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# United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-3603

March 29, 2011

Honorable Hillary Rodham Clinton  
Secretary of State  
U.S. Department of State  
2201 C Street, NW  
Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Madam Secretary:

I write you again regarding my grave concerns over the conduct of the second round of voting in the presidential election held in Cote d'Ivoire last November 28, 2010. I also write to inform you that a new presidential election should be held in Cote d'Ivoire. This is the only way to prevent further bloodshed, stop a new civil war and ensure a truly free and fair election.

As I stated in my letter of February 9, 2011, Cote d'Ivoire's Independent Electoral Commission (CEI) announced the results of their counting of presidential ballots and declared Alassane Ouattara the winner. Under the Constitution of Cote d'Ivoire, however, it is the Constitutional Council of Cote d'Ivoire and not the Electoral Commission which certifies and declares the winner of presidential elections. In addition, the Electoral Commission announced the final vote tallies almost 16 hours after its constitutionally mandated time to report such results. This most important election phase was not carried out in accordance with the constitution of this country.

A second troubling aspect of this second round of voting is the credible allegations of massive voter fraud – amounting to several hundred thousand votes -- in the rebel-held north of Cote d'Ivoire. I received evidence of these allegations and sent it to you in my earlier letter, but have yet to receive a reply.

The evidence included tallies of precincts where, in the first round of voting, President Laurent Gbagbo received several thousand votes, but in the second round he received zero votes. This *prima facie* evidence of large scale voter fraud I found very troubling.

In the 57 days since my last letter, I have spoken with numerous officials on the ground during last year's presidential election. This includes African leaders I met with during my trip to this region last month. I have also obtained new evidence of massive voter fraud in the rebel-held north. Specifically, one exhibit (enclosed) is a copy of an official regional electoral return document from the Electoral Commission. It shows Ouattara receiving a total 149,598 from five northern cities. But when the total is officially reported in the amount column ("Totaux" column), Ouattara receives 244,471; a difference of 94,873 votes!

I have been a frequent traveler to Africa for the past 15 years. I have visited Cote d'Ivoire nine times, the last being June of 2010. I am probably the most knowledgeable person about Africa in

the U.S. Senate. From all the evidence I now have gathered, I am convinced that it is mathematically impossible for President Gbagbo to have lost the election by several hundred thousand votes. And if a similar amount of fraud exists in the other four regions of the rebel-held north, Gbagbo is actually the winner of the presidential election.

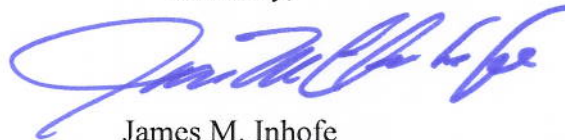
The hundreds of thousands of potential fraudulent ballots, combined with the unconstitutional method in which the votes were tallied and announced by the Independent Electoral Commission, lead me to conclude that the election was not free and fair. I also conclude that a new presidential election should be held under international sanction and supervision to ensure a free and fair election.

I am aware that my position is different from that of the Obama Administration, which has recognized Alassane Ouattara as the winner. I ask, however, that you change your position in light of the evidence I have provided, and that you call for a new election. Such a change would not be viewed as inconsistent, but a wise reevaluation in light of new evidence presented. It is also consistent with our American dedication to the principle that democracy works best when it works for all and not for some.

I recommend that the new election be supervised by internationally sanctioned organizations like the African Union or the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe. I would further suggest that experienced U.S. electoral organizations become involved like the International Republican Institute, the National Democratic Institute and the International Foundation for Electoral Systems.

I am convinced that only through a new election will the people of Cote d'Ivoire end the increasing bloodshed, stop another civil war and ensure free and fair elections.

Sincerely,



James M. Inhofe  
United States Senator

Enclosure

**Sangare Moussa a ou du mal a s'expliquer.**

**Signature LMP sous menage**

Le répartition des suffrages exprimés par candidat est donnée ci-après.

ORD	CENTRES DE COORDINATION	INSCRITS	VOTANTS	VOTANTS NON INSCRITS DANS (LES BV AYANT VOTE	BULLETINS NULS	SUFFRAGES EXPRIMES	GBAGBO LAURENT	OUATTARA ALASSANE
1	Katiola	59251	46288	113	1793	44495	6079	38416
2	Bouake	207951	48301	2761	2662	459188	22845	42070
3	Béoumi	38351	27701	558	929	26772	7744	19058
4	Dabakala	41795	36795	618	584	36201	1803	34398
5	Sakassou	26848	19470	412	466	19004	3348	15656
6							Tra m	Bouba Hamadou
7								
8								
TOTALS		374196	292702	5612	61134	286260	41789	244174
POURCENTAGE (%)			78,22 %			97,80 %	14,60 %	85,40 %

Fait en cinq (5) exemplaires,

à Bouake

Le (La) Président(e) de la CER

M. M. e. Mme Sangaré Ouedraogo

Signature

Les Vice-Présidents de la CER :

M. M. e. Mme

2010

le 29. 11.

2010

M. M. e. Mme

Signature

Signature

Signature

Signature

**1** Vrai total = 149 598 **2** Resultat de la CER regionale communique a la CEI central d'Abidjan = 244 471

Fraude Bandama = 94 873