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THE FOUR MAIN AREAS OF CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM

The constitutional reform of the Togolese Republic is based on several fundamental principles designed to strengthen democratic mechanisms and ensure greater political stability. The main axes of this reform are as follows:

1. The role of the President of the Council as head of the executive branch

As part of the reform, executive power is no longer concentrated in the hands of the President of the Republic. This responsibility now devolves to the President of the Council, who is appointed by the National Assembly. This provision aims to reduce the influence of the President of the Republic over the executive branch and to make him **more accountable to the representatives of the people, and therefore more responsive to democratic expectations.**

The presidency of the Council, being entrusted to a figure chosen by Parliament, better reflects the will of the people as expressed through the legislative vote. This strengthens the legitimacy of the government, while **placing the President of the Council in a position of balance between the executive branch and the National Assembly.**

As the President of the Council is the head of the executive branch, the President of the Republic becomes a figurehead, a symbol of national unity.

2. The President of the Council's ability to dissolve the National Assembly

Another important new feature of this reform is the **power given to the President of the Council to dissolve the National Assembly.** This prerogative is far-reaching, as it allows the head of government to seek renewed popular legitimacy if tensions between the legislative and executive

branches become too strong or if the National Assembly hinders the proper functioning of the government. This measure provides an effective counterbalance while preserving the balance of powers.

3. The motion of censure: a lever for the National Assembly

To ensure broader representation of the country's various ethnic, political, social, and territorial groups, **the reform introduces an effective bicameral system with the creation of a Senate.** It balances the powers between the two legislative chambers: the House of Representatives and the Senate. The Senate is designed as a chamber for

deliberation, particularly for more far-reaching laws or those relating to constitutional amendments. By providing an additional platform for deliberation and review, the bicameral system enhances transparency, openness in the legislative process, and the participation of different political forces in decision-making.

4. The effective establishment of a bicameral system with the creation of a Senate

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NEW FUNCTIONS EMBODYING DEMOCRATIC REFORM

The constitutional reform of the Togolese Republic has given rise to new institutions, whose functioning relies on individuals who now occupy key positions in the government and parliament. These individuals are called upon to embody democratic principles and ensure institutional balance in the country. Here are the four key institutional figures in this new political configuration:

1. The President of the Council

The President of the Council is one of the key figures in the reform, vested with full executive powers. The leader of the majority party in the National Assembly is appointed President of the Council. **As head of the government and the armed forces, he directs the nation's domestic and foreign policy** and is responsible for enforcing laws and managing public affairs. His position reinforces the separation of powers by giving the legislature more direct

control over the executive branch, thereby ensuring greater accountability and transparency in government actions. The position of President of the Council, which concentrates executive power, is held by the leader of the majority party in the Assembly following legislative elections. He appoints one-third of the members of the Senate and two members of the Constitutional Court. He may also dissolve the National Assembly.

Faure Essozimna Gnassingbé,

President of the Council



Aged 59, he is the first President of the Council of Ministers of Togo since the creation of this position in May 2025. He holds a degree in financial business management (Paris-Dauphine University) and a master's degree in business administration (George Washington University, United States).

He was elected to the National Assembly of Togo in the October 2002 legislative elections as representative of Blitta. He was coordinator of the commission responsible for privatization. In 2003, he

was appointed Minister of Equipment, Mines, Posts, and Telecommunications, holding this position until his accession to the presidency in February 2005.

President of the National Assembly from February 5 February 2005 to February 25, 2005, he then became the country's fourth president in February 2005, re-elected for a second term in 2010, in April 2015 for a third term, and in February 2020 for a fourth presidential term as President of Togo.

2. The President of the Republic

The President of the Republic, now holding honorary powers, plays an essentially representative role. He is elected by Parliament (the National Assembly and Senate of Togo meeting in congress) and no longer exercises direct executive power. This change aims to symbolize national unity while reducing the concentration of executive

power. The President of the Republic is mainly involved in representative and mediation functions, while enjoying a high status. He is responsible for missions focused on protocol and diplomatic functions (receiving ambassadors' credentials).

Jean-Lucien Kwassi Lanyo Savi de Tové,

President of the Republic



Aged 86, he is the fifth president of Togo. A law graduate from the University of Bordeaux, he was appointed secretary general of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1967, a position he held until 1975.

Accused of plotting a coup alongside other political figures, including Gilchrist Olympio, he was sentenced to 10 years in prison in 1979.

After the legalization of a multiparty system, he founded the Party of Democrats for Unity (PDU).

In 1999, the PDU merged with other parties, including the UTD and the UTS, to create the Pan-African Patriotic Convergence (CPP), led by Edem Kodjo, with Mr. Savi de Tové as first vice-president. He became Minister of Trade, Industry, and Crafts (2005-2007) and signed the political agreement resulting from the 2006 inter-Togolese dialogue on behalf of the CPP Party.

In 2009, he was appointed president of the Permanent Framework for Dialogue and Consultation (CPDC).

3. The President of the National Assembly

The President of the National Assembly now plays a key role in ensuring the proper functioning of the legislative process. He presides over the sittings of the Assembly, moderates debates and oversees the adoption of

legislation. As part of this reform, he also becomes a major actor in overseeing government action, ensuring the government's legitimacy and transparency.

Komi Sélom Klassou,

President of the National Assembly



Aged 65, and former Prime Minister (2015–2020), Komi Sélom Klassou was unanimously elected President of the National Assembly on October 28, 2025 by the members of Parliament present. Originally from Notsé (Haho region), he holds a postgraduate diploma (DEA) in hydro-climatology from the University of Bordeaux III. An academic by training, he worked as a lecturer and researcher at the University of Lomé and the University of Kara.

He successively served as Minister of Culture, Youth and Sports (2000–2003), Minister of Primary and Secondary Education (2003–2007), Vice-President of the National Assembly (2007–2015), and then Prime Minister of the Togolese Republic (2015–2020).

He is a member of the political party Union for the Republic (UNIR).

In accordance with the applicable provisions, he assumed office as President of the National Assembly for a three-year term.

4. The President of the Senate

The President of the Senate plays a crucial role in reviewing laws and deliberating on political issues of national importance. As leader of the upper house, his mission is to ensure balance between the two houses of Parliament, while exercising control over the drafting and implementation of laws. In this new institutional structure, **the Senate represents a space where local and regional interests can be better considered, thus offering better representation of the various stakeholders in Togolese society.**

The constitutional reform of the Togolese Republic, which establishes a parliamentary system, represents a major

step forward in consolidating democracy in the country. By rebalancing the powers between the executive and legislative branches and by establishing a new form of governance that is more transparent and accountable, it responds to the aspirations of Togolese citizens for democratic governance. The personalities who embody this change are key figures in national political life, coming from diverse political backgrounds, particularly from the opposition, and their actions will determine the effectiveness of this reform in strengthening democracy and political stability in Togo.

Barry Moussa Barqué, *President of the Senate*



Director of the Autonomous Port of Lomé in the 1970s, before being appointed to the government as Minister of Mines, Energy, and Water Resources in 1979, he then served as Minister of Equipment, Mines, and Postal Services and Telecommunications, and held numerous positions within the government over the next twenty years.

Special advisor to Gnassingbé Eyadéma, he was appointed Minister of State and Minister of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation in 1995, a position he held until 1996. He then became Minister of State and Minister of Finance and

Privatization in 1996 until he left the government in June 1999. He was then reappointed as special advisor to the president.

He was the victim of an assassination attempt on the night of October 24-25, 2003.

Barry Moussa Barqué became special advisor to President Faure Gnassingbé with ministerial status in January 2009. He was unanimously elected by the senators of the 1st Senate of Togo of the Fifth Republic on April 2, 2025, as President of the Senate.





LE TOGO

ON THE PATH TO A RENEWED AND INCLUSIVE DEMOCRACY

At a time when several countries on the African continent are experiencing periods of unrest and the emergence of political regimes that concentrate most of their power in the hands of a Head of State who holds all executive functions, it has become necessary to rethink the nature of democracy. A country's stability, prosperity, and influence on the international stage are conditioned by this requirement. Togo has committed itself to major democratic progress in this regard.

THE IMPLICATION

Indeed, in the face of profound upheavals, tensions, conflicts, and growing disorder observed throughout the world, the disintegration and fragility of States and public authorities appear to be both a cause and a consequence. These are undeniable factors of instability and uncertainty, and even major challenges that peoples must respond to by developing their capacity to anticipate and adapt and by rethinking their modes of governance.

In this context, the new Togolese Constitution (2024) aims to consolidate our national unity and cohesion and to forge strong and solid institutions capable of strengthening the authority of the State. It promotes more active participation by citizens in decisions that shape a common future of security, peace, and stability.

Ultimately, it will lead political parties, the pillars of national democratic life, to come together and agree to form parliamentary coalitions, thereby reducing social and political tensions and the risks of violence that these exacerbate. It is in the national interest.



TOGO, ONE OF AFRICA'S DEMOCRATIC EXCEPTIONS

In Togo, the revised 1992 constitution provides two possible methods of revision:

- The parliamentary approach
- The referendum

Both are equivalent.

Following a proposal put forward by a group of members of Parliament, the Togolese National Assembly, in a resolutely forward-looking move that was the result of in-depth reflection and debate, took a decisive step on March 25, 2024 by approving an ambitious constitutional revision. Significantly, this proposal was co-signed by members of Parliament from different political sides within the national representation.

This vote marked the beginning of a new era, uncommon in Africa (5 out of 54 States), that of a parliamentary system. Its primary purpose is to bring the government closer to the people. It guarantees more accurate representation of the various political currents and opinions and creates collaboration based on constant dialogue between the legislative and executive branches.

It is the expression of the will of the people, embodied by the national representation consisting of a clear majority of the 113 Togolese deputies, and the result of:

- in-depth work and debate, attesting to the excellence of parliamentary work in Togo
- the observance of best political practices around the world that enable the voice of the people to be properly embodied in institutions, as exemplified by contemporary Germany, the world's third largest economy behind the United States and China and the leading economy in the European Union, governed by an effective executive branch, formed by parliamentary coalitions that embody the country's political diversity.



THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, THE LEGITIMATE DRIVING FORCE BEHIND REFORM

The constitutional revision initiative by members of Parliament was based on solid legal grounds and was intended to be respectful of established democratic practices. It is part of the broader framework of democratic continuity and representativeness, which are the foundations of the Togolese political system.

Indeed, until the last day of his term during the legislature that ended in 2024, nothing could hinder the ability of members of Parliament to fully exercise the mandate they received from the people. This is a matter of respecting the principle of continuity of the State, which is essential to the proper functioning of democratic institutions. Whatever the circumstances, State affairs are conducted without interruption, with Parliament thus guaranteeing the stability and continuity of services to the population.

The responsibility of the representatives of the people remained intact until a new assembly was elected and took office.

The role played by members of Parliament and the procedure followed for constitutional revision were fully in line with Togolese law, as the Constitution expressly provides that members of Parliament remain in office and exercise their functions until their successors take office, thus enabling them to undertake important reforms, including constitutional revision, if the need arises.

The active participation of members of Parliament in this constitutional revision process demonstrated their commitment to serving the public interest and contributing to the evolution of the institutional framework.

REFORM: A STEP-BY-STEP GUIDE

Such a reform required and still requires a wide-ranging campaign of explanation and education, which can lay the foundations for its successful implementation. This was the will of Faure Gnassingbé, President of the Republic. Taking note of the constitutional law passed by the National Assembly and in response to the legitimate debates it sparked, **he took initiatives to promote appeasement and dialogue, making consultation with the people the key to strengthening democracy.**

To this end, he wanted to give time to time to encourage Togolese citizens to take ownership of their new institutions by deciding:

- A review of the constitutional revision text voted by the National Assembly,
- The postponement of the legislative and regional election calendar, which were finally held on April 29, 2024.

Members of Parliament, elected by the people and legitimate representatives of the people, were therefore entrusted with the responsibility of conducting extensive consultations in each constituency of the country and gathering the opinions and contributions of all the driving forces in Togo in order to explain and, if necessary, enrich

this decisive reform for the country. Far from being a closed process, it has led to a phase of in-depth analysis and broad consultations: every voice was heard, enriching the debate so that it reflected a collective desire to build a prosperous and harmonious future. The final text of the constitution took this new interpretation into account.

The challenge is clear: to work together to forge a more representative and participatory democracy that is in tune with the aspirations of the people. To achieve this, we must ensure that all our fellow citizens take ownership of this major reform and secure their support.

Togolese members of Parliament had to lead the process of dialogue and consultation recommended by the Head of State and work towards peaceful, more representative and inclusive governance capable of meeting the aspirations of all Togolese people.

Their action on the ground was part of a collective quest to strengthen Togolese democracy, based on the legitimacy of the members of the National Assembly. It was based on solid legal foundations, an established democratic tradition, and an unwavering commitment to serving the people.

THE FOUR KEY AXES OF AN UNPRECEDENTED REFORM

The constitutional reform implemented is an appropriate response to a unique context. It is part of a vision of progress, justice, and consolidation of Togo's young democracy, in line with the realities of the country. The text of the constitutional revision ultimately voted on by the National Assembly marks major political and institutional developments:

1 A PARLIAMENT AT THE HEART OF DEMOCRATIC LIFE

Structured into two chambers, the National Assembly and the Senate, it ensures balanced representation of the different components of Togolese society, promoting close ties between elected officials and their constituents. Its role and powers have been strengthened. It is now the heart of political debate and democratic life. The National

Assembly and the Senate retain their current respective modes of election. Members of the National Assembly continue to be elected by direct universal suffrage, while members of the Senate are, for the most part, elected by municipal and regional councils, the latter being elected by direct universal suffrage.

2 THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC, EMBODIMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY

His election, now guaranteed by the National Assembly and the Senate meeting in congress, reflects the desire to give the presidential office a symbolic and consensual di-

mension, in the service of national unity. He is the Head of State and is elected for a four-year term, renewable once.

3 THE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL, HEAD OF GOVERNMENT, CORNERSTONE OF PUBLIC ACTION

As the embodiment of the nation's general policy, his appointment by a parliamentary majority guarantees responsive governance that is aligned with the democratic choices of the people.

His responsibility and that of his government can be called into question at any time by means of a motion of no confidence signed by at least two-fifths of the members

of the National Assembly. This can lead to his or her removal from office, provided that an alternative majority is obtained to appoint a new President of the Council. This is the guarantee given to the people that their elected representatives (members of Parliament) will ensure that their expectations and needs are always in line with government action.

4 BETTER PROTECTION OF FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS

A stronger and more accessible justice system, and better protected rights and freedoms, are the guarantee of a vibrant and robust democracy. In this regard, the major innovation of the reform lies in the strengthening of the judiciary and the increased protection of civil liberties and fundamental rights.

This is reflected, among other things, in:

- The creation of a Court of Cassation and a Council of State;
- The adoption of a solemn declaration of the rights and duties of citizens, which is an integral part of the Constitution;

- The institutionalization of the role of Ombudsman;
- The modernization of independent administrative authorities such as the High Authority for Prevention and Control of Corruption and Related Offenses and the High Authority for Regulation of Written, Audiovisual and Digital Communications.

These advances reflect Togo's unwavering commitment to consolidating the rule of law and respect for individual freedoms.



TOWARDS A STRONGER AND MORE ROBUST DEMOCRACY

In conclusion, beyond the debates on the minor shortcomings that marked the constitutional revision process, the political and institutional developments it reflects are not fundamentally contested, let alone challenged, by the main stakeholders in national life.

On the contrary, the measures taken by the President of the Republic, in consultation with the National Assembly, have underscored a shared commitment to a peaceful and inclusive democratic transition.

All Togolese citizens, both at home and abroad, as well as Togo's partners, are now invited to take ownership of this historic process and help shape and bring to life a stronger, fairer, and more participatory democracy, rooted in the values that have shaped Togo's history and capable of meeting the challenges of today and tomorrow.



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