



Situation Analysis Togo

Introduction

The Republic of Togo has a complex political history marked by harrowing democratic transitions. The Eyadéma political dynasty has led the country for more than fifty years. Gnassingbé Eyadéma assumed office in 1967 and was president until his death in 2005¹. He led as the head of a military junta from 1967 to 1993, and following the National Conference of Togo he was the democratically elected leader from 1993-2005. The ascension to multi-party democracy was heralded by the National Sovereign Conference of 1991. The Togo National Conference was said to be precipitated by a similar National Conference held in Benin Republic in 1990².

Late President Gnassingbé Eyadéma won all three elections held in 1993³, 1998, and 2003⁴, though each election was described as flawed by observers. The 1993 election was boycotted by the opposition. The 1998 election was marred by fraud and serious irregularities. For instance, in a usurpation of the powers and duties of the Independent National Electoral Commission (CENI), President Eyadema was proclaimed winner of the election by the Minister of Interior and Security rather than by CENI. This action was based on the judgement of the Constitutional Court of July 1998, which held that the Minister could replace the CENI. The 1998 election was judged to be fraudulent and violent with some casualties recorded on the opposition side.

The political impasse arising from the 1998 Presidential Election led to the signing of the *Accord-Cadre de Lomé* (Lomé framework Agreement) by President Eyadema and his political party, the Rally of the Togolese People (RPT) in July 1999 in Paris. The agreement, negotiated between the opposition political parties and international facilitators, agreed on the following:

- a. In accordance with Article 59 of the 1992 Constitution of Togo, President Eyadéma will vie for office as President in 2003
- b. The rights of political parties, media and others shall be guaranteed
- c. All refugees/political prisoners who exited the country can safely return⁵,

¹ He held sway as military dictator, president in a one party system and multiparty system for 38 years.

² The Benin National Conference led to similar ones being organised in Togo, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Benin and Cote d'Ivoire.

³The irregularities in the 1993 election led the European Union to suspend aid to the country.

⁴ The 1998 and 2003 elections were condemned as fraudulent by opposition parties.

⁵ The refugees arose largely from the terror perpetrated on political opponents and citizens by the army. An estimate of over 200,000 refugees was alleged to have crossed over into Ghana, Benin and other neighbouring countries

- d. There shall be compensation plans for all victims of political violence etc.

In December 2002, in a dramatic shift from the Lomé framework Agreement, President Eyadema and his RPT, enjoying a commanding majority in parliament, amended the 1992 Constitution of Togo. Parliament passed 34 new amendments to the constitution, including:⁶

- a. Revision of Article 59 eliminating the two-term limit (previously the president had been limited to two five-year terms)
- b. Reduction of age of presidential candidates from 45 to 35
- c. Introduction of the single round of voting
- d. Residency requirements for presidential candidates (a candidate vying for the position of the president must have resided in the country for 12 months before an election)
- e. The president has the power to dismiss the Prime Minister⁷
- f. Power to appoint more judges
- g. Creation of a new legislative body, the Senate, to join the National Assembly

The removal of term limits from the constitution gave President Eyadema the opportunity to contest again in the 2003 Presidential Election, which he won on 1st June with 57.78% of the vote.

Following the death of President Eyadema in 2005, in what can be termed a palace coup, his son Faure Eyadema was installed by the military as the president to serve out the unexpired term of his father. This was strongly condemned by the regional blocs ECOWAS and the African Union as an unconstitutional change of government. It was an act prohibited by the ECOWAS Supplementary Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance⁸ and the African Union Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance (ACDEG)⁹. As a result of the local and international condemnation of the change in power, Faure Eyadema stepped down and the deputy parliamentary speaker, Bonfoh Abbass assumed office as the president. An election was called

between 1992 and 1993 alone. This included an assassination attempt on long-term opposition leader Gilchrist Olympio and widespread killings of political opponents in connection with the 1998 presidential elections. For more see: *Togo- Stalled Democratic Transition* by Morten Hagen and Michelle Spearing; London, 28 November 2000, Centre for Democracy & Development (CDD) at <https://web.archive.org/web/20120902023414/http://www.diaistode.org:80/Droits/cdd.html>, see also Amnesty International Report on Togo 2000 (AI June 2000) "Rule of Terror" based on a fact-finding visit to Togo in November and December 1999

⁶ See 1992 constitution of Togo and 2002 constitution

⁷ With this amendment, the President holds all the powers and has the right to dissolve Parliament, to which he is not accountable.

⁸ Protocol A/SP1/12/01 on Democracy and Good Governance, Supplementary to the Protocol relating to the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peacekeeping and Security

⁹ A core objective of the ACDEG according to article 2(4) is to prohibit, reject and condemn unconstitutional change of government in any Member State as a serious threat to stability, peace, security and development; this is also in line with the Lomé Declaration for an OAU Response to Unconstitutional Changes of Government and AU constitutive act.

for April 2005 and Faure Gnassingbé contested on the platform of RPT against Emmanuel Bob Akitani, Union des forces de changement (Union of Forces for Change (UFC)), who was endorsed by six other opposition parties. With a total voter turnout of 63.6%, Faure Gnassingbé emerged winner with 60.22% of votes cast¹⁰. Emmanuel Bob Akitani came second with 38.19%¹¹. Emmanuel Bob Akitani declared himself president¹² despite results announced in favour of Faure Gnassingbé. With wide accusation of electoral rigging and vote tampering, there was an outbreak of violence in Togo which affected citizens and the diplomatic community¹³ alike. The government put the official figures at around 20 while the opposition claimed that at least 100 people were killed. According to Amnesty International, militias with close ties to the ruling party, RPT, joined by the Togolese army, "violently attacked presumed opponents or ordinary citizens," committing "very serious violations of human rights, including extrajudicial executions, kidnappings, torture and ill-treatment, rape, attempted rape and arbitrary arrests".¹⁴

Following the electoral violence of 2005 and economic blockade of the country by international actors, the opposition parties and the Government of Togo agreed to end a 12-year political impasse that has hurt the socio-economic development of the country. The agreement, referred to as the Accord Politique Global¹⁵ (Global Political Agreement (APG)), was facilitated by former President Blaise Compaore of Burkina Faso in 2006. The global agreement included the following:¹⁶

- a. Formation of a government of national unity
- b. Establishment of a new national assembly
- c. Improved human rights systems
- d. Constitutional and institutional reforms
- e. Modification of the composition of the National Electoral Commission (CENI), to include opposition parties, civil society groups etc.
- f. Setting up of a commission to investigate all past politically motivated violence
- g. Abolition of strict eligibility conditions related to one's country of residence
- h. Revision of electoral rolls
- i. Establishment of an ad-hoc committee that will support the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and propose a set of measures to accelerate the return of these refugees.
- j. Conducting of security sector reform
- k. That henceforth security forces will refrain from interfering in the political dialogue

¹⁰ Togo Elections Winner is Sworn in, BBC 4th May 2005 <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/4512125.stm>

¹¹ Of other contestants in the elections, Harry Olympio received only 0.55% of the vote, while Lawson took 1.04%. 63.6% of registered voters participated in the election.

¹² Six Die as Togo Clashes Intensifies, Guardian 28th April, 2005 accessed <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2005/apr/28/westafrica.andrewmeldrum>

¹³ German Centre Firebombed in Togo, BBC 29th April, 2005 accessed on <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/4497135.stm>

¹⁴ Amnesty International (AI). 20 July 2005. "Introduction." *Togo: Will History Repeat Itself?* (AFR 57/012/2005)

¹⁵ The agreement is a precursor to the 22 commitments adopted on 14 April 2004 between the EU and the Togolese government.

¹⁶ See Dialogue Inter-Togolese Accord Political Global

The challenge of implementation continues to hamper the agreement. Key setbacks include the establishment of government of national unity, monitoring framework and permanent framework for dialogue. A recommendation that has been implemented with wide-reaching consequences and significant impact, is the establishment of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (CVJR). The commission has concluded its sitting and submitted a report.¹⁷ One of the recommendations from CVJR is the setting up of The High Commission for Reconciliation and National Unity (HCRRUN), which has commenced work.

The hitherto elusive legislative elections were first held in 2007, with the RPT winning 50 seats to emerge as the majority party. The Union des forces de changement (Union of Forces for Change (UFC)) won 27 seats and the Comité d'Action pour le Renouveau (Action Committee for Renewal (CAR)) won the remaining four seats. Following several postponements, legislative elections were again held in 2013 in a heated political atmosphere. A fundamental reform ahead of the 2013 legislative elections was the increase in the number of legislative seats from 81 to 91. This is as a result of the country's first census in 29 years. At the end of the exercise, the number of constituencies in Togo increased to 30 and the number of seats in the National Assembly rose from 81 to 91¹⁸.

Opposition parties continue to agitate for local elections and implementation of the constitutional and electoral reforms signed under the APG . Togo has not held local elections for over thirty years. Instead, the strategy has been to have prefects/local councillors appointed by the government to be in charge of local prefectures or councils. The failure to hold elections contradicts the 2002 Constitution¹⁹, which provides for decentralisation at the local level. President Faure Gnassingbe has indicated interest in organising local elections²⁰ though he has not specified a time frame. This is impeding the development of local grassroots democracy.

The debate on the full implementation of the APG continues to reverberate across the country. Street demonstrations, public debates and meetings were held both in the prelude to the 2015 elections and in the aftermath. Several dialogue mechanisms have been set up to call for a revisit of the APG, but to no avail.

What is at stake in Togo in terms of electoral democracy?

¹⁷ See La mission d'établissement des faits chargée de faire la lumière sur les violences et les allégations de violations des droits de l'homme survenues au Togo avant, pendant et après l'élection présidentielle du 24 Avril 2005 29 Août 2005 accessed at http://www.letogolais.com/pdf/Rapport_ONU_Togo.pdf

¹⁸ 1st census in 29 years has been crucial for 2013 elections in Togo Dispatch UNFPA West/Central Africa 8 August 2013 - See more at: <http://wcaro.unfpa.org/news/1st-census-29-years-has-been-crucial-2013-elections-togo#sthash.QJOCaFei.dpuf>

¹⁹ The Togolese Constitution provides for a decentralisation process by which municipalities, prefectures and regions are to be administered by councils elected through universal suffrage.

²⁰ Togo opposition parties demonstrate for reforms, as Gnassingbé promises first local elections in 30 years, Mail&Guardian Africa, May 22,2016 accessed at <http://mgafrica.com/article/2016-05-22-togo-opposition-parties-demonstrate-for-reforms-as-gnassingbe-promises-first-local-elections-in-30-years>

Independent National Electoral Commission (CENI)

The 2002 Constitution of Togo and Electoral Act 2012 -002 regulates the Togolese electoral system. The Act has 292 articles divided into eight sections. Ahead of the local and legislative elections in 2013, the code was twice amended²¹. The electoral code creates the Independent National Electoral Commission (CENI)²² by virtue of its Article 3, to organise and supervise electoral and referendum consultations. The CENI is conceptualised as independent, with its own budgets.²³ However the same code provides that the state shall make available the “means” for the permanent functioning of the body.

The CENI comprises of 17 members as follows, appointed for a non-renewable term:

- 5 appointed by the Parliamentary Majority
- 5 appointed by the Parliamentary Opposition
- 3 appointed by the Extra-Parliamentary Political Parties elected by the National Assembly
- 3 from the Civil Society elected by the National Assembly
- 1 designated by the Administration

A major challenge of the Togo CENI is its lack of independence. The failure to appoint the vice chair of the CENI (a post reserved for members of the opposition), until the eve of the 2015 elections, is a good example. Also of note is the appointment criteria of members of the CENI, with the selection of the opposition particularly revealing. For instance, Olympio Glychrist, leader of the UFC, still claimed to be in opposition after agreeing to form government with President Gnassingbé in 2010.

Voting system

Presidential Elections are determined in a single round of voting. The candidate with the highest number of votes emerges as winner irrespective of whether the proportion of votes won is less than 50%. This amendment was introduced in the controversial 2002 amendment to the constitution, with Article 60 providing that ‘the President of the Republic shall be elected by means of a first-past-the-post, one-round system’²⁴. This voting system is one of the major causes for disapproval of the opposition parties against the incumbent administration. Alongside the call for the scrapping of the single voting system is also the cost of elections. The opposition have sought for a reduction

²¹ Specific modifications were made to the following articles 27, 28, 29, 38, 47, 53, 82, 83, 84, 202, 220, 221, 225 et 234 (representing first amendments of 15th February 2013) and articles 89, 99, 100, 101, 103, 107 and 142 (second amendment 20th March, 2013). See la loi [Loi 2013-004 modifiant le Code Electoral](#) and [Modifications 2 Code Electoral](#) for further details. http://www.ceni-tg.org/?page_id=560

²² CENI has adopted the Règlement Intérieur of 7th October 2014, comprising of 77 articles to govern its internal working.

²³ Article 5 of the electoral code provides the CENI must develop and manage its own budget in accordance with budgetary and public accounting standards.

²⁴ The 1992 constitution before its revision provides the President of the Republic shall be elected by means of a first-past-the-post, one-round system.

in the deposit political parties are required to pay to contest for office²⁵. Currently, a deposit of \$44,000²⁶ is required to contest the Presidency.

The voters' register has been of paramount concern and a source of dispute between the opposition parties, CENI and government. The CENI have often claimed that the list is fraught with ghost names. The list was updated in 2013 ahead of the legislative elections and updated again in 2015 for the presidential election. However, the 2015 exercise organised by the CENI, who claimed to be revising the register to eliminate deceased voters' names and register new voters, was seriously faulted by the opposition parties. To redress the perceived anomalies, the 2015 Presidential Election was postponed for 10 additional days at the behest of the regional bloc ECOWAS, to allow the CENI to complete work on finalising the voters' register and its validation processes²⁷. The use of the electronic vote tabulation system has also generated concerns in Togo. In the 2015 Presidential Election, opposition parties rejected results tallied with the new computer system. This was resolved when an agreement was reached to verify electronically tabulated results with signed hard copies from the polling stations²⁸.

Presidential Term limits

Togo's Constitution of 1992 established a two term limit for the presidency but in December 2002, the provisions of the constitution on term limit was revised by the Eyadema's rubber-stamp legislature. The new Article 59 reads "**that the president shall be elected by direct, secret universal suffrage for a term of five years and can be reelected.**" This provision has now made it possible for a president to run for an unlimited number of terms in office. The lack of presidential term limit is one of the major challenges affecting the stability of the country. This was captured in the 2006 Global Political Agreement (APG) signed between Gnassingbé and the opposition leaders. However, to date the revision remains largely unsuccessful even though a larger percentage of the population is in support of the term limit. According to the Afrobarometer²⁹ Report, more than four in five Togolese express support for term limits (83% in 2012, 85% in 2014). Attempts by the government to revise the provisions remain abortive as the National Assembly rejected the proposals in June 2014.

Redrawing Constituencies

²⁵ See the Global Political Agreement, Ibid

²⁶ Questions and answers, Togo Presidential Elections BBC 3rd March 2010
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/mobile/africa/8543973.stm>

²⁷ Speaking to reporters, then Chairman of ECOWAS and Ghana President John Mahama said "As a result, ECOWAS proposes that the election is delayed by 10 days to allow the election list to be revised so everyone is satisfied," President Mahama told reporters. See Togo Election Postponed to April 2015 After Concerns Over Voters Register, The Herald March 30, 2015 <http://theheraldghana.com/togo-election-postponed-to-april-25/>

²⁸ Vote Tabulation Begins in Togo Presidential Election <http://www.voanews.com/a/togo-votes-in-presidential-elections/2734265.html>

²⁹ African publics strongly support term limits, resist leaders' efforts to extend their tenure Afrobarometer Dispatch No. 30, May 2015 | Boniface Dulani accessed at http://afrobarometer.org/sites/default/files/publications/Dispatches/ab_r6_dispatchno30.pdf

The redrawing of constituencies is one of the reforms desired by the opposition. For decades, it has been claimed that the constituencies have been delineated in favour of the ruling party – previously RPT and now UNIR. This was one of the top issues raised in the APG and in the agreement signed by long term political opponent Glychrist Olympio, and the RPT Secretary-General Solitoki, to form a government of national reconstruction. The signed agreement included various electoral reforms sought by the UFC, redrawing of constituencies³⁰, a new census, and the revision of the voter rolls. Olympio said that he would chair a committee to monitor matters related to the agreement.

The role of the opposition

Togo has up to 100 political parties, which consist of the ruling party, parliamentary opposition parties and the extra-parliamentary political parties. These political parties can be further categorised as follows. The parliamentary parties include UNIR, ANC, CAR, ADDI, UFC and Sursaut-Togo, and the extra-parliamentary parties are made up of CDPA, PSR, CPP, CFN, PRR, etc.. The presidential majority consists of the Union for the Republic (UNIR), the Union of Forces for Change (UFC), and other political movements affiliated to the ruling parties.

The opposition includes the National Alliance for Change (ANC), the main opposition party and the Action Committee for Renewal (CAR). Alongside these two tendencies, there are other centrist parties, which form political alliances according to circumstances, sometimes with the ruling party, sometimes with the opposition, like the Pan-African Patriotic Convergence (CPP), and Party of Democrats for Renewal (PDR). However, the RPT was the largest ruling party for around 43 years, starting from 1969. While the incumbent President Faure Eyadema abolished the RPT in 2012³¹, the party remains essentially the same, with the main change being its name; it is now called l'Union pour la République (Union of the Republic (UNIR))³². Another leading political party is the UFC, founded in 1992 by Gilchrist Olympio, son of Togo's first president, Sylvanus Olympio³³. UFC is a made up of a mix of eight political parties, and was the leading opposition party until 2010 when it joined the GNU. Other leading parties include the National Alliance for Change (Alliance nationale pour le changement, or ANC) led by Jean Pierre Fabre and the Action Committee for Renewal (Comité d'action pour le renouveau (CAR))³⁴.

The Togolese opposition parties have not been particularly impressive. One of the main challenges is their inability to form a cohesive coalition to oust the ruling party. Attempts to coalesce have been thwarted on several occasions by lack of trust amongst the members of the political parties

³⁰ The agreement included the inclusion of seven UFC ministers in a government of national reconstruction
Message de Gilchrist Olympio aux militants de l'UFC le 27 mai 2010 accessed at
<http://www.republicoftogo.com/Toutes-les-rubriques/Politique/Olympio-annonce-un-accord>

³¹ Togo: le RPT est mort, l'Unir lui succède Jeune Afrique 16 avril 2012
<http://www.jeuneafrique.com/176500/politique/togo-le-rpt-est-mort-l-unir-lui-succ-de/>

³² The UNIR was created to project the image of a modern Togolese president and also become more broad based against the sectional RPT with focus on Northern Togo, for more see
<https://issafrica.s3.amazonaws.com/site/uploads/ECOWAS10-ENGV2.pdf>

³³ Sylvanus Olympio was assassinated by late President Gnassingbe Eyadema

³⁴ CAR was founded by Yawovi Agboyibo on 30 April 1991

and refusal to make concessions. An example is the inability of the opposition parties to support the candidature of Jean Fabre in 2010 despite the UFC being the largest opposition party. The continuous shifting of political alliances, formation of new parties and in-fighting in opposition political parties does not bode well for a shift in power in Togo. The emphasis among the opposition should be on bridging the gap between different ethnic and religious groups to gain broad based national support.

In addition to the opposition's inability to form a cohesive coalition to oust the incumbent, their strategy consists of demonstrations and boycotts of the electoral process. In the prelude to the 2015 Presidential Election, the opposition parties regularly held demonstrations where they delivered speeches against the government or called for civil disobedience. For instance, in protest against the term limit and electoral reform, the women's wing of Let's Save Togo called on women to stage a sex strike³⁵. The opposition also boycotted the elections following the scrapping of the CENI and its replacement with seven magistrates to conduct the legislative elections. This led to the eventual success of the ruling party who polled more than two thirds of the seats in the National Assembly. The immediate fallout of the weak political party system is increasing voter apathy.

Electoral Violence and Political Dialogue

Electoral violence has been a constant in Togo's democratic history. This has had a strong negative impact on democratic consolidation. For instance, the self-declaration of Pierre Fabre as President in 2005 and the challenge of the results through mass demonstrations, destruction of property, threats and intimidation of opponents, and work stoppages. The government of Togo has implemented reforms and improved political engagement in attempts to improve political stability. In 2010, the government entered into an alliance with Olympio Glychrist to form a government. Following the 2015 Presidential Election, President Faure Gyansigbe also called on opposition parties to form a government with him.

While the implementation of the GPA remains stalled, another political dialogue called 'Togo Telecom', was convened, which ended in June 2014. The dialogue failed to reach consensus on the implementation of constitutional and institutional reforms, some of which concerned preparations for the 2015 election. For eight years, the conditions for implementing these reforms have regularly been put back on the agenda without any significant progress. The High Commission for Unity Strengthening and National Reconciliation (HCRURN), set up by the Togolese Government to implement the recommendations of the CVJR, organised a workshop from 11th to 15th July 2016 which brought together the political class. This meeting once again made it possible to agree on the need for constitutional and institutional reforms. A consensus was even reached on the major reforms and the report made available to the government. In response to the report, the government set up a committee of seven members,³⁶ made up of academics and politicians, to propose a revision to be submitted to Parliament for adoption.

³⁵ Togolese women call for sex strike to put pressure on the president, The Guardian 26th August 2012
https://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/aug/26/togo-women-sex-strike-president?CMP=share_btn_tw

³⁶ The members of the committee are Mr. Ayassor O., Prof. Kpodar A., Prof. Kokoroko D., Dr. Ihou D., Mr. Ahoomey-Zunu S. K., Prof. Batchana E., Mr. Afandé K.

Youth and Women Political Participation

It is important to point out that the democratisation of Togo is the result of a popular struggle spearheaded by the youth on 5th October 1990. This and many more instances of young people's active participation has not yielded political power; political parties include the youth but they have no influencing power. The present trend is the return of old, retired politicians to vie for political office. Women are also sparsely represented in political offices. They do however participate in political demonstrations. One positive development is that the head of the political party CDDP, and vice-president of ANC are both women. However, their number remains very insignificant compared to men. In the current government headed by Klassou Elom, there are only three women out of a total of twenty-five members. Similarly, 17 women as against 76 men are lawmakers in the current National Assembly.

The implications of these shortcomings are significant. First, in relation to youth, a major challenge is the lack of democratic renewal. Some of the crises currently being experienced are also undoubtedly linked to the rancor and antagonism of the past. Secondly, as regard to women, it is agreed that their inadequate involvement in the political space is a loss for the consolidation of the democratic process.

Scenarios

Forcing the Burkina Scenario

As the protests drags on, the protesting citizens are calling for the immediate step down of President Faure. The idea is to continue the protest till a point where a Burkina situation is reenacted. In October 2014, Blaise Compaore, who ruled Burkina Faso for 27 years was removed from office through citizens action. Compaore attempted to change the constitution to enable run for office for another term. Saying enough is enough, the citizens rose up, burnt the parliament and other major symbols of power in the capital, Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso. The protesters have moved from demanding for term limit to calling for President Faure exit.

Option Two – The Opposition and Crises disintegrate (look at the challenges the protest is exacting on the economy, and people stop participating

Togolese politics is fraught with protests. Protest has been a formidable but ineffective strategy utilized by the opposition in the past. What is distinctive about this protests is the scale at which people turn up regularly in the towns to protest and in particular the extension of protest to Kara, one of the stronghold of the ruling UNIR party. How with the tolls the regular protest is exacting on the economy, the chances of its dissipating cannot be wholly ruled out.

Scenario 3 (the coalition of politicians and CSOs as usual refuse to hold) they crash the usual way, the way it has been historically and the emphasis on the

Political parties and CSOs in Togo have often coalesced to launch protests against the government particularly in pushing for constitutional reform, however on these several issues, the coalition has never held due to challenges. It is therefore possible that newly former PNR and its leadership and other actors maybe tilted to the government side or internal wrangling may lead to cracks emerging within the movement

Scenario 4 – the international community. CEDEAO, AU and others intervene and Faure is allowed to conclude his tenure and not contest in 2020

That the AU, ECOWAS and other international actors facilitate a political agreement with the reintroduction of tenure into the constitution amendments but this must have a reactive effect and President Faure exit at the end of his tenure and no longer allowed to contest for a 3rd term. Scenario 4 will be the most favorable for all parties involved

Scenario five

President Faure continues its high handed engagement with the citizens and more citizens maimed and killed and in retaliation for this, the man is removed from office.

Conclusion

Togolese democracy has seen some positive developments since its last general election. In particular, the July 2013 election and the Presidential Election of 24th April 2015 were recognised by international and national observers as free and peaceful elections, compared to the less successful 2005, 2007 and 2010 Parliamentary and Presidential Election. The fairness of the most recent elections enabled Togolese citizens and politicians to accept the results proclaimed by CENA, though there were still electoral disputes addressed to the Constitutional Court. One other major advance is the recognition of the status of the opposition leader, which led the government to adopt Decree No. 2016-008/PR of 25th January 2016 determining the rights, benefits and privileges as well as the obligations of the leader of the opposition. This provision is made in application of Act No. 2013-015 of 13th June on the status of the opposition. The law reflects an improvement on freedom of expression and political freedom. However, all proposed reforms must reflect the desires and needs of citizens, as well as resolving areas of dispute. To redress these existing challenges, stakeholders have proposed the following:

Proposed Areas for Reforms

- a. Revision of Article 59 to insert a two-term limit for presidential office
- b. Introduction of a Two-Round Electoral System
- c. Removal of clause giving the president the power to dismiss the Prime Minister
- d. Redrawing of the electoral constituency

- e. Strengthening the independence of the CENI
- f. Increasing the independence of the Constitutional Court and judiciary
- g. The establishment of a new National Assembly
- h. Implementation of all the committees set up by the government
- i. Complete implementation of the Global Political Accord (APG)
- j. The appointment of members of opposition parties into different levels of the state apparatus
- k. The securing of judicial decisions and the real independence of the judiciary
- l. Adoption of a status for all former Presidents of the country

Possible points of entry for the Africa and West Asia Region Programme of International IDEA

- a. Electoral Reform: engage political parties, CSOs, legislature and other stakeholders on electoral reform process in Togo.
- b. Parliamentary Strengthening Programme: build the capacity of the parliamentarians in their core functions of representation and law making. At the same time, organise trainings and capacity building for the support staff in the legislature. The areas of intervention should specifically include operationalisation of the parliament, drafting of legislative agenda, citizens-legislature engagement, and analysis of bills.
- c. Electoral Strengthening Programme: Implement an electoral strengthening programme with focus on capacity building for the CENI on election management and civic programming on elections
- d. Political Party Strengthening Programme: establish a programme with focus on building internal party democracy, election dispute resolution, membership building and mainstreaming youth, women and persons living with disabilities into party system