

## Sources in Order:

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<<https://information.tv5monde.com/afrique/cote-divoire-alassane-ouattara-renonce-briguer-un-troisieme-mandat-6614>> accessed 13 January 2026.
- [2] n 10
- [3] *Décision n° CI-2020-EP-009/14-09/CC/SG du 14 septembre 2020 portant publication de la liste définitive des candidats à l'élection du Président de la République du 31 octobre 2020* (Conseil constitutionnel de Côte d'Ivoire).
- [4] Electoral Institute for Sustainable Democracy in Africa and The Carter Center, 'Côte d'Ivoire 2020: Preliminary Statement' (International Election Observation Mission 2020)  
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- [5] *Guillaume Kigbafori Soro and Others v Republic of Côte d'Ivoire (Provisional Measures)* [2020] African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights Application No 012/2020., paragraph 42.
- [6] *ibid.*, paragraph 42.
- [7] *Guillaume Kigbafori Soro and Others v Republic of Côte d'Ivoire (Provisional Measures II)* [2020] African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights Application No 012/2020., paragraph 36.
- [8] Côte d'Ivoire is bound by judgments of the African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights because it ratified the relevant Protocol and the African Charter, (Protocol, art. 30), and because, under the 2016 Constitution, duly ratified and published treaties have supremacy over ordinary laws (art. 123), with the President constitutionally required to ensure respect for international (article 54). African Union, 'List of Countries Which Have Signed, Ratified/Acceded to the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Establishment of an African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights' (African Union Commission 2023)  
<[https://au.int/sites/default/files/treaties/36393-sl-PROTOCOL\\_TO\\_THE\\_AFRICAN\\_CHARTER\\_ON\\_HUMAN\\_AND\\_PEOPLESRIGHTS\\_ON\\_THE\\_ESTABLISHMENT\\_OF\\_AN\\_AFRICAN\\_COURT\\_ON\\_HUMAN\\_AND\\_PEOPLES\\_RIGHTS\\_0.pdf](https://au.int/sites/default/files/treaties/36393-sl-PROTOCOL_TO_THE_AFRICAN_CHARTER_ON_HUMAN_AND_PEOPLESRIGHTS_ON_THE_ESTABLISHMENT_OF_AN_AFRICAN_COURT_ON_HUMAN_AND_PEOPLES_RIGHTS_0.pdf)>; 'African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights Ratification Table' (*African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights*, 21 October 1986)  
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[9] Felix Nkambeh Tih, 'Ivory Coast withdraws from African Human Rights Court' (*Anadolu Agency*, 30 April 2020)

<<https://www.aa.com.tr/en/africa/ivory-coast-withdraws-from-african-human-rights-court/1824474>> accessed 12 January 2026.

[10] 'Côte d'Ivoire: Tidjane Thiam renonce à sa nationalité française pour se présenter à la présidentielle' (*Radio France Internationale*, 8 February 2025)

<<https://www.rfi.fr/fr/afrique/20250208-c%C3%B4te-d-ivoire-tidjane-thiam-renonce-%C3%A0-sa-nationalit%C3%A9-fran%C3%A7aise-pour-se-pr%C3%A9senter-%C3%A0-la-pr%C3%A9sidentielle>> accessed 9 January 2026.

[11] 'Journal officiel de la République française – Lois et décrets (textes en accès protégé)' [2025] Journal officiel de la République française 29.

[12] Constitution ivoirienne 2016., article 55 third paragraph.

[13] For the purposes of the constitutional prohibition on dual nationality for presidential candidates, Thiam renounced his French nationality within the relevant timeframe, as the Constitutional Council published the definitive list of candidates on 8 September 2025. *DÉCISION N° CI-2025-EP-006/08-09/CC/SG du 08 septembre 2025 portant publication de la liste définitive des candidats à l'élection du Président de la République du 25 octobre 2025* | Conseil Constitutionnel.

[14] 'RCI/Affaire Thiam: le PDCI attaque une décision de justice' (*APAnews - Agence de Presse Africaine*, 29 April 2025)

<<https://fr.apanews.net/cote-divoire/rci-affaire-thiam-le-pdci-attaque-une-decision-de-justice/>> accessed 13 January 2026.

[15] Ivorian nationality is a requirement for being on the Ivorian electoral registry; Code électoral de la République de Côte d'Ivoire 2020., article 3.

[16] 'Journal officiel de la République française – Lois et décrets' (1984) 119e année Journal officiel de la République française 2347.

[17] Code de la nationalité ivoirienne 1961., article 48.

[18] 'RCI/Affaire Thiam: le PDCI attaque une décision de justice' (n 14).

[19] Code Civil 1804., article 18

[20] This argument seems to be based on Code de la nationalité ivoirienne (1961)., article 83.

[21] Code électoral (CEI, 2020)., article 12 paragraph 7.

[22] 'RCI : Tidjane Thiam « n'est pas apatride » (magistrat)' (*APAnews - Agence de Presse Africaine*, 28 April 2025) <<https://fr.apanews.net/news/rci-tidjane-thiam-nest-pas-apatride-magistrat/>> accessed 13 January 2026.

[23] Code de la nationalité ivoirienne (1961).

[24] Cochimau HOUNGBADJI, 'Présidentielle en Côte d'Ivoire : ce qui inquiète les avocats' (*Afrique-sur7.fr : Actualités Afrique, Politique, Économie et People en continu*, 2 May 2025) <<https://www.afrique-sur7.fr/presidentielle-en-cote-divoire-ce-qui-inquiete-les-avocats>> accessed 13 January 2026.

[25] 'Côte d'Ivoire: Guillaume Soro Does Not Rule out Running for President in 2025' (*Africanews*, 9 May 2023) <<https://www.africanews.com/2023/05/09/cote-divoire-guillaume-soro-does-not-rule-out-running-for-president-in-2025/>> accessed 13 January 2026.

[26] Yao Fulbert Woile, 'Présidentielle en Côte d'Ivoire : Les candidatures de Gbagbo et Thiam déposées' (*Anadolu Agency*, 26 August 2025) <<https://www.aa.com.tr/fr/afrique/pr%C3%A9sidentielle-en-c%C3%B4te-d-ivoire-les-candidatures-de-gbagbo-et-thiam-d%C3%A9pos%C3%A9es/3669623>> accessed 13 January 2026.

[27] Gbagbo was removed for a national criminal conviction. It should be noted that the African Court of Human and People's Rights had ruled, in provisional measures in September 2020, that Gbagbo should be placed back on the electoral registry, but on the 26<sup>th</sup> of June 2025 it had ruled that the law had not been violated by Côte d'Ivoire in this case. *Laurent Gbagbo v Republic of Côte d'Ivoire* [2020] African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights Application No. 025/2020., paragraph 37 and *Laurent Gbagbo v Republic of Côte d'Ivoire* [2025] African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights Application No. 025/2020., paragraph 110.

[28] The final judgement in Soro's case before the African Court of Human and People's Rights had ruled Soro's claim inadmissible because Soro had not exhausted local legal remedies. *Guillaume Kigbafori Soro and Others v Republic of Côte d'Ivoire (Jurisdiction and Admissibility)* [2025] African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights Application No 012/2020., paragraph 55(ii).

[29] PDCI-RDA, 'PDCI-RDA post announcing the creation of Front Commun with PPACI' (*Facebook.com*, 21 June 2025) <<https://www.facebook.com/pdcirdaofficiel1/posts/pfbid02UrFNZYVEfYAdeXNR9E6pwM8bDyu3q752sD1ib2VG32CysUdHNdDuRKtpoqM8dAdsl>> accessed 22 December 2025; ALAIN ZAGADOU, 'Côte d'Ivoire-AIP/ Présidentielle 2025: le PPA-CI et le PDCI annoncent la création d'un front commun - AIP - Agence Ivoirienne de Presse' (*AIP - Agence Ivoirienne de Presse*, 19 June 2025) <<https://www.aip.ci/209421/cote-divoire-aip-presidentielle-2025-le-ppa-ci-et-le-pdcannoncent-la-creation-dun-front-commun/>> accessed 22 December 2025; *Address by Tidjane Thiam, President of the PDCI-RDA, on His Designation as Presidential Candidate, Opposition Leadership, Opinion Polls, and His Removal from the Electoral Roll* (Directed by Tidjane Thiam Officiel, 2025) <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MLKD0BaVmdY>> accessed 27 December 2025. <https://www.facebook.com/pdcirdaofficiel1/posts/pfbid02UrFNZYVEfYAdeXNR9E6pwM8bDyu3q752sD1ib2VG32CysUdHNdDuRKtpoqM8dAdsl>

[30] *CC CI, Décision candidats présidentiels 2025* (n 13).

[31] n 31, I – SUR LA RECEVABILITÉ DES CANDIDATURES paragraph 39

[32] n 31, II – SUR L'ELIGIBILITE DES CANDIDATS paragraph 5

[33] Bakayoko Bema, 'Le Préfet d'Abidjan interdit la marche du Front commun' (*L'avenir*, 2 October 2025) <<https://www.lavenir.ci/communiqués/12463-le-prefet-dabidjan-interdit-la-marche-du-front-commun>> accessed 13 January 2026.

[34] Freedom House, 'Côte d'Ivoire: Freedom in the World 2023 Country Report' (Freedom House 2023) <<https://freedomhouse.org/country/cote-divoire/freedom-world/2023>> accessed 10 May 2026.

[35] Cyprien K., 'Marche du 9 août à Yopougon : le Front Commun PPA-CI/PDCI-RDA salue la mobilisation « historique pour la démocratie » - Abidjan.net News' (*Abidjan.net*, 14 August 2025) <<https://news.abidjan.net/articles/743891/marche-du-9-aout-a-yopougon-le-front-commun-ppa-ci-pdci-rda-salue-la-mobilisation-historique-pour-la-democratie>> accessed 13 January 2026.

[36] 'En Côte d'Ivoire, une marche "impressionnante" pour "dire non à l'exclusion" des opposants' (*Courrier international*, 11 August 2025) <[https://www.courrierinternational.com/article/democratie-en-cote-d-ivoire-une-marche-impressionnante-pour-dire-non-a-l-exclusion-des-opposants\\_233894](https://www.courrierinternational.com/article/democratie-en-cote-d-ivoire-une-marche-impressionnante-pour-dire-non-a-l-exclusion-des-opposants_233894)> accessed 13 January 2026; 'Côte d'Ivoire : manifestation, alliance ou dialogue, quelle stratégie de l'opposition à 3 mois de la présidentielle? | TV5MONDE - Informations' (*TV Monde*, 9 August 2025) <<https://information.tv5monde.com/afrique/cote-divoire-manifestation-alliance-ou-dialogue-quelle-est-la-strategie-de-l-opposition-trois-mois-de-la-presidentielle-2788011>> accessed 13 January 2026; 'Thousands in Côte d'Ivoire Protest Exclusion of Opposition Leaders from Election' (*Radio France Internationale*, 9 August 2025) <<https://www.rfi.fr/en/afrique/20250809-thousands-in-the-c%C3%B4te-d-ivoire-protest-the-exclusion-of-opposition-leaders-from-election>> accessed 13 January 2026.

[37] The National Security Council was created by a Presidential decree and doesn't hold any formal power in and of itself. 'Journal Officiel de la République de Côte d'Ivoire p924-p926 11 octobre 2012' <[http://65.52.131.71/bndgtcp/opac\\_css/daril/2012-786.pdf](http://65.52.131.71/bndgtcp/opac_css/daril/2012-786.pdf)> accessed 23 December 2025.

[38] 'Of whatever nature' would include peaceful protest, as we see later on

[39] Patrick Guessan, 'Marche du front commun PdcI-Rda - Ppa-CI à Yopougon : Une mobilisation impressionnante pour la démocratie' (*Fraternité Matin*, 9 August 2025) <<https://www.fratmat.info/article/2635998/politique/marche-du-front-commun-pdci-rda---ppa-ci-a-yopougon-une-mobilisation-impressionnante-pour-la-democratie>> accessed 13 January 2026.

[40] "Par conséquent, toute contestation des décisions du Conseil Constitutionnel, de quelque nature qu'elle soit, est illégale et expose ses auteurs aux sanctions prévues par la loi."; note: this is probably best read as not a ban in and of itself but more so the position the executive that, even without a formal ban, such manifestations are illegal. 'Communiqué du Conseil National de Sécurité' (*Présidence de la Côte D'Ivoire*, 2 October 2025) <<https://www.presidence.ci/communiqués-presidence/communiqué-du-conseil-national-de-sécurité/>> accessed 13 January 2026.

[41] The earliest communication I could find of this is about two hours later in the day than the earliest communication I could find of the National Security Council decision, while indicative, this can't tell us for sure which one happened first.

NSC decision, timestamp 17:25 (GMT) October 2nd: Gouvernement de Côte d'Ivoire [@Gouvci officiel], 'Une réunion du Conseil National de Sécurité s'est tenue, ce jeudi 2 octobre 2025, au Palais de la

Présidence de la République, sous la présidence du Chef de l'État, Alassane Ouattara. Ci-dessous le communiqué <https://t.co/i9K6QhOWpx>

<<https://x.com/Gouvciofficiel/status/1973801535428833742>> accessed 13 January 2026.

October 4th protest ban, timestamp 19:50 (GMT) October 2nd:

[https://www.lavenir.ci/communiques/12463-le-prefet-dabidjan-interdit-la-marche-du-front-communBema\(n33\)](https://www.lavenir.ci/communiques/12463-le-prefet-dabidjan-interdit-la-marche-du-front-communBema(n33)).

[42] Front Commun PPA-CI – PDCI-RDA, 'Front Commun PPA-CI – PDCI-RDA press communiqué announcing the 11 October 2025 march' (*Facebook.com*, 10 October 2025) <<https://www.facebook.com/pdcirdaofficiel1/posts/pfbid02wp2Y55FvJuFSKnxcmiajXYQ88t7izeFjhtvSGQsUS86tH9XPuvEM3TozJD1J24Yql>> accessed 20 December 2025.

[43] 'Côte d'Ivoire. Les autorités doivent arrêter de réprimer les manifestations pacifiques à l'approche de l'élection présidentielle' (*Amnesty International*, 16 October 2025) <<https://www.amnesty.org/fr/latest/news/2025/10/cote-divoire-protests-election/>> accessed 13 January 2026.

[44] 'Côte d'Ivoire: une cinquantaine de manifestants condamnés à trois ans de prison ferme' (*Radio France Internationale*, 17 October 2025) <<https://www.rfi.fr/fr/afrique/20251017-c%C3%B4te-d-ivoire-une-cinquantaine-de-manifestants-condamn%C3%A9s-%C3%A0-trois-ans-de-prison-ferme>> accessed 13 January 2026.

[45] 'Côte d'Ivoire. Les autorités doivent arrêter de réprimer les manifestations pacifiques à l'approche de l'élection présidentielle' (n 43).

[46] Arrêté interministériel n° 0755/MIS/MEMD du 17 octobre 2025 portant interdiction de meetings et manifestations publiques 2025.

[47] Using the 2021 census information, I estimate that in 2021 the amount of people living in Côte d'Ivoire that were allowed to vote was around 12.6 million. We should however take into account that the population of Côte d'Ivoire's population is very young, both now and in 2021, so that amount might've grown significantly.  
Method: (total population - population under 18) \* percentage of population that has the Ivorian Nationality = (29,289,150 - 13,174,947) \* 0.78 = 12,569,078.34

Institut National de la Statistique (Côte d'Ivoire), 'Indicateurs démographiques issus du Recensement Général de la Population et de l'Habitat 2021 (RGPH 2021)' (Institut National de la Statistique (ANStat) 2022) <[https://www.anstat.ci/assets/publications/files/File\\_val\\_indicateur1701358694.pdf](https://www.anstat.ci/assets/publications/files/File_val_indicateur1701358694.pdf)> accessed 8 January 2026.

[48] 'Liberal International Congratulates President Alassane Ouattara on His Fourth Electoral Victory in Côte d'Ivoire' (*Liberal International*, 31 October 2025) <<https://liberal-international.org/news-articles/president-ouattara-electoral-victory-cote-divoire/>> accessed 26 April 2026.

[49] International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights 1966 (United Nations Treaty Series).

[50] African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights 1981.

[51] 'Côte d'Ivoire: le chef de la jeunesse rurale du PDCI en détention provisoire' (*Radio France Internationale*, 7 June 2025)

<<https://www.rfi.fr/fr/afrique/20250607-c%C3%B4te-d-ivoire-le-chef-de-la-jeunesse-rurale-du-pdci-en-d%C3%A9tention-provisoire>> accessed 13 January 2026.

[52] *ibid*; Yacouba Doumbia, 'Affaire Yao Innocent arrêté : Une querelle interne au PDCI à l'origine de la garde à vue du président de la JPDCI rurale' (*L'avenir*, 5 June 2025)

<<https://www.lavenir.ci/politique/10180-affaire-yao-innocent-arrete-une-querelle-interne-au-pdci-a-lorigine-de-la-garde-a-vue-du-president-de-la-jpdci-rurale>> accessed 13 January 2026; Emmou Sylvestre, 'Arrestation du président de la JPDCI Rurale : le PDCI-RDA dénonce la tournure que prennent les choses' (*Presse Côte d'Ivoire*, 10 June 2025)

<<https://www.pressecoatedivoire.fr/22620-arrestation-du-president-de-la-jpdci-rurale-le-pdci-rda-denonce-l-a-tournure-que-prennent-les-choses>> accessed 13 January 2026.

[53] Marine Jeannin, 'En Côte d'Ivoire, l'opposition sous pression judiciaire après l'arrestation de cinq cadres du PDCI' *Le Monde* (14 July 2025)

<[https://www.lemonde.fr/afrique/article/2025/07/14/en-cote-d-ivoire-l-opposition-sous-pression-judiciaire-a-pres-l-arrestation-de-cinq-cadres-du-pdci\\_6621185\\_3212.html](https://www.lemonde.fr/afrique/article/2025/07/14/en-cote-d-ivoire-l-opposition-sous-pression-judiciaire-a-pres-l-arrestation-de-cinq-cadres-du-pdci_6621185_3212.html)> accessed 23 December 2025.

[54] I have viewed what I believe to be this video for myself (the timeline lines up and it matches the description from the *le Monde* article), and it seems to be a regular call for people to protest, even specifically calling for that protest to be peaceful in the description of the video. This video can be found here: Henri Joel-Ndri Kouadio, 'RENDEZ-VOUS LE 02 MAI' (*Facebook.com*, 29 April 2025) <<https://www.facebook.com/presidenthenrijoel/posts/pfbid0TBq3CPsDraKTABQ4DWdfP4xskqsphSDqAgB2P1uV2cdG5a2JhmC6RJ9dkWCp9P8xl>> accessed 12 January 2026.; it is an excerpt from a longer video, found here Henri Joel-Ndri Kouadio, 'Concertation de la JPDCI UNIVERSITAIRE' (*Facebook.com*, 26 April 2025) <<https://www.facebook.com/presidenthenrijoel/videos/9641211355998703/>> accessed 12 January 2026.

[55] Jeannin (n 53).

[56] HOUNGBADJI (n 24).

[57] Jeannin (n 53).

[58] *ibid*.

[59] *ibid*. Original in French, initial translation by ChatGPT verified by me.

[60] *ibid*. Original in French, initial translation by ChatGPT verified by me.

[61] Paul Collier and others, 'Letter: Locking Thiam out of the Ivorian Election Risks Fresh Instability' *Financial Times* (13 May 2025) <<https://www.ft.com/content/e625287c-f3d9-4507-9490-791f9cc04b8d>> accessed 23 December 2025.

[62] Amadou Coulibaly, 'Letter: The Issues That Will Decide the Ivory Coast Election' *Financial Times* (16 May 2025) <<https://www.ft.com/content/223895cc-509d-4a94-b19e-793af0029140>> accessed 23 December 2025.

[63] Sidi Touré, *Alassane Dramane Ouattara et les jeunes: le temps des possibles* (S Touré 2010).

- [64] 'Présidentielle 2020: Sidi Touré présente l'ouvrage' (*Abidjan.net*, 23 October 2020)  
<<https://news.abidjan.net/articles/682486/presidentielle-2020-sidi-toure-presente-l8217ouvrage-lassane-ouattara-aux-portes-de-lemergence>> accessed 13 January 2026.
- [65] Sidi Touré, 'Ce mercredi 22 octobre 2025, en ma qualité de... - Sidi Tiemoko Touré | Facebook' (*Facebook.com*, 23 October 2025)  
<<https://www.facebook.com/siditiemokotoure/posts/pfbid028Qzy7vnKhf6DvRDef9TkGjM94H7osvcGRBP4vKB8nPWMjdp6GnfcqDeEXmzN1nPI>> accessed 13 January 2026.
- [66] 'Sidi Touré' (*Facebook.com*) <<https://www.facebook.com/siditiemokotoure/>> accessed 13 January 2026.
- [67] 'Sidi Tiémoko Touré', *Wikipédia* (2025)  
<[https://fr.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Sidi\\_Ti%C3%A9moko\\_Tour%C3%A9&oldid=229021513](https://fr.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Sidi_Ti%C3%A9moko_Tour%C3%A9&oldid=229021513)> accessed 13 January 2026.
- [68] Ministers are appointed by the President of Ivory Coast after being proposed by the Prime minister, who is selected and appointed by the President. Constitution ivoirienne 2016., article 70 and for the appointments under the 2000 constitution Constitution de la République de Côte d'Ivoire 2000., article 41.
- [69] <https://www.facebook.com/share/p/14eDt1WwU5w/>
- [70] Tih (n 9).
- [71] 'Manifesto of the International Federation of Liberal Youth' <<https://docs.ifly.com/manifesto>> accessed 11 January 2026., chapters: 3. Society, 5. State and 7. Mission.