

**Globalized Election
Weekly Report
March 18, 2010 to March 24, 2010**

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Week # 111

A **presidential election** was held in Togo on 4 March 2010. Togo

TOGO

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Togo

Capital (and largest city)		Lomé 6°7'N 1°13'E
Official language(s)		French
Demonym		Togolese
Government		Republic
-	President	Faure Gnassingbé
-	Prime Minister	Gilbert Houngbo
Independence		
-	from France	April 27, 1960
Area		
-	Total	56,785 km ² 21,925 sq mi
-	Water (%)	4.2
Population		
-	2009 estimate	6,619,000
-	Density	116.6/km ² 301.9/sq mi
GDP (PPP)		2008 estimate
-	Total	\$5.376 billion
-	Per capita	\$811

1. INTRODUCTION

Togo (officially the **Togolese Republic**) is a country in West Africa bordered by Ghana to the west, Benin to the east and Burkina Faso to the north. It extends south to the Gulf of Guinea, on which the capital Lomé is located. Togo covers an area of approximately 57,000 square kilometres (22,000 sq mi) with a population of approximately 6.7 million.

Togo is a tropical, sub-Saharan nation, highly dependent on agriculture, with a climate that provides good growing seasons. The official language is French; however, there are many other languages spoken in Togo. Approximately one half of the population lives below the international poverty line of US\$1.25 a day.

Togo gained its independence from France in 1960. In 1967, Gnassingbé Eyadéma led a successful military coup, after which he became president. At the time of his death in 2005, Eyadéma was the longest-serving leader in modern African history, after having been president for 38 years. In 2005, his son Faure Gnassingbé was elected president.

History

During the period from the 11th century to the 16th century, various tribes entered the region from all directions: the Ewé from Nigeria and Benin; and the Mina and Guin from Ghana. Most settled in coastal areas.

When the slave trade began in the 16th century, the Mina were the most serious of victims. For the next two hundred years, the coastal region was a major raiding centre for Europeans in search of slaves, earning Togo and the surrounding region the name "The Slave Coast".

In an 1854 treaty signed at Togovil under the King Mlapa III, Germany declared a protectorate over a stretch of territory along the coast and gradually extended its control inland. In 1905, this became the German colony of Togoland. After the German defeat during World War I in August 1914 at the hands of British troops (coming from the Gold

Coast) and French troops (coming from Dahomey), Togoland became two League of Nations mandates, administered by the Britain and France. After World War II, these mandates became UN Trust Territories. The residents of British Togoland voted to join the Gold Coast as part of the new independent nation of Ghana, and French Togoland became an autonomous republic within the French Union.

Independence came in 1960 under Sylvanus Olympio. He was assassinated in a military coup on 13 January 1963 by a group of soldiers under the direction of Sergeant Etienne Eyadema Gnassingbe. Opposition leader Nicolas Grunitzky was appointed president by the "Insurrection Committee", headed by Emmanuel Bodjollé. However, on 13 January 1967, Eyadema Gnassingbe overthrew Grunitzky in a bloodless coup and assumed the presidency, which he held from that date until his sudden death on 5 February 2005. Eyadema Gnassingbe died in early 2005 after 38 years in power, as Africa's longest-sitting dictator. The military's immediate but short-lived installation of his son, Faure Gnassingbé, as president provoked widespread international condemnation, except from France. However, some democratically elected African leaders such as Abdoulaye Wade of Senegal and Olusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria, supported that move, thereby creating a rift within the African Union. Faure Gnassingbé stood down and called elections which he won two months later. The opposition claimed that the election was fraudulent. The developments of 2005 led to renewed questions about a commitment to democracy made by Togo in 2004 in a bid to normalise ties with the European Union, which cut off aid in 1993 over the country's human rights record. Moreover, up to 400 people were killed in the political violence surrounding the presidential poll, according to the United Nations. Around 40,000 Togolese fled to neighbouring countries.

Administrative divisions

Togo is divided into 5 regions, which are subdivided in turn into 30 prefectures and 1 commune. From north to south the regions are Savanes, Kara, Centrale, Plateaux and Maritime.

Politics

Togo's transition to democracy is stalled. Its democratic institutions remain nascent and fragile. President Gnassingbé Eyadéma, who ruled Togo under a one-party system for nearly twenty-five of his thirty-seven years in power, died of a heart attack on 5 February 2005. Gravelly ill, he was being transported by plane to a foreign country for care but could not make it. He died over Tunisia. Under the Togolese Constitution, the President of the Parliament, Fambaré Ouattara Natchaba, should have become President of the country, pending a new presidential election to be called within sixty days. Natchaba was out of the country, returning on an Air France plane from Paris. The Togolese army, known as Forces Armées Togolaises (FAT) - [or Togolese Armed Forces] closed the nation's borders, forcing the plane to land in nearby Benin. With an engineered power vacuum, the army announced that Eyadéma's son Faure Gnassingbé, who had been the communications minister, would succeed him. However, on 6 February 2005, the Parliament retroactively changed the Constitution, declaring that Faure would hold office for the rest of his father's term, with elections deferred until 2008. The stated justification was that Natchaba was out of the country. The parliament also moved to remove Natchaba as president and replaced him with Faure Gnassingbé, who was sworn in on 7 February 2005, despite international criticism of the succession.

The African Union described the takeover as a military coup d'état. International pressure came also from the United Nations. Within Togo, opposition to the takeover culminated in riots in which several hundred died. There were uprisings in many cities and towns, mainly located in the southern part of the country. In the town of Aného reports of a general civilian uprising followed by a large scale massacre by government troops went largely unreported. In response, Faure Gnassingbé agreed to hold elections and on 25 February, Gnassingbé resigned as president, but soon afterward accepted the nomination to run for the office in April. On 24 April 2005, Gnassingbé was elected President of Togo, receiving over 60% of the vote according to official results. His main rival in the race had been Robert (Bob) Akitani from the Union des Forces du Changement (UFC)

[or Union of Forces for Change]. However electoral fraud was suspected, due to a lack of European Union or other independent oversight. Parliament designated Deputy President, Bonfoh Abbass, as interim president until the inauguration.

Current political situation

On 3 May 2005, Faure Gnassingbé was sworn in as the new president, garnering 60% of the vote according to official results. The opposition again alleged electoral fraud, claiming the military stole ballot boxes from various polling stations in the south, and that telecommunications shutdowns were deliberately imposed to affect the results. The European Union suspended aid to Togo in support of the opposition claims, unlike the African Union and the United States which declared the vote "reasonably fair." The Nigerian president and Chair of the AU, Olusegun Obasanjo, sought to negotiate between the incumbent government and the opposition to establish a coalition government, but rejected an AU Commission appointment of former Zambian president, Kenneth Kaunda, as special AU envoy to Togo. In June, President Gnassingbé named opposition leader Edem Kodjo as the prime Minister.

Reconciliation talks between government and opposition continued until Gnassingbé Eyadema's death in June 2005. In August both parties signed the Ouagadougou agreement calling for a transitional government to organize parliamentary elections. On 16 September, the president nominated Yaovi Agboyibor of the Action Committee for Renewal (CAR) prime minister, snubbing the major opposition party Union of the Forces of Change (UFC) which in reaction refused to join the government. Professor Léopold Gnininvi of the Democratic Convention of African Peoples (CDPA) was appointed on 20 September 2006.

In October 2007, after several postponements, elections were held under proportional representation. This allowed the less populated north to seat as many MPs as the more populated south. The president-backed party Rally of the Togolese People (RPT) won outright majority with the UFC coming second and the other parties claiming inconsequential representation. Again vote rigging accusations were leveled at the RPT

supported by the civil and military security apparatus. Despite the presence of an EU observer mission, cancelled ballots and illegal voting took place, the majority of which in RPT strongholds. The election was declared fair by the international community and praised as a model with little intimidation and few violent acts for the first time since a multiparty system was reinstated. On 3 December 2007 Komlan Mally of the RPT was appointed to prime minister succeeding Agboyibor. However, on 5 September 2008, after only 10 months in office, Mally resigned as prime minister of Togo.

However, the presidential election of 2010 presents a different challenge with no proportional representation effect to balance for geographic location. The executive power is mainly presidential and this showdown fallout will really determine how far the country has come in terms of democratic rules.

Elections in Togo

Background

Togo achieved its independence from France in 1960. The African nation picked Sylvanus Olympio as its first president one year later. In 1963, Olympio was assassinated in a coup and replaced by Nicolas Grunitzky.

In 1967, head of the armed forces Gnassingbé Eyadema took power. Eyadema would remain as the country's head of state for more than three decades.

In 1991, following widespread demonstrations, the president amended the constitution and allowed multi-party elections. Two years later, the European Union (EU) stopped all aid to Togo over the country's poor democratic and human rights records. The 1998 elections—which saw many protests within the country—were deemed as a farce by international observers.

Eyadema—representing the Rally of the Togolese People (RPT)—won a new five-year term in the June 2003 presidential election. In February 2005, Eyadema died of a heart attack at the age of 69 while being flown to France for emergency medical treatment. The Togolese military announced one of the late president's sons, Faure Gnassingbé, would be taking over as head of state.

In April 2005, Gnassingbé earned a five-year term as president with 60.22 per cent of the vote.

Summary of the 24 April 2005 Togo presidential election results

Candidates - nominating parties	Votes	%
Faure Gnassingbé - Rally for the Togolese People (<i>Rassemblement du Peuple Togolais</i>)		60.15
Emmanuel Bob-Akitani - Union of Forces for Change (<i>Union des Forces du Changement</i>), supported by Alliance of Democrats for Integral Development (<i>Alliance des Démocrates pour le Développement Intégral</i>), Action Committee for Renewal (<i>Comité d'Action pour la Renouveau</i>), Democratic Convention of African Peoples (<i>Convention Démocratique des Peuples Africains</i>) and Socialist Pact for Renewal (<i>Pacte Socialiste pour le Renouveau</i>)		38.25
Nicolas Lawson - Party for Renewal and Redemption (<i>Parti pour le Renouveau et la Rédemption</i>)		1.04
Harry Olympio - Rally for the Support of Democracy and Development (<i>Rassemblement pour le soutien de la démocratie et du développement</i>)		0.55
Total (turnout 63.6 %)	2,200,274	
Registered voters	3,599,306	

Total votes	2,288,279	
Invalid or blank votes	88,005	

Summary of the 27 October 2002 National Assembly of Togo election results

Parties	Votes	%	Seats
Rally for the Togolese People (<i>Rassemblement du Peuple Togolais</i>)		.	72
Rally for the Support of Democracy and Development (<i>Rassemblement pour le soutien de la démocratie et du développement</i>)		.	3
Union for Democracy and Social Progress (<i>Union pour la démocratie et le progrès social</i>)		.	2
Juvento		.	2
Believers' Movement for Equality and Peace (<i>Mouvement des croyants pour l'égalité et la paix</i>)		.	1
Non-partisans		.	1
Total (turnout 67.4%)			81

Source: [Le Togolais.com/AFP](http://LeTogolais.com/AFP). This election was boycotted by most of the opposition.

In August 2006, the governing RPT participated in negotiations with other political parties, aimed at ending a decade-long political stalemate and securing assistance from foreign donors.

In a joint statement, the country's political organizations acknowledged that, "Impunity and political violence are a serious phenomena of the times in Togo, especially during electoral operations" and established a commission to investigate all past instances of political violence. The accord also banned the army and security forces from "interfering in the political dialogue."

In September, Yawovi Agboyibo of the opposition Action Committee for Renewal (CAR) became Togo's new prime minister. Agboyibo is a former president of the country's Human Rights Commission.

In December, the EU announced that it would provide \$6.6 million U.S. to Togo in aid for the country's legislative election. In the 2002 legislative ballot, the governing Rally of the Togolese People (RPT) secured 72 of the 81 seats at stake.

In September 2007, Togo enacted a new Constitutional Court.

A legislative election scheduled took place in October 2007 after being postponed several times due to financial and logistical problems. Opposition parties referred to the process as "trouble-free", and international observers said the election had been "free and fair." Final results released gave the RPT 50 of the 81 seats at stake, followed by the Union of Forces for Change (UFC) with 27, and the Action Committee for Renewal (CAR) with four. Turnout was tabled at 94.8 per cent.

Agboyibo tendered his resignation as prime minister. In December, RPT member Komlan Mally became prime minister.

In September 2008, Mally stepped down as prime minister of Togo. The president's office thanked Mally for his service, saying he had fulfilled the goal of improving Togo's relations with the international community, and accepted his resignation. Gilbert Houngbo, a professional accountant and former United Nations (UN) official, was appointed to replace Mally. The government called him a "man of consensus." Houngbo appointed Mally as the country's health minister.

2010 Presidential Election

Togolese citizens are called to the ballot box on Mar. 4, 2010, to elect a new president.

Faure Gnassingbé has been Togo's president since 2005. He was appointed to replace his father, Gnassingbé Eyadema, who died that same year. Eyadema had been Togo's president since taking power in a coup in 1967 as head of the armed forces. He later won the April 2005 presidential election.

Gnassingbé is seeking re-election. In late 2009, Gilchrist Olympio of the opposition Union of the Forces of Change (UFC) was regarded as his main challenger. Olympio is calling for a change in existing regulations that would implement a run-off between the top two vote-getters if no candidate surpasses the 50 per cent mark. On Dec. 6, Olympio said his UFC party will boycott the election if the two-round system is not implemented, adding, "If the UFC does not participate, there will be no election in Togo."

Due to Olympio's health problems, Jean-Pierre Fabre, the UFC's secretary-general, was selected as a presidential candidate. Other contenders include former prime minister Yawovi Agboyibo of the Action Committee for Renewal (CAR), former prime minister Messan Agbéyomé Kodjo of the Organisation for Building Togo in Unity and Solidarity (OBUTS), lone woman candidate Brigitte Kafui Adjamagbo-Johnson of the Democratic Convention of African Peoples (CDPA), businessman Nicolas Lawson of the Party for Renewal and Redemption (PRR), and Bassabi Kagbara of the Pan-African Democratic Party (PDP).

In September 2009, the Independent National Electoral Commission (CENI) swore in 17 members. They include members of the ruling RPT, members of the opposition, representatives of the so-called extra-parliamentary opposition, non-political members,

and a representative of the current administration. The election will be the first to be carried by an electoral body. Previous ballots have been organized by Togo's Interior Ministry.

On Oct. 14, Issifou Tabiou Taffa—who is not affiliated with any political party—was elected as CENI's president, following a controversy over who would be fit to preside over the electoral body.

On Dec. 23, the European Union (EU) committed close to \$13 million U.S. to the implementation of "free, just, transparent and peaceful elections, in line with international standards."

On Jan. 8, 2010, a bus transporting Togo's national football team was attacked by gunmen in Angola, as the players were on their way to participate in the 2010 Africa Cup of Nations. A Portuguese news agency reported that an offshoot of the separatist group Front for the Liberation of the Enclave of Cabinda (FLEC) claimed responsibility for the attack.

The bus driver, the team's assistant manager Abalo Amelete, and media officer Stanislas Ocloo were killed. Several players were injured.

On Jan. 9, university professor Bassabi Kagbara was nominated as the candidate for the Pan-African Democratic Party (PDP).

On Jan. 10, the CDPA officially chose Adjmagbo-Johnson as its presidential candidate. Adjmagbo-Johnson is the first woman to run for president in Togo. Accepting her nomination, she declared: "By choosing a woman, the CPDA wants to offer Togolese men and women an alternative to turn the page on more than 50 years of incomprehension, grudges and violence."

On Feb. 15, Agboyibo and Adjmagbo-Johnson suspended their campaign activities alleging anomalies. Adjmagbo-Johnson declared: "We find that key issues remain unresolved, including the correction of discrepancies cited during a review of electoral rolls, the adoption of measures to ensure traceability of ballots and authentication of voters' ballots."

President Gnassingbé did not formally announce his candidacy until after the RPT's convention on Jan. 12. At the meeting, party members nominated the president—who was not in attendance—as their official candidate. Through a spokesperson, Gnassingbé accepted the nomination, saying he would follow "the wishes of the overwhelming majority of Togolese."

On Mar. 2, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) issued a statement, urging "all the stakeholders to continue to put the interest of their country over and above all partisan interests and to contribute to the successful conduct of a peaceful, credible and transparent election."

Voting took place on Mar. 4. Preliminary reports suggested that election day went on peacefully and with few problems.

On Mar. 6, provisional results released by CENI placed Gnassingbé as the winner of the presidential election, with 60.9 per cent of the vote.

Fabre was second with 33.9 per cent.

Fabre rejected the results, adding, "The ruling party told our supporters that when they put their fingerprint on the ballot, they're going to be able to come and find them. They gave money to buy people's consciences, there is fraud on a massive scale, we have the proof in our possession."

Final results gave Gnassingbé the victory with 60.9 per cent of the vote.

Political

Players

President: Faure Gnassingbé - RPT

Prime minister: Gilbert Houngbo

The president is elected by popular vote to a five-year term.

Legislative Branch: The *Assemblée Nationale* (National Assembly) has 81 members, elected to five-year terms in single-seat constituencies.

Results of Last Election:

President - Mar. 4, 2010

	Vote%
Faure Gnassingbé - Rally for the Togolese People	60.9%
Jean-Pierre Fabre - Union of Forces for Change	33.9%
Yawovi Agboyibo - Action Committee for Renewal	3.0%
Agbéyomé Kodjo - Organization for the Construction of a United Togo	0.9%
Brigitte Adjamagbo-Johnson - Democratic Convention of African Peoples	0.7%
Bassabi Kagbara - Pan-African Democratic Party	0.4%
Nicolas Lawson - Party for Renewal and Redemption	0.3%

National Assembly - Oct. 14, 2007

	Seats
Rassemblement du Peuple Togolais (RPT)	50
Union of Forces for Change (UFC)	27
Action Committee for Renewal (CAR)	4

Togo elects on national level a head of state - the president - and a legislature. The president is elected for a five year term by the people. The **National Assembly** (*Assemblée Nationale*) has 81 members, elected for a five year term through party list proportional representation. Togo is a one party dominant state with the Rally of the Togolese People in power. Opposition parties are allowed, but are widely considered to have no real chance of gaining power.

Togolese presidential election, 2010

Togolese presidential election, 2010

March 4, 2010



		Jean-
Nominee	Faure Gnassingbé	Pierre
		Fabre
Party	RPT	UFC
Incumbent		President
	Faure	Gnassingbé
	RPT	
President-elect		
	Faure	Gnassingbé
	RPT	

A **presidential election** was held in Togo on 4 March 2010. Incumbent President Faure Gnassingbé—who won his first term in a presidential election that followed the death of his father, long-time President Gnassingbé Eyadema, in 2005—faced radical opposition candidate Jean-Pierre Fabre, the Secretary-General of the Union of the Forces of Change (UFC), as well as several minor opposition candidates.

Following the democratization process of the early 1990s, which proved largely abortive, Eyadema and his ruling party, the Rally of the Togolese People (RPT), successively won

all presidential elections, although those elections were always extremely controversial: the opposition boycotted the 1993 presidential election altogether, and it claimed that Eyadema won the 1998 presidential election and the 2003 presidential election only through fraud. Eyadema died in 2005 and his son Faure Gnassingbé then ran as the RPT candidate; although he officially won the election, the opposition again disputed the result, and serious violence erupted.

Ahead of the 2010 election, the Togolese government took steps to increase the credibility of the electoral process and reassure the international community that the election would be free and fair. It placed a particular priority on avoiding the violence that marred the 2005 election. Gnassingbé stood for a second term as the candidate of the RPT, while the UFC designated Fabre as its candidate due to health problems suffered by its President, Gilchrist Olympio. Although the UFC was the largest opposition party by a large measure, and although the election was to be decided in a single round on a first past the post basis, the other opposition parties largely refused to rally behind Fabre and chose to nominate their own candidates.

Provisional results showed Gnassingbé winning the election with 61% of the vote, while Fabre trailed with 34%. The opposition again alleged fraud, denouncing the method by which the results were transmitted to the electoral commission.

Organization and electoral timetable

The election was conducted by the Independent National Electoral Commission (CENI). The 17 members of CENI were sworn in on 1 September 2009; it was composed of five representatives of the ruling Rally of the Togolese People (RPT), five representatives of the parliamentary opposition, three representatives of the extra-parliamentary opposition, three representatives of civil society, and one representative of the administration. Henri Kolani, a representative of the extra-parliamentary opposition, was then elected as President of CENI, but the parliamentary opposition objected to his election. At a press conference on 18 September 2009, Kolani announced an electoral schedule: preparations for the election would begin in October 2009, the official election campaign period would

run from 13 February to 26 February 2010, and the election would be held on 28 February 2010. He stressed that hard work was necessary to ensure that the election was held before the constitutional deadline. The parliamentary opposition ignored Kolani's announcement.

The controversy over the election of Kolani interfered with CENI's work, and as a result, Issifou Tabiou Taffa—a representative of civil society—was elected by consensus as President of CENI on 14 October 2009, resolving the controversy. Tabiou Taffa was not a member of any political party and was an obscure figure at the time of his election as CENI President. On that occasion, he stressed that CENI's work would be "collegial".^[5]

On 23 December 2009, the European Union announced a grant of six billion CFA francs (9.1 million euro) to Togo in order to facilitate the organization of "free, just, transparent and peaceful elections, in line with international standards" and to "strengthen the capacities" of CENI and the High Authority for the Audiovisual Sector and Communications for future elections.

The EU committed to sending an additional five billion CFA francs at a meeting with the Togolese government on 22 January 2010, and it announced on 1 February that it would have 122 observers present for the election.

On 11 February 2010, the election was delayed from 28 February to 4 March at the request of the opposition. As a result of the delay, the campaign period was modified and set to run from 16 February to 2 March. CENI President Tabiou Taffa announced the official opening of the campaign, set to begin at midnight, on 15 February. In his statement, he said that revisions of the voter list had produced "a reliable voter list of 3,295,646 voters". He also urged the opposition representatives to return to CENI, which they had abandoned in protest.

The security forces voted on 1 March—three days before the general population—so that they would be available to maintain order on election day.

Controversy over election rules

In accordance with a 2002 constitutional amendment, the 2010 election will be decided in a single round of voting; the candidate with the highest number of votes—even if that number is less than 50%—wins the election without any need for a second round. The two main opposition parties, the Union of the Forces of Change (UFC) and the Action Committee for Renewal (CAR), strongly protested the single-round system.

UFC President Gilchrist Olympio insisted that the election should be held in two rounds, with the top two candidates in the first round proceeding to a second round. A two-round system could work to the UFC's benefit; as the main opposition party, its candidate might expect to place second in the first round and then win in the second round by obtaining the support of other opposition candidates who were defeated in the first round. (Abdoulaye Wade won the 2000 presidential election in Senegal in that manner.) Speaking before a crowd of hundreds of UFC supporters on 6 December 2009, Olympio warned that the UFC would not participate in the election if there was only one round and that "if the UFC does not participate, there will be no election in Togo."

In addition to its demand for a two-round system, the opposition sought a decrease in the deposit that candidates were required to pay; the amount was equivalent to about 44,000 dollars. Another opposition demand was the revision of the voter rolls. On 25 January 2010, six opposition candidates and three parties called for a resumption of the revision of the voter rolls as well as a delay of the election; they also argued that Gnassingbé was conducting an unofficial campaign before the start of the campaign period. Government Spokesman Pascal Bodjona dismissed the opposition concerns; he said that the voter rolls had been established prior to the 2007 parliamentary election and that it was up to CENI to decide whether to resume revising them. Regarding Gnassingbé's alleged unofficial campaigning, Bodjona argued that Gnassingbé, as President, was merely working for the people: "he will not starve the people because of the electoral process". Bodjona additionally argued that the opposition only wanted a delay because they were unprepared for the election.

In order to improve the voter rolls, CENI announced on 26 January that people could register to vote at a hundred points across the country on 31 January. RPT Secretary-General Solitoki Eso released a statement on 28 January in which he accused the opposition of using the issue of revising the voter rolls as a delaying tactic.

At talks in Ouagadougou, mediated by Burkinabé President Blaise Compaoré, the RPT and the two main opposition parties—the UFC and the CAR—were unable to reach an agreement on opposition demands, the foremost of which was the revision of the voter rolls. The opposition also wanted a delay in the election, although Compaoré felt that it was necessary to hold the vote "between 28 February and 5 March to stay within the constitutional timeframe". A slight delay was announced on 11 February, however, as the date was pushed back from 28 February to 4 March.

Citing continuing concerns about the voter rolls and fears that the election would be a "masquerade", the UFC notified CENI that its three representatives on CENI were suspending their participation on 11 February. When announcing the UFC's decision, CENI stressed that "the electoral process is proceeding normally". One of the UFC's CENI representatives, Jean-Claude Homawoo, refused to accept his party's decision and said that he would continue his work on CENI unless Olympio told him to stop.

Political parties and candidates

Togo's main opposition party, the UFC, unanimously chose Olympio, its long-time leader, as its presidential candidate at the party's Second Ordinary Congress, held in Nyékonakpoé, Lomé on 18–19 July 2008. Some other early announced candidates were the minor opposition leader Dahuku Péré, who led the Democratic Alliance for the Fatherland, as well as Kofi Yamgnane, who held dual nationality and served in the government of France under François Mitterrand.

The Democratic Convention of African Peoples (CDPA) designated Brigitte Kafui Adjamagbo, a member of its Steering Committee, as its presidential candidate in early January 2010. She was the first woman to stand as a presidential candidate in Togo. At a meeting of its National Council, with 350 delegates in attendance, the Pan-African

Democratic Party (PDP), a minor party, invested the university professor Bassabi Kagbara as its presidential candidate on 9 January 2010.

Although RPT activists, both in Togo and abroad, called for President Faure Gnassingbé to run for re-election over the course of several months, he deferred any formal announcement of his candidacy. It was nevertheless assumed that he would run for re-election and that he would be confirmed as the RPT candidate at a party convention at the Palace of Congress in Lomé on 12 January 2010. He was accordingly invested as the RPT candidate at the convention, although he was not present; his Personal Representative, Folly Bazi Katari, confirmed that he accepted the nomination in accordance with "the wishes of the overwhelming majority of Togolese". Speaking on the occasion, RPT Secretary-General Solitoki Ezzo credited Gnassingbé with vast accomplishments, saying that—among other things—he had improved the political atmosphere, organized transparent elections, ended Togo's international isolation, and revitalized the economy. He also credited Gnassingbé with various accomplishments in the areas of health, education, infrastructure, employment, and social welfare.

Agbéyomé Kodjo, a former Prime Minister leading the opposition Organization for the Construction of a United Togo (OBUTS), submitted his candidacy to CENI on 14 January 2010. Although the deadline for the submission of candidacies was 15 January, Kodjo was the first person to formally submit his candidacy. Upon learning that he was first, Kodjo declared that it was "a very good sign" and that he would also be "the first" to be declared the winner of the election. Kodjo fiercely denounced Gnassingbé's "disastrous" record, saying that the state budget needed to be increased, and he pledged "no fewer than 21 emergency measures to restore confidence and boost consumer spending after the presidential election".

On 15 January, long-time opposition leader Yawovi Agboyibo was formally invested as the candidate of the CAR.

Eight candidates submitted applications to CENI by the deadline of 15 January: Gnassingbé as the RPT candidate, Jean-Pierre Fabre as the UFC candidate, Agboyibo as

the CAR candidate, Kodjo as the OBUTS candidate, Adjamagbo-Johnson as the CDPA candidate, Nicolas Lawson as the PRR candidate, Yamgnane as the Sursaut candidate, and Kagbara as the PDP candidate. The candidates were predictable except for Fabre, whose designation as the UFC candidate was considered very surprising. UFC President Olympio, whose candidacy had long been announced and expected, was in the United States at the time, suffering from backache, and was unable to travel to Togo to undergo the necessary medical review for his candidacy. Consequently the UFC submitted the candidacy of its Secretary-General, Jean-Pierre Fabre.

Aside from Olympio, two candidacies were rejected: those of Dahuku Péré and Kokou Ségnon Nsoukpoe. According to CENI, neither of them submitted the necessary deposits of money.

In a letter published on the UFC website on 16 January, Olympio said that the election should not be rushed and that CENI should be given "the time necessary for the preparation of a credible and transparent election". He said that his health was "rapidly improving" and that the authorities were considering his application. The letter made no mention of Fabre's candidacy.

On 2 February 2010, the Constitutional Court validated the candidacies of seven of the eight candidates who were initially accepted by CENI. The only candidate rejected by the Constitutional Court was Kofi Yamgnane, who held joint dual nationality: the Court cited a contradiction between the date of birth given in his French documents (11 October 1945) and the date given in his Togolese documents (31 December 1945). According to the Court, the contradiction was "of a nature to cause confusion over the identity of the person and consequently to weaken the legal and judicial security inherent in the highest office in the country". Yamgnane denounced the ruling, claiming its real motivation was to exclude "the most dangerous candidate for the RPT". Initially he vowed to appeal, but that was impossible because the judgments of the Constitutional Court were final; he then said that his only recourse was to "mobilize the street". He also said that, although the RPT imagined that it would "remain in power eternally", "we have the means to ensure that change happens in 2010 in Togo".

PRR President Nicolas Lawson, who was confirmed as a candidate, expressed his willingness to work with whichever candidate won the election. He also praised the peaceful atmosphere and harshly denounced the UFC President, saying that Olympio "always embodied violence, malice, and revenge, and I am very happy that he is not a candidate because his influence on Togo was fatal".

Reacting to the Constitutional Court's decision to validate his candidacy, UFC Secretary-General Fabre said that it was "unquestionably a message of hope for the Togolese people who aspire to a profound change". He also stressed that Olympio "embodies, more than any other, the ideals and values of our party" and that his own candidacy represented a commitment to continuing Olympio's work. Seeking to give the impression of solidarity amidst perceptions of internal disagreement, UFC First Vice-President Patrick Lawson said that the party was totally united behind Fabre's candidacy.

Speaking on 9 February, Yamgnane said that he would meet six candidates (all except Gnassingbé) in Paris with the goal of reaching an agreement on a single opposition candidate, which would increase the opposition's chances of defeating Gnassingbé. He said that it would be most intuitive to select Fabre as the single candidate, although he stressed that was a "logical preference" rather than a "personal preference". The meeting of candidates was facilitated by François Boko, a former Interior Minister. It was largely unsuccessful, however, as the CAR candidate Agboyibo and the CDPA candidate Adjamagbo-Johnson both abandoned the effort. In a statement on 9 February, CDPA Secretary-General Léopold Gnininvi condemned the "cavalier" way the meeting was conducted, expressing annoyance that it was taken for granted that the candidates would all rally behind Fabre.

Despite the failure to reach a consensus among the candidates, Agbéyomé Kodjo decided to withdraw his candidacy and rally behind Fabre, while Yamgnane also backed Fabre's candidacy. They agreed on the creation of a coalition called the Republican Front for Change and the *Alternance* to support Fabre; Kodjo was designated as the Front's campaign director, while Yamgnane was designated as its campaign spokesman.

In an interview on 13 February, Jean-Claude Homawoo, who was one of the UFC's three representatives on CENI, insisted that Olympio was the legitimate UFC candidate because he, unlike Fabre, had been nominated by a party congress in 2008. He also claimed that the UFC was divided between Olympio loyalists and reformists, and he stated that he personally did not support Fabre's candidacy. According to Homawoo, Olympio was not suffering from an illness but rather was recovering from a fall down a flight of stairs, in which he broke his knee and bruised his back and neck.^[21] Kodjo, speaking on 14 February, also criticized the UFC's decision to withdraw from CENI work as well as the apparent dissension affecting the party leadership. He stressed that OBUTS did not support any boycott of the election.

Agboyibo and Adjamagbo-Johnson announced on 15 February 2010 that they were suspending their candidacies, citing their still unresolved concerns about the voter rolls. Speaking on 15 February, PRR candidate Nicolas Lawson denounced the opposition, saying that Togo was cursed with the "most stupid and criminal opposition in the sub-region". According to Lawson, the opposition was a "band of thugs" with "no program and national vision" that "must disappear from the political landscape". Kodjo, dissatisfied with the UFC's behavior, announced on 15 February that he was reactivating his candidacy.

In an interview with the news agency Agence France-Presse in mid-February 2010, Faure Gnassingbé stressed the importance of having a well-organized election free of violence. Acknowledging that the violence of the 2005 presidential election was "traumatic for many people", he said that the 2010 election would be a "big test" and that a victory under violent conditions would "almost be meaningless". Gnassingbé also said he regretted the absence of Gilchrist Olympio in the election because Olympio had "a rightful place in politics."

Campaigning

On 17 February, four minor opposition groups—ADDI, the Alliance, the Socialist Renewal Party (PSR), and SURSAUT—joined the UFC in backing Fabre's candidacy.

Together they reconstituted the opposition coalition as the Republican Front for the *Alternance* and Change (FRAC); Yamgnane remained its campaign spokesman, while Patrick Lawson was designated as campaign director. FRAC called on the CAR and OBUTS to join the coalition. Fabre said in an interview on 17 February that the coalition represented a majority of the opposition's electorate and that, in reference to the other parties, "it is up to them to join us"; expressing some exasperation, he said that "the ego is so strong in Togo that everyone thinks he can be President". He nevertheless said discussions would continue with the other parties and also insisted, in reaction to suggestions that the UFC was divided, that Olympio supported his candidacy. Regarding the UFC's suspended participation in CENI, he said that the UFC representatives would return to the body because it would be preposterous to participate in the election while boycotting the electoral commission.

Gnassingbé launched his campaign in Atakpamé on 18 February 2010. On that occasion he asked the people to put their trust in him "to ensure a better future for all Togolese". Fabre launched his campaign in Lomé on 19 February. Speaking in Gnassingbé Eyadema's native region of Kara on 21 February, Kodjo said that, before breaking with President Eyadema in 2002, he was Eyadema's intended successor.

Olympio broke his silence, which was the subject of much speculation, in a letter published on 21 February. In that letter, he expressed confidence in Fabre and told his supporters: "I will never forget the moments of enthusiasm and confidence you have always shown in all circumstances, and I thank you forever." In a radio interview on 23 February, however, he stressed that he was still in charge of the UFC. Regarding his delayed and arguably unenthusiastic endorsement of Fabre, he said that it had been necessary to consult with other political actors before backing Fabre, and he pointed to his health as the reason he was unable to accompany Fabre on the campaign trail.

Nicolas Lawson alleged on 24 February that Gnassingbé was abusing state resources in the course of his campaign.

Gnassingbé concluded his campaign with a rally in Kara on 2 March. On that occasion, he said that "the campaign has been exemplary for all candidates" and expressed certainty that the results would match the will of the people. He urged everyone in Togo to respect the results.

During the campaign, the RPT distributed rice at a cost far below market value ("Faure rice"). The rice distribution was interpreted by many as a way of bribing people to vote for Gnassingbé. Fabre's supporters responded to the alleged bribery by chanting "we were not paid to be here" at campaign rallies. Bodjona, the Government Spokesman, dismissed the allegations of bribery; he said that the rice and other items were donated to the campaign by some of Gnassingbé's supporters.

Gnassingbé's campaign posters and billboards were seemingly omnipresent in Lomé, vastly outnumbering those from the opposition. In its election report, the EU observer mission accused the RPT of exceeding the legal limit for campaign spending (around \$100,000), but Bodjona said that claim was untrue.

Election day and post-election controversy

In light of the violence that followed the 2005 election, it was particularly important to CENI that the election proceed peacefully. Speaking on 3 March, CENI President Taffa Tabiou noted that campaigning, which had concluded late on the previous day, was conducted amidst "calm and serenity", and he expressed CENI's commitment to "to organising a just, fair and transparent election devoid of violence, to ensure that Togo ... finds its place in the comity of modern democracies".

A peaceful vote was also strongly desired by the government and the RPT, which sought to avoid the opprobrium associated with perceptions of a flawed election and repression of the opposition. Togo had suffered from international isolation during the latter phase of President Eyadema's rule due to the widespread belief that he had rigged elections and employed violence against the opposition; the 2005 election, which followed Eyadema's death, served to only amplify those concerns, but afterward Eyadema's son made a concerted effort to project a better image internationally. The creation of an independent

electoral commission was noted by the Western media, as was the "fair" coverage given by the government's news website to opposition candidates.

In light of the emphasis on having a peaceful vote, security forces had a heavy presence; 3,000 police and 3,000 gendarmes were assigned the task of preventing electoral violence. There were also efforts to educate voters in the prevention of electoral violence.

Polls were open from 7:00 am (0700 GMT) to 5:00 pm (1700 GMT) on 4 March. Fabre, who voted in Lomé, said on the occasion that "during the campaign, I went round the country and heard a distress call, a desire for change", and he warned the government to not rig the election: "The people will make sure their vote will not be changed." Voting proceeded peacefully and without incident, but the UFC immediately began pointing to issues that it identified as irregularities, such as the absence of serial numbers on the ballot papers.

Amidst an atmosphere of deep distrust, a post-election controversy rapidly developed regarding the means of transmitting results to CENI. Seeking to establish a reliable transmission method, a delegation from the European Union had met with Gnassingbé on 3 March and obtained his last-minute agreement to use the VSAT satellite system to transmit the results directly from each polling station. CENI accepted the use of the satellite system alongside text messaging and faxing. However, following the vote, Taffa Tabiou said on 5 March that the VSAT machines had failed and that it would therefore be necessary for all 35 electoral district directors to bring physical proof of the results to Lomé. That was unacceptable to the UFC, which said that results not transmitted through VSAT could not be trusted; it claimed that the machines had not failed but were simply switched off by the government.

Fabre held a press conference on 5 March to declare victory, claiming that he had won about 75–80% of the vote; he also accused the RPT of electoral fraud and said that the results being sent to CENI had no credibility. Later on the same day, Bodjona, the Government Spokesman, claimed that Gnassingbé had won "resoundingly". Lomé remained calm but also tense in the absence of official results. Some opposition

supporters threatened violence if Fabre was not declared the winner and chanted "change or death". RPT Secretary-General Eso accused the UFC of making false claims about the results and said that it was laying the groundwork for violence.

Despite the opposition's complaints, district officials followed Taffa Tabiou's instructions in bringing their results to Lomé. Those results only indicated the total votes for each district; they did not include specific counts from each polling station, and the officials did not bring actual ballots. Jean-Claude Codjo, one of the opposition's representatives on CENI, argued the system was unacceptable because each set of results being presented to CENI merely constituted a "synthesis": "I have no way of knowing if these numbers that are being read out are real." Codjo left the CENI meeting in protest, along with another of the opposition's representatives.

Results from 20 of the constituencies were counted by mid-day on 6 March, showing Gnassingbé leading Fabre by a margin of 52% to 43%; the results followed the typical regional breakdown of elections in Togo, with the RPT dominating the north and the UFC receiving the bulk of its support in the south. Seeing that the results were going Gnassingbé's way, a group of Fabre's supporters protested in Lomé, but the protest was broken up with tear gas.

Taffa Tabiou announced full provisional results late on 6 March. Those results showed Gnassingbé winning the election with 60.9% of the vote (1,243,044 votes), far ahead of Fabre, who received 33.94% (692,584 votes). Yawovi Agboyibo trailed in a distant third place with 2.96%. According to Taffa Tabiou, voter turnout was 64.68%.^[66] Significantly, the turnout varied greatly by region: it was 70–80% in the north—the RPT's stronghold—but far lower in the traditionally pro-UFC south (including Lomé).

Jean-Claude Homawoo, an opposition representative on CENI, said that opposition supporters were totally disillusioned with the electoral process: "So many times we went and voted in elections we knew we had won, only for the opposite result to be declared. So people have become tired. They don't believe their vote counts anymore." Eso, the RPT Secretary-General, described the result as "great victory that gives us a lot of

satisfaction and wipes off any doubts about the process", while Bodjona dismissed the opposition as "bad losers". For its part, the EU observer mission released a report that noted the accusations of vote-buying by the RPT, but also suggested there was no evidence to support opposition claims of outright fraud.

Fabre alleged that the RPT had told his supporters that their fingerprints on the ballots could be traced and that they could therefore be hunted down and punished for their votes. He also repeated the accusations of vote-buying and "massive" fraud. Declaring that he was "ready to die", Fabre led a group of UFC supporters in a protest on 7 March: "We're going to make them exhaust their stock of tear gas. We cannot let this go on, otherwise they'll hang on to power for the next 200 years." Although UFC supporters formed a protective cordon around Fabre, he was sprayed with tear gas and the protesters were forced to disperse, fleeing back to the UFC headquarters.

Reacting to the previous day's protests, the security forces formed a blockade around UFC headquarters on 8 March. Fabre, trying to reach his office, was initially barred from entry, but after an hour he was allowed through the blockade. The UFC announced that it would hold a large protest on 9 March to press for a review of the results; however, the protest was thwarted by the police. Also on 9 March, Fabre alleged that the security forces searched the UFC headquarters, seized computers, and arrested party members, interfering with the party's efforts to prepare evidence of fraud.

Lawson, the PRR candidate, grudgingly accepted Gnassingbé's re-election on 8 March, but he nevertheless alleged fraud: "The vote was so expertly stolen by the ruling party that electoral observers will never understand what really happened." Bassabi Kagbara, the PDP candidate, reacted to the official results—according to which he received only 0.41% of the vote—on 9 March; he said that he did not recognize the results, but also appealed for "calm and dialogue".

In an interview on 11 March, Gilbert Bawara, the Minister of Cooperation, criticized Fabre. He said that Fabre should not expect the Togolese people to trust him when he did not trust others, and he argued that Fabre's claims of victory were ridiculous, noting that

Fabre initially claimed a score of 75–80% but later claimed a lesser figure of 55–60%. According to Bawara, Gnassingbé would consider the fact that Fabre had received a respectable number of votes; Bawara observed that Fabre's score of 34% was particularly impressive because he had not been envisioned as a presidential candidate before January 2010. However, he also said that Fabre lacked experience and did not do serious work in the National Assembly.

Supporters of Gnassingbé and Fabre both held marches in Lomé on 13 March. The marches were peaceful and did not confront one another, taking different paths through the city.

Proclamation of final results

On 18 March, the Constitutional Court confirmed the results and declared that Gnassingbé had been elected President, rejecting five appeals from the opposition. The results confirmed by the Constitutional Court were nearly identical to those previously released by CENI, although both of the main candidates were credited with slightly reduced totals: Gnassingbé was credited with 60.88% (the CENI figure was 60.92%) and Fabre was credited with 33.93% (the CENI figure was 33.94%). Decisions of the Constitutional Court are not subject to appeal, and thus the decision of 18 March marked the conclusion of "all the electoral processes".

Speaking on behalf of Fabre and the FRAC coalition, Patrick Lawson denounced the Constitutional Court's decision and described Fabre as "the elected President". He urged the people "to stand opposed to this electoral hold-up" and "remain mobilized until the restitution of power to Jean-Pierre Fabre".

Results

Summary of the 4 March 2010 Togo presidential election results

Candidates – nominating parties	Votes	%
Faure Gnassingbé – Rally for the Togolese People	1,234,044	60.9
Jean-Pierre Fabre – Union of Forces for Change	692,584	33.9
Yawovi Agboyibo – Action Committee for Renewal	60,388	3.0
Agbéyomé Kodjo – Organization for the Construction of a United Togo	17,397	0.9
Brigitte Adjmagbo-Johnson – Democratic Convention of African Peoples	13,451	0.7
Bassabi Kagbara – Pan-African Democratic Party	8,357	0.4
Nicolas Lawson – Party for Renewal and Redemption	6,029	0.3
Total (turnout 65.7%)	2,040,506	

Registered voters	3,599,306	
Total votes	2,119,829	
Invalid or blank votes (1.6%)	79,283	