

# Presidents of Africa, life after power!

Niamey Summit: Study on African Presidents and Life After Power

Cheikh Fall

Président / Coordonateur AFRICTIVISTES

 [cheikh.fall@afriktivistes.org](mailto:cheikh.fall@afriktivistes.org)

[www.afriktivistes.org](http://www.afriktivistes.org)

Twitter : @cypher007

The African continent has had more than a hundred presidents across its 55 countries. Some lost their lives on duty; others seem to have entered a "permanent contract" with the Presidency. Politicians have been forced to leave office following citizen insurrections and violent coups. Besides those who cling onto power and those who are forced to leave power, there are those who have given way after free and democratic elections. Some of the retirees of the African "white houses" are privileged people of the political realm; others live in the shadows.

Politics rhymes with the conquest of power to become President but in Africa there is a monarchical devolution, where the confiscation of power for life has been repeatedly observed. Head of State: This coveted position is often the object of manipulations to make it accessible for life for those in power and inaccessible to others. For young nations, most of which are celebrating their fifth decade of independence, some Heads of State have already been in power for more than 40 years, like Muammar Gaddafi of Libya, 36 years for Paul Biya from Cameroon, 33 years for Félix Houphouët-Boigny from Côte d'Ivoire, 24 years for Lansana Conté from Guinea. These are records of longevity for some Heads of State, but for others, their time in power was only the blink of an eye.

What becomes of all these people who have worked with the most secret political files?

While political analysts and other experts examine the records of longevity of current African heads of state, we propose a study on their lives after power. What is the type of reconversion for former African Presidents? Can they reconvert into working life? How do they experience their retirement? Do they retain their institutional advantages? Do they have special status as former Presidents? Do they become persona non grata in their own country? Do they remain in the political struggle to regain power? These are the questions we will answer in order to take stock of the social and political situation of retired Presidents.

Our study is based on **20 countries** with different political realities but which share the same democratic requirements.

List of countries in the study

The Gambia	Togo	Côte d'Ivoire	Gabon	Cameroon
Nigeria	Tunisia	Ghana	Chad	DRC

Madagascar	Guinea Bissau	Benin	Niger	Congo
Senegal	Guinea	Mauritania	Mali	Burkina Faso

With an average length of independence of 58 years, these countries have already accumulated a total of **121 Heads of State** which gives them a ratio of **11 Presidents per country** if we take an average of **5 years per mandate**. This observation testifies to the instability of the regulatory and constitutional duration of the Presidency in Africa. We looked exclusively at presidential retirements in Africa, particularly in the 20 countries of the study. This approach also allows us to focus on term lengths, longevity in power, the reconquest of power after having lost it and forced and violent resignations. A section is reserved for successful resignations or conversions by certain Heads of State.

## Life-long presidents?

In 2014, the five oldest presidents in the world were Africans: **Robert Mugabé**, **Jose Eduardo Dos Santos** and **Teodoro Obiang Nguema**, **Mohamed Abdelaziz** and **Paul Biya**. The five of them alone have accumulated **182 years** of power. On the Ugandan side, the President in office since 1986 has passed a law that removed the age limit for candidates to the presidential election. In terms of amending the Constitution so as to never leave power, Ugandan President **Yoweri Museveni** (33 years in power) now disposes of a measure that gives

him plenty of time to run for as many terms as he would like, for as long as he lives.

However, these attempts to stay in power ended up in the demise of certain presidents. Elected in 2000 following the first power transition after an election in Senegal, President **Abdoulaye Wade** stood against a strong citizen political mobilization in 2011. His decision to run for a third term, although accepted by the Constitutional Council, was hotly contested by the people of Senegal. In the end, he was beaten in the second round and admitted defeat.

In 2014, an unprecedented popular uprising forced President **Blaise Compaoré** to relinquish power after 27 years in power. Wanting to run for a fifth consecutive term, he proposed amending the constitution to remove presidential term limits. On October 30, 2014, constrained by the scale of the social movement, he resigned before going into exile. After a few weeks spent in Morocco, Compaoré settled in Côte d'Ivoire where President Alassane Dramane Ouattara first awarded him a diplomatic passport before granting him Ivorian nationality.



Yoweri Museveni  
Président de la République d'Ouganda  
En fonction depuis 26 janvier 1986



Paul Biya

Président de la République du  
Cameroun depuis 1982

Independent since 1960, Cameroon only saw two presidents in 59 years. After **Ahmadou Ahidjo's** 22 years in power (1960 - 1982), **Paul Biya** celebrated his 37 years in power in 2019. Following a constitutional revision voted in 2008, President Biya has granted himself the right to run for the umpteenth time as his own successor.

“Article 6: The President of the Republic is elected for a term of seven (7) years. **He is re-eligible.**”

Extract of the Constitution of Cameroon

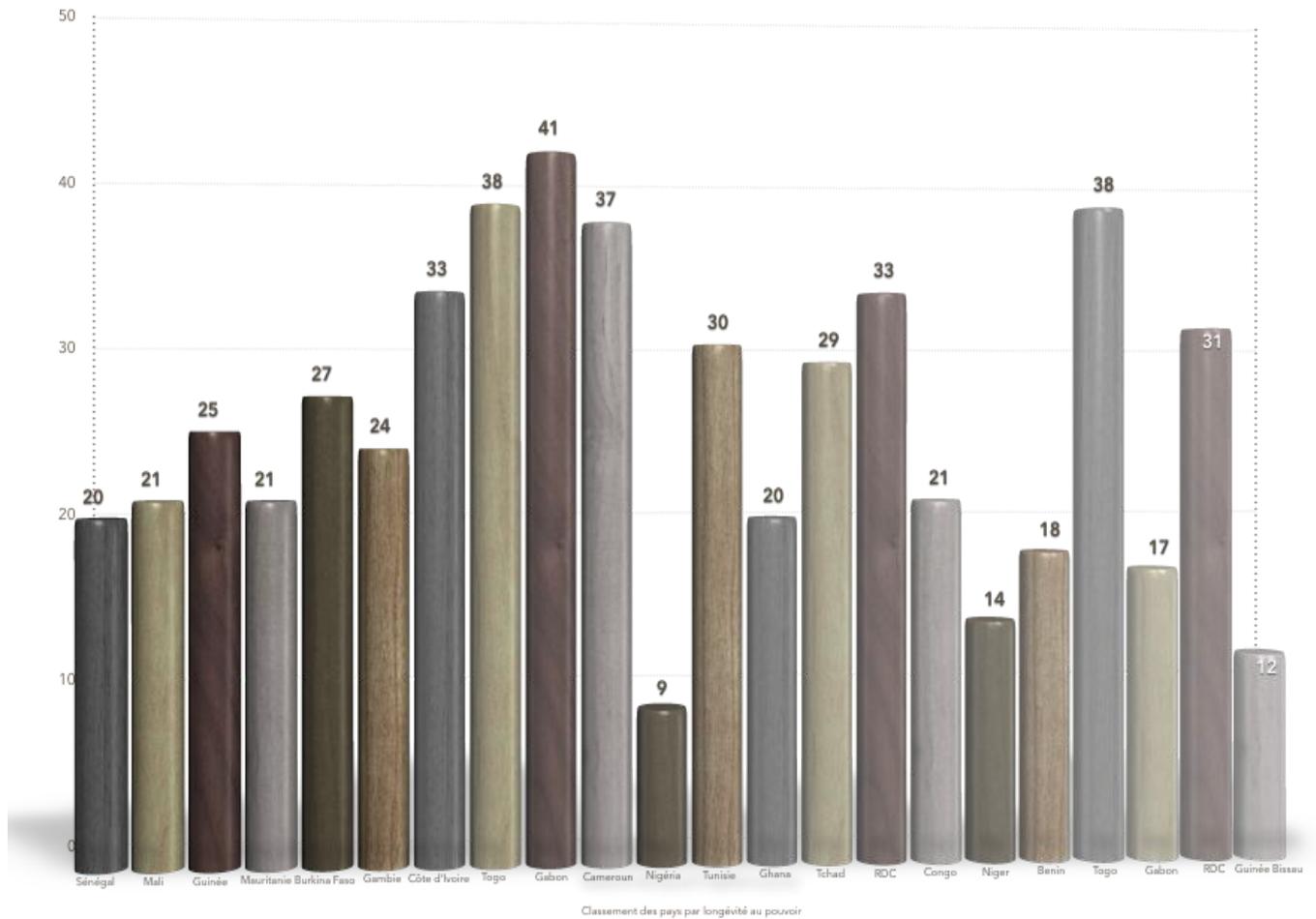
In many cases, the length of presidential mandates determines the nature of power transitions. In Tunisia in 2010, President **Zine el-Abidine Ben Ali** suffered several days of popular protest in favor of the withdrawal of his candidacy as his own succession in the 2014 presidential election. Constrained by the wave of protests, he exiled himself in Saudi Arabia where he died on September 19, 2019 at 83 years old, after being sentenced to five life sentences and more than 200 years in prison.

More recently, in Algeria, President **Abdel Aziz Bouteflika** had to give in to demonstrations that demanded his departure after 20 years in power. For several years, he rarely appeared in public appearances for health reasons (he is wheelchair-bound) and his old age (85 years old in 2019). Elected for the first time in 1999, he was preparing to ask the Algerian people for a fifth term. He resigned on April 2, 2019.



Abdelaziz Bouteflika  
Président de la République algérienne  
27 avril 1999 - 2 avril 2019

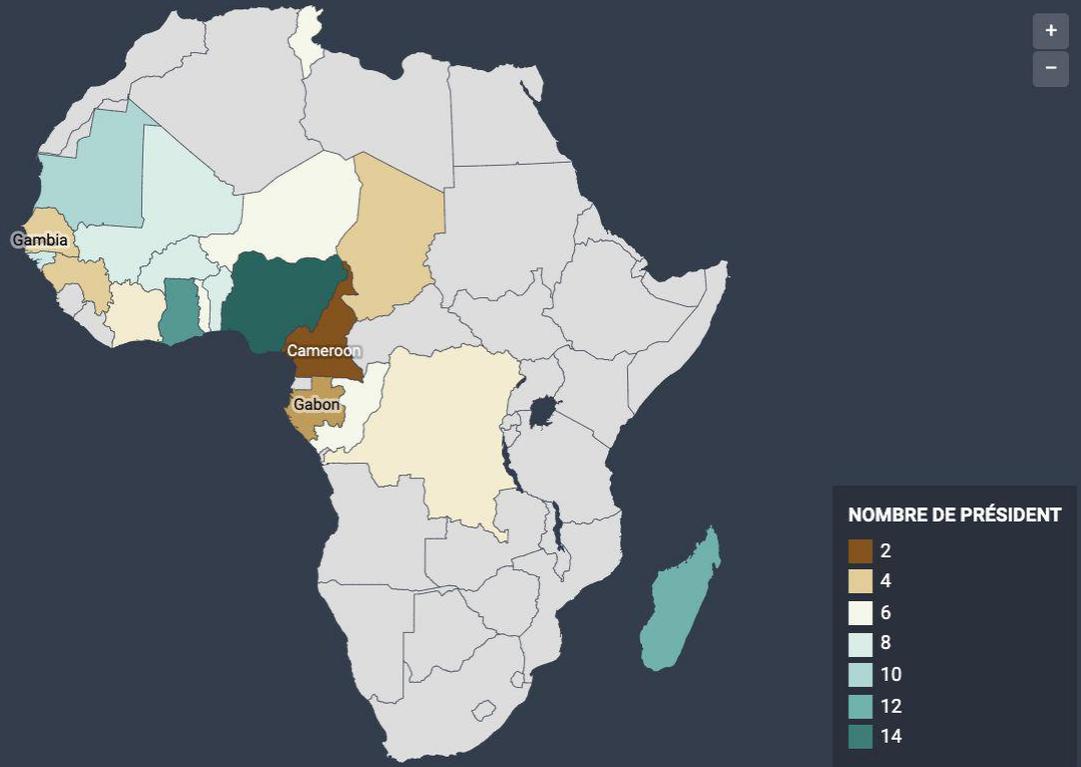
## Which countries had the heads of state with the longest stays in power?



Longévité au pouvoir (par nombre d'année)

## Présidents par pays

Nombre de Présidents par Pays depuis les indépendances



Map: Cheikh FALL • Source: NDI Project

**Cameroon** (two presidents), **Gabon** (three presidents) and **Gambia** (three presidents) win the longevity record for presidents in power. The Constitution of Gabon does not limit the number of presidential terms. In 2017, during the constitutional reform, despite the political opposition's desire to introduce presidential term limits, this provision was not retained. According to the new Constitution, which uses the same terms as the previous one, the president "is elected for seven years (and is re-eligible)". Between father and son, President Omar Bongo and his son Ali cumulated 51 years of power.



Ali Bongo  
Président de la République du Gabon  
depuis 2009

Although Morocco and Djibouti are not part of the list of countries studied for this document, they appear in the longer ivory ranking. The king of Morocco, **Mohammed VI** and **Ismail Oumar Guelleh**, president of the Republic of Djibouti, came to power the same year in 1999 and are still in power now. We can also cite the President of the Republic of Congo, **Denis Sassou-Nguesso**, who came to power in 1997 (after a first period in power from 1979 to 1992), **Idriss Déby**, President of Chad since 1990, and **Omar el-Béchir**, President of Sudan from 1989 to 2019.

At 77, President **Teodoro Biang Nguema** has been at the head of **Equatorial Guinea** since 1979.



## Silent retirements: when we leave power, we are silent!



To wonder about “presidential retirements” is also to wonder about the modes of transitions and departure from power. The nature of the departure is often determined by the way in which the end of the reign was organized.

In **Mali**, Alpha Oumar Konaré, the first Democratic President of Mali, began his retirement with roles in institutional bodies as President of the African Union Commission from July 2003 until 2009 and as a member of the High Council of Francophonie. **Alpha Oumar Konaré** is also one of the founding members of the International Ethical, Political and Scientific Collegium. After these various institutional missions during the first ten years of his retirement, he entered retirement in the true sense of the term by opting not to influence political life. Although he still resides in Mali, he has clearly moved away from current affairs. In his book "Alpha Oumar Konaré, an African from Mali", Bernard Cattaneo interviews the former President who agreed to review his 10 years of presidency. He did, however, frame his tenure against his Predecessor Moussa Traore's who is suspected by some of wanting to discredit Konaré's democratic achievements with political commentary within the media.



In total, three former Malian Heads of State were in power for 40 years and exchanged political power between themselves. **Amadou Toumani Touré** experienced two presidential retirements. President for the first time from 1991 to 1992 after overthrowing **Moussa Traoré**, he stepped back for an 8-year retirement which allowed him to prepare for his return in 2002 before finally resigning in 2012. His second retirement did not end so well, as he was forced into exile in neighboring Senegal for five years.

In **Senegal**, from 2000 to 2014, ex-President **Abdou Diouf** completely erased himself from the country's political life, taking on the position of Secretary General of the Francophonie instead. He spoke neither on the political crisis of 2011 nor on the eventful presidential election of 2012.

Do we need a statute for former Heads of State?

“Former African presidents need a statute to secure emerging democracies and anchor the principle of term limits. In other

words, if the nation is not concerned with making a life after presidency possible, the democratic transition of power is likely to be heavily compromised: the president-in-office could succumb to the temptation to change the rules of the game by using their power of sovereign review to stay at the top; and the defeated president could hatch some conspiracy against his successor to erase the humiliation of the loss of power and/or protect himself from vexatious legal proceedings. Democracy would only have a chance to take root in Africa at the cost of granting a generous status to those who served the nation".  
Stéphane BOLLE - HDR lecturer in public law

## Active “political” retirements

In Ghana, the National Democratic Congress chose 60-year-old ex-President **John Mahama Dramani** as their candidate for the 2020 presidential election. He came to power in 2012 after a victory against **Nana Akufo-Ado** before losing power in 2016 to the same rival. He has since resumed political activity after a retirement.

In Mauritania, before even announcing that he will not change the constitution to run for a third term, President **Mohamed Ould Abdel Aziz** announced to his compatriots that he would return to power after the tenure of his successor, just as Russian president Vladimir Putin had done.

This seems to be the new direction for African Heads of state, hence the new question of limiting the duration of exercise of power alongside that of the number of terms.

Despite the fact that long-term regimes seem to have been the norm in many countries of the continent since independence, there are a number of former African Heads of state who leave office and nevertheless maintain an active political life afterwards.

In Senegal, the historic political opponent who became president in 2000 for 12 years, **Abdoulaye Wade** is still politically active at 93. This political dinosaur is, since he lost power in 2012 against President Macky Sall, active in politics, guarding the reins of the Senegalese Democratic Party (*parti démocratique sénégalais* - PDS), considered the main opposition party.

In Mali, soldier **Amadou Toumani Touré** became president of a year-long transition in March 1991 after overthrowing the regime of **Moussa Traoré** following a popular revolt. He then ceded power to **Alpha Oumar Konaré** who was democratically elected in 1992. After Konaré's two terms, Touré returned to politics to run as a civilian and to be elected for two successive terms, from 2002 to 2012, when he was overthrown by a military coup. A candidate without party in 2002, Touré saw several political parties rally behind him.

**Henri Konan Bédié**, the heir to the Ivorian leader of independence Félix Houphouët-Boigny, was president from 1993 to 1999. After his exile in 1999, he continued to be the face of the Democratic Party of Côte d'Ivoire (*parti démocratique de Côte d'Ivoire* - PDCI) despite challenges. Bédié has led the PDCI and the Rally of Republicans (*Rassemblement des Républicains* - RDA) since 2005, turning it from a dissident party created by Alassane Ouattara to the coalition of the president. Bédié has announced his intention to run in the 2020 presidential elections if his party appoints him.

For Nigeria, **Olusegun Obasanjo**, a career soldier, became president for the first time from 1976 to 1979 as a transitional president. He was the first military leader to peacefully cede power to an elected civilian, Shehu Shagari. He returned in 1999 to be elected as a civilian and served two terms until 2007. Obasanjo is the first Nigerian to serve as a military head of state and civilian president before the current President Muhamed Buhari.

At the end of his second mandate, Obasanjo became chairman of the board of his party, the People's Democratic Party (PDP). He resigned from the position in 2012 and retired from the activities of the PDP to return to the party in 2018.

After a single mandate at the head of Ghana (2012-2017), **John Dramani Mahama** lost the 2016 elections against his political opponent Nana Akufo-Addo. His party, the National Democratic Party, has nominated him as the candidate for the 2020 presidential election. He is expected to run against current Head of State Nana Akufo-Addo. It will be their third face-to-face.

Less than a year after having peacefully ceded power to Félix Tshisekedi during a historic moment for the Democratic Republic of Congo, a country plagued by political instability, former Head of State Joseph Kabila, senator for life, remains very present in the political life of the country. With a majority in Parliament, his coalition, Common Front for the Congo (*Front commun pour le Congo* - FCC), built around his own People's Party for Reconstruction and Democracy (*Parti du Peuple pour la Reconstruction et la Démocratie* - PPDR), maintains control of both the Prime Minister's Office and the Senate presidency, as is

defined by the Constitution. The FCC also has a majority in the National Assembly.

Madagascar is special in that its four successive former presidents have remained in the political arena of the country: **Didier Ratsiraka** (1975-1993 and 1997-2002), **Marc Ravalomana** (2002 to 2009), **Andy Rajoelina** (2009-2014 and 2019 -) and Hery Rajaonarimampianina (2014-2018). Didier Ratsiraka after nine years of exile returned to the country and ran in the presidential election of 2018. He was eliminated in the first round, obtaining only 0.45% of the votes.

Hery Rajaonarimampianina resigned in September 2018 from his presidential post and declared his candidacy, as required by the Malagasy Constitution in order to be re-eligible. Unfortunately, he lost the elections.

Marc Ravalomanana resigned in 2009 under popular pressure. Despite a fine, a four-year prison sentence for abuse of power, forced labor for the deaths of protesters in 2009 and an exile in South Africa, Ravalomanana remains firm and tried to participate in the subsequent presidential elections. The last one took place at the end of December and he lost to his long-time rival Andry Rajoelina in the second round of the elections.

After disputed elections in 2002, former President Didier Ratsiraka went into exile the same year and participated in talks to stabilize the country in 2009. He tried to run for office in 2013 but did not succeed. He was also a candidate in the 2018 presidential elections. However, he failed to make it to the second round.

Another former president who is rarely in the spotlight, Norbert Lala Ratsirahonana, has been out of politics since he was interim president in 1996-1997. In 2018, he broke his silence to declare his support for Andry Rajoelina who ended up winning the elections.

In Benin, **Nicéphore Dieudonné Soglo** (1991-1996) was the first president elected in multiparty elections since 1972. After his defeat against the late President **Mathieu Kerekou** in 1996 and

2001, he became the leader of the Benin Renaissance in 1994. He was elected mayor of Cotonou in 2003 and 2008.

We had not heard much about **Thomas Boni Yayi** (2006-2016) since the end of his two terms until recently. Former President Soglo and himself joined forces to protest in April against the electoral process which excluded the opposition parties due to the new requirements of the CENA.

## Forced and violent retirements: Exile or prison?

In their quest for longevity in power, some presidents were made to leave office by force. Should a special status be reserved for certain former heads of state? What are the retirement options for those heads of state who have been forced or pressured to leave power?

*"In the name of public interest, the nation could legitimately refuse to allow an ex-dignitary to be included in the state budget, while respecting the Constitution and other rules of law; who was forced out of power after dismissal for criminal offense or mismanagement; who has been the subject of a criminal conviction; who has not regularly and openly declared his property or whose declaration of assets reveals unjust enrichment; who has seriously breached his oath; or again - to avoid cumulation of remuneration and mix of genres - who has not withdrawn from active public life, continues to seek office, and occupies certain constitutional functions. Otherwise, the former presidents will appear as illegitimate enjoyers; and confidence in the virtues of democracy will fade.*

"Stéphane Bolle, To the former Presidents, a grateful nation ...

In **Niger**, President **Mamadou Tandja** (first term 1999 - 2004 then second term from 2004 to 2010) has been overthrown in a coup led by Commander **Djibo** (Head of State from February 2010 - April 2011). Initially placed under house arrest, he was transferred to prison in January 2011. He was released a month after the inauguration of the new President **Mamadou Issoufou** in March 2011.

Since October 2014, the former President of **Burkina Faso**, **Blaise Compaoré** has been in exile in Côte d'Ivoire where he acquired Ivorian nationality.

**Amadou Toumani Touré**, ex-President of the Republic of **Mali** lived in Senegal for five years (2012 - 2017) after the coup which ended his functions as head of state. He returned to Mali in

December 2017 where he lives far from political matters even though he was consulted for the probable national dialogue which has been in the works for some time.

In the **Gambia**, ex-president **Yahya Jammeh** left power through the back door (after 22 years in power) by exiling himself in Equatorial Guinea since 2017. He is today suspected of embezzlement and is perhaps not immune from prosecution for various charges including embezzlement and corruption.

In **Chad**, President **Hissène Habré** (eight years in power) found refuge in Senegal after a coup orchestrated by **Idriss Deby** in 1990. For 29 years, he has lived in Senegal where he was arrested and brought to justice before the African Special Court. In May 2016, he was convicted of crimes against humanity, rapes, executions, slavery and kidnappings. He is serving his sentence in the Senegalese capital, where his family also lives.

In **Cameroon**, the fall of President **Amadou Ahidjo** precipitated his exile to France, Spain and Senegal where he settled. He died 7 years later and was buried in Dakar.

In **Guinea**, the two living ex-presidents are in exile. After a series of coups and turbulent transition periods, the two ex-presidents have found refuge outside the country. **Moussa Daddis Camara** (two years in power) found himself in Burkina Faso (after a short stint in Morocco) for health reasons after a failed putsch against him. He renounced the presidency from Ouagadougou. He did not remain silent despite his retreat in December 2009. Five years after his resignation from power, he declared his intention to take part as a candidate in the presidential election of 2015. His candidacy was controversial and contested, and was ultimately rejected by the Constitutional Council. Nonetheless, he still makes statements on political issues related to his country and does not rule out a return to Guinea. Meanwhile, **Sekouba Konaté** (January to December 2010) found himself in Addis Ababa in Ethiopia following the country's presidential transition in December 2010. He became a High Representative for the operationalization of the African Force, responsible for the strategic planning and management of peace support operations

of the African Union. Today he lives in France in a sort of organized exile that has lasted nine years already.

In **Côte d'Ivoire**, following a political crisis and a post-electoral conflict, President **Laurent Gbagbo** was arrested in April 2011. He was then sent to the International Criminal Court (ICC) in November 2011. On January 15, 2019, Gbagbo was acquitted by the ICC, after more than seven years in preventive prison. He currently lives in Belgium. His return to Côte d'Ivoire is not yet on the agenda.

In **Madagascar**, **Didier Ratsiraka** (1997 - 2002) left the country on July 5, 2002 following a tense political situation and a post-electoral crisis opposing him to his rival and successor **Marc Ravalomanana**. He went to France where he lived for nine years before organizing his return to Madagascar in 2011.

These numerous waves of forced retirement in exile or behind bars were all the result of a political crisis (attempt to modify the constitution...) or a pre or post-electoral crisis.

## Successful retirements (reconversions)

Why does life after the presidency seem to be a secondary option for some heads of state in Africa? Making the presidency a permanent job goes against democratic rules and obligations. Difficult power transitions never encourage peaceful and calm career reconversions. When facing charges as heavy as embezzlement, crime against humanity and high treason, it is difficult if not impossible to find a normal and ordinary life. The difficulty in having successful retirements and reconversions lies in the fact that former presidents' relations with authorities are often not very clear. In this flood of complex and difficult situations, some statesmen, former presidents manage to embody the exception. What should be a logical continuation for any exercise of a state function has become an exception.



In **Ghana**, ex-President **Jerry Rawlings** seems to have become an ordinary citizen enjoying his right to political life. He does not hesitate to give his opinion in the

media. He was recently filmed shopping on foot without bodyguards.

In Nigeria, ex-President **Olusegun Obasanjo** embodies the model of perfect reconversion, becoming a great businessman in the private sector after having run his country for 8 years. Today, President Obasanjo is a farmer, hotelier and property developer. He travels the continent as an international consultant on behalf of ECOWAS in the context of electoral observation.

Some who have left power democratically through free and transparent electoral processes have managed to make a "successful reconversion", with economic activity and involvement with international and regional organizations as the main careers outcomes.

**Abdou Diouf**, after 20 years at the head of **Senegal** (1981 - 2000), held the position of Secretary General of the International Organization of the Francophonie (*Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie* - OIF) for three terms. The fact that he had left power in recognition of his electoral defeat helped establish his legitimacy to occupy this position.

We must also ask ourselves the question of whether the possibility of reconversion in international institutions does not encourage heads of state to let go of power (i.e. through a political deal). During the Burkinabé crisis of 2014 that led to the fall of **Blaise Compaoré**, French President François Hollande addressed Compaoré in a letter: "***You could then count on France to support you, if you wish to put your experience and your talents at the disposal of the international community***". This is a clear invitation to democratically cede power in order to open up the possibility of another career in international institutions.

The Guinean Moussa Daddis Camara retired from power after negotiations with the King of Morocco, President Blaise Compaoré and foreign powers like France and the United States.

Former military coup leaders like Amadou Toumani Touré in Mali, Abdoulsalami Abubakar from Nigeria, Sékouba Konaté from Guinea have all democratically returned to power to embark on a career in subregional and regional institutions.

Jerry Rowlings  
Président du Ghana  
1981 - 1993  
1993 - 1997  
1997 - 2001

## LIFE AFTER THE PRESIDENCY

COUNTRY	Years of independence	NUMBER OF PRESIDENTS	LONGEVITY IN POWER (YEARS)	SHORTEST TERM (MONTHS)	RETIRED PRESIDENTS	PRESIDENTS TWICE IN POWER (returned to power after a first retirement)	LEGAL PROVISIONS FOR THE STATUS OF FORMER HEADS OF STATE	FORMER LIFE-LONG PRESIDENTS
Senegal	59	4	20	144	2	0	Yes	Abdou Diouf Abdoulaye Wade
Mali	59	8	21	22 (days)	3	1	Yes	Moussa Traoré Alpha Oumar Konaré Amadou Toumani Touré
Guinea	61	4	25	12	1	0	Yes	Moussa Dadis Camara, Sekouba Kouyate
Mauritania	59	10	21	4	5	0	Yes	Mohamed Khouna Ould Haidallah, Maaouiya Ould Sid'Ahmed Taya, Ely Ould Mohamed Vall, Sidi Mohamed Ould Cheikh Abdallahi, Mohamed Ould Abdel Aziz Ould Ahel Elya
Burkina Faso	59	8	27	13	3	0	Yes	Jean-Baptiste Ouedraogo, Blaise Compaoré, Michel Kafando
The Gambia	49	3	24	270	1	0		Yahya Jammeh
Togo	59	6	38	3	1	0	Yes	Abbas Bonfoh
Ivory Coast	59	5	33	10	2	0	Yes	Laurent Gbagbo Henri Konan Bédié
Gabon	59	3	41	81	0	0	Yes	-
Cameroon	59	2	37	270	0	0	Yes	-
Nigeria	56	15	9	3	5	2	Yes	Olusegun Obasanjo, Ibrahim Babangida, Ernest Adegunle Oladeinde Shonekan, Abdulsalami Abubakar, Goodluck Jonathan
Tunisia	62	6 (1 interim)	30	11	2	0	Yes	Fouad Mebazaa, Moncef Marzouki
Ghana	59	13	20	11	3	1	Yes	Jerry Rawlings, John Agyekum Kufuor, John Dramani Mahama
Tchad	59	4	29	47	1	0	Yes	Hissène Habré
DRC	59	5	31	44	1	0	Yes	Joseph Kabila

<b>Madagascar</b>	60	12	17	6 (days)	4	1	Yes	Hery Rajaonarimampianina, Marc Ravalomanana, Didier Ratsiraka, Norbert Lala Ratsirahonana
<b>Guinea Bissau</b>	46	9	12	29 days	3	1	-	Raimundo Pereira, Mamadu Ture Kuruma, Manuel Serifo Nhamadjo
<b>Benin</b>	59	8	18	3	2	2	Yes	Nicéphore Soglo, Boni Yayi
<b>Niger</b>	59	6	14	8	3	0	Yes	Mahamane Ousmane, Mamadou Tandja, Salou Djibo
<b>Congo</b>	59	6	21	22	1	1	Yes	Joachim Yhombi-Opango

<b>COUNTRY</b>	<b>COMMENTS ON THE STATUS OF THE FORMER PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC</b>
Senegal	<p>Decree number 2013-125 attributes to all former Heads of State a monthly salary of 5,000,000 CFA francs, As a support device, mentions the same press release, the State of Senegal grants extended health insurance to the spouse, two vehicles, a landline telephone, housing and furniture.</p> <p>According to the Presidency, "in the event of renouncement of the affected accommodation, any former President of the Republic receives compensation of a monthly net amount of 4.5 million CFA francs".</p> <p>In addition to this, "the State of Senegal covers, up to 40 million CFA francs per year, the cost of plane tickets for each former President of the Republic and his/her spouse(s)". A former head of state of Senegal is also entitled to an aide-de-camp, gendarmes for the security of his accommodation, two bodyguards, a protocol officer, two assistants, a secretary, a cook, a laundress and a gardener. All these personnel are directly under contract and paid by the State of Senegal.</p>
Mali	<p>Article 52: The law fixes the advantages granted to the President of the Republic and organizes the procedures for granting a pension to former Presidents of the Republic enjoying their civil rights.</p> <p>In Mali, ex-President Moussa Traoré (1968-1991) was overthrown and sentenced to death for blood crimes committed between January and March 1991 following the massacres of March 26, 1991. After 21 years in power, he lived the first part of his retirement in prison where he was incarcerated with all the members of his family. This imprisonment made him the first African head of state to be held accountable for justice before his country around a major trial.</p> <p>After power, Moussa Traoré lost his civil rights. He was pardoned in May 2002 by Alpha Omar Konaré. Former President Moussa Traoré has lived since his release in a large villa in the Djikoroni-Para district of Bamako offered by the Malian government.</p>
Guinea	<p>Article 36 of the CONSTITUTION OF 23 DECEMBER 1990 (Revised by Decree D / 2002/48 / PRG / SGG of May 15, 2002, promulgating the Constitutional Law adopted by referendum of November 11, 2001)</p> <p>The former Presidents of the Republic take protocol rank immediately after the President of the Republic, in order of seniority of their mandate, before the President of the National Assembly.</p> <p>They have a seat at the Economic and Social Council. They benefit from material advantages and protection under the conditions that an organic law determines.</p>
Mauritania	<p>A 2009 decree stipulates that former heads of state receive an annual endowment of 8,400,000 ouguiyas (around 21,000 euros), an annual allowance of 1,440,000 ouguiyas, a first installation bonus renewable every five years by 2,740,000 ouguiyas and a compensatory allowance of 81,000 ouguiyas.</p>

	In addition, there are benefits: accommodation, vehicle, a driver, two servants and two security guards.
Burkina Faso	Since 2009, the law provides for a pension of 4 million CFA francs (6,100 euros) per quarter as well as other advantages, such as the assignment of a vehicle with a driver and a security service.
The Gambia	Yahya Jammeh does not benefit from the advantages offered by the status of former President of the Republic. He has been in exile in Equatorial Guinea since 2016 when he lost the presidential election against his adversary Adama Barrow, the current Head of State. The Gambia has had a law since 2006 which guarantees a status to any former head of state who has spent at least 10 years in power, notably their safety, any honors and titles due to them, and financial provisions. The benefits are a monthly salary of at least US \$ 2,000 dollars, an office space, personal security guards, a secretary and three official vehicles with fuel paid by the State until the death of the person concerned.
Togo	LAW N° 2019 - 003 of 15/05/19 ON THE MODIFICATION OF THE PROVISIONS OF SEVERAL ARTICLES OF THE CONSTITUTION OF OCTOBER 14, 1992 revised in 2002 in its Art. 75: The former Presidents of the Republic are, by right, life-long members of the Senate. They cannot be prosecuted, arrested, detained or tried for acts committed during their presidential terms. Their rank immediately succeed the President in office in reverse order of the seniority of their last mandate, from the most recent to the oldest. An organic law determines the status of former Presidents of the Republic, in particular with regard to their remuneration and their security. The former Presidents are expected to have the rank of president of an institution and benefit from the same advantages: a monthly allowance of 4 million CFA francs (6,100 euros) and staff made available by the State (including a driver and a security agent).
Côte d'Ivoire	The statute of the former President of the Republic in his title IV frames the legal provisions offering to all persons having occupied the post of President of the Republic, financial and material advantages. A monthly allowance (paid to rightful beneficiaries in the event of death) A cabinet comprising: 1 chief of cabinet; 1 protocol officer; 1 project manager; 2 secretaries 3 vehicles with 3 drivers Domestic staff: 1 butler, 1 cook, 1 laundress, 1 gardener, 2 housekeepers Medical coverage that includes the spouse and minor children On the death of the former President of the Republic, his surviving spouse receives the following benefits in kind: 1 bodyguard; 1 project manager; 1 private secretary; 1 vehicle with driver; fuel; domestic staff; health insurance; contributory accommodation allowance as well as the payment of water, electricity and telephone, the amounts of which are fixed by the finance law. *1
Gabon	Former presidents are ex officio members of the Constitutional Court
Cameroon	In Cameroon, former presidents are ex officio members for life of the Constitutional Council. However, the Constitutional Council has never been set up, although it was provided for in the Constitution since 1996... Former presidents benefit from systematic immunity starting from the end of their presidency. "The acts carried out by the President of the Republic in application of articles 5, 8, 9 and 10 above, are covered by immunity and cannot engage his responsibility at the end of his mandate." Cameroon (Constit. 1996, art. 53 after the 2008 revision)
Nigeria	Nigeria is one of the few countries on the continent to count 15 Heads of State (including 7 official Presidents of the Republic) in 56 years independence. The legal provisions in the Nigerian constitution automatically grant the status of member of the State Council to all former Heads of State. A former Nigerian Head of State enjoys advantages linked to the position held: he has personal services, security, vehicles, a diplomatic passport for life, provisions for medical services, offices, accommodation. All former heads of state and their spouses occupy third place after the president in office and the vice-president in office in all public services in order of precedence.
Tunisia	A former president benefits from a monthly annuity of 30,000 dinars (about 12,100 euros), equivalent to the salary of a President of the Republic in office, but also benefits in kind: furnished accommodation, with the costs of maintenance, telephone, consumption of water, gas and electricity covered; security guards, transportation and drivers; extended medical care for spouse and children up to the age of 25.  A bill under consideration provides that an ex-president only receives one third of the salary of a serving president, a single car, a single driver, 500 liters of petrol and a housing bonus.
Ghana	-
Chad	Article 74 of the CONSTITUTION OF THE REPUBLIC OF CHAD PROMULGATED ON MAY 04, 2018.- The law determines the civil list and the other benefits allocated to the President of the Republic in office. It also determines the procedures for granting a pension and other benefits to former Presidents enjoying their civil and political

	rights.
DRC	<p>Article 10 of LAW N ° 18/021 OF JULY 26, 2018 ON THE STATUS OF FORMER PRESIDENTS OF THE ELECTED REPUBLIC</p> <p>The advantages granted to any former President of the Republic elected include:</p> <p>A special pension; an annual allowance for services rendered; health care, survivor's pension and orphan's pension; additional benefits.</p> <p>Article 18 Any former President of the Republic elected enjoys the following additional advantages:</p> <p>Decent housing provided by the State or a housing allowance; a diplomatic passport for himself, his spouse and his minor children; a business class travel document for himself, his spouse and his minor children; five vehicles for the function and for domestic use, after five years twice renewable; a security service with substantial logistical resources comprising at least two bodyguards, three elements of his suite and a section responsible for guarding his residence; domestic staff, the number of which cannot exceed ten people; premises serving as offices for himself and for his secretariat, the number of which cannot exceed six people; a monthly fuel allowance; a monthly allowance for the consumption of water, electricity and telephone. The modalities of execution of the provisions of the preceding paragraph are fixed by decree of the Prime Minister deliberated in the Council of Ministers.</p>
Madagascar	<p>In February 2016, a decree was adopted to rule on the benefits and statutes of former heads of state. However, this decree does not take into account the statutes of the former heads of transitional institutions. Article 19 of the former presidents' statute, however, stipulates that in order to be able to enjoy their rights and advantages, the latter must cease their political activities. Indeed, people like Didier Ratsiraka, Zafy Albert and Marc Ravalomanana can therefore enjoy for life the rights and benefits provided for by the specific regime. The question arises about the case of Norbert Lala Ratsirahonana who was the acting head of state at the time. Will he enjoy the same rights and benefits as former presidents? Former heads of state are appointed senators for life.</p>
Guinea Bissau	-
Benin	<p>The law grants a pension equal to the compensation of the President of the Constitutional Court and an annual representation allowance corresponding to 50% of the amount of special funds allocated to the President of the National Assembly. It also grants them two bodyguards, two vehicles, a secretarial service, servants and two drivers, as well as health insurance.</p>
Niger	<p>Article 58 The law sets the advantages granted to the President of the Republic and organizes the modalities of granting a pension to the former Presidents of the Republic and the Heads of State. The former Presidents of the Republic and former Heads of State are members of the Council of the Republic.</p>
Congo	<p>Article 224. of the 2015 Constitution Former Presidents of the Republic have the right, at the end of their mandate, to the protection of the State both in their person and in their property.</p> <p>They are paid monthly, as a pension, a lifetime allowance, the amount of which is set by regulation. The other benefits and the modalities of protection of former heads of state are determined by law.</p>