



The challenge of globalization and democratization to the African Union: The case of Togo Crisis

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Abstract

Times have changed for African cold warrior dictatorships. It used to be that these cold warriors would kill, main and muscle their way into political leadership while the western world and their fellow African state look the other way. Thanks to the multinationals that supported them. The paper examines the political crisis in Togo through the Kantian Democratic Peace Theory. It assumes that the UN, and AU, ECOWAS and the international community are practical example of the Kantian “republican confederation” with overwhelming international political influence to bring pressure upon any one-republican member that threatens world peace. The paper holds that the political crisis in Togo was a threat to both regional and global peace and concludes that international pressure was responsible for the resignation of Faure Eyadema hence the restoration of constitutional order in Togo.

Keywords: Democratization; kantian confederation; conflict resolution; Togo crisis

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INTRODUCTION

The entire spectrum of scholarly interpretations of the structural weakness of the African nations, Togo inclusive, avoided the glaring obvious fact that African nations never had the cherished opportunity to experience the waves of democratization that swept through the western nations including the American until recently after the cold war. The cold war era never actually gave the western nation the chance to look more objectively at the socio-political and economic needs of the African States. Western policies towards Africa were mostly geared towards prosecuting the exigencies of the cold war. The world was divided into two - what Islamic doctrine called "Dar-al-Islam and Dar al-Hard- the "abodes of peace" and the "abodes of war". Similarly according to Huntington¹ scholars also divided the world into the Orient and Occidental, North and South, center and periphery.

After the cold war, American divided the world into two – the "Zone of peace" and the "Zone of turmoil". In actual fact, no zone had or has real peace because the rest of the its evil fruits in the third world as the cold warriors try desperately to cling unto power at the expanse democratization as in the case of Togo's elites.

The recent wave of democratization which we refer to as political globalization came when the cold warriors had already accomplished some negatively skewed ethno political reorganization of their respective states. This ethno- political reorganization mostly favoured their own ethnic nationalities. Networks of economic and political relationships have been established between the government and the local chiefs through whom these chiefs and their cohorts obtain political and economic empowerment. It is these empowered few that purchase the services of the young people to fight for the cold warriors giving a false semblance of mass support.

On the other hand the majorities of the people was and are still politically and economically marginalized. They make demands on the cold warriors for which they get properly incarcerated, maimed or secretly executed. During the cold war, they were called communist. Today they are called political activities or terrorists. Some like the Gilchrist Olympio, the son of the former president of Togo were exiled with death sentences hanging on their heads while some still brave the tension and the insecurity that surround them on a daily basis.

Gnassingbe Eyadema and his group ruled Togo with the powers that parallel those of the supreme natural God². Like most African cold warriors, the world outside the government house was mystically shrouded in darkness. The cold warriors do not know how the people go about their daily live in terms of water supply, drugs, food and nutrition and good roads. Good roads are necessary if they lead to their ethnic nationality. They do not care about the governed since they have the army, the police and the nation's wealth at their disposal.

After the death of Eyadema the cold warriors felt unsecured and afraid of relinquishing their hold on power since doing so would expose them to the stark realities of the sociopolitical problems they created and the enemies they have made over the 38 years of Eyadema's rule. Hence they opted to tinker with the constitution and impose Faure Eyadema, the son of the late Eyadema, who could best protect the interest of the cold warriors.

1. Samuel P. Huntington *The Clash of Civilization and the Remarking of World Order* (New York) Simon & Shuster 1996 also see Zbigniew Brzezinski *out of Control: Global Turmoil on the Eve of the Twenty First Century* (New York Scribner, 1993)
2. For detailed analysis of Esiyadema's Togo, See Samuel Decalo: *Coups and army rule in Africa: The study in Military Style.*

Unfortunately for the cold warriors, the prevailing global ideology – political globalization – had prohibited coup de' tats. It is the level of pressure that was brought to bear on the ruling elites of Togo by the national and international community that got our interest in this study. We must begin by looking at the Kantian Democratic Peace Theory, a brief history of Togo's Eyadema, the global responses and the outcome of the responses.

THEORETICAL APPROACH

The Democratic Peace Theory

The origin of democratic peace can be traced back to Emmanuel Kant's philosophical sketch of what he called Perpetual Peace. John Macmillan argues that Kant is widely held to be the political philosopher best suited to explain the fact that liberal states appear to be able to maintain peace among themselves, but not in relation to non liberal states. Kant's authority as the "ultimate liberal" thinker has been used in order to make democratic peace more influential.

The foundation of Kant's democratic peace therefore lies on his conception of natural rights. He believes that all political institutions and the relations states should conform to natural right regardless of national interest. For this reason, republican form of government was necessary for world peace³. By republicanism, Kant meant a political regime where the executive power is separated from the legislative power and the people enjoy equality and basic civil rights. Since a republican state required the consent of the people, citizen representation in government is necessary.

As republican state requires the consent of its citizens in order to wage a war, consequently the state is very unlikely to go to war because its citizens will hesitate to make such a decision since they themselves will have to bear the cost of it, and not the aristocrats. In modern democratic parlance, democratic peace theory includes the following requirements:

- 1) A republican constitution
- 2) The right of the people to chose their leaders freely and fairly
- 3) Freedom of expression, association and other civil liberties;
- 4) The Rule of Law
- 5) Protection of Minority Rights
- 6) Protection of Fundamental Human Right and
- 7) Promotion of popular participation in decision making

Given these democratic principles Kant also argues that republican governments should form a 'pacific federation'. This federation will be expanding until the whole nations of the world are encompassed. This will make the idea of perpetual peace a reality.

This idea of a perpetual peace through pacific federation appears to be a form of collective security system not quite unlike the United Nations' collective security system or the new African Union collective security and the form of international pressure brought to bear on Togo's Faure Eyadema organized coup after his father Gnassingbe Eyadema's death. For better understanding we must briefly present the principles governing the collective security theory.

3. For detailed empirical study see Michael Doyle Ways of War and Peace (New York: Avon Books 1997) B. Russet Grasping the Democratic Peace (New Jersey: Princeton Univ. Press 1993).

The Collective Security Theory

We must insist that the collective security theory especially as derived from the pacific federation principle of Kant and further exemplified by the United Nations Charter, differs from the collective defense theory of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). While both tend to protect identical values, they differ in their modus operandi towards achieving the desired end for peace. The following interdependent basis assumptions may be said to be the foundations upon which the collective security theory rests.

- (i) Collective Security Theory assumes that all nations share a primary interest in maintaining peace.
- (ii) It assumes that peace is indivisible and threat to peace anywhere in the world must be threat to peace everywhere and must be treated as the concern of all members of the international community.
- (iii) The third assumption holds that all members in the system must agree in advance to react promptly and effectively against threats to peace and must organize it in such a way range from overwhelming condemnation, severing of diplomatic relations, embargo, sanctioned to military action in extreme uses. As with alliances, the aggressor nation will be faced with such preponderant opposition from all member of the system to that peace will be promptly restored⁴.

We must briefly examine the principles of globalization as they relate to this study

Globalization

The Kantian democratic Peace Theory implies political globalization. In our view in this paper, political globalization must be distinguished from social and economic globalization which has been experienced in Africa much earlier. This might become clear and more meaningful by our definition of globalization generally.

With technology and electronic media as pivots, globalization is a movement aimed at harmonizing world economic, political and social values such that any infraction of these values anywhere in the world can have adverse effects on the entire system. Political globalization has thus intensified the need for democratization, orderly and constitutional change of government and good governance as a means towards achieving global peace. Ayooob has already acknowledged that the instability and insecurity in the third world definitely have contagious effects on the western world and on the sub region particularly.

It is from these theoretical perspectives that we can begin to analyse and understand the political crisis in Togo immediately after the death of Gnassingbe Eyadema.

The crisis in Togo which emanated following the death of the president of Togo, Gnassingbe Eyadema, and the unconstitutional take over of power by the military is a clear indication of lack of regard for democracy by a country that is still struggling with democratization process. This is not only peculiar to Togo alone. All African nations and indeed all the third world countries are still in the process of democratization.

However, African democracy and democratization is problematic, this is basically due to the attitude of African leaders towards the principles of true democracy. This has created a setback in democracy and democratization process in Africa. The Togo case which is a typical example of a country where the principles of democracy have utterly been violated by a leader who do not have much regard for democratic principles. When Gnassingbe Eyadema

4. Mohammed Ayooob, *The Third World Security Predicament: State making, Regional conflict and the international system* (Boulder Colorado: Lynne Runner R. publishers. 1995) pp 170 – 196.

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seized power in 1967, it was the era of the Big Man on Africa. Like many African leaders of his generation, Eyadema ruthlessly crushed opposition forces, nurtured a cult of personality, and then clung to power decade after decade, growing rich as his tiny West African nation stayed poor.

His death on February 5, 2005 and the Togolese military's decision to anoint his son, Faure Gnassingbe, as his successor has come during a different and increasingly democratization era on the African continent. Political analysts say the rule of law and respect for elections which is part of democratic principles are on the rise in Africa, as is the willingness among the continent's leaders to criticize misbehaviors by rulers of neighboring nations.

Though the African Union chaired by Nigerian president Olusegun Obasanjo as well as other regional and international bodies have come up with open condemnation of the seizure of power by the Togo's military, imposing Faure Gnassingbe, and have taken steps further through sanctions to ensure that the stipulations of the Togo's constitution as regards succession of power is strictly followed.

But the AU can not use force, violence or war to achieve their target in Togo. By virtue of its members comprising of democratically elected governments and applying the principle of democratic peace theory which states that democracies almost never go to war one another.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF TOGO

A brief history of Togo will be necessary for one to really understand the political events leading to the crisis. Togo today is made up of two-thirds of the former German protectorate Togoland. The French and the British invaded in 1914 and after World War Two; the country was split into two United Nations-trust territories under French and British rule.⁵

The Voltaic peoples and the Kwa were the earliest known inhabitants. The Ewe followed in the 14th century and the Ane in the 18th century. The Danish claimed the land in the 18th century, but by 1884 it was established as a German colony (Togo land). The area was split between the British and the French under the League of Nations mandates after the World War 1 and subsequently administered as UN trusteeships. The British portion voted for incorporation with Ghana. The French portion became Togo, which declared its independence on April 27, 1960.⁶

Upon attainment of independence in April 27, 1960, Sylvano Olympio became Togo's first democratically elected president. He was overthrown in a coup d'état which was led by Eyadema. Sylvano Olympio was murdered in that coup, he was shot and killed by Sgt. Etienne Eyadema while he was attempting to scale the walls of the American Embassy to seek asylum. Instead of taking the top position for himself, he handed over power to Nicolas Grunitzky, after overthrowing the nation's founding father Sylvanus Olympio. The government of Nicolas Grunitzky was eventually overthrown in a bloodless coup on January 13, 1967, led by Lt. Col. Etienne Eyadema (now called Gen. Gnassingbe Eyadema). A National Reconciliation Committee was set up to rule the country, but in April, Eyadema dissolved the committee and took over as the president. He suspended the constitution, banned political parties, and created a cult of personality around his presidency-his official biography described him as "force of nature".⁷

5. Reuters foundation-alert Net (www.alertnet.com) 03 May 2005.

6. www.infoplease.com-Daily Almanac for June 4, 2005

7. Daily sun News Paper (Monday March 21, 2005) pg.28

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In 1969, Gen. Gnassingbe Eyadema declared the country a one party state and founded the Rally of the Togolese People. In a referendum drawn in June, 1979, the people of Togo voted overwhelmingly to keep Gnassingbe as president. President Gnassingbe Eyadema ruled Togo virtually unchallenged. His rivals effectively boycotted president elections polls in 1993 and accused him of rigging vigorously the 1998 poll. His main opponent, Gilchrist Olympio, son of Togo's murdered first president, was banned from 2003 elections and 2005 elections as he lives in exile. General Gnassingbe Eyadema ruled Togo from the time he took over power in April 1967 to the time he died in February 5, 2005, a period of 38 years in office, thus becoming one of Africa's longest-serving rulers.⁸

There were several coup attempts on the presidency of Gnassingbe Eyadema. The 1977 and 1986 coup attempts saw Olympio's son Gilchrist being sentenced to death in absentia for his part in the coups attempts.⁹

At this point a chronological political events in Togo since independence up till the recent crisis will help to have a clearer understanding of the Togo crisis following the death of Gen. Gnassingbe Eyadema.

CHRONOLOGY OF POLITICAL EVENTS IN TOGO SINCE INDEPENDENCE UP TILL THE RECENT CRISIS

Outlined below is a chronology of political events in the former French colony since independence up till the time of the recent crisis.

April 1960 – Togo achieves independence from France.

April 1961 – Sylvanus Olympio becomes the first democratically elected president after election.

January 1963 – Olympio is assassinated in a coup led by Gnassingbe Eyadema, a young army officer. Four years later Eyadema proclaims himself president.

1969 – Eyadema declares the country a one-party state and founds the Rally of the Togolese people.

January 1972 – Togo votes overwhelmingly to keep Eyadema as president in a referendum.

1977 & 1986 – Coup attempts Olympio's son Gilchrist is sentenced to death in absentia for his part in the coup attempts.

December 1986 – Eyadema is re-elected for a seven-year term with 99.9 percent of the vote.

April 1991 – Togo approves creation of political parties and an opposition coalition of 10 parties in May.

March 1993 – another coup attempt.

August 1993 – Eyadema wins presidential election with 96.5 percent of the vote.

8. www.infoplease.com op.cit.

9. Ibid

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June 1998 – Disputed presidential poll, with Gilchrist Olympio saying he won. He contested vote from exile in Ghana. Authorities declared Eyadema the winner with 52.13 percent of the vote, against 34 percent of Olympio.

February 2001 – A United Nations and OAU report says Togolese security forces murdered and raped people after 1998 election.

December 2002 – Constitution changed to allow Eyadema to run for a third term in 2003 presidential elections.

June 2003 – Eyadema wins another five-year term in office.

February 5, 2005 – Eyadema, one of Africa’s longest-serving rulers, dies ending 38 years in power.

Eyadema’s son Faure Gnassingbe, is named Togo’s new leader by army.

The African Union says the move is unconstitutional.¹⁰

Following the death of Gen. Gnassingbe Eyadema – one of Africa’s longest-serving rulers, in February 5 2005, a small clique of the army propelled Faure Gnassingbe forward on February 5 2005 to fill the vacancy created by the death of his father, Etienne Gnassingbe Eyadema, president of Togo for 38 years.¹¹

(i) AMENDMENT OF THE CONSTITUTION

Hours after the death of the President, the parliament quickly met to amend the constitution to Togo. From every indication, the plan to install Faure Eyadema as the next Head of State may have been conceived when it was obvious the Present would not survive his illness. This senseless amendment was therefore aimed at accommodating the illegality of Faure’s appointment.

One is tempted to ask “why is it that the Prime Minister would announce the closure of all the airports, seaports and land frontiers, knowing fully well that the legal successor to the office of the President was away on a national assignment”? It could be recalled that the Prime Minister, in his broadcast on the President, directed an immediate closure of the airport, seaports and the land frontiers.

(ii) APPOINTMENT OF FAURE EYADEMA AS PRESIDENT

Evidently acting in concert, few hours after the announcement of the death of President Eyadema, General Zachari Nandja, the Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces, said in a statement on State Television that the constitution had been suspended and Faure Gnassingbe, (the late President’s son) who was a Minister in the government, had been appointed Head of State. The report quotes Nandja as saying that “The Togolese armed forces swear allegiance to Faure Gnassingbe, as President of the Republic in Togo”.

Faure Gnassingbe, who is in his 30s, was appointed Minister of Public Works, Mines and Telecommunications in July 2003 following his father’s re-election for a further five-year term in June that year. He had previously been a parliamentary deputy of his father’s ruling Rally of the Togolese People (RPT).

10. *Le Monde diplomatique* (English Edition) <http://mondiplo.com/April> 2005

11. *Ibid*

(iii) BREACH OF THE FUNDAMENTAL LAWS OF THE LAND

According to the Constitution of Togo, the President of the National Assembly assumes power in the absence of the President of the Country. In this case, Fambare Quattara Natchaba should have become the Head of State following the death in office of the President. The announcement of Faure Eyadema as the Head of State therefore, constitutes a fundamental breach of the constitution.

Ridiculously, in an attempt to justify the flagrant erosion of the Constitution by this appointment, Nandja stated that the President of the National Assembly, Natchaba was out of the country, leading a parliamentary delegation to Europe. To him, the decision to hand over power to Faure Eyadema as acting President has been taken to avoid a power vacuum. This action invited international outcry leading to overwhelming pressure from governments, and civil society organizations.

This transition of power has been viewed as unconstitutional and a rape to democracy by both national and international bodies and has posed a huge challenge to African organizations especially the African Union. The AU says the move is unconstitutional, and that it would not accept the military decision to replace deceased Togo's president Gnassingbe Eyadema with his son, calling it a coup de tat and demanding the constitution be followed. Speaking on the issue, the AU chairman spoke person said, "The African Union will not accept any unconstitutional transition of power in Togo"¹². The Nigerian head of state and the chairman of AU, President Olusegun Obasanjo urged the Togo people to insist on respect for the nation's constitution in the provision of interim leadership for Togo in accordance to the constitution.¹³

The international outcry at Faure Gnassingbe's blatant seizure of power had three strands. Hardliners denounced the coup as a major setback to the laborious process of African democratization. On 10 February the serving chairman of the African Union (AU), threatened military intervention in Togo. The chair of the AU Commission, Mali's former president Alpha Oumar Konare, denounced the ascension as a military coup. He was supported by Niger's president, Mamadou Tandja, current chairman of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). As Konare puts it, "since the African Union obviously can not support any seizure of power by force, an immediate return to constitutional government is essential"¹⁴. On 19 February, 2005, ECOWAS, in contrast to its silence in response to the electoral frauds that were so much a feature of the Eyadema dictatorship, agreed that special sanctions should be taking against Togo: it expelled Togo recalled ambassadors and impose a regional travel ban on members of the regime.¹⁵

This recent crisis in Togo has been a huge challenge to AU, ECOWAS and the international society at large. The refuge problems created by the election crisis have been the concern of the international system.

On 18 February, Gnassingbe gave up his ambition of carrying on his father's term of office until its completion in 2008 and announced a presidential election within 60 days, in accordance with the constitution. The AU and ECOWAS continued to demand his immediate resignation. On 25 February he stepped down. In his place, the national assembly appointed Abass Bonfoh as its president until elections are held. Gnassingbe

12. Nigeria Today online, Monday February 7, 200

13. Ibid.

14. Le Monde (ibid.)

15. Ibid.

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announced that he will stand as the RPT candidate and launched his campaign by handing out banknotes. The resultants crisis lasted for about three weeks. Resolute diplomacy has played a decisive role, supported by a population that had overcome its fears and defied the army to demonstrate its opposition to coup.¹⁶

Since his resignation, the AU and ECOWAS have been silent. The presidential election which took place on 24 April, barely 60 days after Faure Gnassingbe's resignation was too soon for the EU to send observers to a country where electoral fraud is the norm. It is not impossible that French-speaking leaders of the AU and, in particular, ECOWAS have been under pressure from France. The French government is playing for time, hoping that the anger of the Togolese at home and abroad will subside. Its aim is to divide and weaken ECOWAS and transfer responsibility for setting the crisis to the more pliable Coseil de l'Entente, a cooperation forum created by France's instigation in 1959 by Houphouet Biogny, whose membership included Benin, Burkina Faso, Niger, Ivory Coast and Togo.

Gnassingbe had barely announce his resignation before ECOWAS lifted sanctions, without waiting for the decision of the AU's Peace and Security Council, due to meet that same day. This left AU ratifying ECOWAS sanctions that no longer existed. When Togo's national assembly elected Abass Bonfoh as Togo's president instead of reappointing Fambare Outara Natchaba who was removed by Faure Gnassingbe, ECOWAS gave its approval.

The opposition leader, Gilchrist Olympio believes that ECOWAS is dominated by francophone states, and in the tutelage of France is incapable of resolving the Togo crisis and organizing free and fair elections. He argues that the involvement of the Nigeria-led AU is essential.¹⁷

Following the electoral crisis in Togo, many Togolese have fled the country to nearby countries especially Ghana and Benin as a result of the social unrest surrounding the April 24, 2005, election. According to Eklou Clumson, the vice president of Togo's human Right league (LTDH), "before, during and after the polls in Togo human rights were violated, human dignity was not respected, and it is the authorities who are responsible"²⁰. The LTDH said in an 11-page report that 811 people had been killed since Eyadema's death, 790 of them during the election period, and many others raped during the days of fighting in the capital Lome and other areas of the tiny West African country.

Both ECOWAS and the AU risk their credibility in this crisis. Their dithering is unfortunate since this is the first time since their creation that they have taken a firm stand against constitutional violations by one of their members. This is a crucial issue among states where the acquisition and transmission of power often happen in opaque and undemocratic circumstances.¹⁸

THE AFRICAN UNION AND THE TOGO CRISIS

At the wake of the crisis in Togo following the blatant seizure of power by Faure Gnassingbe, the son of Eyadema Gnassingbe, who ruled Togo for a Period of 38 years and whose dictatorial regime was terminated by death of February 5, 2005, the AU, and ECOWAS, as well as the Civil society and Diaspora Organizations and the entire

16. Ibid.

17. Reuters Foundation (op.cit)

18. Le Monde (op.cit)

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International Society condemned this political move by Faure Gnassingbe, describing it as unconstitutional and a rape to democracy.

The Regional Organization – the AU and ECOWAS on whose shoulders the settlement of this Togo crisis mainly rested on came out forcefully for the very first time since their formation to take a firm stand against constitutional violations by one of their members.¹⁹

The Nigerian head of state and the chairman of African Union (AU), General Olusegun Obasanjo made his stands which reflect the opinions of the AU on the unconstitutional take over of power in Togo clear to Faure Gnassingbe and his political cohorts of military dictators. Speaking through his spokeswoman in Abuja, the AU chairman, President Olusegun Obasanjo said, “The AU will not accept any unconstitutional transition of power in Togo”. He therefore urged the Togolese people “to insist on respect for the nation’s constitution in the provision of interim leadership for Togo, that will lead to the democratic election for Togo in accordance with the constitution”.²⁰

The stand of the AU Commission Alpha Oumar Konare was clear on this issue. He warned that the Pan-African body would not support any new head of state that was not constitutionally mandated to take office. According to him, “what’s happening in Togo needs to be called by its name: It’s a military coup d’etat”²¹.

Speaking more on the issue, President Olusegun Obasanjo urged fellow African Leaders to reject the transfer of power in Togo to Faure Gnassingbe who was sworn in as President of Togo by the military after his father’s death. According to him, “All African leaders should not accept what happened in that country until there is a democratic transition”²². Determined to ensure that Faure Gnassingbe obeys and respects the Constitution of Togo, the ECOWAS and the AU came up with some resolutions aimed at bringing Faure Gnassingbe to order.

ECOWAS on its part suspended Togo’s membership of the regional bloc and slammed an arms embargo on Faure Gnassingbe’s regime in response to his military-backed seizure of power. A statement from the Economic Community of West African State said the organization had imposed a travel ban on Togo’s leaders and its 15 member states would recall their ambassadors in protest at Faure’s refusal to step down²³.

The African Union (AU) on its part took a more stringent stand on the blatant seizure of power by Faure Gnassingbe in Togo. The Press Release by Peace and Security Council of the AU of February 25, 2005, in Addis Ababa say, AU condemns ‘military coup’, suspends Togo.²⁴

The Peace and Security Council (PSC) of the African Union (AU), at its twenty-fifth meeting, held on 25 February 2005, adopted the following decisions on the situation in Togo.

Council,

1. Reiterates AU’s strong condemnation of the military coup d’etat which took place in Togo and the constitutional modifications intended to legally window dress the coup de tat, as well as its rejection of any election that would be organized under the conditions enunciated by the de facto authorities in Togo;

19. Nigeria Today Online – Monday 7 February, 2005

20. Ibid.

21. Ibid.

22. Ibid, Tuesday 8 February, 2005

23. Ibid. Monday February 21, 2005

24. African Focus Bulletin – www.africafocus.org/country/togo.php. February 28, 2005

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2. Demands to constitutional legality, which entails the resignation of Mr. Faure Gnassingbe and the respect of the provisions of the Togolese constitution respect of the provisions of the Togolese constitution regarding the succession of power;
3. Confirms the suspension of de facto authorities in Togo and their representatives from participation in the activities of all the organs of the African Union until such a time when constitutional legality is restored in the country and requests the Commission to ensure the scrupulous implementation of this measure;
4. Endorse the sanctions imposed by ECOWAS on the de facto authorities in Togo and requests all member states to scrupulously implement these sanctions;
5. Mandates ECOWAS, in close coordination with the current Chairman of the AU and the Chairperson of the Commission, to take such measures as it deems necessary to restore constitutional legality in Togo within the shortest possible time;
6. Request the chairperson of the commission, to formally contact the United Nations Security Council, the European Union (EU), the International Organization of La Francophonie (OIF) and the other AU partners to lend their unflinching support to the sanctions imposed by ECOWAS and the initiatives of African leaders aimed at resolving the crisis resulting from the coup de tat that took place in Togo;
7. Encourages the AU Commission and the ECOWAS Executive Secretariat to agree on a mechanism for monitoring the strict compliance with the sanctions against de facto authorities in Togo and to determine the political measures that need to be taken to backstop the stabilization and reconciliation process in Togo once constitutional legality is re-established, including more specifically the holding of free, fair and inclusive elections. In this respect, Council stresses the primacy of the rule of law and the need for the political leaders of Togo to agree on a consensual management of the transitional period;
8. decides to remain seized of the situation and to re-examine it in light of new developments and the decisions that may be taken by the de facto authorities in Togo.²⁵

POSITION OF THE TOGOLESE CIVIL SOCIETY AND THE DIASPORA ORGANIZATIONS ON THE POLITICAL CRISIS IN TOGO

The internal and external and external societies of Togo are not involved in the power dispute. All they want is a quick and sustainable return of their country to normality that provides a safe environment for social, political, and economic life in which fair elections will be organized, with an army and security force that respects the constitution and truly protects the population in a stable and prosperous country within a peaceful West-Africa.

In the face of the acute crisis generated by the coup perpetrated by Faure Gnassingbe, backed by his group of military supporters, and their defiant attitude vis-à-vis the national; and international communities, the Togolese people and the African community are before a series of crucial challenges that have to be dealt with promptly and efficiently.

25. African Focus (op.cit)

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1. Convince the authors of the coup which constitutes an insult to Africa and to the democracy to reverse and free the way to a legitimate succession to the late president Eyadema.
2. Protect the Togolese citizens and the West African region from bloodshed and social unrest induced by the strategy of terror used by the put schist in their attempt to strangle any protest and the probable military rebellion it inevitably pave way for as the only alternative mean of opposition.
3. Reform and build a renewed, professional republican national Army freed from tribalism, the syndrome of electoral hijacking and from lack of professionalism.
4. Create an environment for political, economic and social stability through a legitimate interim government who will favor sustainable good governance through an open and fair electoral system.
5. Implement national reconciliation and forgiveness of all political crimes perpetuated during the late Eyadema's regime while at the same time enforce justice by prosecuting the instigators and leaders of the killings and illegal militias as well as their neocolonial relays and advisors since 4 February, 2005, the date of the coup.²⁶

The actual situation in Togo, with a 'putschistic' regime implementing a strategy of terror, defiant of the African Community and leaders and who tries by all means to buy as much time as possible through diplomatic masquerades, are far from enabling an effective tackling of the challenges mentioned above by the national community alone.

It is the reason why the CNSC and DIASTODE, believes that the West-African, the African and the International Communities should be more involved in the resolution of the crisis and accompany Togo in facing those 5 challenges through:

1. The use of diplomacy for 15 days from the day of the coup to convince the coup authors to renounce their action.
2. If after 15 days the illegal government does not renounce their power and keep on killing peaceful demonstrators and implementing the terror strategy, we believe the only efficient dissuasive and bloodless means will remain an African Union Military Mission aiming at securing the premises for a legitimate government, protecting the civilian population and encouraging the loyal military personnel to join the people's side.
3. Reform and modernize the National Army with the assistance of the above-mentioned African Union Military Mission, so as to ensure that the army will not interfere in the electoral process and will improve in professionalism.
4. Establish a National Unity Interim Government comprising all main political groups including the former ruling party; with the aim of facilitating the holding of free and fair general elections organized by a United Nation's Electoral Mission in Togo and supervised

26. Ibid.

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by ECOWAS, the AU and the EU. The interim government, whose members should renounce running for upcoming elections, should be backed by an Interim Parliament inclusive of all political tendencies.

5. Implement a National Truth and Reconciliation Commission backed by an African Union Political Support Mission in Togo. However, the authors of all political crimes perpetrated after February 4, 2005 and their national and international accomplices should be brought before the relevant national and international tribunals.²⁷

THE CURRENT POLITICAL SITUATION IN TOGO

Three decades of dictatorship and fifteen years of unsuccessful use of almost every traditional popular peaceful actions and strategies for political change have severely exhausted the Togolese populations and radicalized their attitude to the Eyadema regime. The death of Eyadema offers a unique opportunity for a long lasting solution of the political crisis that has paralyzed Togo for almost four decades and has excluded it from international community for over ten years.

The vast mobilization of the civil society and the Diaspora is meant to attract the attention of national and international community, as well as of the heirs of dictator Eyadema that time has come for a radical and sustainable resolution of the political crisis and for an effective ending of dictatorial rule in Togo.

In order to consolidate their illegal power, Faure Gnassingbe and his accomplices declared a state of emergency, sent out the military to occupy public spaces, intimidate the populations and prevent them from uprising and demonstrating. As a consequence, all the demonstrations that have been organized have been impeded or cracked down by the military; the most remarkable use of the army was the Saturday February 12, 2005 which killed six civil societies' members and wounded hundreds.²⁸

The situation in Togo now is that election had been organized, though it was characterized with vigorous rigging, it saw Faure Gnassingbe emerging as the president of Togo. The opposition party did not accept the result of the elections and they demanded that a "transitional government of unity" be formed.²⁹

Attempts to establish a unity government of unity in the wake to Togo's disputed presidential elections stalled after new president Faure Gnassingbe rejected opposition demands before they could join the government. According to Yawovi Agboyibo, leader of the six-member coalition of opposition parties, "the president has rejected our proposals on the whole... by rejecting our proposals, he (the president) has refused dialogue-or at least that is the impression we (the opposition) have at the moment".

Coalition leaders met with the president and proposals for the formation of a transitional government of unity, including a call for a rerun of the 24 April presidential poll. The opposition said the ballot was rigged.

In a statement released by the president and read out on state radio, Gnassingbe's spokesman said the meeting had been called to accept candidates for the post of prime minister, and not

27. CNSC TOGO – Concertation Nationale-de la Societe Civile, www.togodebout.com/cnsc32.html

28. REUTERS FOUNDATION-08 June, 2005

29. Ibid.

to debate the structure of a new government. According to Pascal Bodjona the spokesman of the president, “according to their conditions, the Togolese government should cancel the constitutional power of the republic and the National Assembly – The head of state has made it known that he categorically rejects this proposal”.³⁰

Opposition claims of electoral rigging and fraud have been echoed by the European parliament and Canada and the United States too. But the international community as a whole has recognized Gnassingbe’s 60 percent victory, with AU Chairman – Nigerian president Olusegun Obasanjo among those to offer their congratulations.

In Togo however the result of the 24 April ballot caused widespread rioting, which was violently suppressed by the government security forces. According to Bodjona, Gnassingbe hope to find a solution to the political deadlock by offering the post of the prime minister to the opposition party. “It’s a sacrifice for us in our party as it was not an equal split. Really, it is not fair for our supporters”, “But he has said that he wants all of Togo to work together for peace in the country... He’s putting the interest of the nation ahead of the interest of the party”. But diplomats said that pro-government security forces were continuing to persecute opposition supporters as talks on reconciliation took place. Since 24 April, nearly 35,000 opposition supporters have fled to neighboring Ghana or Benin. Many of the most recent arrivals are young men who say they are fleeing nighttime house-to-house raids by government security forces and militia searching for opposition supporters.

The government denies that there is “a humanitarian situation” in Togo and has offered a “pardon” and to “eventually compensate” all those who have fled. Referring to president Faure Gnassingbe’s promise of a reconciliation government-to-come, the presidential statement said that “the institution promised by the head of state... will take suitable initiatives in an effort to pardon, reconcile and eventually compensate.”³¹

The Gnassingbe’s government in its bid to exonerate itself said through Richard Attipoe, a member of the central committee of the ruling Rally of the Togolese People (RPT) that, “those who fled the country were frightened of arrest by the security forces for wrongdoings.” “Many smashed things up, and burn down houses in the post election violence so they were of course frightened of arrest.” “There are also economic reasons going to the refugee camps, seen as a solution by many of these unemployed young men, and also a possible transition to go to France, Spain, or even the US,” he said.³²

In conclusion, Faure Gnassingbe succeeded his father as president of Togo, a crushed opposition mulled its next move, and with most observers predicting that eventually it would have to compromise and enter into some sort of unity government. Gnassingbe has offered the olive branch and invited his opponents to join a government of national reconciliation, but opposition leaders have refused to cut a deal with a new president whom they believed propelled himself to power by vigorously rigging an election. But the big question is whether the opposition’s refusal is sustainable. According to Alex Vines, head of the African programme at London-based research group-Catham House, “They don’t seem to have much choice as the position of the (West Africa) region was always to compromise.”³³

30. Ibid.

31. Ibid.

32. Ibid.

33. IRIN (NEWS.ORG) UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs. Saturday June 11, 2005

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It is necessary that effort be made to effectively bring all parties involve together to forestall further violence in Togo. The political crisis should not be allowed to result in humanitarian crisis. The worst scenario is having a situation similar to that in Cote d'Ivoire. A protracted crisis in Togo could further weaken the fragile economic and social conditions in Burkina Faso, Mail, and Niger that had been already seriously hit by the crisis in Cote d'Ivoire.

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