

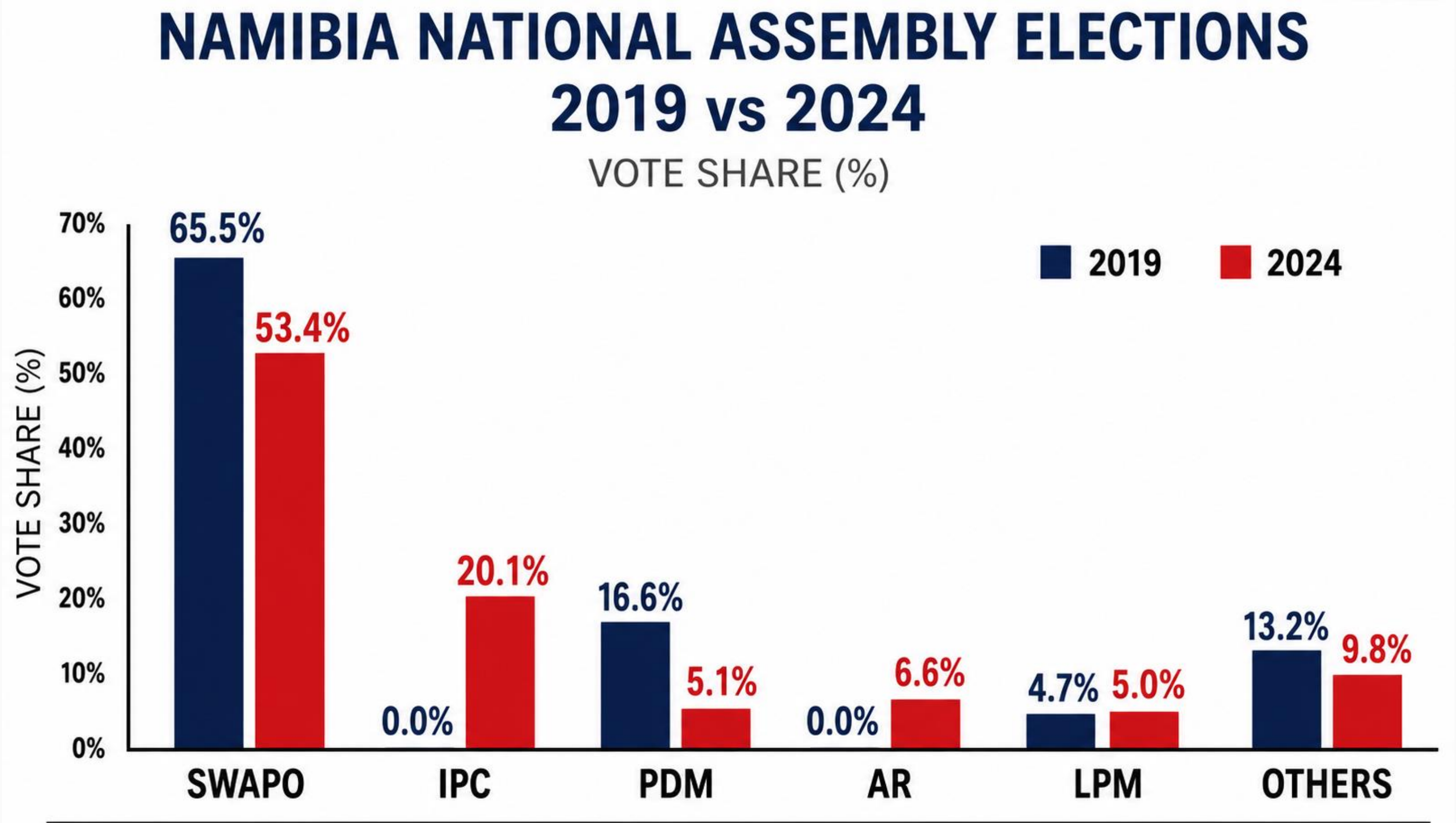
POLITICAL SCENARIOS TO 2030

PRESENTER: GRAHAM HOPWOOD



**Government
of Ireland**
International
Development
Programme

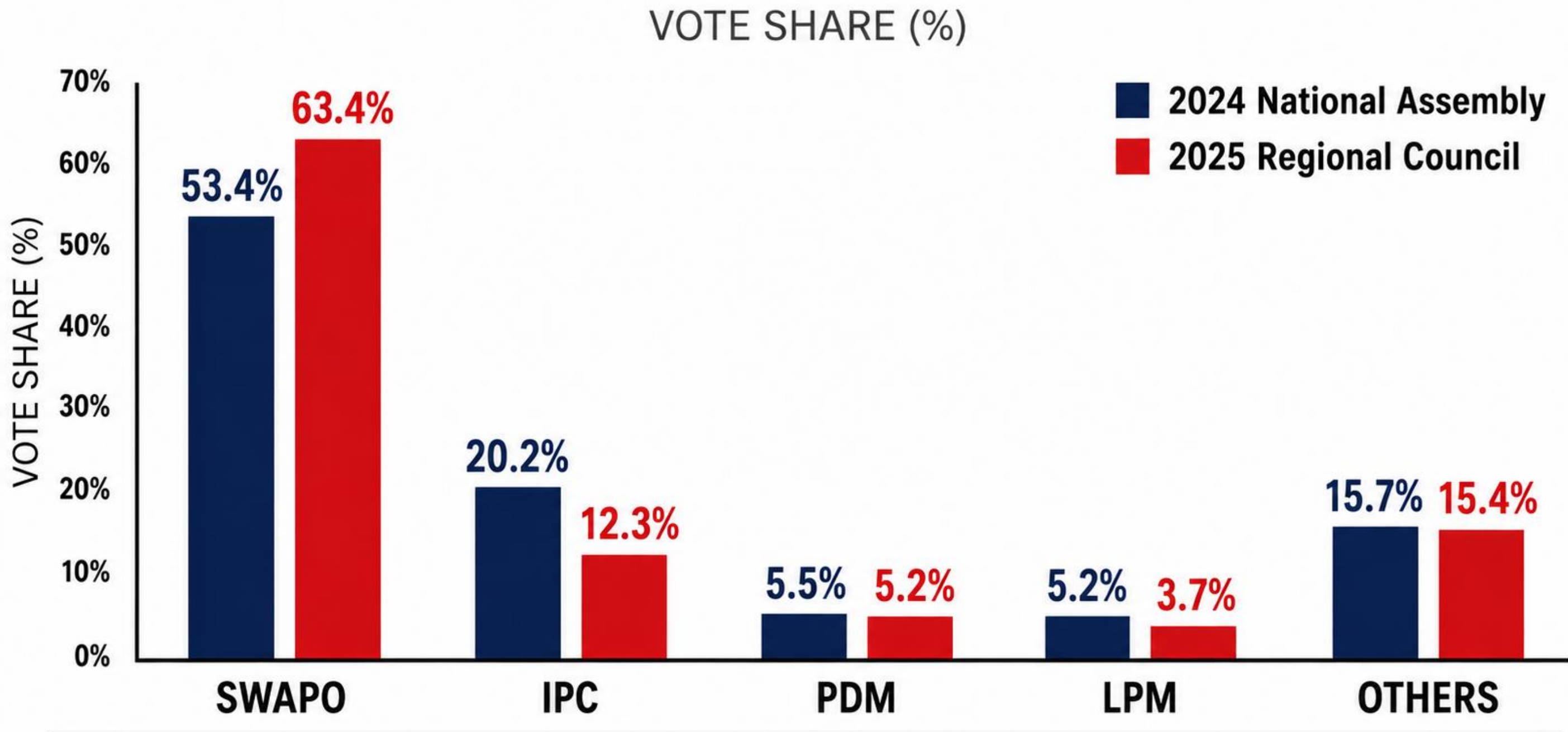
THE EMERGENCE OF COMPETITIVE POLITICS



Source: Electoral Commission of Namibia (ECN) – Official Results

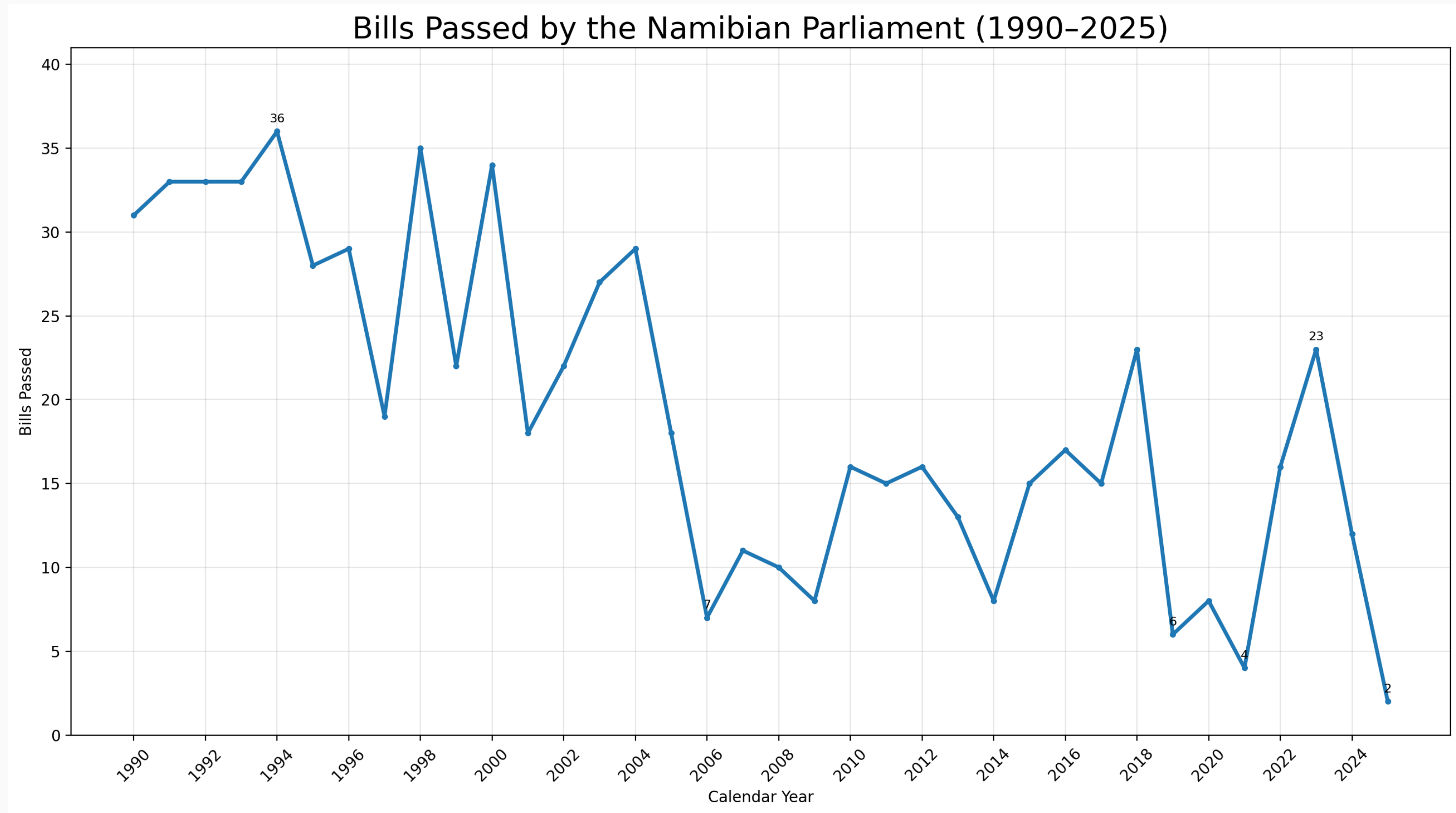
BUT THEN SWAPO BOUNCES BACK

NAMIBIA ELECTION RESULTS COMPARISON 2024 NATIONAL ASSEMBLY vs 2025 REGIONAL COUNCIL ELECTIONS

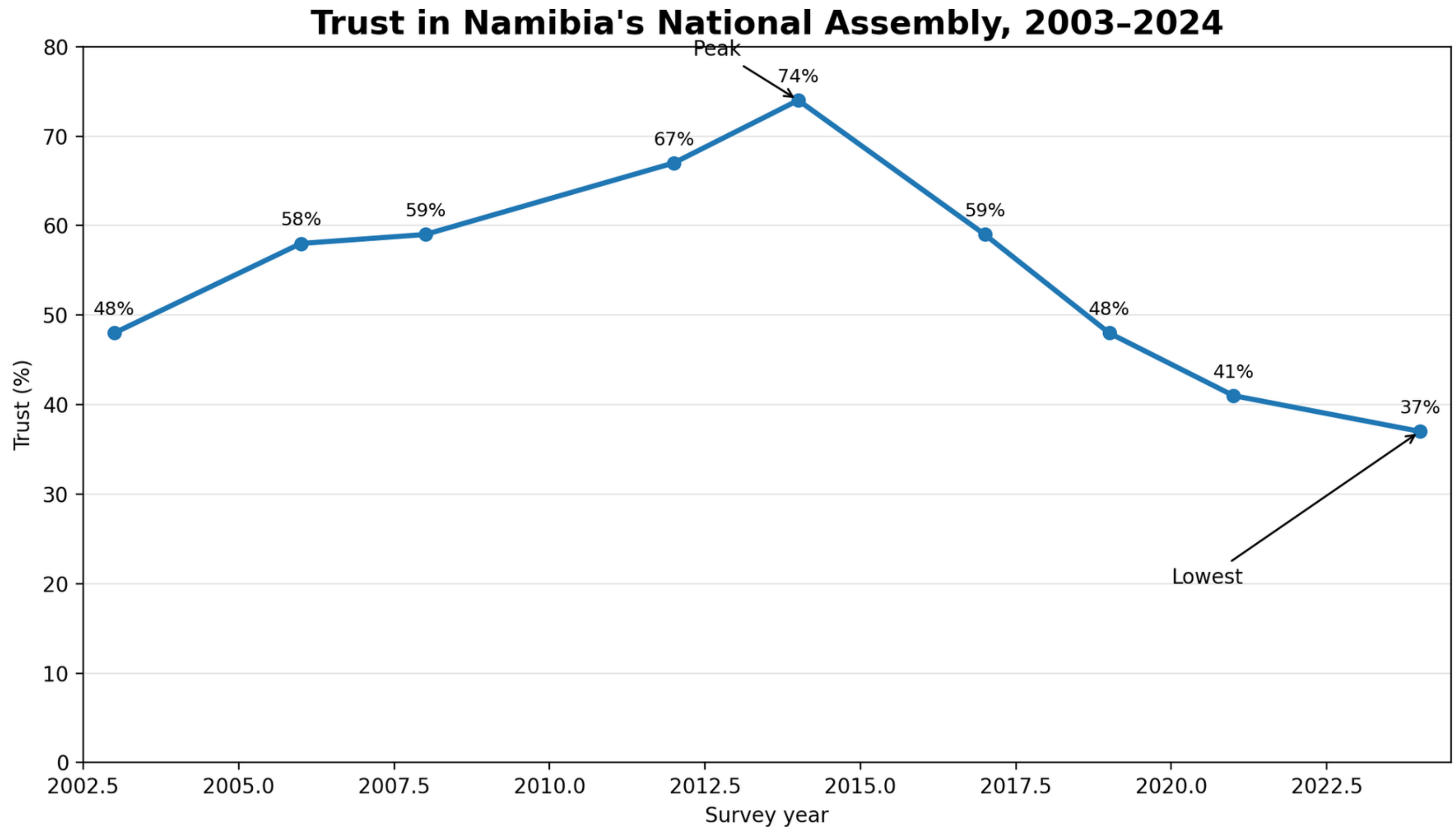


Source: Electoral Commission of Namibia (ECN) – Official Results

A SORRY TALE OF DECLINE



AFROBAROMETER – COLLAPSE IN PUBLIC TRUST



Source: Afrobarometer Dispatch 897 (2024).

KEY MILESTONES TO 2030

2026–27 – Major oil FIDs

2027 – Swapo Congress

2027–2028 – Petroleum and investment law reforms

(2027 – New anti-corruption and governance reforms)

(2027 – Hyphen FID & other GH2 progress)

2027/28 – Publication of the Namibia Household Income and Expenditure Survey

(2028 – Conclusion of revised Joint Declaration negotiations)

2028 – Election positioning and coalition building

2029 – Presidential and National Assembly elections

2030 – First phase of the new government's mandate

SCENARIO 1: MANAGED MEDIOCRITY

POLITICS	
State of Swapo (2027 congress)	Divisions but mostly behind the scenes
State of the Opposition	Flatlining but no major decline
ECN Credibility	Has not emerged from 2024 debacle
GOVERNANCE & INSTITUTIONS	
Corruption Trends	Not under control but not significantly worse
Parliament Efficiency	Bills still heavily delayed
Media/Civil Society Space	Remains relatively open

SCENARIO 1: MANAGED MEDIOCRITY

ECONOMIC POLICY & DELIVERY	
NDP6 relevance	Symbolic more than operational
Agriculture strategy	Green schemes continue to underperform
Policy uncertainty	Investment, Minerals, Petroleum delays
Private sector / FDI stance	Value addition requirements not working

SCENARIO 1: MANAGED MEDIOCRITY

SOCIO-ECONOMIC PRESSURES	
Jobs (500 000?)	Some jobs created but not 500 000
Youth expectations (education, development fund)	Students graduate to unemployment Youth development successes limited
Fiscal constraints	Rising debt, revenue struggles, SACU
Oil & gas expectations	Minimal jobs created, mostly low skills

Implications

- Youth disillusionment
- Long-term erosion of democratic energy
- Stability continues but for how long?

SCENARIO 2: INCREMENTAL RENEWAL

POLITICS	
State of Swapo (2027 congress)	Swapo puts on a united front post-2027
State of the Opposition	More effective; improve communication, organisation
ECN Credibility	Emerges from 2029 election with enhanced reputation
GOVERNANCE & INSTITUTIONS	
Corruption Trends	ACC takes off; accountability improves
Parliament Efficiency	Logjam cleared; improved throughput
Media/Civil Society Space	Media freedom extended; civil society recognised

SCENARIO 2: INCREMENTAL RENEWAL

ECONOMIC POLICY & DELIVERY	
NDP6 relevance	Becomes operational; significant targets are met
Agriculture strategy	NDP 6 targets partially met; green scheme success
Policy uncertainty	Acceptable laws passed and implemented
Private sector / FDI stance	Investment grows; jobs created

SCENARIO 2: INCREMENTAL RENEWAL

SOCIO-ECONOMIC PRESSURES	
Jobs (500 000?)	SMEs, start-ups fill gaps; mega projects start to deliver
Youth expectations (education, development fund)	Tertiary education geared to job market; some start-ups make impact
Fiscal constraints	Improved revenue collection; SACU boost
Oil & gas expectations	Expectations are managed; several FIDs

Implications

- Gradual democratic deepening
- Improved policy implementation

SCENARIO 3: DECLINE & DRIFT

POLITICS	
State of Swapo (2027 congress)	Party divided; ability to govern eroded
State of the Opposition	Fragmented, disorganised and failing
ECN Credibility	Further discredited at 2029 elections
GOVERNANCE & INSTITUTIONS	
Corruption Trends	ACC discredited; major scandals
Parliament Efficiency	Hardly any bills passed; reforms in limbo
Media/Civil Society Space	Facing clampdowns

SCENARIO 3: DECLINE & DRIFT

ECONOMIC POLICY & DELIVERY	
NDP6 relevance	Missed targets; no meaningful monitoring
Agriculture strategy	Green schemes, projects mismanaged, El Niño devastates
Policy uncertainty	Poor quality bills passed; others abandoned
Private sector / FDI stance	Investors pull-out; FDI plummets

SCENARIO 3: DECLINE & DRIFT

SOCIO-ECONOMIC PRESSURES	
Jobs (500 000?)	Unemployment worsens; protests, unrest
Youth expectations (education, development fund)	Thousands of unemployed graduates; development funds squandered
Fiscal constraints	Debt rises well over 70%; revenue declines
Oil & gas expectations	FIDs fail to materialise; mass disappointment

Implications

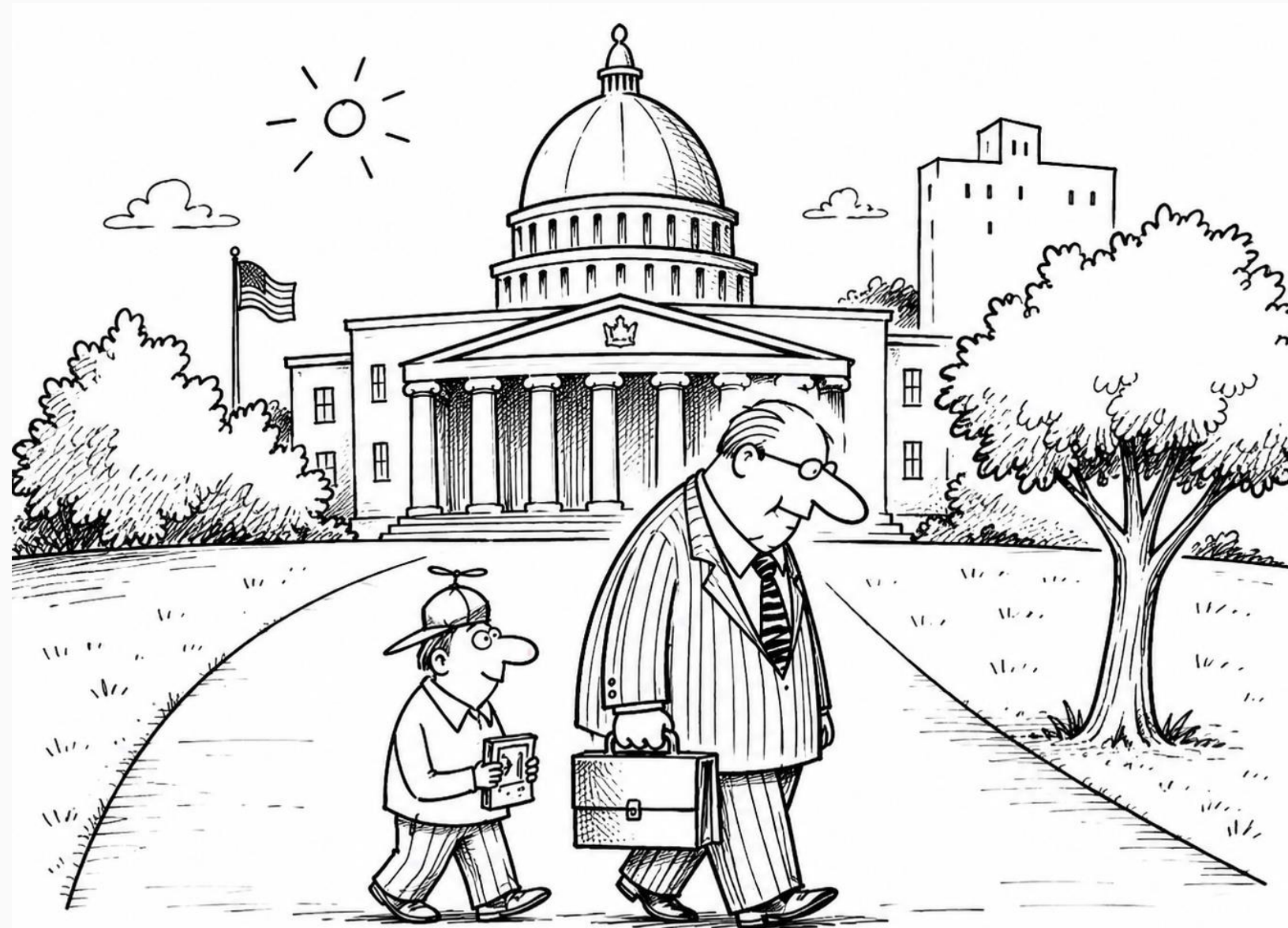
- Society deeply polarised
- Mounting frustration results in social unrest
- Growing authoritarianism, security crackdowns

EARLY WARNING SIGNS

Some risk factors may become apparent by end of 2027:

- Swapo faction fighting breaks out into the open
- Opposition infighting
- Legislative bottleneck remains
- Failure to act on corruption
- High level of secrecy in fishing sector
- FIDs fail to materialise; GH2 on hold
- Media/civil society pressure signals
- Increased protest activity
- Drought exacerbates malnutrition levels

PARLIAMENTARY GRIDLOCK



"SOME DAY, SON, ALL THIS GRIDLOCK
WILL BE YOURS..."

CORRUPTION – THE TIP OF THE ICEBERG



A NATIONAL INTEGRITY AGENDA

- Demonstrate anti-corruption commitment through action, not rhetoric.
- Introduce comprehensive public asset declarations for senior officials.
- Publish beneficial ownership information for companies receiving public licences and contracts.
- Increase transparency in public procurement and contract awards.
- Join EITI and FiTI. Amend Marine Resources Act.
- Fully implement access to information legislation.
- Strengthen and enforce whistleblower protection.
- Build a preventive national integrity system that reduces opportunities for corruption.
- Restore public trust through greater transparency, accountability and political will.



INTERVENTIONIST MINISTERS VS LOOSE CANNONS



FOUR QUESTIONS

**The decisions taken over the next three years will determine
Namibia's political trajectory to 2030.**

Four questions to consider:

- Which warning signs should concern us the most?**
- Which reforms would have the greatest impact before 2029?**
- Who has the responsibility to act?**
- What should success look like by 2030?**



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Thank You!