 45, No. 2, pp. 81-94; Tangri, Roger (2006). Politics and presidential term limits in Uganda. In: Southall, Roger – Melber, Henning (eds.). *Legacies of Power. Leadership Change and Former Presidents in African Politics*. Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, pp.175-196.

Uganda 2017 - Constitutional Amendment- Two-5-years term; age limits removed; **Art. 105 (2)** „A person shall not hold office as President for more than two terms.“ **Art. 102**. „A person is not qualified for election as President if that person—(a) is a citizen of Uganda by birth; (b) is a registered voter; and (c) has completed a minimum formal education of Advanced Level standard or its equivalent.“ *Constitution of the Republic of Uganda: September 27, 1995 (as Amended to December 27, 2017)* See Hitchen, J. (2017). *Age is but a Number: Museveni looks to 2021 & beyond in Uganda*. London, UK: Africa Research Institute; McVeigh, T. (2015). “Rwanda Voters to give President Paul Kagame Right to Rule until 2034.” *The Guardian*, 20 December 2015.; Mtembu, M. (n.d.). “‘Third Termism’ in Africa & Its Socio-Economic Impact.” *Africa Policy Review*; <http://africapolicyreview.com/third-termism-in-africa-and-its-socioeconomic-impact/>; Msemo, M. 2018. “Africa's Great Lakes Region: The most Democratically challenged?” *Pambazuka News*, 2 March 2018.

ZAMBIA

Zambia 1996 – Two constitutional Amendments – candidate's origin of parents; **Art. 34** (3b+f) a both parents of a candidate must be Zambian by birth or descent, and the candidate must have been domiciled in Zambia for 20 years; **Art. 35**: It concerns tenure of the office of President. The 1991 Constitution originally allowed for two five-year terms, *following* the commencement of the Constitution. Now, the President is no longer re-eligible after having served *any* two terms. See e.g. Cheeseman, Nic (2019). Should I Stay or Should I go? Term Limits, Elections, and Political Change

in Kenya, Uganda, and Zambia. Baturo, Alexander – Elgie, Robert (2019). *The Politics of Presidential Term Limits*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, p.316.

Zambia 2000-2001 – Third Term discussion - rejected by parliament, *Africa Research Bulletin*, 2001, No. 3, p. 14338C; *Africa Confidential*, Vol. 42, No. 8, 20 April 2001, p.5; *Africa Confidential*, Vol. 42, No. 10, 18 May 2001, p. 8; Simutanyi, Neo (2006). The contested role of former presidents in Zambia In: Southall, Roger – Melber, Henning (eds.). *Legacies of Power. Leadership Change and Former Presidents in African Politics*. Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, pp. 73-97.

Zambia 2016 – Constitutional amendment – Art. 106 (5a) „to have served a full term as President if, at the date on which the President assumed office, at least three years remain before the date of the next general election; or (5b) not to have served a term of office as President if, at the date on which the President assumed office, less than three years remain before the date of the next general election.“ *Constitution of Zambia (Amendment), No. 2 of 2016*; See also e.g. *Africa Confidential*, Vol. 57, No. 18, 9 September 2016. pp.10-11; *Africa Confidential*, Vol. 57, No. 17, 26 August 2016, pp.9-10; *Africa Confidential*, Vol. 57, No. 23, 18 November 2016, p. 5.

Zambia 2018 – Constitutional Court - Approval of the Third Lungu Presidential Term by Constitutional Court. *Times of Zambia*, 4 May 2018, *Africa Confidential* 21/12, *Africa Research Bulletin*, 2018, pp. 22110.