

National Democratic Institute For International Affairs



conducting nonpartisan international programs to help promote, maintain and strengthen democratic institutions

Fifth Floor
1717 Massachusetts Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20036
(202) 328-3136
FAX (202) 939-3166
TELEX 5106015068 NDILA

September 1, 1993

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Dear Friend:

As you may know, the National Democratic Institute (NDI) and the Carter Center of Emory University canceled plans to jointly observe the August 25 presidential election in Togo. President Jimmy Carter, who was to have led the 20-member international observer delegation, cited the lack of significant opposition participation in the presidential race and the state of election-related preparations as major factors in the decision to withdraw the observer effort. President Carter's announcement was made in Lomé, the day before the election.

NDI and the Carter Center have been monitoring the electoral process in Togo over the past 10 months. During that period, NDI also has been engaged in conducting a series of training seminars on civic education and pollwatching. We were providing support to the Togo chapter of the Group on Democracy and Economic and Social Development (GERDDES), a nonpartisan civic organization that was monitoring the electoral process and organizing an independent vote count for election day. On August 1, less than three weeks after the signing of the Ouagadougou Accords that called for national elections, NDI established a field office in Togo to examine pre-election preparations and the campaign environment.

The NDI field team had identified a number of serious problems. After continuous investigation of these issues and subsequent meetings in Lomé with President Eyadema and opposition leaders, it was the view of President Carter and NDI that if the election was postponed, some of these problems could be addressed. However, once the government decided not to postpone the election, NDI and the Carter Center regretfully concluded that minimum conditions did not exist to conduct a meaningful election on August 25. Therefore, it was decided not to formally observe the voting process. President Carter and the six-member NDI team departed Lomé on August 24.

After years of one-party rule and civil strife, the six-week election timetable set by the Ouagadougou Accords may have been too ambitious. While some progress had been made in terms of preparing for the election, a number of important factors undermined the election process:

Kenneth D. Wollack—President • Jean B. Dunn—Vice President for Administration & Development

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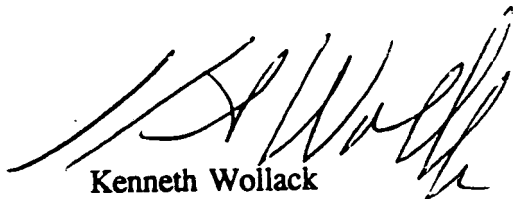
- All major opposition candidates suspended their participation in the election because of their concerns about the accuracy of the registration lists and distribution of electoral cards. This reduced almost entirely any degree of choice available to the electorate and, therefore, the election could not be carried out on a multiparty basis.
- The National Electoral Commission (NEC) was established under the July 11 Ouagadougou Accord to oversee the electoral process. Its members, however, were not sworn in until August 2. On August 20 the president of the NEC sent a letter to the prime minister, copies of which were later made public, enumerating concerns about the NEC's readiness to administer the elections. Claiming the issues of registration lists and electoral cards remained unresolved, the NEC president advised that the election be postponed. The prime minister rejected the NEC president's recommendation.
- While the government had pledged to permit nonpartisan Togolese election observers, they were never officially accredited. A significant component of NDI's planned observer effort was supporting a major monitoring effort by these national observers. NDI relies on the accreditation of national observers as an indication of a commitment to transparency, as a source of election information and as a means to assist in the development of civil society.
- Voter lists contained significantly more names than could be expected by demographic indicators. Moreover, the Ouagadougou Accords called for the lists to be posted to enable voters and monitors to verify them. In most places, this was not done in a timely manner.
- There was a lack of voter education programs to inform voters that they had to collect their electoral cards, or failing that, that voters would have the right to obtain the cards on election day at the polling site. In addition, authorities printed a significantly greater number of electoral cards than registered voters.
- The Ad hoc Audiovisual Committee, established by the Ouagadougou Accords to ensure equitable media access, did not begin to function until August 9. Balanced access to the electronic media subsequently occurred only in the final days before the election.
- At least some of the ink intended for use in preventing multiple voting was found to be not indelible. President Carter and the NDI team had tested the ink in an area 150 miles north of Lomé.
- The use of state resources on behalf of the incumbent's campaign and overtly partisan behavior of some election officials also posed concerns about the basic fairness of the pre-election period.



- Opposition parties displayed an ambivalent attitude about preparing for and participating in preparations for the elections. For example, parties did not conduct visible campaigns to encourage their supporters to collect their electoral cards. Moreover, they did not organize a nationwide pollwatching effort.

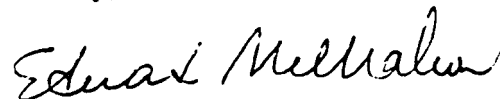
NDI recognizes that the ultimate judgement about the process will be made by the Togolese people. The citizens of Togo will decide whether the August 25 election had legitimacy or moral authority, which can be earned only through a fair electoral process conducted in a free and open environment. We have been heartened by the commitment of the Togolese people to peace, national reconciliation and democracy, and we believe that free and fair elections provide the best opportunity to begin to achieve these goals.

For its part, NDI remains committed to Togo and to future efforts to advance the democratization process there. We will continue to monitor closely the situation with the hope of renewing our program activities. Needless to say, we would welcome your views on these important issues.



Kenneth Wollack
President
National Democratic Institute

Sincerely,



Edward McMahon
Senior Program Officer
National Democratic Institute

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PRESIDENT CARTER ANNOUNCES THAT JOINT NDI/CARTER CENTER DELEGATION WILL NOT PARTICIPATE IN TOGOLESE ELECTIONS

LOME, TOGO - FORMER U.S. PRESIDENT JIMMY CARTER ANNOUNCED AUGUST 24 THAT THE CARTER CENTER AND THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE (NDI) WILL NOT PARTICIPATE IN AS INTERNATIONAL OBSERVERS IN THE AUGUST 25 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS IN TOGO.

FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF PRESIDENT CARTER'S STATEMENT:
(BEGIN TEXT:)

IN SUPPORT OF THE DEMOCRATIZATION PROCESS IN TOGO, THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NDI) AND THE CARTER CENTER OF EMORY UNIVERSITY HAD PLANNED TO PROVIDE INTERNATIONAL OBSERVER DELEGATION TO THE AUGUST 25 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IN TOGO.

OVER THE PAST TWO DAYS I HAVE MET WITH PRESIDENT EYADEMA, HIS MINISTERS - AND I'VE ALSO MET WITH OPPOSITION CANDIDATES AND WITH OTHER DISTINGUISHED AND IMPORTANT ACTORS IN THE ELECTION PROCESS.

WHILE THERE IS CONSENSUS AMONG EVERYONE ON THE IMPORTANCE OF HOLDING ELECTIONS, DUE TO THE LACK OF SIGNIFICANT OPPOSITION PARTICIPATION IN THE PRESIDENTIAL RACE AND BECAUSE OF CONCERNS ABOUT THE STATE OF ELECTION-RELATED PREPARATIONS, THE NDI AND THE CARTER CENTER HAVE DECIDED NOT TO PARTICIPATE AS OFFICIAL OBSERVERS OF THE AUGUST 25TH ELECTIONS.

THAT IS A JOINT STATEMENT THAT HAS BEEN PREPARED FOR NDI AND THE CARTER CENTER. ON BEHALF OF THE CARTER CENTER, I WOULD LIKE TO SAY THAT MY OWN PERSONAL INTEREST IN THE PEOPLE OF TOGO WILL CONTINUE.

THERE ARE THREE IMPORTANT PROJECTS UNDER WAY IN THIS COUNTRY. ONE IS TO ERADICATE THE DISEASE GUINEA WORM. ANOTHER IS TO ISSUE FREE MEDICINE WHICH PREVENTS RIVER BLINDNESS. THE THIRD ONE IS TO INCREASE THE PRODUCTION OF BASIC FOOD GRAINS, PARTICULARLY MAIZE. ALSO, IN THE FUTURE, OF COURSE, WE'LL BE VERY INTERESTED IN THE STEPS TOWARD DEMOCRATIZATION AND MULTI-PARTY ELECTIONS IN THIS COUNTRY.

(END STATEMENT)

THE FORMER U.S. CHIEF EXECUTIVE THEN ANSWERED QUESTIONS. FOLLOWING IS A TRANSCRIPT OF THE Q & A SESSION.

QUESTION: (INAUDIBLE).... WHAT WOULD BE FAIR AND FREE ELECTIONS?

MR. CARTER: WELL, HAD THERE BEEN A CONTESTED ELECTION WITH MAJOR CANDIDATES IN OPPOSITION TO PRESIDENT EYADEMA, THEN THERE WOULD HAVE BEEN A NEED FOR OUR FULL PARTICIPATION. THAT HAS NOT MATERIALIZED.

QUESTION: IF THERE HAD BEEN ELECTIONS WITH THE PARTICIPATION OF THE PRINCIPAL OPPOSITION CANDIDATES TO GENERAL EYADEMA, WOULD THERE HAVE BEEN DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS?

MR. CARTER: I THINK IN THE PAST FEW DAYS THERE'S BEEN SOME PROGRESS MADE IN PREPARING FOR THE ELECTIONS, AND, IN OUR OPINION, THAT PROGRESS WAS NOT COMPLETED.

WE TRAVELED YESTERDAY ABOUT 150 MILES NORTH OF HERE (250 KILOMETERS), STOPPING ALONG THE WAY TO ASCERTAIN PREPARATIONS FOR THE ELECTIONS. A SIGNIFICANT PROBLEM IS WITH THE INDELIBLE INK TO PREVENT MULTIPLE VOTING. I DIPPED MY FINGER IN THE INK THAT WAS SUPPOSED TO BE INDELIBLE. AS YOU CAN SEE (DEMONSTRATES UNMARKED INDEX FINGER), THE INK DID NOT REMAIN. IN MY OPINION, HAD THE ELECTION BEEN DELAYED FOR A FEW DAYS, THESE TYPES OF PROBLEMS COULD HAVE BEEN CORRECTED. BUT, WITH NO OPPOSITION OF A SIGNIFICANT CHARACTER, THE QUALITY OF THE INDELIBLE INK IS NOT VERY IMPORTANT.

WE'LL BE GOING FROM HERE TO BENIN, AND FROM BENIN TO ERITREA, FROM ERITREA TO YEMEN, FROM YEMEN TO ALBANIA, AND ONLY THEN WILL WE BE GOING BACK HOME.

QUESTION: YOU TRIED TO CONVINCED PRESIDENT EYADEMA AND THE TOGOLESE GOVERNMENT TO POSTPONE THE ELECTIONS. WHAT DID THEY SAY? WHAT REASONS DID THEY GIVE YOU FOR NOT DELAYING IT FOR NOT DELAYING IT FOR A FEW DAYS OR A COUPLE OF WEEKS?

MR. CARTER: OUR OPINION WAS THAT HAD THE ELECTION BEEN DELAYED FOR A FEW MORE DAYS, THESE PROBLEMS COULD HAVE BEEN CORRECTED. AND I HAVE BEEN ASSURED THAT AT LEAST SOME OF THE OPPOSITION CANDIDATES WOULD HAVE PARTICIPATED. I PRESENTED THIS SUGGESTION TO THE ELECTION COMMISSION, TO THE INTERNATIONAL FOLLOW-UP COMMITTEE AND THE GOVERNMENT MINISTERS. THERE DECISION WAS NOT TO DELAY THE ELECTIONS.

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IT'S IMPORTANT FOR EVERYONE TO REALIZE THAT ALL THE DECISIONS ABOUT THE ELECTIONS CAN ONLY BE MADE BY TOGOLESE OFFICIALS. NOT BY INTERNATIONAL OBSERVERS. WE CAN ONLY EXPRESS OUR OPINION. I HAVE NO AUTHORITY AND DO NOT WANT TO HAVE ANY.

QUESTION: YOU'VE BECOME SOMETHING OF AN INTERNATIONAL PEACE BROKER - PEACE MAKER (LIBERIA, I CAN THINK OF, AND OTHER AFRICAN COUNTRIES). DO YOU FEEL YOU'VE FAILED HERE IN TOGO?

MR. CARTER: NO. I DON'T THINK SO. I HAVE NO REGRETS ABOUT COMING HERE. THIS IS MY THIRD VISIT TO TOGO. AT EACH VISIT I'VE DISCUSSED THE HOPE THAT TOGO WOULD HAVE FREE, OPEN, MULTI-PARTY ELECTIONS. I'VE STILL NOT GIVEN UP THAT HOPE, AND I THINK THE TIME SCHEDULE SET BY OUAGADOUGOU WAS TOO EARLY, PARTICULARLY BECAUSE THE PREPARATIONS WERE MADE QUITE LATE. THESE THINGS PERHAPS INDICATE A GOOD FAITH EFFORT ON THE PART OF THE OFFICIALS. BUT I THOUGHT THE ELECTION DATE WAS TOO EARLY. THIS IS JUST MY OWN OPINION, BUT I DON'T FEEL THAT WE HAVE FAILED. IN MY OPINION, THE HOLDING OF THE ELECTION CAN BE A STEP TOWARD FULL REALIZATION OF THE DEMOCRATIC HOPES OF THE PEOPLE OF THIS COUNTRY.

QUESTION: YOU SENT A TEAM, AN IMPORTANT TEAM, TO TOGO FOR THREE WEEKS. IN VIEW OF YOUR EXPERIENCE, DIDN'T THIS TEAM HAVE TIME TO DISCOVER THAT CONDITIONS WEREN'T ADEQUATE TO SET UP ELECTIONS? THE ARRIVAL OF FOREIGN OBSERVERS BROUGHT SOME HOPE TO THE TOGOLESE PEOPLE. TODAY YOU'RE LEAVING BEFORE THE ELECTIONS TAKE PLACE. DO YOU THINK YOU'VE ACCOMPLISHED YOUR MISSION?

MR. CARTER: WHEN I ARRIVED IN TOGO TWO DAYS AGO, I WAS IMMEDIATELY INFORMED THAT THE ELECTION COULD NOT BE CARRIED OUT ON A MULTI-PARTY BASIS AND THAT ALL THE PREPARATIONS CONCLUDED. IF IT WAS CONDUCTED TOMORROW - AS I'VE ALREADY SAID, I MADE A BEST EFFORT TO HAVE THE OFFICIALS DELAY THE ELECTIONS FOR A FEW DAYS. THE DECISION OF THE GOVERNMENT MINISTERS AND THE ELECTION COMMISSION WAS NOT TO DELAY THE ELECTION.

THERE IS NO NEED FOR US TO ATTEMPT TO OBSERVE AN ELECTION WHERE THE PREPARATIONS HAVE NOT YET BEEN COMPLETED THOROUGHLY. THEREFORE, THERE IS NO OPPOSITION. I'M NOT SAYING THIS TO CONDEMN OR CRITICIZE THE NATIONAL ELECTION COMMISSION. THEY'VE HAD THE RESPONSIBILITY OF CARRYING OUT THE OUAGADOUGOU AGREEMENT, WHICH REQUIRED THE ELECTION TO BE HELD ON THE 25TH OF AUGUST. MY HOPE WAS THAT ALL THREE OF THE MAJOR CANDIDATES WOULD AGREE TO A BRIEF DELAY. WHEN

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THIS DECISION WAS MADE, THERE'S NO NEED FOR US TO CONTINUE OUR ROLE.

THERE ARE A NUMBER OF OTHER INTERNATIONAL OBSERVERS WHO WILL BE HERE THROUGHOUT THE ELECTION. THEY CAN MAKE THEIR OWN REPORT ON THE EVENTS THAT RESULT FROM THE PROCESS TOMORROW.

QUESTION: MR. PRESIDENT, IF A DELAY IS GRANTED, WOULD YOU BE PREPARED TO CHANGE YOUR MIND?

MR. CARTER: WELL, I THINK THIS IS A MOOT QUESTION NOW. I'VE BEEN INFORMED FIRMLY THAT THE ELECTIONS WILL BE HELD AS SCHEDULED. AND I'VE ALREADY MADE

QUESTION: YOU DIDN'T ANSWER MY QUESTION, SIR. THERE HAVE BEEN SEVERAL POSTPONEMENTS UP TO NOW. IF THERE WERE ANOTHER ONE, WILL YOU BE WILLING TO CHANGE YOUR MIND AND COME BACK?

MR. CARTER: AGAIN, LET ME SAY THIS IS A HYPOTHETICAL QUESTION. IF THE OFFICIALS HAD ACCEPTED OUR RECOMMENDATIONS FOR A DELAY, THEN WE WOULD HAVE FULFILLED OUR DUTIES AS INTERNATIONAL OBSERVERS.

QUESTION: (INAUDIBLE)

MR. CARTER: THEN, IF I DIDN'T ANSWER YOUR QUESTION, I MISUNDERSTOOD. I DON'T WANT TO AVOID YOUR QUESTION. MAYBE MY ENGLISH IS NOT VERY GOOD.

QUESTION: IF THERE WERE A POSTPONEMENT, WOULD YOU COME BACK?

MR. CARTER: I CAN'T ANSWER THAT QUESTION NOW BECAUSE IT WOULD DEPEND UPON THE DATE SET FOR THE NEW ELECTIONS. MY OWN PROPOSAL WAS THAT THE ELECTION DATE SHOULD BE CHANGED UNTIL A WEEK AFTER SUNDAY (SEPTEMBER 5), WHICH WOULD HAVE MEANT THAT I COULD HAVE COME BACK, AND I WOULD HAVE COME BACK UNDER ACCEPTABLE CIRCUMSTANCES. DOES THAT ANSWER YOUR QUESTION. THIS WILL BE THE LAST QUESTION.

QUESTION: MR. PRESIDENT, IN DEPARTING BECAUSE THE MAIN OPPOSITION CANDIDATES ARE NOT PARTICIPATING, ARE YOU NOT UNDERMINING THE CREDIBILITY OF THE FOREIGN OBSERVERS WHO ARE REMAINING? ARE YOU NOT LEAVING THE ROLE OF OBSERVER AND ASSUMING A ROLE OF INTERFERENCE?

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MR. CARTER: WELL, I'M NOT TRYING TO INTERFERE AT ALL IN THE CONDUCT OF WHAT REMAINS OF THE ELECTION PROCESS. OUR ROLE AS OBSERVERS, AS ASSESSED BY ME, WAS TO ASSURE THAT ADEQUATE PREPARATIONS WERE MADE FOR AN OPEN AN HONEST ELECTION WITH INTEGRITY, AND, THAT THERE WAS OPPOSITION SO THAT THE CONTEST COULD BE OBSERVED BETWEEN OR AMONG THE CONTENDING CANDIDATES. SINCE THERE IS NO REMAINING CONTEST, AS FAR AS I CAN ASCERTAIN, AND THERE IS NO DOUBT ABOUT THE RESULT OF THE ELECTION, THERE IS NO POTENTIAL CONTEST FOR US TO ASSESS AS INTERNATIONAL OBSERVERS. BUT, I HAVE NO INTENTION TO CRITICIZE ANYONE OR INTERFERE IN THE CHOICE THAT THE TOGOLESE PEOPLE MAKE.

IN ADDITION TO SUGGESTING A DELAY, I ALSO URGED BOTH THE OPPOSITION CANDIDATES TO RESUME THEIR CAMPAIGNS, BUT BOTH DECLINED TO DO SO. SO, I'M NOT HERE TRYING TO ASSIGN ANY BLAME TO ANYONE. I THINK THE ONLY SOLUTION COULD HAVE BEEN FOR THE DELAY TO PERMIT CORRECTION OF THE REMAINING PROBLEMS AND FOR THE OPPOSITION CANDIDATES TO RESUME THEIR CAMPAIGN.

OUR SUPPORT FOR DEMOCRACY, FREEDOM, HUMAN RIGHTS, ECONOMIC PROGRESS IN TOGO IS UNCHANGED. THANK YOU VERY MUCH.

END OF TRANSCRIPT

Editorial from *Libération*, August 25, 1993

by Gérard Dupuy

Title: "Backsliding"

Post-colonial Africa was quickly described as having got off to "a bad start" and it's been possible for quite some time now to claim that Africa has, in effect, badly finished, or that it has become altogether lost along the way. There were plenty of prognosticators who advocated writing off Africa for decades to come. The future seemed indeed hopeless in the areas of economy, society and health. Then, a few years ago, a breeze of democratic reforms seemed to herald some light at the end of the tunnel. However, the record of these reforms leaves us today with little room for encouragement.

Many of the so-called democratic transitions have turned out to be masquerades conducted by regimes in place, as a means of doing the minimum in the electoral field to not lose financial contributions from donor nations. Of course, these regimes sufficiently flawed the elections to make sure that they arrived at the principle goal of the exercise: staying in power. Several countries, such as Zaire, Congo, and Nigeria have stayed in this transition mode, caught in a persistent impasse, even if Nigeria does now seem to have found some means to move forward. The latest farce comes from Togo, with the approval of the French, while Jimmy Carter, having become a sort of world expert on the issue, has refused to take part in this malicious joke. Africa (and Togo) are off to a bad start and France is not paying much attention.

To console ourselves and our national pride, we would prefer to focus on Central African Republic, where French soldiers impeccably play the role of democratic activists. But this cannot hide a general trend, a general backsliding, in the process of democratization, a backsliding that is not, unfortunately, exclusive to the former French empire. It's not too pessimistic to claim that the democratic élan of the late 1980s now seems more and more like a missed opportunity. The spirit of those days, however, is needed now more than ever, for as the axiom goes, tyranny prospers on the same misery that it fuels. After decades of French "assistance," assistance which had its own motivations and assistance that was equally wasted, that axiom should constitute a basic and fundamental lesson for French policy. However, it would seem that French diplomacy, now in the hands of the Right after a very mediocre interim of the Mitterrand years, has not yet learned this lesson.

From The Independent (London)
August 26, 1993

Togo elections favour general

THE PIONEER of military coups d'état in black Africa, Gnassingbe Eyadema, headed for victory in Togo's first presidential elections yesterday after the main opposition candidates were disqualified or boycotted the contest, writes Karl Maier.

German and United States observers, led by the former president Jimmy Carter, quit the tiny West African country of 3.6 million people after declaring there was no point in monitoring an election that only one serious candidate was contesting. Monitors from France and Burkina Faso decided to stay on.

As the polls opened early yesterday in Lomé, the capital, many voters appeared to heed a call by the main opposition alliance, the Collective of Democratic Opposition (COD 2), to boycott the election.

General Eyadema, 56, overthrew the elected president, Sylvanus Olympio, in January 1963, in independent sub-Saharan Africa's first coup, and handed over to a civilian government that he ousted four years later. His rule went largely unchallenged until a pro-democracy movement began stirring in the late 1980s.

Three years ago, he was forced to agree to multi-party reforms, but almost immediately he and his army resisted the transition to democracy at each step. In ex-

traordinary displays of courage, unarmed crowds demonstrating in favour of democracy forced the army back into its barracks.

Since then, however, President Eyadema has used threat and manipulation to remain in power. Sylvanus Olympio's son, Gilchrist, emerged as a leading opponent until he was badly wounded in an assassination attempt by troops loyal to Gen Eyadema, according to an international inquiry. The Supreme Court barred Gilchrist from standing in yesterday's election because his medical papers were not in order.

The main challenger to the General, the COD 2 candidate, Edem Kodjo, a former secretary-general of the Organisation of African Unity, pulled out of the elections on Monday amid opposition charges that voters' registry was padded by at least 600,000 people, some children and some long since dead. Yao Abgoyibo, of the Action Committee for Renewal, also withdrew.

Mr Carter's decision to withdraw his monitors was seen by many observers as a fatal blow to the election's credibility. "There is no need for us to attempt to observe an election for which preparations have not yet been completed thoroughly and there is no significant opposition," Mr Carter told reporters.

Article from *Le Monde*, August 26, 1993

Page 1 teaser:

Title: "Election Parody in Togo"

Text: "In light of the opposition boycott, results from the August 25 election in Togo should be no surprise. Incumbent President Gnassingbé Eyadema, in power since 1967, seemed assured to be his own successor, with the approval of the French government. Paris maintains that, in effect, nothing justifies a delay of the election date, as was demanded by opposition candidates. To the contrary, American observers, led by former President Jimmy Carter, and German observers, left Togo on Tuesday."

Page 7 article:

Title: "Dangerous Election Parody in Togo"

Subtitle: "With the opposition boycotting the August 25 election, General Eyadema should succeed himself, with the approval of the French government"

From our special correspondent in Lomé.

Raising his index finger, Jimmy Carter testified to journalists: "I dipped my finger into the supposedly indelible ink, look at it!" The ink, designed to prevent double voting, had disappeared. But the failure of the indelible ink was not the real reason for the former American president's departure from Togo.

Mr. Carter, who left Togo on Tuesday, the day before the election, was leading a delegation of international observers from the National Democratic Institute (NDI), an independent American foundation. The former president, just before moving on to Eritrea, Yemen, and Albania in his role as 'pilgrim of democracy,' explained that "this election is not democratic because it is not multiparty."

To leave or to stay? This was the question that confronted the various international observer delegations during a day rich in developments. A French observer, as well as a close friend of President Eyadema, both stated that "the Americans have screwed the whole affair." The departure of the American delegation, as well as that of the German delegation the day before, threw the various delegations into an uproar on Tuesday, at a time when many were still wondering if the election would even take place.

Per usual, the answer was supposed to come from Paris. Would the former colonial power ask General Eyadema, a candidate to be his own successor, to delay the election, as requested by Edem Kodjo, the principal opposition candidate? In announcing on Friday that he was withdrawing from the race "due to the manifestly unprepared state" of election preparations,

Kodjo sowed confusion. The other opposition candidate, Yawovi Agboyibo, in a gesture of solidarity with Gilchrist Olympio (the 'hereditary enemy' of Eyadema who was prevented from running due to a simple procedural question) had not even campaigned. Thusly, President Eyadema risked finding himself practically the only candidate in the race. As of today, that risk is a fait accompli. Mr. Kodjo subsequently requested that his ballots not be made available in polling stations and the other two candidates, Jacques Amouzou and Adani Ifé, were seen to be allies of Eyadema.

Two years after a national conference that stripped the regime of its power, General Eyadema, in power since 1967, seemed assured to win another five-year term. As he stated during one of his campaign rallies, "The re-creation is over." However, this election, which was supposed to have reconciled the Togolese people, risks throwing the country into a round of new violence. At best, the election represents just another phase in a crisis that is not yet over.

"It's France who wanted it this way!," protested a newspaper vender. Even before France made known its position on the election, a tract appeared in Lomé that read: "French, don't push us too far. If you do, the little colonials are going to get mad!" France's position was made public on Tuesday in Paris. Invoking the July 11 Ouagadougou Accords signed between the government and representatives of the COD II, the Quai d'Orsay implicitly rejected the idea of a delay in the elections. France, the statement read, "considers that it is important for the democratic process that each signatory respect all stipulations in the Accord, in their entirety." In other words, according to Paris Edem Kodjo, as a signatory of the Accord, has no foundation for his request that the election be delayed, an election for which the date was fixed in Ouagadougou.

This position, which seems to have elicited lively discussions in Paris between the presidency and the ministry of cooperation, risks to have heavy consequences for the French government. The four French MPs who were sent as observers, Gilles de Robien (UDF), vice-president of the National Assembly, Serge Janquin (Socialist Party - PS), MP for Pas-de-Calais, Michel Dreyfus-Schmidt (PS), vice-president of the Senate, and André Egu (UDF), senator for Ille-et-Vilaine, testified to the uncomfortable situation confronting them when they went out of their way to not appear as "sanctioning" the re-election of President Eyadema.

After giving it much thought, three of the four decided to continue their mission of observation. They specified that they were not in Togo "to judge a political situation, but to observe conditions surrounding the conduct of the election." The fourth member, Mr. Janquin, indicated that he had asked to be "relieved of his mission."

Has France found itself caught in a trap? The Minister of Cooperation, Michel Roussin, has labored intensively to see the Ouagadougou Accord succeed, an Accord that was meant to be synonymous with national reconciliation. Under the Accord, France sent 70 soldiers (Burkina Faso sent 40) to help dissuade Togolese armed forces from intervening in the electoral process. However, with the Accord having as an outcome the assured re-election of General Eyadema, opponents of the regime are accusing Paris of committing all the wrong.

Today, France seems to be stuck in a rationale of "the Accords and nothing but the Accords." Meanwhile, the Accords have been respected by no one. The opposition rejected the election date by claiming that irregularities had been committed by the government. An opposition representative on the National Electoral Commission claimed that "everywhere, there has been a parallel system for voter card fabrication and distribution."

The significance of these irregularities remains unknown. But the fact is that the televised news has not respected the clause of the Accord that demands "equal access to state media." For example, television viewers on Tuesday evening were treated to a 20 minute presentation summarizing the activities of the Head of State and the Prime Minister who, several days earlier had endorsed Eyadema. Not a single word was mentioned of the departure of Jimmy Carter. On the previous day, Togolese television had shown a long presentation that permitted the lawyer Jacques Vergès, a key player in the presidential entourage, to give his opinion on a legal question, an opinion that implicitly defended the cause of General Eyadema.

Note: Accompanying editorial cartoon showing two election observers, one of whom remarks, "The unique candidate who will have cheated the most should win the election." (Translated figuratively: "In a single candidate election, the candidate who cheats the most should win the election.")



Article from *Liberation*, August 26, 1993

Title: "Togolese Boycott the Presidential Elections"

Subtitle: Except for the fief of President Eyadema, the opposition boycott has been massively followed.

From our special correspondent in Aného.

Akuété Domasseh was one of the rare inhabitants of Aného, a seaside town 45 kilometers east of Lomé, to go out and vote. Unfortunately for Mr. Domasseh, a former information official, a group of people attacked him on his way out of the polling station. After a quarter century of dictatorship, it was not a wise move to identify oneself as a supporter of President Eyadema during yesterday's multiparty election that was boycotted by the opposition candidates. Especially, in Aného, the hometown of Gilchrist Olympio, the most radical of the opposition leaders.

In Lomé the situation was less tense. However, the majority of registered voters deserted the polling places as they followed the opposition call to boycott. Kokou Dotsé, an accountant in Kodjoviakopé, a residential section of Lomé, explained, "After 25 years in power, we have had enough of Eyadema." With only two hours left remaining before the closing of the polls, only around 30 out of 600 registered voters had voted in Kodjoviakopé. In Bé-Station, an area especially friendly to the opposition, only 120 had voted. On the other hand, in the northern central part of the country, the ethnic bastion of President Eyadema, the turnout was massive. Voting in his home village of Pya, President Eyadema expressed his desire to form in the future "a government of national unity of all political tendencies, to be able to heal the country."

In the absence of the major opposition candidates, who withdrew from the race after denouncing a badly-prepared election, a little less than 2.1 million voters could choose between President Eyadema, Jacques Amouzou, a former diplomat who was barely known, and the independent candidate Adani Ifé.

On Tuesday, the former president Jimmy Carter, in justifying the withdrawal of the American observers, stated, "There is no doubt about the results of this election. For us, there is nothing to observe." The Americans' German colleagues followed suit in withdrawing. On the other hand, most of the French and African observers stayed, stating each time that their presence was "not to sanction, but to observe."

The most interesting aspect of the election, of which results should become available tomorrow, is the percentage of voter turnout. If the number of voters is considerably lower than 750,000, in other words half of the number that voted in the September 1992 constitutional referendum, the "re-election" of General Eyadema would become a humiliation.

Article from *Le Figaro*, August 26, 1993

Title: "Presidential Election in Togo: Eyadema Alone in the Race"

Subtitle: The 'multiparty' election is held without opposition participation. Of the western observers, only the French remained.

In a state of confusion, Togolese citizens went to the polls yesterday in the first round of a presidential election, the results of which are known in advance: With the boycott of the election by the two major opposition candidates, General Gnassingbé Eyadema, in power for 26 years, is assured of re-election.

As of the mid-afternoon, no serious incident had been reported. However, technical and human shortages caused significant delays, with some polling places still not open at mid-day. In the densely-populated quarters of Lomé, areas friendly to the opposition, a certain tension was perceptible. The two chief opponents of General Eyadema, Edem Kodjo and Yao Agboyibo, called on Togolese to stay away from the polls, while Gilchrist Olympio, the number one opposition leader exiled in Ghana, called the election "shameful" and a "parody of democracy." Only two almost-unknown independent candidates remained to oppose Eyadema.

In Bé quarter of Lomé, a recognized bastion of support for the opposition, groups of young people were posted at intersections to warn potential voters that they were not welcome. About 30 people seized the principle voting center in Bé, where there was no ballots and no ballot box. One of the 30 declared, to the acclamations of his friends, "The president of the polling place didn't show up, nor did the police. We are not voting here."

Meanwhile, in Adewi quarter, an area friendly to President Eyadema, immense billboards, referring to President Eyadema, proclaimed "confidence never betrayed." In Adewi, over a thousand people had been waiting in line since dawn for their chance to vote. Just before 8:00 a.m. the polls were opened to the accompaniment of cheers.

General Eyadema voted during the morning in his native village of Pya, in the northern part of the country. He announced his intention to form "a government of national unity .. to heal the country." During his last campaign rally, Eyadema called on Edem Kodjo to participate in this government. However, Mr. Kodjo's party rejected Eyadema's offer.

France expressed its regrets yesterday that the electoral process was "now threatened" by the withdrawal of opposition candidates. Nevertheless, the Quai d'Orsay underlined that the Comité de Suivi had never questioned the "validity" of the election. For his part, the former US President Jimmy Carter, a member of the Comité, left Togo yesterday and called on other American observers to do the same. Eight German observers left on Monday. Only the observers of France and Burkina Faso remained.

"The mission that has been entrusted to us by the Parliament is an observation mission and nothing but an observation mission," explained the UDF MP, Gilles de Robien, who underlined that "our presence accounts for no sort of approval." In the aftermath of these

elections, Paris will be faced with re-examining the status of civilian cooperation missions (worth 400 million francs), as well as military cooperation valued at six million francs. This assistance was suspended at the end of 1992.

(AFP, Reuters)

Article from *Le Monde*, August 27, 1993

Title: "Many Polling Places Deserted"

Subtitle: "Togo: Presidential Election Without Opposition"

Teaser: "The Togolese presidential election was held calmly on Wednesday, August 25. The opposition boycott seemed to assure the re-election of President Eyadema, in power for 26 years. The only remaining variable was voter turn-out, which seemed to be low. Gunfire on Tuesday evening near the Ghana border in Lomé left one dead and one injured. Using these events to its advantage, the Togolese government wasted no time in denouncing the "plot" to overthrow the regime."

Lomé, from our special correspondent.

Togo "once more has just been the victim of a serious aggression." To bolster this terse assertion, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ouattarra Natchaba, called on Colonel Sizing Walla, a close friend of President Eyadema, to show the press contraband seized from the would-be "terrorists" -- communications equipment, an agenda drawn up by an opposition journalist, and an audio cassette and amplification system -- through which "the plotters would have announced the establishment of an authoritarian regime." The Foreign Minister added, "this recorded communique was read by Jean Degli" (an opposition member in exile).

Several hours later, a western diplomat, after having watched a TV presentation of the above allegations, declared: "These details are at the same time ridiculous and typical of a dictatorship." He added, "Every dictatorship from time to time needs a plot against it."

No stranger to this need, General Eyadema and his advisors saw the capital to be gained from playing this trump card on the same day as the presidential election. Their plot theory was based on the fact that, on Tuesday evening, the Assistant Secretary-General of Lomé's city government was injured, another man killed, near the Ghana frontier in Lomé. Circumstances surrounding the shooting remain unclear and the official explanation offered by the Togolese government contains several inconsistencies, notably the time at which the events took place.

This "revelation" capped off an election day that held only one unknown factor - voter turnout. Turnout varied depending on location, both in Lomé and throughout the country. In the Kabye (President Eyadema's ethnic group) quarters of Lomé, voters had to stand in line to vote. However, in the Ewé sections of southern Lomé, polling stations remained deserted throughout the day.

Lomé was a microcosm of the country as a whole. The Northern parts of the country differ politically from the South, where two-thirds of the population lives. Prime Minister Joseph Kokou Koffigoh, trying to head off any disappointment over a low turnout, made a point of declaring on Wednesday that "most of the elected or re-elected heads of state in Africa have

garnered only 17-25 percent of the votes cast."

Beginning on Wednesday evening, Edem Kodjo andYawovi Agboyibo, the two opposition candidates who withdrew from the race, demanded the invalidation of the election, which they called a farce. "This farce," an independent Togolese said, "was authorized by the opposition when they signed the Ouagadougou Accords. Afterward, the opposition did nothing to prevent it from being a farce; from the beginning, the opposition has only worked to slow down preparations for the election. In fact, the opposition never really wanted to participate in the election."

It still remains for the international community to pass judgement on the validity of the election. Five days before the election, the President of the National Electoral Commission noted that the establishment of credible voter lists before the August 25 deadline was proving to be impossible. In a letter addressed to the Prime Minister, the commission president, Kué Sipohon Gaba, who is also the president of the Supreme Court, requested that the election's first round be delayed.

Pressured? Intimidated? Whatever the case, three days later, Gaba rescinded his request for a delay. But the fact remains that many Togolese have more than one voter card, that some of the indelible ink is not at all indelible, and that the opposition boycott left some polling places staffed only by the polling-place president, as was the case in the opposition-friendly Bé quarter of Lomé. Also in Bé, young men were observed at polling place entrances, dissuading any would-be voters from going to vote.

In theory, the presence of a good number of international observers should allow conclusions to be drawn concerning the validity of the election. However, no coordination of the disparate observer delegations took place. The only statement issued on Wednesday night came on Togolese radio from a group of observers invited by the government. They said, "These elections were very well organized." One affirmed that "the democratic process is well underway in Togo."

For its part, France issued a statement on Wednesday that expressed regret that "the principle opposition candidates chose at the last moment to claim irregularities and withdraw from the election." The Quai d'Orsay stressed the role of the Comité de Suivi, saying that, while the Comité had requested that mentioned irregularities be corrected, it did not consider that the entire process had lost its validity. This declaration was sure to have irritated in the utmost the Comité, which is not mandated to make judgement on the validity of the election. What's more, after the departure of the American and German observer delegations, Paris, Bonn, and Washington risk no longer speaking with the same voice.

Article from *Le Figaro*, August 29, 1993

Title: "Presidential Election in Togo: This Election Was Meaningless!"

Subtitle: "So Declares the Chief of the French Parliament's Observation Mission"

The Vice-President of the National Assembly, Gilles de Robien (UDF), has just returned from Lomé. He does not hesitate to cast doubt on the electoral process there.

Le Figaro - Were the elections free and fair?

Robien - These elections took place under unsatisfactory and unclear conditions. On the one hand, the opposition had withdrawn from the race arguing that there was a total lack of preparation for the elections. On the other hand, the National Election Commission, on August 20, had warned that it would be very difficult, even impossible, to organize a credible election on the 25th.

What's more, we observed on election day that nearly one-third of the polling stations were either closed or did not exist. The second third of the polling stations opened, but no one came to vote. Finally, the remaining third of polling stations functioned more or less correctly, but with a voter turnout of only five to 15 percent.

Le Figaro - Were there many irregularities?

Robien - The indelible ink wasn't always indelible, thereby opening up the possibility of multiple voting. The electoral lists were correctly prepared, but, in order to gain public credibility, it would have taken a few more days of preparation.

Le Figaro - Can Eyadema consider himself elected?

Robien - It's not my place to answer that question. That is for the Togolese Supreme Court, the National Election Commission, and the Comité de Suivi. However, I would say that, in the September 1992 referendum, some 1.47 million people voted. This time only 500,000 voted. So one could conclude that the opposition boycott represents around 900,000 missing votes.

Le Figaro - Is it necessary to hold a new election?

Robien - If I had any recommendation to give, I would suggest holding a referendum that would ask the following question: Do you consider valid or non-valid the election of August 25, 1993? If the non-valid response wins, then I feel that it would be necessary to hold a new election, this time under regular conditions.

Le Figaro - Why did France adopt a different position vis-a-vis the Americans and Germans, whose observers left Togo?

Robien - I think that the Americans and Germans were wrong to leave Togo because they are in no position, today, to bear testimony to what happened on election day. Those of us who stayed, we can bear testimony. One must, at the same time, draw a difference between us and the so-called French observers who were invited by the incumbent president and who, on election night, engaged in propaganda.

Le Figaro - Do you agree with Jimmy Carter, who said that this election is meaningless?

Robien - I don't know how he can say that, because he left Togo before the election. On the other hand, for my part I can say it and I don't hesitate to say it: This election was meaningless!

Le Figaro - As President of the France-Togo Friendship Group, under what circumstances should France restore its policy of cooperation, suspended now for a year?

Robien - [France should not restore its assistance] Certainly not after this election! Cooperation should be restored only after a truly democratic process has been established. This means, since one must be careful not to blame one side over the other, demanding democratic reforms from the government in place, as well as from the opposition.

Le Figaro - How do you explain the careful way in which the Quai d'Orsay has acted?

Robien - There is really no true policy of cooperation. We're still holding onto old traditional ways of doing things, ways that have been outdated.