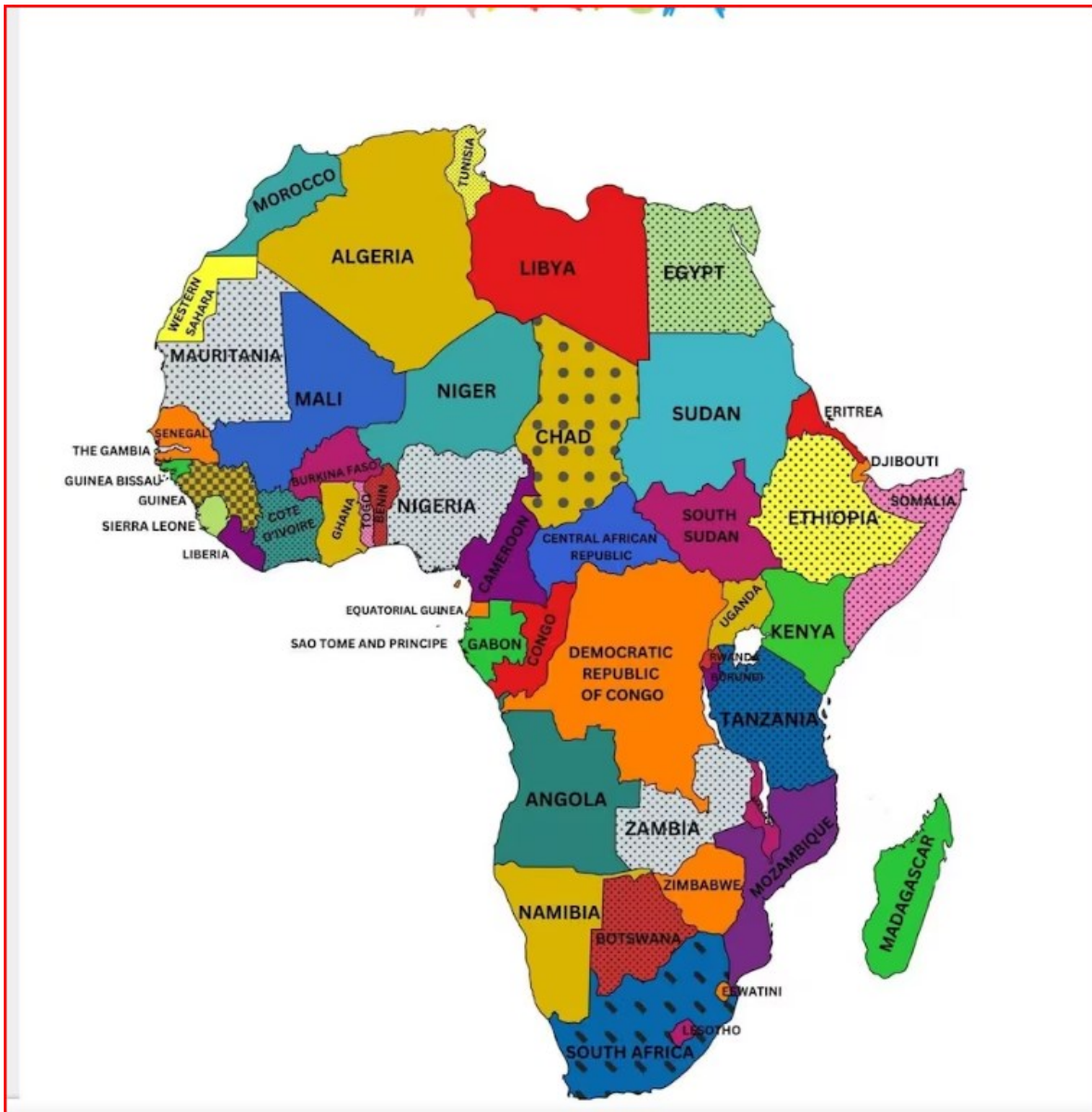


Chad: delayed elections, constitutional referendum, loss of Yaya Dillo

March 5, 2024

March 5, 2024: N'Djamena, Chad: Chad, a landlocked nation in central Africa, is grappling with political instability, military rule, and contested transitions. The killing of **Yaya Dillo**, by the Security Forces is leaving both Chadians and international observers on edge.



CHAD, a member of Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS), Economic and Monetary Community of Central Africa (CEMAC), share a common currency, the Central African CFA franc
Capital and largest city: **N'Djamena**; Other 4 : **Moundou, Abéché, Sarh, Kélo**
Population (2023 Estimate): 18.5 Mn (66th); Area: 1,284,000 Km² (20th); Density: 14.4/Km²
GDP (2023 Estimate): \$12.6 Bn (145th); GDP/ capita \$702 (183rd)

ECONOMY: Since 2003 crude oil has become Chad's primary source of export earnings, superseding the traditional cotton industry.

MAIN OPPOSITION PARTY: **Yaya Dillo Djerou Betchi**, when he was in his teens, **was a member of** the ruling **Patriotic Salvation Movement (MPS)**, the party founded by the older Deby,

After **Idriss Déby**, a Chad's army commander who participated in an unsuccessful plot against President **Hissène Habré** in 1989, fled to Sudan, he and his supporters, known as the **1 April Movement**, operated from Sudan with Libyan backing and carried out attacks across the border into Chad. The **Patriotic Salvation Movement (MPS)** was founded in Sudan **on 10 March 1990** through the merger of the **1 April Movement** with other anti Habre groups in exile. After a successful offensive in November 1990, Déby and the MPS came to power on 2 December 1990, when their forces entered N'Djamena, the Chadian capital.

Dinamou Daram set up an opposition Party- **Socialist Party Without Borders (PSF)** in 2015. The Chadian government imprisoned him in October 2016 and he has been kept in jail, since then. On August 6 2021, **Yaya Dillo Djerou Betchi** was elected President of the party, replacing the founder, who was in jail.



Yaya Dillo Djerou Betchi

Minister of Mines and Energy (September 2008 – March 2009)

Ambassador of Chad to the Economic and Monetary Community of Central Africa (2018–2020)

Leader of Socialist Party without Borders (6 August 2021 – 28 February 2024)

Born: 18 December 1974, at Kaoura, Chad; Died: 28 February 2024 (aged 49) in N'Djamena, Chad

LEGACY of PRESIDENT IDRISSE DÉBY: **Idriss Déby** ruled Chad for 31 years. His sudden death marked a turning point in the history of the country.



August 2014: Washington D.C.: Idriss Débys with Obamas

On April 19, 2021, Chad's President **Idriss Déby**, 68, met a tragic end on the battlefield. He sustained fatal injuries during clashes with rebels, who **ambushed his convoy**, in the northern part of the country. He had gone to the front line, several hundred Kms north of the capital, N'Djamena, at the weekend to visit troops battling rebels belonging to the **Front for Change and Concord in Chad (FACT)**.

In defiance of the constitution, his son, Lt. General **Mahamat Déby**, assumed power as head of a **Military Transitional Council (MTC)**, consisting of 15 Generals of the Army. MTC promised to return Chad to civilian rule in 2022 in 18-month. **Deby Itno** told the **African Union** that no member of MTC, including he himself, would run as President in the upcoming election to have a civilian Government in Chad.

N'DJAMENA, April 26, 2021 (Reuters) - Chad's new military rulers named a civilian politician, **Albert Pahimi Padacke**, as Prime Minister of a transitional government on Monday a week after President Idriss Deby's battlefield death. **Padacke** remained as the PM from 26 April 2021 to 12 October 2022.

Padacke had served as Prime Minister from 2016 to 2018, when Deby was President of Chad.

The transition is being closely watched within the country, as well as the world, since Chad is an important military power in Central Africa and a longtime Western ally against Islamist militants across the Sahel.

DELAYED ELECTIONS and NEW CONSTITUTION: In October 2022, the Transitional Military Government decided to delay planned democratic elections by up to two

years, pushing them to October 2024. The opposition criticized the postponement because it feared a perpetuation of the **Déby dynasty**.



Saleh Kebzabo, Prime Minister of Chad
(from 12 October 2022 to 1 January 2024)

Saleh Kebzabo was designated Prime Minister by President **Mahamat Déby** on 12 October 2022. He is the President of the **National Union for Democracy and Renewal (UNDR)** and a Deputy in the National Assembly of Chad.

ABOUT **Saleh Kebzabo**: UNDR, led by **Saleh Kebzabo**, (born 27 March 1947 in Léré, Chad), won 15 out of 125 seats in 1997 parliamentary election. In the parliamentary election held on 21 April 2002, the party won five out of 155 seats.

Kebzabo was the UNDR's candidate in the June 1996 and 20 May 2001 presidential election, winning 8.61% and 7.0% of the vote respectively. The UNDR is a member party of the **Coordination of Political Parties for the Defense of the Constitution (CPDC)**, the main opposition coalition opposed to the rule of President **Idriss Déby**.

Outlawed demonstrations were held on October 20, 2022 to mark the date when the military government had initially promised to cede power – a deadline that has now been extended by two years. About 50 people died, including 10 members of the security forces, according to an official toll.

Mahamat Déby termed the demonstrations as an “insurrection” and an attempt to stage a coup.

The authorities arrested 601 people, including 83 minors, in the N'Djamena area alone. They were taken to **Koro Toro, a high-security jail located in the desert 600 Km from the capital**. A total of 401 people were put on trial in a court at the jail, proceedings that lawyers boycotted in protest. After a four-day trial, 262 were jailed for two to three years, 80 were given suspended terms and 59 were acquitted, the prosecutor said.

VIOLENT INCIDENT in N'Djamena: Thursday, January 5, 2023: Version of Chad's Government: The government announced the arrest of a group of army officers and a human rights activist, **Baradine Berdei Targuio**, President of the **Chadian Human Rights Organization (OTDH)**. **Targuio** was presented as the mastermind of an "attempt to destabilize" the "constitutional order" and "institutions of the Republic". They were also accused of **illegal possession of weapons** and **criminal association**.

Earlier, in February 2021, **Targuio** had been sentenced to three years in jail on charges of undermining the constitutional order **for having written that Chad's then-leader, General Idriss Deby Itno, was seriously ill**.

Mr. Berdei Targuio is a virulent critic of the **Déby father and son regimes**.

The 11 men were detained in the **Koro Toro high-security prison**, 600 Km north of the capital. They were sentenced to 20 years in prison.

On April 21, 2023, the President of Chad, **General Mahamat Idriss Déby Itno**, promised the release of at least 12 men, including 11 army officers, accused of having attempted the "coup" in December 2022.



*October 4, 2023: Transition President Mahamat **Idriss Deby** with the draft constitution*

Kebzabo resigned as the Prime Minister, on January 1, 2024, in the context of significant political changes in the country:

On 27 June 2023, Chad's transitional parliament adopted with a 96 per cent majority the preliminary **draft constitution of the Republic of Chad**. This draft was

put to **referendum on 17 December 2023**. The vote was 85.9% approval and 14.1% against.

On December 29, 2023, Chad's new constitution entered into force after being approved by the country's Supreme Court.

On December 30, 2023, Saleh Kebzabo's government resigned

APPOINTMENT of **Succès Masra**: On January 1, 2024, **Succès Masra** was named the first Prime Minister under the **newly adopted 5th Republic Constitution**. His appointment came as a surprise.

BACKGROUND of **Succès Masra**: **Succès Masra** is the leader of the “**Les Transformateurs**” party.

He had left Chad along with other opposition leaders after demonstrations held the previous year to protest military rule were violently repressed.

Masra returned home after reaching **an agreement with the military regime**, although other opposition leaders remain in exile.

Born on August 30, 1983, in Chad, **Masra** received education in Chad, Cameroon, and France. He previously worked for the **African Development Bank**, where he held the position of **Chief Economist**.

In 2018, Masra founded **Les Transformateurs**. His vision was to transform Chad into a **functioning social democracy** by uniting Chadians from both inside and outside the country.

Masra emerged as a vocal critic of President **Idriss Déby**, ruling Chad since 1990. Déby's regime faced allegations of being **authoritarian, undemocratic, and corrupt**.

2021 Presidential Election: When in 2021, **Déby** announced his candidacy for a sixth consecutive term, **Masra** objected to **Déby's** candidacy, citing the 2018 Chadian constitution, which limited presidential terms to six years and allowed only one renewal. Despite his own application being rejected, **Masra** participated in protests against **Déby's** regime, seeking democratic reforms.

EXILE and RETURN: After the 2022 Chadian protests, **Masra** lived in exile in the United States. In 2023, he expressed his intention to return ahead of the 2023 constitutional referendum. Upon his return, he was appointed Prime Minister by transitional President **Mahamat Idriss Déby Itno**.

CONCERNS with the NEW CONSTITUTION: 1. A Unitary state model, and not a Federation in the 5th largest country, by area, of Africa.

2. Military Leaders, *including Deby Itno*, permitted to contest post-transition elections. This was against the promise, made by **Deby Itno** to AU in 2021.

Tuesday, February 27, 2024: **Ahmed Torabi**, a member of PSF, had been arrested and shot dead on Tuesday, before his body was dumped outside the **National Security Agency** (Agence Nationale de Sécurité or ANSE) building, the PSF said. The Government had accused Mr **Torabi** of **attempting to assassinate the President of the Supreme Court**. The Government version is that ANSE was attacked by members of PSF and several people had lost their lives during the assault on the ANSE headquarters. Following the attack, the Government shut down Internet and Mobile phone service. Heavy gunfire erupted in Chad's capital N'Djamena on Wednesday, just hours after announcements of a long-awaited election date in the central African country. The Government said that **Yaya Dillo** had planned the attack.

Wednesday, February 28, 2024: Mr **Dillo** said the accusation he was behind the ANSE attack was intended "to make me afraid so that I don't go to the election".

MYSTERIOUS KILLING of **Dillo**: Communications Minister **Abderaman Koulamallah** told the AFP news agency that **Mr Dillo** had died on Wednesday, at the headquarters of his party, where he had retreated. The Minister said that **Mr Dillo** didn't want to surrender to Security Forces and fired on them. 12 others persons also died in the shootout.

Before his death, Mr Dillo was **widely predicted to be his cousin's main opponent in the election**.

On February 28, 2021, when running against the current President's **father, Idriss Déby**, for the Presidency, Chadian forces attempted to arrest Mr Dillo at his home in N'Djamena. State forces had killed Mr Dillo's mother, son and three others.

----A BACKGROUNDER on PRESIDENT **Idriss Déby** ----

After **Idriss Déby**, a Chad's army commander, who participated in an unsuccessful plot against **President Hissène Habré** (7 June 1982 – 1 December 1990) in 1989, fled to Sudan, he and his supporters, known as the **1 April Movement**, operated from Sudan with Libyan backing and carried out attacks across the border into Chad. The **Patriotic Salvation Movement** (Mouvement patriotique du salut or MPS) was founded in Sudan on **10 March 1990** through the merger of the **1 April Movement** with other **anti-Habre groups in exile**. After a successful offensive in November

1990, **Déby** and the MPS came to power on **2 December 1990**, when their forces entered N'Djamena, the Chadian capital.

Déby was the MPS candidate in the 1996 presidential election and won in a second round.

He was again the MPS candidate in the presidential election of 2001, 2006, 2011, 2016 and 2021. **Déby** was re-elected with more than 50 percent vote, in the first round in the five elections,

His long-standing rule and dominance in Chadian politics shaped the country's trajectory over the years. However, his sudden death in April 2021 during a battle against rebels marked a significant turning point in Chad's political landscape.

---A BACKGROUNDER on **President Hissène Habré's** CONVICTION for HUMAN RIGHT CRIMES---
Habré fled, with \$11 million of public money, to Senegal after being overthrown in 1990. He was placed under house arrest in 2005 until his arrest in 2013. He was accused of war crimes and torture during his eight years in power in Chad.

Habré created a secret police force known as the **Documentation and Security Directorate (DDS)**, under which his opponents were tortured and executed. Habré's Government also periodically engaged in ethnic cleansing against groups such as the **Sara, Hadjerai** and the **Zaghawa**, killing and arresting group members en masse when it was perceived that their leaders posed a threat to the regime.

Human Rights Watch called HIM "the African Pinochet," with reference to former Chilean dictator Augusto Pinochet. Habre would personally sign death warrants and oversee torture sessions, and was accused of personally participating in torture and rape.

Between 1993 and 2003, Belgium had universal jurisdiction legislation (the Belgian War Crimes Law) allowing the most serious violations of human rights to be tried in national as well as international courts, without any direct connection to the country of the alleged perpetrator, the victims or where the crimes took place. Despite the repeal of the legislation in 2003, investigations against Habré went ahead. In September 2005, Habré was indicted for crimes against humanity, torture, war crimes, and other human rights violations in Belgium.

But, Senegal refused to turn over Habré to Belgium. Senegal, where Habré had been in exile for 17 years, had Habré under nominal house arrest in Dakar.

Under pressure from the African Union, in 2007, Senegal set up its own special war-crimes court to try Habré. On 8 April 2008, the National Assembly of Senegal voted to amend the nation's constitution to clear the way for Habré to be prosecuted in Senegal. Ibrahima Gueye was appointed trial coordinator in May 2008. A joint session of the National Assembly and the Senate

voted in July 2008 to approve a bill empowering Senegalese courts to try people for crimes committed in other countries and for crimes that were committed more than ten years beforehand. This made it constitutionally possible to try Habré. Senegalese Minister of Justice Madicke Niang appointed four investigative judges on this occasion.

The activists **Souleymane Guengueng** and **Reed Brody** led the efforts to bring Habré to trial.

Trial in Senegal

The Senegalese government had added an amendment in 2008, which would allow Habré to be tried in court. Senegal later changed their position, however, requesting 27 million euros in funding from the international community before going through with the trial. The **International Court of Justice** (ICJ) found Senegal to have failed international obligations by 1.) failing to make immediately a preliminary inquiry into the fact relating to the alleged crimes; and 2.) failing to submit the case to its competent authorities for prosecution (obligations according to UN Convention on Torture and Other Cruel, inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (1984) that Senegal had bound itself to). The ICJ rejected Senegal Defenses of insufficient funds and opposition by domestic law, instead unanimously ordering Senegal to submit the case to authorities for prosecution or extradite him without delay.

In November 2010, the court of justice of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) ruled that Senegal could not hold trial in the matter through local court only, and asked for the creation of a special tribunal on the matter of Habré's prosecution. In April 2011, after initial reticence, Senegal agreed to the creation of an ad hoc tribunal in collaboration with the African Union, the Chadian state and with international funding.

Senegal changed their position again however, walking out during discussions on establishing the court on 30 May 2011 without explanation. The African Union Commission on Habré, in preparation for their next summit on 30 June, published a report which urged pressing Senegal to extradite Habré to Belgium.

On 8 July 2011, Senegal officials announced that Habré would be extradited to Chad on 11 July, 2011, but this was subsequently halted. In July 2012, the ICJ ruled that Senegal must start Habré's trial "without delay". Amnesty International called on Senegal to abide by the ICJ's ruling, calling it "a victory for victims that's long overdue".

A trial by the International Criminal Court (ICC) was ruled out, because the crimes took place before the ICC was fully established in 2002, and its jurisdiction is limited to events that took place after that date.

In December 2012, the Parliament of Senegal passed a law allowing for the creation of an international tribunal in Senegal to try Habre. The judges of the tribunal would be appointed by the African Union, and come from elsewhere in Africa.

On 30 June 2013, Habré was arrested in Senegal by the Senegalese police.

Chadian President **Idriss Déby** said of his arrest that it was a step towards "an Africa free of all evil, an Africa stripped of all dictatorships."

Senegal's court, set up with the African Union, charged him with crimes against humanity and torture in 2013. That year he was also sentenced to death in absentia for crimes against humanity by a Chadian court.

On 20 July 2015 the trial started. Waiting for the trial to open, Habré shouted: "Down with imperialists. [The trial] is a farce by rotten Senegalese politicians. African traitors. Valet of America". After that Habré was taken out of the courtroom and the trial began without him. On 21 July 2015 Habré's trial was postponed to 7 September 2015, after his lawyers refused to participate in court.

CONVICTION by the SPECIAL TRIBUNAL in Senegal: On 30 May 2016, the Extraordinary African Chambers found Habré guilty of rape, sexual slavery, and ordering the killing of 40,000 people during his tenure as Chadian President and sentenced him to life in prison in the Prison du Cap Manuel in Senegal. The verdict marked the first time an African Union-backed court convicted a former ruler for human-rights abuses and the first time that the courts of one country have prosecuted the former ruler of another country for crimes against humanity.

In May 2017, Judge Ougadeye Wafi upheld Habre's life sentence and all convictions against him, except rape. The court emphasized this was a procedural matter, as the facts the victim offered during her testimony came too late in the proceedings to be included within charges of mass sexual violence committed by his security agents, the convictions for which were upheld.

On 7 April 2020, a judge in Senegal granted Habre two months' leave from prison, as the jail is being used to hold new detainees in COVID-19 quarantine. After finishing his home freedom he returned to prison on 7 June.

DEATH: Habré died in Senegal **on 24 August 2021**, a week after his 79th birthday, after being hospitalized in Dakar's main hospital with COVID-19. He had fallen ill while in jail a week earlier. In a statement, Habré's wife, **Fatimé Raymonne Habré**, confirmed that he had COVID-19.
