

Country: Togo

Years: 1960 – 1962

Head of government: President Sylvanus Olympio

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Olympio's party as Comité de l'Unité Togolaise (CUT). According to Graves (1999), Olympio "was anti-Communist so we [the United States Department of State] supported him." Lentz (1994: 753) corroborates party affiliation as CUT, writing, "He entered politics as the leader of the Togolese Unity Committee and was a leading spokesman of the Ewe tribe in French Togoland... He was also a proponent of autonomy for French Togoland and was opposed by the French colonial government. The French actively supported Nicolas Grunitzky in elections to the Territorial Assembly in 1955, and Olympio's Togolese Unity Committee boycotted the elections." World Statesmen (2020) identifies Olympio as a member of CUT and identifies CUT as "pro-independence, nationalist... 1941-1963, renamed PUT." World Statesmen identifies PUT (Parti de l'Unité Togolaise- Party of Togolese Unity) as "former CUT... 1963-1969, renamed RPT." BTI calls the RPT "the former socialist unity party founded in 1969." Derbyshire and Derbyshire (2016: 113) identify RPT as "nationalist socialist." Eyoh and Zeleza (2003) write "the CUT sparred with a rival, conservative group that was led by the future president Nicolas Grunitzky".

Years: 1963 – 1966

Head of government: President Grunitzky

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Grunitzky's party as Mouvement de Personnes Togolaises (MPT). University of Central Arkansas and Perspective Monde also lists Grunitzky as a member of the MPT. Manzano (2017: 103) identifies Grunitzky as rightist, as his party MPT formed a coalition government with the Democratic Union of Togolese People under him, which is an economically conservative party. Lansford (2015) states that Grunitzky "attempted to govern on a multiparty basis with northern support." World Statesmen (2019) identifies Grunitzky as a member of the PTP. Eyoh and Zeleza (2003) write "the CUT sparred with a rival, conservative group that was led by the future president Nicolas Grunitzky". Austin (1963) writes "Former conservative leaders (like Nicolas Grunitzky) took refuge in Dahomey". Austin continues, "Nicolas Grunitzky... was formerly leader of the Union démocratique des populations togolaises (formed out of the Parti togolaise du progres and the Union

des chefs et des populations du nord), a conservative coalition opposed to Olympio's [CUT]”.

Years: 1967 – 1990

Head of government: President Gnassingbé Eyadéma

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Eyadéma's party as RPT (from 1969 onwards). Mullenbach (2019) suggests Eyadéma to be non-party from 1967 to 1969: “President Grunitzky was deposed in a military coup led by Lt. Colonel Étienne Gnassingbé Eyadéma on January 13, 1967. Lt. Colonel Gnassingbé Eyadéma declared a state-of-emergency, suspended the constitution, and banned political parties. Lt. Colonel Gnassingbé Eyadéma declared himself president on April 14, 1967. President Gnassingbé Eyadéma imposed a one-party political system on November 29, 1969. The only legal political party was the Rally of the Togolese People (Rassemblement du Peuple Togolais-RPT).” BTI calls the RPT “the former socialist unity party founded in 1969.” Packer (1984) states “Eyadema had close ties with Kim Il Sung of North Korea... Democratic, Communist, revolutionary, authentic: the slogans... meant very little... Eyadema changed his [ideological] shape as often as Proteus.” World Statesmen (2019) identifies Eyadema as a member of the RPT after 1969. Derbyshire and Derbyshire (2016: 113) identify RPT as “nationalist socialist.” In V-Party (2020), 5 experts identify RPT's ideology as “Left” (-2.101) in 1970, 1975, 1979, and 1985 and “Center-left” (-1.36) in 1990.

Years: 1991 – 1993

Head of government: Prime Minister Joseph Kokou Koffigoh

Ideology:

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Seely (2001: 287) identifies Koffigoh's affiliation as non-party: “[H]e was not involved in any political party, which the main party leaders agreed was a required for their PM choice.” World Statesmen (2019) identifies Koffigoh as a member of the CFN. Political Handbook of the World (2010) corroborates Koffigoh's party affiliation as CFN, writing, “Coordination of New Forces (*Coordination des Forces Nouvelles*—CFN). Formed in June 1993 by several parties, including the Union of Democrats for the Republic (*Union des Démocrates pour la République*—UDR), the Togolese Social Liberal Party (*Parti Social-Liberal Togolais*- Solito), and several professional associations, the CFN is led by former prime minister Joseph Kokou Koffigoh under a banner describing the party as ‘resolutely committed to an irreversible democratic process.’... The CFN participated (unsuccessfully) in the March 1999 legislative elections, although the

party was considered pro-Eyadéma and Koffigoh was named to the cabinet formed in August 2000.” Heilbrunn (1993: 278) refers to a “continuing power struggle between Eyadéma and Koffigoh.” Heilbrunn (287) also writes, “In August 1990, Kokou Koffigoh, the president of the bar association and an emergent national leader, organized the *Ligue togolaise des droits de l’homme* (L.T.D.H.), wagering that Eyadéma would not risk the international censure that its suppression would incur.” However, Heilbrunn (296) also writes, “Koffigoh remained as Prime Minister, but increasingly deferred to the President’s preferences... in September, Koffigoh meekly assented to demands that six key ministerial posts be given to members of the R.P.T. Evidently the Prime Minister was reacting to the spiral of assassinations, bombings, and violence that had intimidated many of the opposition to return to exile.” Ellis (1993: 466) writes, “Prime Minister Koffigoh, inexperienced in politics and without any political organisation of his own to support him, was struggling to impose his authority on the interim administration.” On this interim administration, Seely (2006: 367) writes, “The conference speeches, whether condemning or supporting the history of Eyadéma’s one-party rule, concentrated on interpreting past events, rather than making propositions about what a new government would look like. One labour union representative concluded, ‘The whole problem with Togo was that we left the National Conference with no programme... They were so busy accusing that they never had a programme, so the new government didn’t know what to do.’ Who would lead the new transition government was also a point of contention within the opposition... The National Conference delegates ultimately chose a young human rights lawyer, Joseph Koffigoh, in a close election. But even those pro-democracy leaders who supported him may have done so out of a cynical conviction that he could be easily manipulated.” Seely (368) also writes, “According to one HCR member, ‘The Prime minister sort of played both sides. But he was often against the HCR. As we say in French, he was between two chairs, so he was uncomfortable.’” Iwata (2004: 182) writes, “President Eyadéma once again designated Koffigoh as the Prime Minister. Even though it was the same status as the Prime Minister, its meaning was completely different. Togolese people were deeply discouraged that Koffigoh was no longer the representative of the LTDH nor the civil society but rather a politician looking after his personal interests.”

Years: 1994 – 1995

Head of government: Prime Minister Édouard Kodjovi Kodjo

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Lansford (2017) identifies Kodjo’s party as UTD, writing that “the president, in apparent violation of an earlier agreement, rejected CAR leader

Yawovi Agboyibo as the FP's prime minister designate in favor of the UTD's Edem KODJO.” Nunley (2011) identifies UTD as right: “UTD - Togolese Union for Democracy (right-wing).” World Statesmen (2019) identifies Kodjo as a member of the UTD from “23 Apr 1994 - 20 Aug 1996” and of the CPP from “9 Jun 2005 - 20 Sep 2006”. BTI (2019), however, writes “In August 2012 a confederation of smaller parties of the ‘moderate’ opposition (e.g. Parti Démocratique Panafricain (PDP) led by Bassabi Kagbara, CPP (Convergence Patriotique Panafricaine) of the former RPT founding member and former prime-minister Edem Kodjo”. BTI calls the RPT “the former socialist unity party founded in 1969.” World Statesmen describes the UTD as “Union Togolaise pour la Démocratie... Togolese Union for Democracy, pro-democracy, merged into CPP” and the CPP as “Convergence Patriotique Panafricaine Patriotic Pan-African Convergence, center-left”. In V-Party (2020), 5 experts identify UTD’s ideology as “Center” (0.511) in 1994. In V-Party (2020), 4 experts identify “some visible disagreement” in UTD in 1994.

Years: 1996 – 1998

Head of government: Prime Minister Kwassi Klutse

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. World Statesmen (2019) identifies Klutse as a member of the RPT. BTI calls the RPT “the former socialist unity party founded in 1969.” Derbyshire and Derbyshire (2016: 113) identify RPT as “nationalist socialist.” In V-Party (2020), 5 experts identify RPT’s ideology as “Center-left” (-1.388) in 1994.

Year: 1999

Head of government: Prime Minister Koffi Eugene Adoboli

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. World Statesmen (2019) identifies Adoboli as a member of the RPT. BTI calls the RPT “the former socialist unity party founded in 1969.” Derbyshire and Derbyshire (2016: 113) identify RPT as “nationalist socialist.” In V-Party (2020), 5 experts identify RPT’s ideology as “Center-left” (-1.388) in 1999.

Years: 2000 – 2001

Head of government: Prime Minister Agbényomé Kodjo

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Lansford (2017) identifies Kodjo’s party as RPT, writing “The president named Agbényomé Messan KODJO of the RPT as Adoboli’s successor on

August 29.” BTI calls the RPT “the former socialist unity party founded in 1969.” World Statesmen (2019) identifies Kodjo as a member of the RPT. Derbyshire and Derbyshire (2016: 113) identify RPT as “nationalist socialist.” In V-Party (2020), 5 experts identify RPT’s ideology as “Center-left” (-1.388) in 1999.

Years: 2002 – 2004

Head of government: Prime Minister Koffi Sama

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Lansford (2017) identifies Sama’s party as RPT, writing “On June 27, 2002, President Eyadéma appointed Koffi SAMA of the RPT to replace Prime Minister Kodjo.” BTI calls the RPT “the former socialist unity party founded in 1969.” World Statesmen (2019) identifies Sama as a member of the RPT. Derbyshire and Derbyshire (2016: 113) identify RPT as “nationalist socialist.” In V-Party (2020), 5 experts identify RPT’s ideology as “Center” (0.088) in 2002. In V-Party (2020), 4 experts identify “virtually no visible disagreement” in RPT in 2002.

Year: 2005

Head of government: Prime Minister Édouard Kodjovi Kodjo

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. *Political Handbook of the World* (2018: 1463) identifies Kodjo’s party as CPP: “On June 9, the president appointed Edem Kodjo of the Pan-African Patriotic Convergence (*Convergence Patriotique Panafricaine*—CPP) as prime minister in an attempt to reach out to opposition groups.” BTI (2019), however, writes “In August 2012 a confederation of smaller parties of the ‘moderate’ opposition (e.g. Parti Démocratique Panafricain (PDP) led by Bassabi Kagbara, CPP (Convergence Patriotique Panafricaine) of the former RPT founding member and former prime-minister Edem Kodjo”. BTI calls the RPT “the former socialist unity party founded in 1969.” Lansford (2017) identifies Kodjo’s former party affiliation as UTD, writing that “the president, in apparent violation of an earlier agreement, rejected CAR leader Yawovi Agboyibo as the FP’s prime minister designate in favor of the UTD’s Edem KODJO.” Nunley (2011) identifies UTD as right: “UTD - Togolese Union for Democracy (right-wing).” World Statesmen (2019) identifies Kodjo as a member of the UTD from “23 Apr 1994 - 20 Aug 1996” and of the CPP from “9 Jun 2005 - 20 Sep 2006”. World Statesmen describes the UTD as “Union Togolaise pour la Démocratie... Togolese Union for Democracy, pro-democracy, merged into CPP” and the CPP as “Convergence Patriotique Panafricaine Patriotic Pan-African Convergence, center-left”.

Year: 2006

Head of government: Prime Minister Yawovi Madji Agboyibo

Ideology: Center

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Lansford (2017) identifies Agboyibo's party as CAR, writing "As an outgrowth of the new pact, President Gnassingbé appointed opposition leader Agboyibo of the CAR as prime minister on September 16, 2006." Nunley (2011) identifies CAR as center: "CAR - Action Committee for Renewal (centrist)." World Statesmen (2019) identifies Agboyibo as a member of the CAR. Political Handbook of the World (2018-2019) states, "The CAR was one of the leaders, along with the UTD, below, in the formation in October 1992 by "moderate" COD-2 parties of the Patriotic Front (*Front Patriotique*—FP), which sought to maintain links with the government despite the objection of other coalition partners." Heilbrunn (1993: 287) writes, "After Amnesty International had accused his régime of arbitrary arrests in 1987, the *Commission nationale de droits de l'hommes* (C.N.D.H.) was established under the chairmanship of Yawo Agboyibo, a National Assembly *député* and trusted member of the R.P.T." Iwata (2004: 176) elaborates, writing, "Yawovi Agboyibo, an internationally known lawyer, efforts led to the creation of the CNDH. It was very important in regard to opening the door for human rights activities and consciousness at a state level. However, the CNDH's role was limited because it was situated under Rally of Togolese People (Rassemblement du Peuple Togolais: RPT)..." BTI calls the RPT "the former socialist unity party founded in 1969." Derbyshire and Derbyshire (2016: 113) identify RPT as "nationalist socialist." In V-Party (2020), 5 experts identify CAR's ideology as "Center" (-0.265) in 1994.

Year: 2007

Head of government: Prime Minister Komlan Mally

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Lansford (2017) identifies Mally's party as RPT, writing "Agboyibo resigned on November 13 and Komlan MALLY of the RPT was appointed prime minister on December 3." BTI calls the RPT "the former socialist unity party founded in 1969." World Statesmen (2019) identifies Sama as a member of the RPT. Derbyshire and Derbyshire (2016: 113) identify RPT as "nationalist socialist." In V-Party (2020), 4 experts identify RPT's ideology as "Center" (0.088) in 2007. In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify "virtually no visible disagreement" in RPT in 2007.

Years: 2008 – 2011

Head of government: Prime Minister Gilbert Fossoun Hounbo

Ideology:

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Lansford (2017) identifies Hounbo as without affiliation, writing “Mally was replaced two days later by Gilbert HOUNGBO, a political independent and former diplomat.” World Statesmen (2019) identifies Hounbo as “non-party”. Lansford (2015) writes, “Hounbo named a new cabinet on September 15 that was dominated by the RPT and did not include any members of the UFC or CAR.” BTI calls the RPT “the former socialist unity party founded in 1969.” Derbyshire and Derbyshire (2016: 113) identify RPT as “nationalist socialist.” The website of the International Labour Organization (2020) states, “Prior to [Hounbo’s] appointment, from September 2008 to July 2012, he was the Prime Minister of Togo. In this capacity he led the government towards substantial improvements in all areas namely: achievement towards MDGs, rule of law, civil liberties, social cohesion, economic reforms including the Highly Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) program of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), good governance, improving business climate, agriculture and rural development and shared economic growth.” The website of the IFAD states, “As someone who was born and raised in rural Togo, Hounbo believes that the inequality in today’s world should never be accepted, and that IFAD has a crucial role to play in bringing opportunities to the poor and excluded.” The BTI 2016 Togo Country Report states, “In July 2012, the president replaced the former Prime Minister Gilbert Hounbo. Hounbo was a technocrat well regarded by the donor community, who stepped down following a bitter dispute with the president concerning arbitrary behavior of the intelligence service.”

Years: 2012 – 2014

Head of government: Prime Minister Kwesi Ahoomey-Zunu

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Lansford (2017) identifies Zunu’s party as CPP, writing “Former commerce minister Kwesi AHOOMEY-ZUNU (CPP) was appointed prime minister on July 19.” World Statesmen (2019) identifies Ahoomey-Zunu as CPP until 2013, after which he was affiliated with UNIR. BTI (2019) writes “In August 2012 a confederation of smaller parties of the ‘moderate’ opposition (e.g. Parti Démocratique Panafricain (PDP) led by Bassabi Kagbara, CPP (Convergence Patriotique Panafricaine) of the former RPT founding member and former prime-minister Edem Kodjo”. World Statesmen describes the CPP as “Convergence Patriotique Panafricaine Patriotic Pan-African Convergence, center-left” and UNIR

as “Union pour la République (Union for the Republic, replaced RPT, est.2012”. BTI calls the RPT “the former socialist unity party founded in 1969.” BTI states “the Gnassingbé regime has learned from the past, as indicated by the formal rupture with the legacy of the former unity party RPT and its replacement by a modernized conservative party UNIR in April 2012” BTI also reports “the dissolution of the ruling RPT, the former socialist unity party founded in 1969, and creation of a modernized party UNIR in April 2012 was a response by the ruling party to adapt to the requirements of a modern multiparty system.” To date, BTI considers the parliament of Togo “still dominated by the RPT/UNIR.” Lansford (2015) writes “In April 2012 Gnassingbé dissolved the RPT to form a new grouping, Union for the Republic... Union pour la République—UNIR) with himself as party president”. Tobolka (2015) writes “In Togo, the ruling RPT/UNIR had no programme beyond generic “development” and could not claim heritage of policy achievements because there were hardly any”. Tobolka (2014) adds “In any case, as of mid-2014, UNIR appears to be little more than an electoral strategy, a bargain between a younger generation of political opportunists of diverse ethno-regional background and the ruling Gnassingbé clique”.

Years: 2015 – 2019

Head of government: Prime Minister Komi Sélom Klassou

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. *The Hutchinson Unabridged Encyclopedia* (2018) identifies Klassou’s party as RPT: “RPT’s Komi Sélom Klassou appointed as prime minister.” BTI states “the Gnassingbé regime has learned from the past, as indicated by the formal rupture with the legacy of the former unity party RPT and its replacement by a modernized conservative party UNIR in April 2012” BTI also reports “the dissolution of the ruling RPT, the former socialist unity party founded in 1969, and creation of a modernized party UNIR in April 2012 was a response by the ruling party to adapt to the requirements of a modern multiparty system.” To date, BTI considers the parliament of Togo “still dominated by the RPT/UNIR.” Lansford (2015) writes “In April 2012 Gnassingbé dissolved the RPT to form a new grouping, Union for the Republic (Union pour la République—UNIR) with himself as party president”. World Statesmen (2019) identifies Klassou as affiliated with UNIR. World Statesmen describes UNIR as “Union pour la République... Union for the Republic, replaced RPT, est.2012”. Perspective Monde (2020) corroborates Klassou’s party affiliation as UNIR in 2015-2019. Tobolka (2015) writes “In Togo, the ruling RPT/UNIR had no programme beyond generic “development” and could not claim heritage of policy achievements because there were hardly any”. Tobolka (2014) adds “In any case, as of mid-2014,

UNIR appears to be little more than an electoral strategy, a bargain between a younger generation of political opportunists of diverse ethno-regional background and the ruling Gnassingbé clique”. In V-Party (2020), 4 experts identify UNIR’s ideology as “Right” (1.704) in 2013 and 2018. In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify “negligible visible disagreement” in UNIR in 2013 and 2018.

Years: 2020

Head of government: Victoire Tomegah Dogbe

Ideology: Right

Description: Varieties of Democracy identifies party affiliation as Union for the Republic (UNIR). Perspective monde (2021) corroborates party affiliation as UNIR. World Statesmen (2021) corroborates party affiliation as UNIR and describes UNIR as “Union pour la République... Union for the Republic, replaced RPT, est.2012”..” BTI states “the Gnassingbé regime has learned from the past, as indicated by the formal rupture with the legacy of the former unity party RPT and its replacement by a modernized conservative party UNIR in April 2012” BTI also reports “the dissolution of the ruling RPT, the former socialist unity party founded in 1969, and creation of a modernized party UNIR in April 2012 was a response by the ruling party to adapt to the requirements of a modern multiparty system.” To date, BTI considers the parliament of Togo “still dominated by the RPT/UNIR.” Lansford (2015) writes “In April 2012 Gnassingbé dissolved the RPT to form a new grouping, Union for the Republic (Union pour la République—UNIR) with himself as party president”. Tobolka (2015) writes “In Togo, the ruling RPT/UNIR had no programme beyond generic “development” and could not claim heritage of policy achievements because there were hardly any”. Tobolka (2014) adds “In any case, as of mid-2014, UNIR appears to be little more than an electoral strategy, a bargain between a younger generation of political opportunists of diverse ethno-regional background and the ruling Gnassingbé clique”. In V-Party (2020), 4 experts identify UNIR’s ideology as “Right” (1.704) in 2018. In V-Party (2020), 3 experts identify “negligible visible disagreement” in UNIR in 2018.

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