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CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR SUSTAINABLE PEACE IN CHAD

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By all accounts, Chad is a country in turmoil that has been internationally recognized today as meeting all the criteria that define a failed state (Fund for Peace, 2007). After the examples of Afghanistan and Somalia, the world is cognizant that failed states are breeding grounds for extremism that often leads to terrorism. Given its geographical location at the center of Africa and its destabilizing effect on its neighboring countries, the Republic of Chad warrants the attention of the international community. Maintaining the status quo is fraught with dangers of regional deterioration and further exacerbation of the humanitarian crisis. The multiplication of armed groups has already led to 180,000 internally displaced Chadians and some 30,000 Chadian refugees in Sudan. Neighboring ethnic groups that have lived alongside peacefully for hundreds of years are now fighting each other; burning down villages and cereal granaries, stealing each others cattle, etc. The ensuing lawlessness, coupled with the prevalence and easy access to firearms, has led to widespread banditry that threatens the country as a whole. Helping Chad achieve lasting peace has thus become a necessity and a duty for the international community to avoid seeing another Somalia flare up in the center of the African continent.

Numerous peace accords were signed between the GoC, the politico-military groups and political parties of the democratic opposition with no real impact on peace. Events that occurred on February 2nd and 3rd, 2008 clearly demonstrate that:

- No matter what the national military means deployed throughout the country, it is extremely difficult to get the country under full control given its large size;
- Peace will not be possible in Chad unless Chadians are able to:
 - Identify, through an inclusive peace dialogue, the root causes of bad governance that have destabilized the country since independence; and
 - Come to an understanding over the design and implementation of a program that will reform the state and make it feasible for all citizens to participate equitably and equally in the political and democratic process.

This process is an essential preliminary step if Chad is to break its cycle of instability. Any other approach will not be sufficient and will only serve as a temporary measure becoming a disservice to the establishment of sustainable peace in Chad.

The participation of the United Nations, aided by regional and sub-regional organizations, will determine the extent to which the design and implementation of a consensus program created by Chadians will become reality. UN supervision of the implementation of the resolutions established during the inclusive dialogue can be obtained through an extension of the UN mandate and with the support from security forces from other regions and member countries of the United Nations system.

The COMPAS (Comité Provisoire d'Action et de Stratégies), an apolitical, neutral organization of concerned Chadian citizens with Headquarters in the US and a membership spanning 3 continents has established the following framework for sustainable peace in Chad: **(1) Inclusive Peace Dialogue; (2) Transitional Government; and (3) Free and Fair Elections.**

This document provides the basis upon which to build a roadmap that will bring lasting peace to Chad. It includes various modules that lay the groundwork for a series of steps to be undertaken toward organizing fair and free elections likely to help Chad become a viable state built on democratic institutions, the rule of law and sustainable socio-economic development.

I. Root Causes of the Crisis in Chad

The following list identifies the primary causes of the current instability in Chad:

a. Tribalism and Nepotism:

- Phenomenon of the “Untouchables”:
 - Extreme tribal division among citizens
- Harassment and repeated humiliations by those who are in power
- Endemic corruption and poverty
- Rampant discrimination
 - Eccentric nominations to high level government positions (public administration and security and defense forces)

b. Absence of good governance

- Lack of a constructive political agenda and unwillingness to implement appropriate strategies for socio-economic development
- Consistently corrupt elections
- Absence of good public policy leading to mismanagement of public affairs
 - Dismemberment of State structures and a plethora of administrative posts in the Ministry of the Territorial Security inconsistent with real needs
 - Total degradation of large segments of the Civil Service
- Lack of rule of law culminating in the reign of the arbitrary

c. Dictatorial behavior of the Head of State

- Ill-considered, unilateral modifications of the Constitution (extending term limits indefinitely for the head of state)
- Lack of transparency in the privatization of numerous State-owned companies

- Award of tenders in violation of established rules and regulations and total disregard to best practices
- Frequent withdrawal of funds from the Treasury without proper justification

The aforementioned frustrations coupled with a total absence of/and unwillingness on behalf of the GoC to engage in constructive dialogue around these issues have led to continuous armed opposition to the government. Given the state of chaos in which the country is finding itself, there appears to be an urgent need for a reorganization of the current government and the establishment of mechanism for the reconstruction of the country.

II. Conceptual Framework for sustainable Peace in Chad

Any solution that proposes to stabilize the country must address the root causes of instability in Chad and engage all components of Chadian society to resolve the crisis. **In order to increase the likelihood of success in the implementation of this plan, a supervisory role must be given to the United Nations in collaboration with the African Union and major powers, particularly the United States and France.** The following objectives have been identified in order to achieve lasting peace and establish a democratic State able to invest in the development of the country:

1. Inclusive Peace Dialogue

The all-Inclusive Peace Dialogue (with the GoC, the political opposition, the armed-opposition, civil society, labor unions, religious groups, etc.) provides the platform during which to analyze the root causes of the internal Chadian conflict and to develop a framework for a comprehensive peace settlement leading to free and fair legislative, presidential and municipal elections. This roadmap will make it easier for Chadian citizens to adhere and contribute toward the establishment of a viable State. The organization of the Inclusive Dialogue will require the support of the international community (UN, AU, and EU) and the major powers (US, France, China, and Russia) as well as Chad's neighbors.

a. Preparatory phase:

A Preparatory Committee comprised of representatives from all major components of Chadian society (i.e. political parties, civil society and the armed opposition groups) will be set up to prepare for the Inclusive Dialogue. This Preparatory Committee will undertake the following steps to build consensus on the platform for this goal through:

- Dialogue with all politico-military forces
- Dialogue with the Government and Political Parties
- Dialogue with Civil Society

Additionally, the Committee will work to:

- Obtain technical support from the United Nations, the African Union, the European Union, the United States, France, etc.

- Determine a commonly agreed upon date and country (Ethiopia, Senegal, Gabon, Burkina Faso) to hold the Inclusive Dialogue
- Elaborate a memorandum based on a minimum consensus on the objectives to be achieved and containing propositions to establish institutions for implementations of the recommendations
- Develop an implementation plan

b. The Inclusive Peace Dialogue:

- Discuss the root causes of chronic instability in Chad since independence:
 - Injustice and discrimination among national communities
 - Balance of powers between the executive, the legislative and the judiciary that would lead to better accountability and limit the dominance of the executive
- Propose an exit strategy to remedy the current political crisis:
 - Transitional institutions and their terms of reference
 - Truth and reconciliation commission
- Build a consensus that would prepare the country for the future and that would define the steps toward free and fair elections.

2. Transitional Government

This transitional government, led by a prime minister with full power and an effective head of the government, will be comprised of technocrats selected during the Inclusive Dialogue and well qualified to design and implement effective reconstructive programs during the transition. The design of the Transition will be done with the pledge and the consensual agreement of all stakeholders that participated in the Inclusive Dialogue. This roadmap will serve as a basis for crafting a general framework that serves to bring lasting peace in Chad. These include among others: the reorganization of the army, police, national guards, administrative structures, census of the population, and the education of the population about its rights under the law. The transitional government will pledge, in writing, to respect the laws, to banish tribalism and nepotism, to promote good political and economic governance and to act in good faith and only in the best interest of Chad and its population. All efforts undertaken outside of this commonly agreed upon framework and against the common good of the Chadian people will result in its dissolution.

Renouncing armed struggle must be matched with firm pledges and guarantees against new abuses of power. Care should be taken to educate citizens on their rights and obligations, and more importantly, on the fact that they are all Chadians with equal rights under the law. Preferential treatment will no longer be tolerated. In short, oppression of Chadians by other Chadians must be banned.

The re-integration of troops that must follow will be built on the basis of physical and mental ability to serve duly in the armed forces. The make up of a new National Army must take into account the ethnic composition, diversity, and distribution of Chadian society, redefining its primary Objective to match the mission and the vision of a new Chad.

a. Preparatory phase:

- Craft and implement a framework that makes it difficult for a leader to confiscate power and misuse it. Mechanisms of monitoring and evaluation, and checks and balances will be developed and implemented to deter behaviors and/or actions that fall outside the framework upon which the majority has agreed to.
- Establish the focus and priority of the transitional government to cover the equal treatment of all Chadian citizens. Judicial and administrative mechanisms will be put in place to make it easier to settle disputes. Preferential treatments based on ethnicity or religious backgrounds will no longer be tolerated. No act of discrimination or corruption will be tolerated.
- Take a complete inventory of the national natural resources, as well as the potential resources, will be taken in order to evaluate them in the interest of the entire national community. Adequate programs to modernize agriculture and animal husbandry will be designed and implemented consistent with the developmental needs of the nation. The national revenues from oil will be leveraged to attract multilateral and bilateral assistance.

b. Governmental reforms:

- Instituting a truly independent judiciary: the Justice System must be truly independent and the chief magistrate, the chief of State, must remain watchful that neither corruption, nor favoritism arises when a case is brought before the judiciary, be it by a citizen and by a state official or a foreigner. This judiciary system, fully autonomous and separate from the executive branch, will re-establish the legal basis of the state in all its rights with respect to all goods and services that belong to the state. The system will be accompanied by a truth and reconciliation commission fully empowered to investigate all crimes committed in Chad since independence. While no judicial system can be entirely free of bias, application of the rule of law must be consistent with national aspirations for just and equitable systems for all citizens.
- Constitutional review and reforms will take place through a temporary legislative body. This legislative body will tackle all questions related to life in Chad.
- Strengthen the platform of the political parties by redefining the requirements for political participation and party creation to reestablish a legal framework within which political parties must operate.
- Organizing an electoral census preceded by a general population census conducted under the supervision of experts from Chad, the African Union and the United Nations.
- Creating an independent electoral commission with branches in all regions of the country staffed with trained canvassers, knowledgeable in the electoral code and capable of implementing its terms.
- Insuring the promotion of state agents and other public servants through meritocracy, especially with regard to technical positions. This concept supposes that government employees are consistently trained through continuous instructional seminars.

- Making the National Army a true reflection of the Republic. It must include soldiers and officers representative of all ethnic groups. The army needs to be reorganized to represent all segments of the Chadian society. Discipline must be rigorous in order to make it an army of service to the country and to the population. Security services (police and soldiers) will function based on the constitution and be of service to the nation but not to a tribe. Military or security agents at all levels will be recruited and trained with respect to human rights. This training will make the corps more professional so it can act with the objective of promoting the security of the State, the people and their goods in strict respect of the law.
- Promoting the future of the country, that is, above all, its youth. Education and health will have to represent the highest priority. The importance of education must be reevaluated in order to create the best learning conditions, especially in public education. Current programs must be reviewed and improved to align learning with professional life.
- Strengthening the role of civil society by building its capacity to serve as a viable tool for monitoring of governmental affairs and to serve as an advocate for the people of Chad. Rebuilding democratic institutions such as protecting media organizations and free press and providing mass popular civic education is critical for participatory elections and democracy building. Educating the population about their rights and civic responsibilities and enabling civic engagement without fear of retaliation are key components for success and serves as check against potential abuses in power.
- Guaranteeing the right of its citizens through the provision of services consistent with the needs of the population for health, education and infrastructure throughout the country.
- Enhancing the productive sectors such as agriculture and animal husbandry through special programs. Chad must be able to produce sufficient grains from year to year to assure its nutritional self-sufficiency and be able to produce a surplus for export to its neighboring countries and beyond. The cultivation of other income generating crops must be encouraged to augment the income of citizens. The State must research ways and means to develop the infrastructure necessary to the promotion of irrigated agriculture.
- Ensuring the development of the rule of law with strong anti-corruption laws so as to promote a climate conducive to private sector development. The promotion of the private sector shall be seen as the main driver for economic development. Thus, the government will take measures to ensure that the laws of the country are upheld to protect the right to property and the sanctity of contracts.

3. Free and Fair Elections

At the end of the transitional period, free and fair elections will take place under the supervision of the UN and an electoral commission comprised of independent-minded Chadians, known for their moral integrity and representing all components of the national

community. The commission will be charged with all aspects of the elections. All major components of the Chadian society will be represented.

With a fair census of the electorate, a revised electoral code and a truly independent electoral commission, general elections will be organized for legislative (National Assembly and Senate including representatives of all the national communities), presidential and municipal elections.

The Constitutional Court will be responsible for collecting all the canvassers' signatures on file so as to be able to verify that the signatures on the poll minutes are conforming. Verification of the minutes by the electoral commission will be carried out in presence of representatives of political parties and the UN.

Members of the transitional government will have to resign their positions prior to standing for any electoral post.

LOGFRAME MATRIX

Overall Goals	Objectives	Verifiable Indicators
Preparatory Phase	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Establish preparatory Committee 2. Obtain by-in from the leadership of all major components of Chadian society 3. Obtain technical support from the UN/AU/EU 4. Identify dialogue location 5. Harmonize grievances and build consensus 	<p>Representative Preparatory Commission</p> <p>Memorandum on minimum root causes on which to start the dialogue</p>
Inclusive Peace Dialogue	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Discuss root causes of the conflict 2. determine exit strategies 3. Elaborate roadmap and transitional government framework 	<p>Consensual transitional framework with benchmarks and timetable</p> <p>Identified technocrats to implement transition with clearly defined roles and objectives</p>

	4. Selection of technocrats to implement transitional framework	
Transitional Government	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Governmental reforms 2. Constitutional reforms 3. Strengthening democratic institutions and processes 4. Mass civic education 	<p>Number of reforms undertaken (security and defense, civil service, rule of law, census, etc.)</p> <p>Reduction in armed attacks, arbitrary arrests, and improvements in community relations</p> <p>Number of training organized (local, regional, and national)</p> <p>Number of canvassers trained (local, regional, and national)</p>
Free and fair elections	1. Legislative, presidential and municipal elections	Impartial elections

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