Acronyms

APRD People’s Army for the Restoration of Democracy
CAR Central African Republic
CEI Independent Electoral Commission
CFA Franc Communauté Financière Africaine
CFC Collective Forces for Change
DDR Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration
EISA Electoral Institute for the Sustainability of Democracy in Africa
FODEM Democratic Forum for Modernity
HIPC Heavily Indebted Poor Countries
IMF International Monetary Fund
KNK Kwa Na Kwa
LRA Lord’s Resistance Army
MLPC Movement for the Liberation of Central African People
PNCN National Party for a New Central African Republic
PRGF Poverty Reduction and Growth Facility
UFVN Union des Forces Vives de la Nation

Political Background

The Central African Republic (CAR) is a landlocked country in the central sub-region of the African continent. It is bordered by Chad in the North, Sudan in the East, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Congo Republic and Cameroon in the West. The country has been unstable since its independence from France in August 1960 and is one of the poorest and least developed nations in the world (eighteen of the poorest countries by GDP per capita are in

The central town of Bangui
The contemporary history of the CAR is characterised by a series of authoritarian political regimes and coups d’état, as well as a notorious interlude as an empire under Jean-Bedel Bokassa.

The Bokassa era started in December 1965 when the then army colonel overthrew David Dacko, the country’s first head of state. The brutal Bokassa regime ended in 1979 when he was overthrown by Dacko in a comeback coup. In September 1981 Dacko was ousted for a second time in a coup instigated by General André Kolingba. The military junta introduced progressively multiparty politics in the country, culminating in the organisation of relatively competitive presidential elections in August 1993. Kolingba fared so poorly that he was eliminated in the first round and Ange-Félix Patassé was elected in a runoff in September 1993.

Patassé won a second term in the presidential elections of 19 September 1999, held against a backdrop of extreme political tension and the crumbling of the state. As a result, Patassé had to deal with serious social and political turmoil which led to a military coup led by General Francois Bozizé in March 2003. A new constitution was approved by the people of the CAR in its majority through a referendum held on 5 December 2004. Bozizé went on to win the presidential election held in March and May 2005, which marked the end of the transitional process. Unfortunately the country slid back into conflict when insurgence broke out in the Northern part.

Some progress towards ending the conflict was made in 2008, when an all-inclusive national political dialogue led to an agreement establishing an independent electoral commission and a national unity government integrating rebel groups. However, according to the committee established in January 2009 and tasked to monitor the execution of the recommendations of the Dialogue, the implementation process has been slow with regard to key political recommendations pertaining to the effective separation of powers and the

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establishment of a permanent dialogue mechanism among political actors.

As for the overall security situation, it remains generally volatile, with the persistence of tensions among and within political parties, and insecurity in the north of the country due to continued activities of rebel and criminal groups. The country has also become a sanctuary for armed and foreign rebel groups, including Uganda’s Lord’s Resistance Army (LRA). This undermines the authority of the government, which remains precarious outside Bangui, the capital city.

A Short Briefing: Institutional Framework and Electoral System

Politics in the Central African Republic takes place in a framework of a semi-presidential system, whereby the President is both head of state and head of government, with a separate Prime Minister. Executive power is exercised by the government. Legislative power is vested in both the government and parliament.

Under the 2004 Constitution, the President is elected by direct universal suffrage for a 5-year term of office that can be renewed once. For a candidate to be elected President of the Republic, he/she must secure at least 50% plus one of the total votes cast. If no candidate receives an absolute majority of the valid votes in the first round, there is provision for a run-off between the two candidates who received the highest number of votes.

The President can both dissolve the National Assembly and dismiss the Prime Minister at any time. The Prime Minister is appointed by the political party enjoying the majority in the National Assembly.

The unicameral Parliament is composed of 105 members, elected by direct universal suffrage to serve five-year terms, using the two-round system. In this system, if no candidate has an outright majority in the first round, a run-off is organised for all candidates who have secured at least 10% of the votes. The candidate who garners the highest number of votes is proclaimed winner in the constituency.

National Assembly Building, also home to the CEI offices
The CAR has a 9-member Constitutional Court (3 appointed by the President, 3 by the Speaker of the National Assembly and 3 magistrates elected by their peers). The term of office for judges of the Constitutional Court is 9 years. Besides, there is a Supreme Court made up of judges appointed by the President.

The Independent Electoral Commission (CEI)

It is worth mentioning that the CEI is not provided for in the 2004 Constitution. The Independent Electoral Commission (CEI) derives from the amended Electoral Code promulgated on 2 October 2009. President Bozizé signed a decree establishing the CEI on 3 October and appointed thereafter the 30 members of the national coordination of the CEI, drawn from the six groups that had participated in the inclusive political dialogue of December 2008.

The CEI President is presumed to be a neutral personality elected by members of the national coordination, on proposals made jointly by the Speaker of the National Assembly and the Prime Minister. This election is approved by the President. Pastor Joseph Binguimalé was elected as the CEI President on 12 October 2009 by the national coordination. All the members of the Commission were sworn in on 16 October 2009.

The mandate and powers of the CEI are outlined in Chapter III of the Electoral Code. Relevant provisions stipulate inter alia that the CEI is responsible for “the preparation, organisation and supervision” of elections and referendums, in partnership with the Ministry of Territorial Administration and Decentralisation. The mission is of the view that this specific provision creates a nebulous relationship between the two structures with regard to the effective implementation of election-related activities and operations.

The current CEI is composed of representatives of all entities of the 2008 all-inclusive political dialogue. Its term expires 45 days after the announcement of the final elections results. Since the CEI is not permanent, there will be a problem of institutional memory which has been a particular feature of the debate around the ‘loss’ of archives related to the 2005 voter’s register.

The broader view is that the institution suffers from a pronounced lack of expertise and therefore requires thorough training for its members to acquire the necessary skills for an effective management of the electoral process. Moreover, most stakeholders highlighted the dysfunctional nature of the current leadership of the CEI, which
has been brought together from different quarters and the challenging task of organising the 2010 elections. There is obviously a lack of communication and consensus between the various members of the national co-ordination, which has resulted in a kind of improvisation when it comes to planning and implementing the organisation’s activities.

President Binguimalé was persistently accused by most of the stakeholders, especially the opposition, of being acquainted with President Bozizé and the ruling party, taking initiatives and making decisions without referring to other members of the CEI Bureau and national co-ordination from the opposition. The controversy around the progress report which formed the basis for the decree convening the electorate and setting the election date to 25 April 2010 is one of the illustrations. In fact, the CEI President has allegedly produced a report on the status of the electoral process and submitted this to President Bozizé in order for him to set the election date. None of the other members of the CEI Bureau and national co-ordination was consulted in the process.

The structure of the CEI is to some extent cumbersome and that the size of the national co-ordination (31 members) appears to affect its efficiency and effectiveness. The mission conceded, however, that the current composition of the CEI is justified by the efforts made to ensure fair and balanced representation of the different political and social forces in the CAR, following the 2008 national political dialogue.
In the News

Elections in Central African Republic: From one postponement to another2

His Excellency Francois Bozizé, the CAR president, said on Thursday April 29, that the presidential and legislative elections in the country scheduled for May 16 were postponed. No date for holding the poll has yet been advanced. The postponement followed the announcement of the Independent Electoral Commission (CEI) declared that they were technically incapable of organizing the vote on time. The opposition political parties had previously threatened to boycott the elections if they would be held as scheduled and were indicated that they were satisfied with the announcement by the President.

The presidential candidate and current President Francois Bozizé of the Central African announced: “The elections will not be held on May 16. When all parties involved including the international community are ready, we will go to polls.” This was said, following a meeting attended by leaders of political parties including opposition parties and the CEI on April 29, 2010.

The head of state then called upon the National Assembly, to “provide for a legal framework in the event of any overrun of the presidential term” (which ends June 11) to avoid possible unconstitutionality.

The Opposition Satisfied3

The opposition coalition, former rebellions and centrist parties of the Collective Forces for Change (CFC) were satisfied with the announcement of the postponement of the elections as difficulties have made it impossible for the poll to be held on May 16. Reasons include security concerns, due to the activism of the rebels such as APRD (People’s Army for the Restoration of Democracy) and the LRA (Lord’s Resistance Army) respectively active in the central north and the south east of the country and the lack of preparation

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for the 2010 elections. Also, the voter registers were incomplete three weeks before the initial planned date of the election.

Rigobert Vondo, spokesperson for the CEI, said that “The Commission is now obliged to say it cannot technically deliver within the period provided for organizing elections.”

The elections were originally scheduled for April 25, 2010 and had to be postponed to May 16. The current presidential term of office ends June 11. President Bozizé came to power following a coup in 2003 and was formally elected as President after 2005 election.

The National Assembly of CAR Acts

In the Central African Republic, the National Assembly debated from Monday, May 3, 2010 a bill to extend the mandate of the Head of State and that of the Members of parliament beyond June 11, to the chagrin of the opposition who wanted a political agreement. As the presidential and legislative elections that were scheduled on May 16 were postponed, the Independent Electoral Commission (CEI) must propose a new timetable.

The National Assembly, considering the lack of resources as an impediment for the 2010 electoral process as well as considering the political consensus reached at renaissance palace on the tenure of office of the institutions of the Republic and with regard to the postponement of the elections, recommended the following:

Recommendation 1
The resumption of the electoral process after the electoral vote of the present constitutional law; the development in a timely manner, of a precise timetable and a budget to therefore allowing the continuation of the electoral process; and the proposal of a deadline for the organisation of elections decided by consensus, in accordance with statutory deadlines prescribed by the elections law

Recommendation 2
The establishment of a forum for dialogue between the government and all entities involved in the electoral process after the promulgation by the president of the republic of the constitutional law, to ensure a smooth political climate conducive to the organisation and the success of elections.

4 UNDP-CAR.
Recommendation 3
The continuation of lobbying of all the friends of the Central African Republic to in order to finalise the electoral budget proposed by the CEI and to conduct the electoral process throughout the end; put in more effort and diligence in mobilizing resources to complete the electoral process.

FODEM Requires a Smooth Transition without Candidates Running for President

The Democratic Forum for Modernity (FODEM), called upon the Central African MPs to introduce a transition prohibiting the running of the country to presidential candidates.

Also according to the statement, “this proposal has the advantage to appease and to have a credible electoral process. Thus, the various candidates will devote themselves entirely to their political activities and electoral propaganda.

The date of the presidential and parliamentary elections originally scheduled on April 25, has been postponed to May 16, before being again postponed sine die (indefinately).

Until the announcement, April 29, the postponement of elections, Bozizé and former president Ange-Felix Patassé was the only candidate for president.

Calls for a ’Political Agreement’ Before the Elections

BANGUI - The opponent Martin Ziguélé and former Minister Cyriaque Gonda, of the presidential majority, Tuesday called for a “political settlement” to the presidential and legislative elections in CAR, following the enactment of a law to extend the of office of the President and Members of parliament.

“The extension of the term of office of the president and National Assembly can only sit through a political agreement which establishes the agreement of the parties,” said Mr. Ziguélé, former Prime Minister and President of Movement for the Liberation of Central African People (MLPC).

On Monday, the National Assembly adopted a constitutional bill to extend the mandate of President Francois Bozizé and 105 members of parliament until the elections are held.


6 “Calls for a ‘political agreement’ before the elections”. Cyberpresse. 12 May 2010.
“This law is unconstitutional,” said Martin Ziguélé.

“We are still calling the President of the Republic, the partners” and all stakeholders of the Central African political landscape “to all meet Bishop Paulin Pomodimo (Ombudsman of the Republic) so that we can agree on a political agreement,” said Mr. Ziguélé.

The same request was made by the former Minister of Communication and former government spokesman, Cyriaque Gonda, President of the National Party for a new Central Africa (PNCN, presidential majority).

“The most important in the current situation is a political agreement. A law is superfluous. History is not made by the National Assembly” on Monday, said Mr. Gonda.

Grants versus Elections 7

Faced with pressure from the international community, the head of the Central African Republic, Francois Bozizé, has relented: originally scheduled April 25 and May 16, the dual legislative and presidential elections is postponed until “a date unknown. Who seized power in a coup in 2003, then elected to lead the country in 2005, military career had not actually have much choice.

Mid-March, the Steering Committee for elections - comprising the major donors: European Union, France, USA and United Nations - has argued that nothing was prepared, starting with the updating of voter lists, while more than 300,000 Central Africans are still displaced internally, as well as in Chad and Cameroon. Elections necessarily truncated in advance for the international community, which has blocked some of the 9 billion CFA francs (13.7 million Euros) for their organization. And it could have jeopardised its financial support necessary not only to economic survival, but also to maintain Bozizé as the head of state.

The transparency of this election is a sine qua non requirement of Donors who perfuse with increasing weariness, this country where the GDP per capita does not exceed $ 350. If development aid and humanitarian operations has

7 “Grants versus Elections”. InfoSud. 21 May 2010.
increased from 63 million in 2002 to 295 million dollars in 2008, last year, which should focus on the economic recovery of the country, only 225 million dollars in funds been painstakingly mobilized.

International support deemed vital

This strong support from the international community has allowed the CAR to reach the completion point under the initiative and Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) in June 2009.

The country then received a substantial cancellation of debt owed to Paris Club, and the total cancellation of the IMF and World Bank. But the country remains heavily dependent on international donors to finance the rehabilitation of transport infrastructure and energy. The Facility for Poverty Reduction and Growth Facility (PRGF) Trust Fund (IMF) has been extended until June 2010.

As the World Bank, its representative in Bangui has just announced a budgetary support of five billion CFA francs to help the country cope with the effects of financial crisis, “whose first instalment is paid before July.”

BANGUI - Central African Ex-Minister, Cyriaque Gonda, was prevented from leaving the Central African Republic for France where he was to go for family reasons and health, according to a member of his party, the government called it “incident”.

Mr. Gonda, president of the National Party for a new Central Africa Republic (PNCN of the presidential majority) who was initially dismissed from his post as Minister of Communication, “was to go to France on the scheduled flight of Air France to join his wife who had put to birth and to honor an appointment with his doctor “said Daniel Nzewi, president of Youth PNCN.

After the formalities, the commissioner of the airport kept his passport and ticket, stating he received orders from higher authorities forbidden Gonda to leave the country. The aircraft left Bangui without him.

One of the leading opposition leaders, the former Prime Minister Mr. Martin Ziguélé had been also unable to fly from Bangui to Cotonou, ostensibly as part of

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8 “A former minister prevented from leaving the country”. The Pantograph. 31 May 2010.
a “single audit conducted by the Police of air and borders.”

IEC Invited to Propose an Election Timetable

The president of the National Assembly of the Central African Republic Celestin Leroy Gaombalet, called Saturday the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) to “propose timing as precise as possible to enable the Central African people to have an idea of the length of the extension of the mandate of the President of the Republic and Members of the parliament.

“I want to make the same appeal to various officials of the Disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of former combatants (DDR),” he said at the close of the first regular session 2010 of the National Assembly Bangui.

For the latter, “we must indeed avoid giving substance to the rumour that President Francois Bozizé has referred the Greek calends elections to stay in power forever,” he said.

The president of the National Assembly stated that the flagship issue of the session is undoubtedly the constitutional bill which authorizes Francois Bozizé, whose term expires June 11 next, to remain in office until the next elections.

For him, from the time the law was adopted by the National Assembly and validated by the Constitutional Court, the controversies have no reason to be. “We must now get down to the preparation of elections so that they have in place a better time,” he added.

At the request of the IEC which highlights the lack of funding and security because of rebel movements within the country, the presidential and legislative elections were postponed indefinitely after having been planned for April 23 and May 16 2010.

François Bozizé between Legality & Legitimacy

The debate around legality and legitimacy seems to divide once again, the political landscape of CAR. This other crisis arose due to the inability of the nation and its government to hold elections based on criteria known and accepted by all. To sidestep the awful “constitutional vacuum”, the government has decided to go to the highest constitutional court in the

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country, which consequently almost "ordered" the National Assembly to extend the presidential term. This extension, far from silencing disputes, reconciling differences, and closing debates, seems to have generated the opposite effect.

In fact, the opposition was initially stunned by the presidential reaction and had made a turn-around, thus in recent weeks promised to challenge the "legitimacy" of the elected President. The tenant of the Renaissance Palace considers his opponents as people of bad faith and claims that the legitimacy and the legality of his power is drawn from "legal institutions".

The legitimacy or legality is interchangeable and these words are far from the daily concerns of people of Central African Republic. They are too dark and complicated to peasants and workers who live in abject poverty. [...] No government can effectively govern and carry out development projects by using coercion and oppression, whatever the means at his disposal. In a democracy, we remain firmly convinced that the president has to convince his countrymen without using force.

A democracy, a nation, a country shrouded in an evil leader elected or not, even imposed could not function at its optimum. It will only be the scene of perpetual social turmoil, a continued tug of war between the people and the ruler, an eternal egalitarian demands. It would then be crossed by regular ellipsoidal unwanted events of unrest, preventing its progression. There would be a growing sense of not belonging, of rejection of a portion of the population. This would ultimately be conducive to the deepening of the community downturn. [...] Bozizé is therefore an illegitimate president. It derives from the above, that he cannot simply draw his legitimacy only from institutions even legal. Thus, when the Head of State used the words "discretion of the Head of State", some observers are wondering what the real source of that "power". Would it be divine as the head of state has so clearly stated in his statement, because in a republic, the power comes from the people and the people alone. Any power deriving from any source other than that given by the people is arbitrary.

The solution is what we call "legitimacy by association." It would see the integration, the combination of part of the political class (shelved since 2005) in the mechanism of decision making. This would naturally result to expand, broaden the political base of government and therefore its acceptance by a wider margin of society. This will help the nation not to experience agony
of endless political tensions: A unity government.

For many Central Africans and especially those who exercise power or indirectly involved in its exercise, a unity government is nothing more than a political heresy, a societal abnormality. This vision often comes because of differences in political agendas (not a bad thing in itself), an alignment of views could therefore make things more feasible.

Charles Massi’s Party Proposes the Establishment of a Transitional Political Council as the Solution to the Crisis

Press Release
The Democratic Forum for Modernity (FODEM), a party founded May 4th, 1998 by Charles MASSI, placing national unity and cohesion above all partisan political considerations and considers that only the establishment of an Executive Council will ensure, as part of a political agreement, the return of a true peace and the holding of presidential and legislative elections to compelling results.

This Executive Council, composed of the President (outgoing) Francis BOZIZÉ and 4 Vice-Presidents representing the opposition, the presidential majority, the national army and the judicial institutions, will be responsible for the establishment of a Consensus National Government and will necessarily appoint a new Prime Minister, a Minister of Defence, a Minister of the Interior, a Minister of Justice and President of the Treasury Committee, accepted by all.

Since June 11, 2010, date of expiry of the term of President Francois Bozizé, the Central African Republic has entered a period of “electoral transition.

FODEM believes that going to forced elections on “October 24, 2010,” as stated by the Independent Electoral Commission (CEI) through its President, Rev. Joseph BINGUIMALE, will not yield legitimate election results and institutions.

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11 “Charles Massi’s party proposes the establishment of a transitional political Council as the solution to the crisis”. L’Indépendant. July 2010.
The Ombudsman of CAR Bishop Paulin Pomodimo Wants an Easing in Relations between the Majority and the Opposition Parties

The Ombudsman of the Republic, Archbishop Paulin Pomodimo, wanted an atmosphere of calm be established in the relations between the presidential majority and opposition parties so that peace directs their steps in the completion of the electoral process, Wednesday, March 2 June 2010, during an audience granted to him by the Minister of Communication, Fidele Gouandjika.

Do not listen to extremists, but going in the direction of appeasement when we are at peace with ourselves, we manage better the affairs of the state, “he added. “I take from this experience that we have extraordinary men, who can sometimes walk off their position, so that the country progresses,” said the Ombudsman of the Republic.

“All over, there are extremists, but our mission as mediator is to rely on people tolerant vis à vis the other,” said Paulin Pomodimo, the mediator.

Opposition Calls New Election Calendar “Precipitation”

BANGUI - The Coordinator of the Union des Forces Vives de la Nation (UFVN), Attorney Henry Pouzère, described the proposal to hold elections on October 24 as “precipitation”.

“The proposal of 24 October for the first round of elections is a proposal from some people’s imagination,” said Henry Pouzère following a meeting with the president of the Independent Electoral Commission (CEI) on Wednesday in Bangui.

We have forgotten that the president had stressed on April 29 that nothing could be decided and done without approval of the democratic opposition on one hand, and on the other of the presidential majority and also the view of the international community. This is the work that should be done (..)”, he continued by adding that the opposition does not recognize this election calendar.

The Chairman of the CEI, Pastor Joseph Binguimalè had invited stakeholders of the electoral process to discuss and see how they could agree on how to conduct elections.


But for Henry Pouzère so far, no one, “the office of the CEI, the entire board, is adequately equipped to say anything that might reassure on the evolution of the electoral process.”

“If the opposition disagrees with the date, it has only to propose a date, or to propose a timetable. The government expects a fixed and urgent date for us to go straight to elections”, said the minister, the government spokesman, Fidele Gouandjika.

He said the president will not sign the draft decree to approve the final election date until the funding will be acquired and “when disarmament which the key lies in the hands of the opposition” is on track.

The presidential and parliamentary elections of the Central African Republic had been postponed after having been scheduled for April 23 and May 16, 2010. The CEI has recently proposed a new timetable for fixing the date of the first round of elections on October 24 and the second round Dec. 19, 2010.

**CAR’s Elections: New Real Beginning?**

All in all, the overall contextual issue in CAR remains that of establishing grounds for credible and peaceful elections. The Presidential and Legislative elections have been scheduled and rescheduled. The main contentious point has been the fact that the Independent Electoral Commission is perceived as “going it alone” in taking decisions which impacted negatively on the whole electoral process. This has been reiterated publicly by stakeholders who have called for an inclusive, participative and credible electoral process in the country.

Stakeholders of the electoral process in CAR, such as international partners, voiced their concern on the recurrent postponement of the elections and at a later stage came out strongly to ensure their willingness to contribute to boosting the take-off of the process. Lately the EU expressed its readiness to allocate funds to the Central African Republic for presidential and legislative elections but asked the Electoral Commission to act “expeditiously” to hold polls. “The European Union has committed to fund the elections of 2010 in the amount of 6.5 million Euros, or about 4.3 billion FCFA. The funds are ready to be disbursed,” a statement said.

“Like all Central Africans, we therefore expect a comprehensive political agreement and consensus reached between all parties on a timetable and technical procedures for implementation, and it should find its

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legality and legitimacy in a presidential decree calling the population to the polls,” the statement said.

The EU further insisted that any new election has to be confirmed by a presidential decree. “This decree and the election calendar are related to firm and irrevocable commitment of all parties to carry out free, transparent and credible elections. That’s what we all want,” the statement added. “It is therefore the responsibility of the Independent Election Commission (IEC) to finalize as soon as possible the schedule and result in an overall political agreement that will sanction a presidential decision to convene the electorate,” the statement said.15

The EU proposes to increase to 9.5 million Euros its contribution “if requested by the government” and if there was a national consensus. The EU noted that the statement is issued following “critical messages and reports in the media against the international community and particularly the European Union” about the funding of these elections.

A decree was published on July 30, 2010 by President Bozizé, calling the electorate to polls on January 23, 2010. The Election Calendar was published as well. It encompassed all the various activities to be carried out at all the stages of the electoral process. The runoff of the elections is scheduled for March 13, 2011.

15 “EU ready to fund the electoral process in CAR”. Bangui AFP. 27 July 2010.