

Country: Chad

Years: 1960-1974

Head of government: Francois Tombalbaye

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Tombalbaye's affiliation as PPT. Collelo (1988) states "the leader of the PPT was Gabriel Lisette... [who] was later chosen as secretary general of the African Democratic Assembly [RDA]... an interterritorial, Marxist oriented party considered quite radical at the time. The PPT originated as a territorial branch of the RDA." Over time, according to Collelo, "the PPT became less militant" in order to win local support. Tombalbaye was "a union leader" who led the PPT in its return to power in 1959. Lisette "became deputy prime minister in charge of economic coordination." Manzano (2017) classifies Ngarta (Francois) Tombalbaye's ideology as "right." World Statesman (2019) codes the PPT as "leftist".

Years: 1975-1977

Head of government: Felix Malloum N'Gakoutou

Ideology:

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Malloum's party as none from 1975. Political Handbook of the World (2015) writes, "On April 13, 1975, President Tombalbaye was fatally wounded in an uprising by army and police units. Two days later, Brig. Gen. Félix MALLOUM, who had been in detention since 1973 for plotting against the government, was designated chair of a ruling Supreme Military Council. The new regime, which banned the MNRCS, was immediately endorsed by a number of former opposition groups, although Frolinat remained aloof." Collelo (1988) identifies the founder of MNRCS (National Movement for the Cultural and Social Revolution—Mouvement National pour la Révolution Culturelle et Sociale) as Francois Tombalbaye, writing, "Tombalbaye decided to replace the PPT with a new party," the MNRCS. Joffe (1981) identifies FROLINAT's ideology as left, writing "FROLIANT was founded in 1966, as the successor movement to the neo- Marxist Union nationale Tchadienne by a northerner, Ibrahim Abatcha, who had previously tried to organise a guerrilla movement with Muslim fundamentalists in the Mouvement national de liberation du Tchad." Azevedo and Decalo (2018) state in their "Political Parties: 1975-1996" section that "FROLINAT was a radical neo-Marxist movement." Azevedo and Decalo (2018: 340) also write that Malloum was "suspected by Tombalbaye of having contacts with FROLINAT's Dr. Abba Siddick and being sympathetic to Siddick's goals." Collelo (1988) continues, referring to Malloum's government, "The successor government soon overturned many of Tombaldaye's more odious

policies. For example, the CSM attempted to distribute external drought relief assistance more equitably and efficiently and devised plans to develop numerous economic reforms, including reductions in taxes and government expenditures.” However, “throughout its tenure, the CSM was unable to win the support of the capital’s increasingly radicalized unions, students, and urban dwellers.” In a 1978 interview, after Andrew Lycett asks Malloum, “Do you fear Soviet intervention in Africa? What do you think should be the policy of African states towards this question?”, Malloum replies, “As far as we are concerned, we have always condemned international intervention in Africa. The conflicts which are currently tearing the African continent apart would not have reached such dimensions without foreign elements. I would like to see an *ideological* disarmament in Africa.” In the same interview, Malloum also references “the disastrous policies of the previous regime,” that of Francois Tombalbaye, coded as leftist. Hollick (1982: 298) references “the unnatural marriage between [Hissene] Habré and Malloum,” which “[left] Frolinat and Goukouni Oueddei out in the cold.” Both Habré and Oueddei are coded as leftist.

Years: 1978

Head of government: Hissene Habre

Ideology: Left

Description: Perspective Monde (2019) and World Statesmen (2019) identify Goukouni Oueddei instead of Hissene Habre on December 31, 1979. HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. World Statesman (2019) identifies Habre’s party as “FROLIANT-FAN”. Joffe (1981) identifies FROLIANT’s ideology as left, writing “FROLIANT was founded in 1966, as the successor movement to the neo- Marxist Union nationale Tchadienne by a northerner, Ibrahim Abatcha, who had previously tried to organise a guerrilla movement with Muslim fundamentalists in the Mouvement national de liberation du Tchad.” Azevedo and Decalo (2018) state in their “Political Parties: 1975-1996” section that “FROLIANT was a radical neo-Marxist movement.”

Years: 1979-1981

Head of government: Goukouni Oueddei

Ideology: Left

Description: Perspective Monde (2019) and World Statesmen (2019) identify Goukouni Oueddei instead of Hissene Habre on December 31, 1979. HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Oueddei’s affiliation as FROLIANT-FAP. Joffe (1981) identifies FROLIANT’s ideology as left, writing “FROLIANT was founded in 1966, as the successor movement to the neo- Marxist Union nationale Tchadienne by a northerner, Ibrahim Abatcha, who had previously tried to organise

a guerrilla movement with Muslim fundamentalists in the Mouvement national de liberation du Tchad.” Azevedo and Decalo (2018) state in their “Political Parties: 1975-1996” section that “FROLIANT was a radical neo-Marxist movement.”

Years: 1982-1989

Head of government: Hissene Habre

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Habre’s party as FAN from 1982 to 1983, then UNIR from 1984 onwards. World Statesman (2019) identifies Habre’s party as “FAN” until 1984 at which point his party becomes UNIR. World Statesman describes UNIR as “Hissène Habré personalist, former FAN [renamed 1984]” and FAN as “Hissène Habré personalist, split from FROLIANT, 1979-1983, renamed UNIR”. Joffe (1981) identifies FROLIANT’s ideology as left, writing “FROLIANT was founded in 1966, as the successor movement to the neo- Marxist Union nationale Tchadienne by a northerner, Ibrahim Abatcha, who had previously tried to organise a guerrilla movement with Muslim fundamentalists in the Mouvement national de liberation du Tchad.” Azevedo and Decalo (2018) state in their “Political Parties: 1975-1996” section that “FROLIANT was a radical neo-Marxist movement.” In V-Party (2020), 1 expert identifies UNIR’s ideology as “Center-left” (-0.742) in 1990.

Years: 1990

Head of government: Idriss Deby

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Deby as a member of MPS. Political Handbook of the World (2015) writes “the MPS endorsed a prodemocracy platform, while “preaching neither capitalism nor socialism.”” Mullenbach (2018) identifies Deby as a member of MPS, writing “Idriss Deby of the Patriotic Salvation Movement (Mouvement Patriotique de Salut – MPS) was elected president.” Perspective Monde identifies the “Mouvement patriotique du salut,” as “moderate left”. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 2 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Patriotic Salvation Movement (MPS) as 2.0 and the average divided united (0-10) score of MPS as 9.0. In V-Party (2020), 1 expert identifies MPS’s ideology as “Center-right” (0.961) in 1997. In V-Party (2020), 1 expert identifies “virtually no visible disagreement” in MPS in 1997.

Years: 1991

Head of government: Jean Alingue Bawoyeu

Ideology: Right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Lansford (2017) identifies Bawoyeu as a member of UDR, writing “Union for Democracy and the Republic (Union pour la Démocratie et la République—UDR). The UDR was launched by Jean Bawoyeu Alingué in March 1992.” Azevedo and Decalo (2018: 56) writes, “His reputation tarnished by the string of political defeats and changes in his personal political views, Alingué could not but accept the meaningless posts of minister of justice (2008-2010) and minister of posts and new information technologies (2010-2013).” Miles (1995: 61) writes, “*Union pour la démocratie et la République* (UDR). The motto of this party is ‘Dialogue is Our Strength’. The principal objective of the UDR, led by Jean Bawoyeu Alingué, is the erection of a state of law which will guarantee to all citizens of Chad, in all places and for all time, their recognized rights and liberties: ‘a truly democratic, indivisible, secular, and strongly decentralised republic’. Chad needs a market economy that is well integrated into the world economy, according to the UDR, in order to be able to satisfy the essential needs of the inhabitants, including social justice.” Massey and May (2002: 79) write, “*Union pour la démocratie et la République* (UDR): founded in 1992 by the *vieux sage*, Jean Alingue... A spell at the International Monetary Fund convinced Alingue that Chad must develop free market policies to ensure ‘a truly democratic, indivisible, secular, and strongly decentralized republic.’” Both World Statesmen and Political Handbook of the World (2018-2019) state that UDR was established in 1992.

Years: 1992

Head of government: Joseph Yodoyman

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. World Statesmen (2020) identifies Yodoyman’s party as ANDR/UNDR (Alliance Nationale pour la Démocratie et le Renouveau/National Alliance for Democracy and Renewal) and identifies the party as “social-democratic.” Azevedo and Decalo (2016: 424) corroborate Yodoyman’s party affiliation as ANDR, writing, “Alliance Nationale pour la Démocratie et le Renouveau (ANDR): political party created in December 1992 by Joseph Yodoyman, prime minister of Chad.” Azevedo and Decalo (2016: 294) also identify Yodoyman as pro-MPS prior to the founding of ANDR, writing, “the then pro-MPS government of Prime Minister Joseph Yodoyman.” Perspective Monde (2020) identifies MPS as leftist. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 2 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of MPS as 2.0. In V-Party (2020), 1 expert identifies UNDR’s ideology as “Center-left” (-0.762) in 1997.

Years: 1993-1994

Head of government: Delwa Kassire Koumakoye

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Lansford (2017) identifies Koumakoye as a member of RNDP, writing “National Assembly for Democracy and Progress (Rassemblement National pour la Démocratie et le Progrès—RNDP). Formed in the spring of 1992, the RNDP (also regularly referenced as VIVA-RNDP) was subsequently described as a prominent exponent of the formation of opposition coalitions; its leader, Delwa Kassiré Koumakoye, served as a spokesperson.” World Statesmen (2020) corroborates party affiliation as RNDP and states that the party “supports a unitary democratic state.” Azevedo and Decalo (2016: 294) write, “The RNDP was actually an alliance of 16 small parties formed in opposition to the then pro-MPS government of Prime Minister Joseph Yodoyman, calling for an early establishment of a wall-to-wall government.” Azevedo and Decalo (2016: 522) identify Kassiré’s party affiliation in 2006 as UNDR, writing, “Union Nationale pour le Développement et le Renouveau (UNDR)... The party won five seats in the assembly in 2001, and its candidate, Nouradine Koumakoyé Delwa Kassiré, unsuccessfully ran for president in 2006. He was appointed prime minister in 2007 through part of 2008.” In the Global Party Survey 2019, 2 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of UNDR as 3.0. The UNDR is also a member of the Socialist International. In V-Party (2020), 1 expert identifies RNDP’s ideology as “Center-left” (-0.744) in 2011.

Years: 1995-1996

Head of government: Koibla Djimasta

Ideology:

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Lansford (2017) identifies Koibla as previously affiliated with UDR, writing “Djimasta KOIBLA, who suspended his activity within the Union for Democracy and the Republic (Union pour la Démocratie et la République—UDR) upon assuming national office.” Azevedo and Decalo (2016: 177) corroborate Djimasta’s party as UDR prior to his appointment, writing, “He then participated in the Conférence Nationale in 1993 (and from there was elected to the interim National Assembly), as a moderate leader of the Union pour la Démocratie et la République (UDR) political party.” The authors (xxxvii) also refer to Djimasta as, “a Déby supporter”; Idris Déby is coded as leftist. Miles (1995: 61) writes, “*Union pour la démocratie et la République* (UDR). The motto of this party is ‘Dialogue is Our Strength’. The principal objective of the UDR, led by Jean Bawoyeu Alingué, is the erection of a state of law which will guarantee to all citizens of Chad, in all places and for all time, their recognized rights and liberties: ‘a truly democratic,

indivisible, secular, and strongly decentralised republic'. Chad needs a market economy that is well integrated into the world economy, according to the UDR, in order to be able to satisfy the essential needs of the inhabitants, including social justice." Massey and May (2002: 79) write, "*Union pour la démocratie et la République* (UDR): founded in 1992 by the *vieux sage*, Jean Alingue... A spell at the International Monetary Fund convinced Alingue that Chad must develop free market policies to ensure 'a truly democratic, indivisible, secular, and strongly decentralized republic.'"

Years: 1997-1998

Head of government: Nassour Guelendouksia Ouaido

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Perspective Monde identifies Ouaido's party as the "Mouvement patriotique du salut," coded as "moderate left." In the Global Party Survey 2019, 2 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Patriotic Salvation Movement (MPS) as 2.0. In V-Party (2020), 1 expert identifies MPS's ideology as "Center-right" (0.961) in 1997. In V-Party (2020), 1 expert identifies "virtually no visible disagreement" in MPS in 1997.

Years: 1999-2001

Head of government: Nagoum Yamassoum

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Perspective Monde identifies Yamassoum's party as the "Mouvement patriotique du salut," coded as "moderate left." Mullenbach (2018) identifies the "Patriotic Salvation Movement (Mouvement Patriotique de Salut – MPS)".

Political Handbook of the World (2015) writes "the MPS endorsed a prodemocracy platform, while "preaching neither capitalism nor socialism"". In the Global Party Survey 2019, 2 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Patriotic Salvation Movement (MPS) as 2.0. In V-Party (2020), 1 expert identifies MPS's ideology as "Center-right" (0.961) in 1997. In V-Party (2020), 1 expert identifies "virtually no visible disagreement" in MPS in 1997.

Years: 2002

Head of government: Haroun Kabadi

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Lansford (2017) identifies Kabadi as a leader of the MPS, writing in a list of leaders of the MPS "Haroun KABADI (President of the National

Assembly).” Perspective Monde identifies Kabadi’s party as the “Mouvement patriotique du salut,” coded as “moderate left.” Political Handbook of the World (2015) writes “the MPS endorsed a prodemocracy platform, while “preaching neither capitalism nor socialism””. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 2 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Patriotic Salvation Movement (MPS) as 2.0. In V-Party (2020), 1 expert identifies MPS’s ideology as “Center-right” (0.961) in 2002. In V-Party (2020), 1 expert identifies “virtually no visible disagreement” in MPS in 2002.

Years: 2003-2004

Head of government: Moussa Faki

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Lansford (2017) identifies Faki as a member of the MPS, writing “The MPS maintained its dominance in the April 21, 2002, National Assembly balloting... Kabadi was succeeded by Moussa FAKI on June 24.” Perspective Monde identifies Faki’s party as the “Mouvement patriotique du salut,” coded as “moderate left.” Political Handbook of the World (2015) writes “the MPS endorsed a prodemocracy platform, while “preaching neither capitalism nor socialism””. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 2 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Patriotic Salvation Movement (MPS) as 2.0. In V-Party (2020), 1 expert identifies MPS’s ideology as “Center-right” (0.961) in 2002. In V-Party (2020), 1 expert identifies “virtually no visible disagreement” in MPS in 2002.

Years: 2005-2006

Head of government: Pascal Yoadimnadji

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Perspective Monde identifies Yoadimnadji’s party as the “Mouvement patriotique du salut,” coded as “moderate left.” Mullenbach (2018) identifies the “Patriotic Salvation Movement (Mouvement Patriotique de Salut – MPS)”. Political Handbook of the World (2015) writes “the MPS endorsed a prodemocracy platform, while “preaching neither capitalism nor socialism””. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 2 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Patriotic Salvation Movement (MPS) as 2.0. In V-Party (2020), 1 expert identifies MPS’s ideology as “Center-right” (0.961) in 2002. In V-Party (2020), 1 expert identifies “virtually no visible disagreement” in MPS in 2002.

Years: 2007

Head of government: Delwa Kassire Koumakoye

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Lansford (2017) identifies Koumakoye as a member of RNDP, writing “National Assembly for Democracy and Progress (Rassemblement National pour la Démocratie et le Progrès—RNDP). Formed in the spring of 1992, the RNDP (also regularly referenced as VIVA-RNDP) was subsequently described as a prominent exponent of the formation of opposition coalitions; its leader, Delwa Kassiré Koumakoye, served as a spokesperson.” World Statesmen (2020) corroborates party affiliation as RNDP and states that the party “supports a unitary democratic state.” Azevedo and Decalo (2016: 294) write, “The RNDP was actually an alliance of 16 small parties formed in opposition to the then pro-MPS government of Prime Minister Joseph Yodoyman, calling for an early establishment of a wall-to-wall government.” Azevedo and Decalo (2016: 522) identify Kassiré’s party affiliation in 2006 as UNDR, writing, “Union Nationale pour le Développement et le Renouveau (UNDR)... The party won five seats in the assembly in 2001, and its candidate, Nouradine Koumakoyé Delwa Kassiré, unsuccessfully ran for president in 2006. He was appointed prime minister in 2007 through part of 2008.” In the Global Party Survey 2019, 2 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of UNDR as 3.0. The UNDR is also a member of the Socialist International. In V-Party (2020), 1 expert identifies UNDR’s ideology as “Center-left” (-0.762) in 1997.

Years: 2008-2009

Head of government: Youssouf Saleh Abbas

Ideology:

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Perspective Monde (2020) and World Statesmen (2020) identify Abbas as independent/non-party, respectively. Political Handbook of the World (2015) points to Abbas’s pro-MPS leanings, writing, “Five days [after Idris Déby named Abbas as prime minister,] Abbas announced a new cabinet, which, although still dominated by the MPS, included four members of the opposition’s Coordination of Parties for the Defense of the Constitution (*Coordination des Partis pour la Défense de la Constitution*—CPDC).” Perspective Monde (2020) identifies MPS as leftist. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 2 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Patriotic Salvation Movement (MPS) as 2.0. Hansen (2013) writes, “Two of the newly appointed ministers were former rebel leaders. Yousouff Saleh Abbas, who had been central in the rebel *Mouvement pour la Démocratie et la Justice au Tchad* (MDJT), was appointed Prime Minister in April 2008.” Mehler et al (2009: 214) write, “Yousouf Saleh Abbas, a former

member of the rebel movement ‘Mouvement pour la Démocratie et la Justice au Tchad’ (MDJT) was appointed as prime minister on 15 April, replacing Nourradine Delwa Kassire.”

Years: 2010-2012

Head of government: Emmanuel Nadingar

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Perspective Monde identifies Nadingar’s party as the “Mouvement patriotique du salut,” coded as “moderate left.” Mullenbach (2018) identifies the “Patriotic Salvation Movement (Mouvement Patriotique de Salut – MPS)”.

Political Handbook of the World (2015) writes “the MPS endorsed a prodemocracy platform, while “preaching neither capitalism nor socialism””. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 2 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Patriotic Salvation Movement (MPS) as 2.0. In V-Party (2020), 1 expert identifies MPS’s ideology as “Center-right” (0.961) in 2002 and 2011. In V-Party (2020), 1 expert identifies “virtually no visible disagreement” in MPS in 2002 and 2011.

Years: 2013-2015

Head of government: Kalzeube Pahimi Deubet

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Perspective Monde (2019) identifies Deubet as independent, writing “Kalzeubet Pahimi Deubet... independent”. However, World Statesmen (2020) identifies Deubet’s party affiliation as MPS. Perspective Monde (2020) identifies MPS as leftist. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 2 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Patriotic Salvation Movement (MPS) as 2.0.

Years: 2016-2017

Head of government: Albert Pahimi Padacke

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. Lansford (2017) identifies Padacke as a leader of RNDT and describes RNDT as moderate, writing “Rally of Nationalists for the Development of Chad/Awakening (Rassemblement des Nationalistes pour le Développement du Chad/Le Réveil—RNDT/Awakening). After the RNDT won a seat in the 2002 assembly balloting, its leader, Albert Pahimi Padacké, was named agriculture minister in 2005... The RNDT/Awakening, described as a moderate party...”

According to the CIA World Factbook, Padacké remains a leader of the RNDT as of mid-2019. World Statesman (2019) codes the RNDT as “moderate”. The Trans-

Saharan Elections Project (2013) describes the RNDT as associated with MPS, writing, “In the ruling presidential coalition, the main political force remains the *Mouvement Patriotique du Salut* (MPS) which has dominated Chad’s political life since 1990... It has about 100 additional parties related to it, the most significant of which are... *Reassemblent des Nationalistes et Démocrates Tchadiens* (RNDT-*Le Réveil*).” Perspective Monde (2020) identifies MPS as leftist. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 2 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Patriotic Salvation Movement (MPS) as 2.0. Passalet (2009: 41) writes, “Deby savait que Pahimi Padacket Albert, jeune ministre des finances, membre influent du parti VIVA-RNDP de Kassiré aurait joué un grand rôle dans ces ponctions qui seraient faites par Kassiré quand il dirigeait la primature. D’où la formule adoptée: utiliser Pahimi Albert pour soustraire les informations à l’encontre de Kassiré et contribuer à sa défection de VIVA-RNDP. Padacket Albert claqua la porte d eson vieux parti et créa un parti satellite dénommé RNDT-Le Réveil.” [Deby knew that Pahimi Padacket Albert, young minister of finance, influential member of Kassiré’s party VIVA-RNDP would have played a big role in these punctures that would be made by Kassiré when he was leading the prime minister. Hence the adopted formula: use Pahimi Albert to extract information against Kassiré and contribute to his defection from VIVA-RNDP. Padacket Albert slammed the door of his old party and created a satellite party called RNDT-Le Réveil.] In V-Party (2020), 1 expert identifies RNDT’s ideology as “Center-left” (-0.72) in 2011.

Years: 2018-2020

Leader: Idriss Deby

Ideology: Left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Deby as a member of MPS. Political Handbook of the World (2015) writes “the MPS endorsed a prodemocracy platform, while “preaching neither capitalism nor socialism.”” Mullenbach (2018) identifies Deby as a member of MPS, writing “Idriss Deby of the Patriotic Salvation Movement (*Mouvement Patriotique de Salut* – MPS) was elected president.” World Statesmen (2021) corroborates Deby’s party affiliation as MPS. Perspective Monde (2021) identifies the “*Mouvement patriotique du salut*,” as “moderate left”. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 2 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of Patriotic Salvation Movement (MPS) as 2.0. In V-Party (2020), 1 expert identifies MPS’s ideology as “Center-right” (0.961) in 2011. In V-Party (2020), 1 expert identifies “virtually no visible disagreement” in MPS in 2011.

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