

## AFRICA RISK CONSULTING

### Country briefing – Senegal

7 July 2014

#### Summary

*President Macky Sall's (2012 – present) Alliance pour la République (APR) loses in key cities in the 29 June local elections, ruining plans to expand the party's nationwide support base. Competing candidates in the election leave the APR and ruling coalition Benno Bokk Yaakar (BBY) fractured. The Parti Socialiste (PS) Dakar mayor Khalifa Sall defeats the APR's outgoing prime minister Aminata 'Mimi' Touré in Dakar and aims for the presidency in 2017. President Sall dismisses Touré and several other defeated APR ministers from government and appoints longstanding confidante Mohamed Dione as prime minister. Dione and finance minister Amadou Ba will focus on the Plan Senegal Emergent (PSE) economic roadmap. Key portfolios – finance, mining, justice and interior – remain unchanged. Political and social tensions build over worsening water shortages and power cuts in the hot, rainy season. The Karim Wade trial scheduled for 31 July is another trigger for unrest.*

#### 1.1 President Sall's APR fails in local elections

President **Macky Sall** (2012 – present) has failed in his ambitious plan to expand the nationwide support base of his **Alliance pour la République (APR)** in the 29 June local elections. The APR lost in most large cities including **Dakar, Ziguinchor, Thiés, Touba, Podor** and **Dagana**. In the drive to expand the APR footprint, party members ran against each other and against candidates of their ruling coalition **Benno Bokk Yaakar (BBY)** partners. This resulted in divisions within both the APR and the BBY. The fractured political scene resulted in more than 2,700 candidate party lists competing in 602 municipalities across the country. Voter turnout was low at 40%.

Following the elections Sall made good on a pledge to dismiss eight APR ministers who lost in the elections, resulting in a government reshuffle on 6 July (see below). Several important figures within

the APR also left the party following the “*crushing*”<sup>1</sup> defeat, including its coordinator **Moustapha Cissé Lô**.<sup>2</sup>

The **Parti Socialiste (PS)** Dakar mayor **Khalifa Sall** (no relation to the president) won the key battle of the election. He defeated the APR’s outgoing prime minister **Aminata ‘Mimi’ Touré** in Dakar’s **Grand Yoff** neighbourhood. President Sall removed Touré from the head of government on 4 July. Touré, who replaced **Aboul Mbaye** as prime minister in September 2013, came to prominence as the media savvy justice minister in Sall’s first government (April 2012 – September 2013). She oversaw the controversial illicit enrichment investigation focused on **Karim Wade**, the son of former president **Abdoulaye Wade** (2000 – 2012). Several government ministers and APR officials criticised Touré for her “*authoritarian*”<sup>3</sup> and “*combative*”<sup>4</sup> style which they alleged led to divisions within the cabinet and party. The electoral defeat ends Touré’s presidential ambitions.

*“She was popular as justice minister but since becoming PM her reputation has declined. She couldn’t stay [in government]. The president had to remove her, it was a matter of time...if he waited any longer it would have discredited him further.”*

*“The APR and Mimi were so arrogant with these elections....the party was only created in 2008 and they expected to become a force...at a time when the economic situation has deteriorated. Mimi never had a chance in Dakar.”<sup>5</sup>*

Khalifa Sall will now launch a bid for the presidency in 2017. He was elected Dakar mayor in March 2009, defeating Karim Wade. He is a longstanding PS official and was one of the youngest ministers (trade portfolio) in the last government of former president **Abdou Diouf** (1981 – 2000). He has also played an important role in PS election campaigns since the 1990s. The 58-year-old mayor was born in **Louga** and holds postgraduate degrees in history and constitutional law.

Several local sources said that Khalifa Sall had a good record as Dakar mayor. As mayor, he “*brought together members of a broad section of the political establishment*” including members of Wade’s liberal **Parti Démocratique Sénégalais (PDS)**.<sup>6</sup> Sall is also praised for introducing transparent financial management measures to Dakar local government.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Jeune Afrique, 30 Jun 2014.

<sup>2</sup> Senenews, 30 Jun 2014.

<sup>3</sup> Jeune Afrique, 7 Jul 2014.

<sup>4</sup> RFI, 4 Jul 2014.

<sup>5</sup> Source, editor of a respected local publication, Dakar

<sup>6</sup> Source, editor of a respected local publication, Dakar

<sup>7</sup> Source, editor of a respected local publication, Dakar

President Sall unsuccessfully sought to co-opt or eliminate Khalifa Sall prior to the elections.

*"[President] Macky threatened that Khalifa should join the APR, if he wants to keep the city. The president said Khalifa must support his second term. Macky wanted to get rid of his rival, but Khalifa said no. Now that Khalifa has succeeded his next step is the palace."*<sup>8</sup>

The preliminary local elections results confirm the fractured political scene. The PS also won in Podor, with **Aïssata Tall Sall**. Former allies of ex-president Wade retained their strongholds: **Rewmi's Idrissa Seck**, who left the BBY in September 2013, retained Thiés; **Abdoulaye Baldé** retained **Ziguinchor**. Wade's PDS retained **Dagana** with party number two **Oumar Sarr** as well as the religious centre, **Touba**.

Further election controversy surrounded Sall's family members. Preliminary results claimed that the president's brother-in-law **Mansour Faye** narrowly won the northern city of **Saint-Louis**. The government had yet to release the complete official results at the time of writing this briefing on 7 July, despite stating that it would release the results on 2 July. According to a Saint-Louis correspondent for a local publication, Faye's team claimed victory before the preliminary results were announced and sent "*incorrect results*" to local media.

*"Mansour was campaigning for the last two years. They spent a lot of money on this campaign...the stakes were high. This is very serious because it involves the electoral apparatus and gives a scent of what could happen in two years [2017 presidential election]...they are testing the water."*<sup>9</sup>

The president's business-minded younger brother **Aliou Sall** won **Guédiawaye**, on the outskirts of Dakar. However, he fell out with the president and First Lady **Marième Faye** before the election and they refused to support his campaign.<sup>10</sup>

## 1.2 Sall reshuffles government to focus on economy

Sall appointed his chief economic adviser **Mohamed Ben Abdallah Dione** as prime minister on 5 July, replacing Touré (see above). Dione was previously a presidential adviser with ministerial rank in charge of monitoring the implementation of the economic roadmap **Plan Senegal Emergent (PSE)**. A trained computer engineer and economist, the 54-year-old started his career at **IBM** before joining the West Africa central bank **Banque Centrale des Etats de l'Afrique de l'Ouest (BCEAO)**. He also

<sup>8</sup> Source, editor of a respected local publication, Dakar

<sup>9</sup> Source, editor of a respected local publication, Dakar

<sup>10</sup> Source, editor of a respected local publication, Dakar



worked as an expert on the **Maghreb** for the **United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD)** and later at the economic department of the Senegalese embassy in **France**.<sup>11</sup>

Dione is a “*very close confidante*” of the president.<sup>12</sup> He was Sall’s chief of staff during his appointments as prime minister and president of the **Assemblée Nationale** between 2004 and 2008. Dione returned from the **United Nations Industrial Development Organisation** after Sall came to power in 2012. Dione’s peers describe him as “*hardworking, tactful and close to the president*”.<sup>13</sup>

The other prime minister candidate **Amadou Ba** remained in his position as finance minister. Along with Dione, Ba is “*one of the last people that remain by Sall’s side...there are not many Sall people left*”.<sup>14</sup> Dione and Ba will focus on the PSE, the 10-year national development programme which aims to increase growth to 7% by 2017, at an estimated cost of \$21 billion.<sup>15</sup> Dione played a leading role at the donor and investor conference **Groupe consultatif pour le Sénégal** in **Paris, France** on 24-25 February at which the government secured commitments of \$7.8 billion.

An **International Monetary Fund (IMF) Policy Support Instrument (PSI)** review released on 2 July said the economy needed “*deep reforms*” for the PSE to succeed. It urged the government to focus on “*raising economic efficiency more than increasing the volume of investment*”. The IMF called for “*accelerating reforms to improve the business environment*” and improving fiscal transparency. However, the IMF maintained its forecast that economic growth would increase to 4.9% in 2014 due to a rebound in agriculture, mining and industry.

Several key portfolios remained unchanged in the reshuffle, including:

- Justice minister **Sidiki Kaba**;
- Foreign affairs minister **Mankeur Ndiaye**;
- Mines minister **Aly Ngouille Ndiaye**; and
- Interior minister **Abdoulaye Daouda Diallo**.

The outgoing ministers lost in their constituencies in the local elections. Among the changes in the 38-member government,

- Mansour Faye replaced **Pape Diouf** as water and sanitation minister;

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<sup>11</sup> Les Afriques, 7 Jul 2014.

<sup>12</sup> Source, editor of a respected local publication, Dakar

<sup>13</sup> Jeune Afrique, 7 Jun 2014.

<sup>14</sup> Source, editor of a respected local publication, Dakar

<sup>15</sup> See previous ARC Senegal briefings

- **Khadim Diop** replaced **Abdou Latif Coulibaly** as minister for good governance;
- **Elimane Kane** replaced **Thierno Alassane Sall** as infrastructure and land transport minister;
- **Mariama Sarr** replaced **Anta Sarr** as minister for families and women's entrepreneurship;
- **Yaya Abdoul Kane** replaced **Cheikh Abiboulaye Dièye** as communications minister;
- **Mame Mbaye Niang** replaced **Benoît Sambou** as youth minister;
- **Oumar Guéye** replaced **Ali Haïdar** as fisheries minister, moving from aviation and tourism.
- **Abdoulaye Diouf Sarr** replaced Guéye as aviation and tourism minister;
- **Abdoulaye Baldé** (different from former Wade ally, see above) replaced **Mor Ngom** as environment minister.

### 1.3 Political and social tensions build

Election and human rights monitors confirmed that the 29 June elections took place in a mostly calm environment. There were no reported violent incidents during voting. However, human rights monitor **Rencontre Africaine Pour la Defense des Droits de l'Homme (Raddho)** said a number of violent incidents as well as money and rice handouts occurred during the campaign period. The **Comité Sénégalais des Droits de l'Homme** said tensions between supporters of political parties in the lead up to the elections were unprecedented in the country's history. Among the violent incidents:

- On 23 June members of the BBY coalition clashed with supporters of Ziguinchor mayor Abdoulaye Baldé at Ziguinchor airport.<sup>16</sup>
- On 20 June supporters of a Marabout<sup>17</sup> set fire to the two homes, the bakery and a vehicle of Moustapha Cissé Lo, APR candidate and vice president of the Assemblée Nationale at the time, for reportedly making insulting remarks in the religious base of Touba. The 19 suspects were released the following day after the intervention of interior minister Abdoulaye Daouda Diallo. The lawyers' body **Union des Magistrats Sénégalais** said their release was an "*unacceptable interference*".<sup>18</sup>
- Several dozen political supporters were injured in the first five days of the local elections campaign period (15-20 June): In **Maka**, **Tambacounda** 14 supporters were injured; in **Kédougou**, 10; in the **Fouta**, one seriously injured; and in **Rufisque**, outside Dakar, political supporters assaulted three journalists.<sup>19</sup>

The Karim Wade trial scheduled for 31 July, as well as worsening water shortages and power cuts in the hot rainy season during the coming months, will also trigger protests. Increasing criticism of the trial from human rights monitors will likely motivate Wade supporters to take to the streets. On 5

<sup>16</sup> Dakar Actu, 23 Jun 2014.

<sup>17</sup> Islamic religious leader with wide-ranging social, economic and political influence

<sup>18</sup> RFI, 26 Jun 2014.

<sup>19</sup> RFI, 20 Jun 2014.



June a grouping of leading human rights monitors<sup>20</sup> issued a joint statement criticising the **Cour de Répression de l'Enrichissement Illicite (CREI)** which will hold the trial. In addition, on 3 June Raddho criticised the government for banning more than a dozen demonstrations.

## 2 Implications

The local election results send a strong message that opposition to Sall's rule is increasing among the electorate. The grievances centre around Sall's inability to improve the economy and ongoing poor service provision, namely, water shortages and power cuts in the capital Dakar. Moreover, the results and the low voter turnout confirm the apathy and disenchantment for the political elite.

The elections end the APR's quest to become the next nationwide political force after the PDS under Wade. It also brings into question its prospects after Sall's rule, due to the fall of potential successor Touré. Sall has also isolated his BBY allies who helped him to power in the 2012 presidential election run-off. He will struggle to win them back to form a coalition to contest the 2017 presidential election.

Prime minister Dione and the reshuffled government provide Sall with one last opportunity to bring in foreign investment to launch the economy before campaigning for the 2017 election begins. If it fails, water shortages and power cuts will exacerbate and trigger increasing street protests against Sall.

Khalifa Sall emerges as the victor of the elections and will challenge Sall in 2017. His ability to reconcile differing political actors and his reputation for transparency – both lacking in the current administration – may place him in good stead in 2017.

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<sup>20</sup> Fédération internationale des ligues des droits de l'homme (FIDH), the Ligue sénégalaise des droits humains (LSDH), la Rencontre africaine pour la défense des droits de l'Homme (RADDHO) and l'Organisation nationale des droits de l'homme (ONDH)