Chad

(ChadRN2.6)

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This is one of a set of "random narratives" to complement our statistical findings in regard to civil war onsets. This is a draft of July 7, 2006; comments welcome.

From our model, we would have expected Chad to have had a an even probability for single civil war onset in its forty-year history (1960-99) as the average probabilities in our civil war data set add up to 0.53. Yet Chad has had two civil war onsets, the first in 1965 (one of the most persistent civil wars in the dataset), and the second in 1994.

The model not only underpredicts civil war onsets, but it also had inconsistent success in its point predictions. It points to 1960-61 as the years Chad was most vulnerable to a civil war (over six percent probability for each of these years). Yet the first civil was onset was not until 1965 when the odds were a bit over one percent, about two-thirds the world average. Although the model does not get the precise onset date correct for Chad's first civil war, the reasons for the onset of this war (in fact three separate events) are partially consistent with our theory. The civil war occurred because of low state capacity, especially in the northern region where the war germinated. Chad was too poor and weak to forestall rebellion in the North. But given its terrain, Northern Chad would have been difficult for even a wealthy state with a well-developed bureaucracy to control. Thus weakness at the center and remoteness of the periphery were the facilitating conditions for the civil war. But our theoretical mechanism, that of the commitment problem to minorities, did not appear to be consequential. Instead, the narrative favors an interpretation that focuses on Northerners' the opportunity to capture power rather than their fear of extraction by Southerners.

In our narrative covering this first war, we also examine the course of the war and concentrate on the role of external actors in sustaining the conflict and supporting new combatants. An examination of the role of external actors, particularly France and Libya, suggests that both weak

states and rough terrain, factors that make it hard for central governments to control insurgents, may also make it difficult for external actors to sponsor insurgents. This point highlights the difficultly in assessing the impact of foreign support to account for insurgency onsets.

Our model does better (in its point predictions) for the onset in 1994, when the odds for an onset are the highest they had been since 1961. Here our model points to anocracy and political instability that were the result of the transition to democracy in the 1990s – and the narrative bears out these factors as important for understanding Chad's second onset. The narrative of the second onset also illuminates the "sons of the soil" and "commitment" mechanisms that translated high susceptibility into an actual onset.

I. Cultural and Historical Background

Ethnic Groups

Chad is highly ethnically fractionalized. With an ethnic fractionalization score of 0.77 it is more ethnically diverse than the sub-Saharan average (0.64). Although many scholars refer to the division between North and South (or even Arabs and Blacks) as the most politically salient, it is more useful to think of Chad as divided into three zones (Lemarchand 1986, 28). The nomadic Toubou (also called Gorane) and the Zaghawa live in the Saharan North, in the Borkou-Ennedi-Tibetsi (BET) region. The Toubou are important participants in the Chadian civil war and are divided into two politically important groups; the Teda Toubou of Tibetsi (Northwest) and the Daza Toubou of Borkou (Center-North). The Zaghawa, semi-nomadic Arabs, live in the Northeast.[1] This group participated in the civil war and became politically prominent in the 1990s under Idriss Deby.

The Central (Sahelian) zone of the country contains a mix of sedentary and nomadic groups including the Chadic-language speakers such as the Massa, Barma, Buduma, Kotoko, and Moubi. In addition, several nomadic Arab groups live in the central region and are divided by how recently they migrated to Chad and by occupation.[2]

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[1] The Zaghawa are Muslim Arab speakers like the Toubou. Zaghawa territory lies on either side of the Sudanese border and only 30-40% of the Zaghawa live in Chad.
[2] Some sources use "Arabs" to refer to most northerners (e.g. Burr and Collins 1999). This narrative, following Decalo (1997), uses the narrower definition of Arabs as Arabic-speaking pastoralists.

The tropical South covers about one-sixth of the territory of Chad but contains the vast majority of the wealth in the country and over 30% of the population. The impact of French colonialism was greatest in this region (Lemarchand 1986, 29). The dominant ethnic group in the South, the Sara, is divided into roughly twenty clans.[3] The Sara dominated the civil service in the post-colonial period as more Southerners received a western education.[4]

History

The pro-independence movement in Chad was thin and political parties did not have deep roots in society. The dominant cleavage in the terminal colonial period was between the Parti Progressiste Tchadien (PPT), a party representing primarily the Sara and a fragmented constellation of groups representing traditional Muslim chiefs from the Sahel (Decalo 1980a, 498). Although parties were elite affairs, this is slightly less true of the PPT, the party that led the country upon independence from France in 1960 (Decalo 1980a, 497; Burr and Collins 1999, 23). François Tombalbaye led the PPT replacing the original founder Gabriel Lisette in 1959. Tombalbaye swiftly removed opposition politicians, including Northerners, and finally imposed a single-party state in 1962 (Decalo 1980a, 498; Whiteman; 1980, 6). A serious riot broke out in the capital (then called Fort Lamy; later renamed as N'Djamena) in 1963 when Tombalbaye dissolved the National Assembly and arrested several northern politicians. Whiteman (1980, 6) suggests that many participants in the rebel movement FROLINAT fled the country at this time.

Chad's risk of a civil war was at its height in the two years following independence in 1960; however, Chad was not a fully independent state in this period. The French dominated the economy, were involved in all aspects of administration and still controlled the northern Borkou-Ennedi-Tibetsi (BET) region. The government was completely beholden to its French patrons who provided 95% of the capital budget. According to Burr and Collins (1999, 26) "[i]t cost France a pittance, $20 million annually, to retain its preeminent influence in Chad."

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[3] Other southern ethnic groups include the Mboum, Laka, Moundang, and Toubouri (Decalo 1997, 5).
[4] Chadic Arabic is the lingua franca in the North and Sara is in the South (Decalo 1980, 26). Arabic only became an official language in 1978 as a condition of a peace deal.

II. The Civil War of 1965-66

In 1965-66 three separate events triggered the onset of the civil war that gradually spread through North, East, and Central Chad. First, there was a rebellion in the BET region of the far North. Second, uncoordinated uprisings spread throughout the Center-East. Third, northern exiles based in Sudan started an insurgency in the Ouddai region in 1966. Decalo (1980, 500) notes that in this period (1965-68) "Chad had become a patchwork of urban centers under permanent siege and frequently connected only by air." Some order was restored in the Center-East by a French military intervention in 1968. One of the conditions of French intervention was a program (the *Mission de Réform Administrative*) to reform the administration of Chad. This section describes each of the three onsets, examines the role of external actors in this period, and seeks to give a general explanation for the onset of this three-headed civil war.

Event 1 - BET (Teda Toubou) Rebellion

Until 1965 the BET region remained under French military administration. The first clash between southern troops and the Toubou occurred in January 1965 (taking place in Bardai, the administrative headquarters in of Tibetsi Prefecture) days after the withdrawal of the French (Burr and Collins 1999, 33). During this period small scale clashes occurred between Toubou and southern troops including another, more famous, clash at Bardai in September 1965. In response to this incident the sub-prefect, a Southerner, inflicted a number of extremely humiliating punishments on locals. The Tombalbaye government also attempted to restrict the Toubou's rights to travel freely on trade routes and reduced the judicial authority of the authority of the *Derde* (the political leader of some Teda clans and the spiritual leader of them all) (Burr and Collins 1999, 34; Decalo 1997, 150). The *Derde* went into exile in Libya and his son Goukouni Oueddei led the rebellion in Tibetsi (this group later affiliated itself with FROLINAT).

Event 2 - The Mangalmé Tax Riots – 1965

In October 1965, the Center-East erupted in a series of small-scale uprisings which began in the village of Mangalmé (in Batha Préfecture, in an area inhabited by the Moubi) when villagers rioted in response to tax increases imposed by the central government.[5] Corrupt local

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[5] The government not only increased the head tax but also effectively doubled it by extending it to women.

administrators imposed taxes that were sometimes five to six times the rate set by the government (Burr and Collins 1999, 37). These events amounted to a series of uprisings in the area that spread to neighboring areas of Ouaddai and Salamat. By 1968, it spread to Chari-Baguirmi, close to N'Djamena.[6] Administrators fled to the towns leaving a power vacuum in the countryside (Thompson and Adloff 1981, 53).

Event 3 - FRONILAT – Northern Exiles

The *Front de Liberation Nationale* (FROLINAT) was created by a disparate group of northern exiles and was led by Ibrahim Abatcha. He set up operations in the Darfur region of Sudan along with seven other exiles who had received military training in North Korea. In 1966 they formally declared the existence of FROLINAT. This tiny group of revolutionaries conducted an insurgency into the neighboring Ouaddai region of Chad. Their activities involved attacking tax collectors, government officials, schools, hospitals and missions (Azevedo 1998, 102). They also recruited members from groups hostile to the government: the Zagahwa, Masalit, and Toubou (Burr and Collins 1999, 39; Thompson and Adloff 1981, 58).

<u>Explaining the Onset of the First Civil War</u>

This section explains the three events leading to the onset of civil war in 1965 and discusses the difficulties Chad had as a new state, possessing weak capacity and rough terrain. It will also analyze the role ethnic grievances played in this conflict. The intervention of foreign powers is not examined until the next section because although exiles were able to use foreign countries as a base to attack Chad, during this period rebel groups were not directly funded by foreign states (Nolutshungu 1996, 63). Further, foreign support for rebels cannot explain the rebellions across the center of the country nor the conflict between administrators and the Teda Toubou of the BET.

A New State

Chad received formal independence in 1960 but did not suffer from a civil war onset in the two-year period that our model indicates as the highest risk years for a state. Yet an alternate coding for Chad's independence (or full sovereignty over its territory) is 1965, when French troops providing security to the government pulled out. If the country

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[6] The most serious of these incidents caused 500 deaths (Decalo 1997, 285)

were re-coded as having achieved independence in 1965, the onset of the civil war in 1965 would be seen as a clear example of the risks faced by a new state.

A Weak State

Low state capacity is a compelling explanation for the onset of BET and Center-East revolts. In 1965 the impoverished Chadian government tried to extend its control to new regions and implement more extractive policies while lacking the capacity to enforce these changes. The onset of the rebellion in the BET is closely tied to the departure of French troops in 1965. The Chadian state was ill equipped for the task of ruling the BET and could not expend as many resources in these areas as the French could.[7]

Rough Terrain

However, it is not clear that a stronger state could have governed all of Chad. Although the French army was able to restore order in the Center, it could not subdue the BET. In the colonial period the French appear to have retained these areas by not governing them at all. The French leader of the intervention force Gen. Edouard Cortadellas conceded that the Toubou areas were basically ungovernable even during the colonial period. "I believe we should draw a line below [the Tibetsi region] and leave them to their stones. We can never subdue them" (Nolutshungu 1996, 63). Realizing this, the French concentrated on subduing only the center and the east during its 1968 military intervention.

One of the reasons for the low predicted odds of civil war in Chad is the absence of mountainous terrain (8.5 compared to a mean for all countries our data set of 18). One of these mountains areas, Tibetsi, is the location of one of the most persistent resistance against N'Djamena. Our model probably underestimates the extent to which Chad has "rough terrain." Chad has other features that make power projection difficult – a

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[7] For example, Vernhes and Bloch observe that "before 1960, France spent 5 billion francs annually and employed 12 infantry companies of nomads, a motorized Saharan group, an artillery battery, and a small armored squadron to control Aouzou (in the North) and Baibokoum (in the South). From 1964, Chad devoted 600 million [francs] out of its budget and 3 ill-equipped companies to the same enterprise." M. Vernhes and J. Bloch, *Guerre Coloniale au Tchad* (Lausanne, 1972), p. 28 cited by Nolutshungu (1996, 54).

large surface area and a desert.[8]   Buijtenhuijs (2001, 153) says that, "the vast desert areas of the BET are well suited to guerilla warfare."

Factions on all sides of the civil war have had difficulties holding territory far from their home bases. The Tombalbaye government experienced this problem in the North and Center.[9] Throughout the period covered by our data set there were large sections of the country beyond government control in which groups of armed bandits (and sometimes members of the Chadian armed forces) survived by extorting revenue from the people (Lanne 1998; Miles 1995).

Ethnic Grievances

What role did ethnic hatreds play in the uprisings of 1965? All the sources stress that there are deep-rooted historical reasons why Muslim Northerners and Christian Southerners hate each other. The South was subject to slave raids (*razzias*) and the word some Northerners use to refer to blacks means slave in Arabic (*abid*). The Northerners view themselves as inheritors of a superior civilization; Southerners despise the "backwardness" of Northerners because they did not adopt French education and customs.[10] The civil war has also exacerbated tensions between these groups.

To be sure, the immediate cause of the 1965 uprisings in the BET and Eastern Chad was the opportunity available to rebels offered by a weak and overreaching state. However, following an official French report on the uprisings, most of the sources argue that Southerners' cultural insensitivity was a cause of the uprisings. The Southern administrators in the North and East are said to have been motivated by bitterness at being posted to these savage areas and are compared unfavorably to their French predecessors who apparently respected local customs (Decalo 1980a, 41). It is argued that Tombalbaye underestimated the power of the traditional authorities and refused to punish his own

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[8] Burr and Collins (1999, 133) note that Libya needed massive firepower in order to subdue a small number of rebels in Chad because of its "vast sand seas, mountain massifs, arid plateaus, and hidden wadis."

[9] Once the Toubou armies led by Goukouni and Habré secured N'Djamena in 1979 they attempted to invade Mayo Kebbi prefecture, which was chosen because it was not a majority Sara area, and failed dramatically (Decalo 1980a, 55). Thus the problem of territorial control affected both government and rebels.

[10] Ethnic animosity has been used to explain the involvement of external actors in Chad. Sources argue the Libyans and the Sudanese Northerners questioned the right of black Southerners to govern Chad (e.g. Burr and Collins 1999).

corrupt administrators because of his deep contempt for Northerners and Easterners (Nolutshungu 1996, 55; Burr and Collins 1999, 32).

However, it is not clear that Tombalbaye's regime was any more extractive or corrupt than comparable African regimes and Buijtenhuijis (1998, 24) argues that it was not. Further, as Nolutshungu (1996, 55) illustrates, the state was very extractive in southern Chad, particularly in the cotton-growing areas, and administrators in the South were also contemptuous of the peasants they administered. However, these Southern farmers had been under the effective control of the colonial state, something that is less true of pastoralists and semi-sedentary people of central Chad, and is almost certainly not true of the nomads of the BET. It may also be that Northerners would more willingly have accepted state predation from a Northern government but this appears unlikely. Although all of the major factions involved in the early part of the civil war were Northern, it was difficult to sustain cooperation among these groups.

Chad's ethnic groups are small. The average Chadian ethnic group contained 130,000 people in 1964.[11] This figure goes down to about 100,000 people per group if the Sara who make up 800,000 people (and are themselves divided into about twenty distinct clans) are excluded. Small size makes these groups more corporate or solidary, or at least better able to coordinate action as groups (Fearon and Laitin 1996). Thus the conjecture that the smaller the average size of the ethnic group, the more likely a violent conflict involving members of that ethnic group will be described in ethnic terms.

To explain small size of ethnic groups, we might further conjecture that these groups were separate ethnic groups precisely because the colonial and post-colonial states never had much influence in these areas. This suggests that ethnic fragmentation scores might be a result of low state capacity and difficult terrain. If the state were able to exert control over these areas, groups would likely have coalesced into larger units as has happened in other African countries. Ethnic groups coalesced in the South where a broader Sara identity emerged in an area with a strong French presence (e.g. Lemarchand 1980).[12] In general, then,

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[11] Compare the average size of ethnic groups in Chad (138,000 including the Sara) in 1964 to the average size of ethnic groups in Kenya in 1969 (238,000). See Kenya, Ministry of Economic Planning, 1997.

[12] Compare the Sara to the Toubou who, according to Nolutshungu (1996, 11) do not see themselves as belonging to a broader ethnic group. Posner (2003) suggests that in

rough terrain → low state capacity → ethnic fractionalization and civil war. If these conjectures hold up, then the ethnic character of the civil war *and* the civil war itself could both be explained by rough terrain and resulting weak state capacity. To be sure, Southern leadership faced a commitment problem in regard to the North when the French withdrew from the BET area. But fear of future extortion from the South seems less important in at least the BET and FROLINAT episodes than the opportunity that state weakness provided for an alternative group to rule.

<u>Regime Change and Foreign Intervention 1967-1990</u>

This section examines the complicated course of the Chadian civil war. The most important feature of this period of the civil war – the intervention of foreign powers and their role in sustaining the war – is examined at the end of this section.

FROLINAT - A United Front?

The Tombalbaye government (1960-75) never faced a united enemy, despite attempts to create a united front under FROLINAT.[13] Attempts at unity were complicated by the fact that control over local factions was difficult and by leadership conflicts both before Abatcha's death in 1968 and after. Abba Siddiq succeeded Abatcha after a power-struggle amongst the leadership in Sudan. However, although Siddiq soon developed close relations with Libya, he exercised little control over the combatants in Chad.

In Chad's Center region, FROLINAT's northern exiles (the "Koreans") tried to capitalize on the ongoing rebellion against the government in eastern Chad. After 1969 the troops in this area called themselves the "First Liberation Army". However, according to Decalo, "The First Liberation Army was in reality a coterie of warlords, loosely controlled by a fissiparous, faction-ridden leadership and engaged in hit-and-run tactics with little over all strategy coordination, or long-term planning" (Decalo 1997, 179). Many of the factions in eastern and central Chad attacked each other, fought amongst themselves, and engaged in banditry. One section of the eastern rebellion, the Moubi tribesmen, reached a separate peace agreement with Tombalbaye in 1974.

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one area of Zambia (forget which) ethno-linguistic groups are more fragmented because there were few missionaries and administrators.

[13] According to Reyna (1995, 24) "FROLINAT, as an organization managing activities against the Tombalbaye regime, was something of a myth" cited in (Azevedo 1998, 102).

In the North one of Abatcha's lieutenants, Mohammed Taher, instigated a mutiny by the Daza Toubou of the Garde Nomade in Aouzou and commanded troops around Borkou (in the center of the BET). Taher also recruited Goukouni and other Teda Toubou fighters from the Northwest near Tibetsi. These fighters became the Second Liberation Army in 1969. After Taher's death in 1969 Goukouni became commander in chief and was soon joined by Hissen Habré – a Toubou from a different clan, the Daza (Decalo 1997, 385). Goukouni and Habré broke with Siddiq (the official leader of the FROLINAT) in 1971 because of Siddiq's close relationship to Libya and because he claimed credit for Toubou victories in the field without assisting them (Decalo 1997, 193). In 1974 this group captured Bardai and gained valuable international publicity and arms by taking French hostages. This hostage crisis "L'Affaire Claustre" further destabilized Chad.[14]

The 1975 Coup

Tombalbaye was overthrown in a junior officer's coup in 1975. Tombalbaye's actions almost ensured that he would be overthrown and few were sad to see him go. Tombalbaye alienated those who underwrote his rule – the armed forces and the French. Azevedo (1998, 118) attributes the coup to Tombalbaye's repeated purges of senior officers and Buijtenhuijs (1998, 30) argues that the French knew of the coup and chose not to prevent it. His megalomaniacal vision was sold as a "cultural revolution", and involved changing the capital's name to N'Djamena and his own name to "Ngarta" (chief). Tombalbaye made enemies of the people by forcing senior administrators, politicians, and civil servants to undergo a Sara initiation rite called *Yondo*. These initiation rites involved physical hardship and some were little more than torture sessions (Nolutshungu 1996, 82-3). Finally, Tombalbaye was unpopular because he was thought to have sold the Aouzou strip, a disputed area along the Chad-Libya border, to Qaddafi in 1972/3.[15]

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[14] This incident exacerbated public hostility in France towards the war, soured relations between the French and the Chadian government, and emphasized the extent to which Tombalbaye (and later President Félix Malloum) had lost control of the country (Cox 1988; Nolutshungu 1996; Burr and Collins 1999, 98; Decalo 1997).

[15] The sources do not agree on whether this sale really took place. The Mussolini-Laval treaty signed between France and Italy in 1935 granted the area to Libya (an Italian colony). This treaty was never ratified. After 1972/3 Libya occupied the Aouzou strip and behaved as though it were a part of Libya. For example, Libyan identity cards were issued to its inhabitants. Libya occupied the Aouzou strip until 1987 and Qaddafi believed that it contained uranium deposits.

Peace Talks, Anarchy, and Libyan Occupation 1978-1982

The coup leaders established the Supreme Military Council headed by Gen. Félix Malloum, who faced both insurgents and opposition from within the armed forces. Malloum made several attempts to negotiate with separate rebel factions (Nolutshungu 1996, 96).[16] In 1976 the northern "Second Army" split into two factions – one affiliated with Libya, led by Goukouni and the other led by Hissen Habré.[17] Malloum could not reach a deal with the Goukouni faction because Goukouni insisted upon a withdrawal of French troops.

Malloum reached a final peace agreement with Habré in 1978. Government positions were to be split evenly between Northerners and Southerners. Habré, who was in exile in Sudan, was in a weak position at the time as he had lost most of his army in earlier battles against the French (Nolutshungu 1996, 101; Burr and Collins 1999, 118). He could only speak for a small fraction of the rebels operating in Chad (Nolutshungu 1996, 101-104). Malloum hoped that including a Northerner in government would split the rebels. Some scholars suggest that Malloum was compelled to accept this peace by the Sudanese, who were anxious to limit Libyan influence in Chad, and by the French, who were desperately trying to extricate themselves from Chad (Decalo 1980, 53; Neuberger 1982, 38).

The agreement never fully took effect because of mistrust on both sides. The uneasy peace turned into a violent struggle for N'Djamena in February 1979, sparked off by government attempts to suppress a riot by Northern students (Nolutshungu 1996, 107). In the first month of the battle between 2,000 and 5,000 people were killed and between 60,000 and 70,000 people fled the capital. Massacres of Muslims took place in two southern cities in response to violence against southerners in N'Djamena and massacres of Southerners that occurred in the North

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[16] Malloum weakened his position by requesting the removal of French troops in 1975. Malloum requested the departure of French troops because he was annoyed that the French had negotiated directly with Habré over the release of the French hostages.

[17] Habré's *Forces Armeés du Nord* (FAN) was comprised mainly of Zagahawa and Daza Toubou, particularly from his Anakaza clan. Goukouni retained the majority of the Second Army. His forces were largely Teda Toubou. In addition there were various other rebel groups. Those allied to Libya at the time include The First Army and the Vulcan Force in addition to Goukouni's forces. Those against Libya at the time were Abba Siddiq's FROLINAT-*originel* and the Third Army operating out of Kanem in western Chad (Neuberger 1982, 36). Decalo notes, however, that this "Third Army" was virtually non-existent (Decalo 1980, fn 1 p. 53).

(Avezedo 1998, 104-105). While Habré and Malloum were fighting, Goukouni's forces invaded N'Djamena.[18]

A series of peace talks took place in Nigeria in 1979 which eventually established the *Gouvernment D'Union Nationale de Transition* (GUNT). Eleven different rebel factions were represented at these peace talks and several of these groups had little or no military presence on the ground, were created only when it appeared that the fall of the government was imminent, and "represented only themselves"[19] For example, the commander of the Third Liberation Army, backed by Nigeria, briefly gained the Presidency despite a membership of about one hundred soldiers. The Vulcan army, which Decalo argues existed largely on paper, obtained two Cabinet seats. Even Abba Siddiq, a briefcase revolutionary, became Minister of Education (Decalo 1980, 55). This all-inclusive peace agreement seems to have been seen as the only way to avoid further conflict.[20]

From 1979 onwards Chad fell into anarchy. Col. Wadal Kamougué established a military regime in the South "with all the attributes of a genuine government except the name and international recognition" (Buijtenhuijs 2001, 151). Although some southerners, including Kamougoué, participated in GUNT, no northern troops or administrators were allowed to enter the South (Decalo 1997, 207). In an unlikely alliance, Qaddafi provided arms to Kamougoué who was responsible for atrocities against Muslims (Neuberger 1982, 45-46). The North was also divided into territories controlled by various warlords.

Fighting resumed between Habré and Goukouni in N'Djamena almost as soon as GUNT was formed. Goukouni called for assistance from his Libyan allies who helped him expel Habré from the capital. In addition to allowing large numbers of Libyan troops into Chad, Goukouni agreed to merge Libya and Chad to form a single Islamic republic. This "union project" was extremely unpopular in Chad and abroad and both

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[18] It is not clear whether Goukouni or Habré had the upper hand. Scholars say that Goukouni "joined" Habré in the capital. Decalo (1997) suggests that N'Djamena fell to Goukouni and that there was a brief alliance between the two.

[19] Decalo (1980a, 506) cites *West Africa* 11 June 1979.

[20] One of the reasons for this broad power-sharing agreement is that both Libya and Nigeria pressed for their clients to have a share of the spoils (Thompson and Adloff 1981; Neuberger 1982, 44-47). Decalo (1997, 241 & 269) notes that Habré and Goukouni were forced to expand the initial negotiations to include smaller factions. Goukouni replaced the Nigerian candidate, who had been granted the Presidency, in the final peace agreement.

Qaddafi and Goukouni later denied that it entailed uniting the two countries (Azevedo 1998, 147; Neuberger 1982). At this point, several countries hostile to Qaddafi (the United States, Egypt, and Sudan) increased their support of Habré (Decalo 1997, 205; Buijtenhuijs 2001, 151). These countries also placed pressure on Goukouni to call for the withdrawal of Libyan troops. Goukouni asked the Libyans to leave and obtained an ineffective OAU peacekeeping force in return (Whiteman 1988, 12).[21] Habré took the capital in early 1982 and conquered the South the same year (Buijtenhuijs 2001, 151).

The Proxy War – Libya, the United States, and France 1983-87

Libyan troops and forces loyal to GUNT invaded Chad in 1983. Libya also funded small groups of rebels called commandos *rouges* (*codos*) in the South. In response the United States pledged $25 million in military aid to Habré in 1983 (Whiteman 1988, 13). Pressured by the United States and their African allies, the French sent 3,500 troops to Chad. Operation Manta (Stingray) was the largest French expeditionary force in Africa since the Algerian War (Azevedo 1998, 139). The French had some success in pushing back Libya and established the "Red Line" at the 15th parallel (later the 16th parallel) beyond which no Libyan or GUNT forces were supposed to advance. In 1984 French President François Mitterand signed an agreement with Qaddafi in which it was agreed that both countries would withdraw their troops from Chad. The French complied, but Libya did not. This non-compliance did not provoke a strong French response until Qaddafi crossed the Red Line. In 1986 the French sent in a much smaller military operation (Épervier), and they were successful in pushing back Libyan and rebel forces, but Qaddafi countered with an attack through western Sudan (Darfur).

When Habré, acting without the consent of his allies, crossed the Red Line, he secured the BET (including the Aouzou Strip) and invaded Libya. His forces destroyed an important Libyan airbase, killed 1,200 Libyan soldiers and captured war materiel worth half a billion dollars (Burr and Collins 1999, 224). The Libyans lost because their army was extremely demoralized and because the GUNT coalition fell apart. The *codos* defected from Qaddafi and joined Habré because they were offered large amounts of money and integration into the national army (Decalo 1997, 20). Qaddafi's attempts to remove Goukouni backfired because

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[21] Azevedo (1998, 149) argues that Goukouni agreed to the withdrawal of Libyan troops because of international pressure and because relations between himself and Qaddafi, which were never good, had soured (see also Burr and Collins 1999, 141). Libyan soldiers and Goukouni's troops fought each other in 1981.

Toubou fighters also defected to Habré's army. Qaddafi declared a cease-fire in 1987.

The Fall of Habré

The end of Habré's rule in 1990 came about as payback for his victory against the Libyans. In 1990 a Zaghawa rebel group led by Idriss Deby took N'Djamena. Deby, along with two other Zaghawa officers, had mounted a failed coup attempt in April 1989 and had been forced to flee to Darfur in Sudan where he recruited Zaghawa on both sides of the border. His rebel group Mouvement Populaire du Salut (MPS) was funded by Qaddafi and tolerated by Qaddafi's Sudanese allies. The attempted coup and the rebellion occurred because the Zaghawa commanders felt that Habré had overlooked their importance to his victory when awarding government positions.[22] Others cite Habré's terrible human rights record as a reason for his downfall (Decalo 1997, 21). Deby took N'Djamena because he had Libyan support and because the United States was preoccupied with the Gulf War. The French refused to assist Habré and, according to Burr and Collins (1999, 263), "could hardly disguise their delight that the Americans had lost a client." The fact that Deby owed his victory to Libya did not disturb the French because they were trying to improve their relations with Libya and Sudan in order to get access to oil.[23]

Foreign States

On some accounts third parties are important in securing peace in civil wars and on others they can make civil wars last longer. In the Chadian case, external powers certainly increased the deadliness if not the length of the civil war. In the absence of wealthy hostile foreign powers Gen. Cortadelas's proposed solution to the Toubou problem, "to leave them to their stones," would probably have worked in Chad. Other countries have anarchic underdeveloped peripheries in which violence

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[22] Habré alienated the Zaghawa commanders in two ways. First, in order to secure the loyalty of the Zaghawa, Habré recognized the *de facto* authority of their traditional leaders (*shaykhs*). This move upset younger Zaghawa military commanders who then participated in the rebellion. Second, the Zaghawa felt sidelined in N'Djamena because, after 1989, Habré tried to integrate formerly pro-Qaddafi factions into the government; this reduced the patronage available to the Zaghawa (Burr and Collins 1999, 241-242).

[23] For example, Burr and Collins (1999, 263) suggest that the French military attaché in Khartoum helped Deby plan his invasion of Chad in order to "curry favor" with Libya and Sudan.

regularly occurs but in which no civil war casualties are counted. Qaddafi, however, could exploit any power vacuum or discontent in the periphery. For most of this period, disaffected politicians in N'Djamena were almost assured Libyan money and arms once they declared themselves as rebel leaders.[24] American military aid only increased the degree to which war was Chad's largest industry. As Triaud (1985, 21) puts it "factionalism has become a métier involving a limited fraction of the population (10,000 combatants in a total population of 4 or 5 million). Large-scale external funding thus enabled the politico-military class to live on warfare and its dividends"[25]

It is difficult to measure the availability of foreign support for rebel forces ex ante (Fearon and Laitin 2003, 86) The history of both French and Libyan involvement in Chad suggests further complications to any attempt to measure the effect of foreign governments on the onset and duration of civil wars.[26] Although the existence of poor government may make intervention appear cheap[27] it also increases the difficulty of establishing any kind of order; would-be foreign patrons face challenges similar to those to central states in controlling insurgents. Despite the fact that the French neo-colonial interventions appear to be motivated by a desire to promote order and Libya is generally seen as a force for disorder, both states were engaged in the same business, establishing a client state in Chad that could secure political order in their own interests and both external powers found this extremely difficult to do.

Despite their reputation for active intervention in their former colonies, the French were reluctant participants in Chad's civil wars.

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[24] Several examples have already been discussed; Goukouni, Kamougoue, and Deby had a serious military following before becoming Libyan clients but Abba Siddiq and Ahmat Acyl were disaffected opposition politicians before becoming rebels. In addition, Gody Haroun resigned from Habré's cabinet because of clashes between the Toubou and the Hadjeray. He organized a rebel army and went to Tripoli to get support for this group that later joined Deby's offensive against Habré (Burr and Collins 1999, 226-27).

[25] Triaud, Jean Louis. 1985. Le Refus de l'Etat: L'Exemple Tchadien *Esprit* 100, 20-40 cited in Lemarchand (1985, 38).

[26] This narrative concentrates on Libya and France. Sudan has also been involved in the Chadian conflict. Before the Nimeiri coup of 1969 the Sudanese government tolerated the support that Chadian exiles in Sudan gave FROLINAT. During Nimeiri's tenure, policy towards Chad was driven by hostility towards Libya. After he was deposed in 1985 a more pro-Libyan Islamic government arose in Sudan, and, consequently, Sudan aided Libyan efforts to depose Habré.

[27] For example, Burr and Collins (1999, 179) note that even those critical of the CIA during a hearing of the House Intelligence Committee in 1974 were astonished that repelling Qaddafi in Chad had cost them so little in military aid to Habré.

France has placed troops in Chad in order to shore up existing regime at least four times (1968-72, 1978-80, 1983-84 1986-).[28] With each intervention France has been more reluctant to send troops to Chad and more anxious to pull them out. For example, when Malloum requested the withdrawal of French troops in 1975, Giscard d'Estaing was happy to comply (Burr and Collins 1999, 106-107).

In the 1980s the French was compelled to intervene in Chad because they were afraid of losing their credibility with more important African allies. Serious pressure from the Reagan Administration to do something about Qaddafi was also important. For example, the Americans publicized information on Libyan military activities in Chad that the French would have preferred to conceal in order to force the French to act.[29] The Americans and others appear to have suspected a secret agreement between Libya and the French to partition Chad (Kelley 1986, 103; Azevedo 1998, 153).[30] Finally, Qaddafi brought the 1986 French intervention – Operation Épervier – upon himself by openly violating the agreement reached with Mitterand in 1984 (Nolutshungu 1996, 202) Ultimately Chad was less important to France than Libya – which was a major source of oil and a major purchaser of French arms (Whiteman 1988,12; Burr and Collins 1999, 176).

Libya

In December 1990 Qaddafi boasted, "We tell every African state that we will create a new Idriss Deby to wreck the capital of any African state which acts with imperialism against the revolution" (Burr and Collins 1999, 265). However, this victory occurred after twenty years of failed attempts to firmly establish a client in N'Djamena and relations between Deby and Qaddafi soon soured. Qaddafi funded all key rebel leaders at some point in their careers. In 1988 Qaddafi publicly admitted

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[28]These four interventions do not exhaust the number of times scholars argue that the French have used their armed forces in Chad. However, throughout most of this period France has had some sort of military presence in Chad. In several instances even France's failure to act has been read as intervention on behalf of one side, for example their failure to assist Tombalbaye (1975), Malloum (1979), and Habré (1990).

[29] Mitterrand appears to have regarded the American stationing of two AWACS electronic surveillance planes in Sudan as an attempt to push him into military intervention (Burr and Collins 1999, 173) According to Nolutshungu (1996, 210) the Americans used their intelligence to discredit French accounts of Libyan troop movements (Nolutshungu 1996, 210).

[30] Qaddafi is reported to have said to Giscard d'Estaing "Leave me my Muslims and I will leave you your blacks" (Azevedo 1998, 153).

that his intervention in Chad was a costly mistake and he appears to have been surprised by Deby's eventual victory (Burr and Collins 1999: 232, 267). Qaddafi did not even get the Aouzou strip and both countries referred the matter to the International Court of Justice that ruled in favor of Chad in 1994. It is surprising, given the huge military and financial commitment[31] made by Libya that this oil-rich country was unable to exert more influence on an extremely poor neighbor.

The fact that several states, most importantly the United States, opposed Qaddafi's activities in Chad, explains a large part of his difficulty in establishing a client in N'Djamena. Although the Reagan administration saw Qaddafi as one of the U.S.'s primary enemies and Chad as his greatest weakness, Chad had been ignored by previous administrations (Kelley 1986, 111-119). Furthermore, the Libyans had more difficulty holding on to militarily credible allies than their ability to disburse resources would suggest. For example, Qaddafi frequently placed his clients under house arrest in Tripoli. Qaddafi faced a serious dilemma in Chad. He needed allies he could control and who were effective on the ground. He sometimes opted for clients without a serious following over those with such a following.[32]

This narrative suggests that it is difficult to come up with a clear assessment of what the effect of foreign intervention on civil war onset. Foreign assistance for insurgents or governments under attack may appear to be cheap in poor states. However, the conditions that make insurgency easy also make it difficult for foreign states to control their clients. It is likely that intervening foreign states realize this and may prefer to stay out altogether or to intervene mostly to loot the country (as was the case for several foreign armies in the Democratic Republic of Congo). A clear generalized account of the motivation for foreign intervention into weak states remains to be provided.

III. Deby, Anocracy, and Instability 1992-1994

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[31] Some figures demonstrate that Chad was not a peripheral concern for Libya. Qaddafi lost one-tenth of his army in the late 1980s (Decalo 1980b, 505) in large part due to the fiasco in Chad. This defeat cost Libya $500 million in 1986 (Burr and Collins 1999, 224).

[32] For example, one of the reasons Qaddafi supported Abba Siddiq rather than Goukouni and Habré in 1969 was because Siddiq was easier to control (Burr and Collins 1999, 84). In the late 1980s Qaddafi switched the leadership of GUNT forces several times replacing leaders who displayed too much independence (Burr and Collins 1999, 182, 210, 213).

When Deby resumed power in 1990 he promised to hold democratic elections. This process took six years. In 1993 a National Conference (with 800 members) wrote a draft constitution and established a transitional government headed by a prime minster but real power remained with Deby. The date of the elections was postponed several times. Deby won the 1996 election in the second round. He won 90% of the vote in the North but Kamougoué won 80 to 95% of the vote in the South (Buijtenhujis 1995, 38). Roughly sixty parties competed in the 1997 parliamentary race seriously dividing the opposition vote. The vote count was rigged, candidates were arrested or barred from running, and their campaigns were interfered with (May and Massey 2000, 121-123).

It is unsurprising that Deby, the leader of a small ethnic group in a country with a large, economically predominant ethnic group, would try to manipulate the result. It is also not a surprise that he was successful as many administrators in the country supported Deby's party in order to keep their jobs (Miles 1995, 56). Even if the vote had not been rigged it is unclear how representative the results of a fair poll would be given the fact that large sections of the country were not under the effective control of the government (Miles 1995, 57-59).

This period of Chad's history gives rise to two questions. First, according to our theory, Deby's decision to democratize Chad suggests that his regime was weak. Was this the case? Second, was the weakness associated with instability and anocracy the facilitating condition for Chad's second civil war onset in 1994?

A New Rebellion in the South

In 1991 southern soldiers formed the *Comité de Sursaut National pour la Paix et la Démocratie* (CSNPD) led by Lt. Moïse Ketté. This group favored the introduction of federalism in Chad and wanted to prevent the Deby government from exploiting oil in the Doba Basin (Buijtenhuijs 1998, 39). The group operated the far south of Chad and had bases in the Central African Republic (Miles 1998, 59). Members of the CSNPD mounted a failed coup against Deby in 1992. In response to this coup and other rebel activity, the government engaged in widespread reprisals in Goré and Doba that caused hundreds of deaths and led to the flight of thousands of refugees (Buijtenhuijs 1995, 28; Decalo 1997, 245; May and Massey 2000, 114). The CSNPD reached a peace agreement with the Deby government in 1994. Laokein Bardé believed the peace

agreement was designed to buy Deby time to regroup. He refused to accept it and formed the *Forces Armées pour la République Fédérale* (FARF), with an insurgency that took off in 1994 based in Logone (an oil-rich area). The insurgency ended in 1998 when the FARF reached a peace agreement with the government (May and Massey 2000, 114, 126; Jane's Defense, 2002).

There were several rebel armies operating in Chad during the 1990s. The most significant of these the *Mouvement pour la Démocratie et la Justice au Tchad* (MDJT), created in 1998 by Yossouf Togoimi, a former defense minister under Deby. This group was based amongst the Teda Toubou in the Northwest. According to the Economist Intelligence Unit (2003, 16) this group received "tacit logistical support" from Libya. The MDJT entered into a peace agreement with the government in 2002 but the rebellion was not over as late as 2002 (EIU 2003).[33]

There were two smaller groups – the *Mouvement pour le Développement et la Démocratie* (MDD) and the *Front National du Tchad Rénové* (FNTR). The MDD originally represented pro-Habré forces, based around Lake Chad. Pro-Habré forces were largely suppressed by Deby in 1992 with some French assistance (Burr and Collins 1999, 273-74, 276). Attempts to achieve peace with these movements are complicated by factional divisions. The FNTR was based in Ouddai (eastern Chad) and is a faction of a different group that did not accept a peace agreement with the government. In addition, Miles (1998, 59) lists three other rebel groups operating during the 1990s.

This period of the early 1990s spawned several near onsets and one onset that met our criterion for a civil war. What might explain Chad's second civil war? Here we look at three possible factors: the perception of state weakness (signaled by the move toward democracy) that might have emboldened potential insurgents; migration from the north and a possible "sons of the soil reaction"; and the contracting for oil exploration and how that re-sets regional power balances.

Democratization and Anocracy

In the year of the second civil war onset (1994), Chad was in its third consecutive year of anocracy and instability, helping to give Chad its highest civil war probability (1.9%) since its early years as a new state.

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[33] Casualty figures reported in Jane's Defence (2002) suggest that battle deaths were less than 1000 annually.

However, there is little in narrative accounts of the civil war that would suggest any signal of weakness coming from these institutional factors. First, the South had been in rebellion on and off since Habré took power in 1979; therefore the fact that his successor, also a Northerner, was now elected hardly made him appear weaker to these insurgents. Second, it is hard for outside analysts to take seriously the notion that Chad was democratizing in 1991 (despite the codings from Polity2)[34]; it would have been even more difficult for southern insurgents to take the democratization as evidence of any change in regime capacity. Insiders understood that Deby would not have accepted an electoral challenge if he had any doubts as to who would win. If there were a coding rule that distinguished new democracies in which challengers had a chance to win from sham democracies organized to legitimate the status quo, Chad in the early 1990s would probably fit in the latter category. Yet its instability and anocracy helped correctly to "predict" civil war. Country sources lead us to point rather to migration and oil as factors, even though neither is coded as such in our model.

Migration and Ethnic Conflict

Since the 1980s conflict between pastoralists and sedentary farmers extended to new areas of Chad. The droughts of the 1970s and the growth of the Sahara desert caused a southern migration by pastoralists across the Sahel. This migration caused competition over land between pastoralists and sedentary farmers and has led to violence between the two groups (Buijtenhuijs 1995, 23). In Chad, the migration of Northerners to the South coincided with the assumption of political power of Northerners in N'Djamena. Miles (1995, 60) notes that army commanders and other elites exacerbated the situation by providing weapons to herders. As a result, southerners began to feel that administrators and military officials interfere in conflicts over land to benefit northern migrants and that this northern "invasion" is a government conspiracy (Buijtenhujis 1995, 27). This represents a possible armed conflict based on a "sons of the soil" mechanism, especially as the Northern-based government of Deby protects through military means the squatter rights of Northern migrants in the Southerners' regional base.

Oil

Chad was not a significant oil producer during this period. In 1969 the government began exploration for oil and by 1975 oil deposits in the

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[34] See, Miles (1995) for a critical assessment of the prospects for democracy in Chad; and May and Massey (2000) for a more optimistic view.

south of Chad were confirmed. Chad was still not an oil producing state in 1994, when the civil war onset occurred, largely because of the infrastructure that would have been required to extract and export oil from this landlocked country. Oil revenues, however, had the potential to completely revolutionize the Chadian economy.[35]

The granting of rights to explore for and extract oil became an important political issue in the 1970s when the extent of the deposits became known. For example, Tombalbaye's explanation for why the French did nothing to prevent the coup against him in 1975 was that he had granted exploration rights to an American company. Most informed Chadians believe that the French withdrew their support for Habré because of his closeness to the Americans in general and in particular, because he granted oil concessions to American companies (Azevedo 1998, 155).[36] A southern rebel group threatened to block the construction of the proposed Chad-Cameroon Pipeline, which would allow oil from Doba (in southern Chad) to be transported through Cameroon for export. It appears as though oil revenues cast a longer shadow than the definition of oil-producing states in our model (one-third of total exports from oil and natural gas sales), especially since there have not as yet been oil revenues to hollow an already weak state.

The World Bank and international companies involved in the consortium to exploit the Doba oil fields are building in safeguards to ensure that oil revenues are not stolen (World Bank 2004; Esso Exploration and Production Chad Inc. 2004). However, according to May and Massey (2000, 125-6), it is unlikely that these safeguards will prevent politicians from fighting over or stealing oil revenues. It seems like this conflict is being driven by the demands of those groups "sitting" on the oil reserves and/or the preferred pipeline route to Cameroon to extract rents for their claims to the land.[37] This is a commitment problem faced by a regime unable to promise those sitting on the reserves that their agreed-upon rents will continue to be paid, and helps explain the

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[35] Contemporary estimates suggest that oil revenues would account for 40% of the GDP of Chad in 2003 (EIU)

[36] In 1991companies in the consortium developing the Doba oil fields ceded 20% of their concession to Elf (now TotaFinaElf) then a French-owned oil company. Burr and Collins (1999, 277) argue that the American companies realized that they could not operate in the French sphere of influence without a French partner. Elf pulled out of the project in 1999 citing concerns about human rights.

[37] . For example, in the 2002 legislative election a party based in the Doba region became the largest opposition party, winning ten out of a possible 155 seats (EIU, 13). Deby's party controls 80 per cent of the seats in the National Assembly.

CSNPD onset of 1994. The CSNDP onset is in 1991 and the FARF (a splinter group) insurgency started in 1994, after one of the CSNDP factions reached a peace agreement with the state.

IV. Conclusions

The 1965-66 onset (despite our model's assignation of a low probability for it in those years) can largely be explained by the clear weakness of the Chadian state (especially in regard to monitoring the rough terrain in the BET region) that was highlighted with the French military withdrawal in 1965. Our assessed probability for the war in 1965 would have been much higher had we coded that year as one in which Chad became a sovereign (and new) state, and if we had a measure of rough terrain somewhat more sensitive to desert conditions than our measure for moutainousness. Therefore our interpretation of state weakness as the foundation for insurgency is confirmed in this case.

However, our mechanism of "commitment" is not evident – the rebels never submitted to the French authorities, and there was no benefit for them to submit to a new Chadian government. They could survive without state protection, without taxes, and with the ability to prey upon the state, its officials and its infrastructure. If the French could not govern them, Northerners should not have feared that Southerners would for a long time be able to exploit them. There was a war because the Chadian state tried to govern an area that the French astutely ignored, and their inept attempt to rule turned an ungovernable region to insurgent action.

Chad's second civil war from 1994-98 came in a period that our model interprets as state weakness (due to instability and anocracy). Our model therefore gives Chad (outside of its first two years of independence) the highest probability of an onset in Chad's history. However, there is no evidence that rebels conditioned their strategies on a reading of the political situation that showed the regime to be weaker.

Migration and oil look to be the more decisive factors. Though northerners had been in power from 1979, democratization, it might be argued, brought Deby internationally recognized power in a country where southerners had for a long time dominated the state. The north would now have firmer control over government largesse, the ability to support northern migrants settling in Sara areas in the south, and rents from the (largely southern) oil reserves. These factors turned southerners into insurgents and the government into a counter-insurgency operation whose strategies exacerbated the violence. Here democracy if anything

strengthened the state, so the mechanism of instability posited in the model does not fit this case. The "sons of the soil" threat to the south and the prize of potential oil revenues over which it was worthwhile to fight are more convincing factors.

Finally, a word about foreign intervention. Korea, France and Libya certainly played a role in Chad's first civil war. But under conditions of a weak state and even weaker opposition forces, it is difficult to assess whether the goals of these outside powers in allying with local forces had any causal impact. Qaddafi may have funded aspiring insurgents all over the Sahel, but it is wrong to assume that ensuing insurgencies had much to do with his efforts.

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Pr(onset) for CHAD
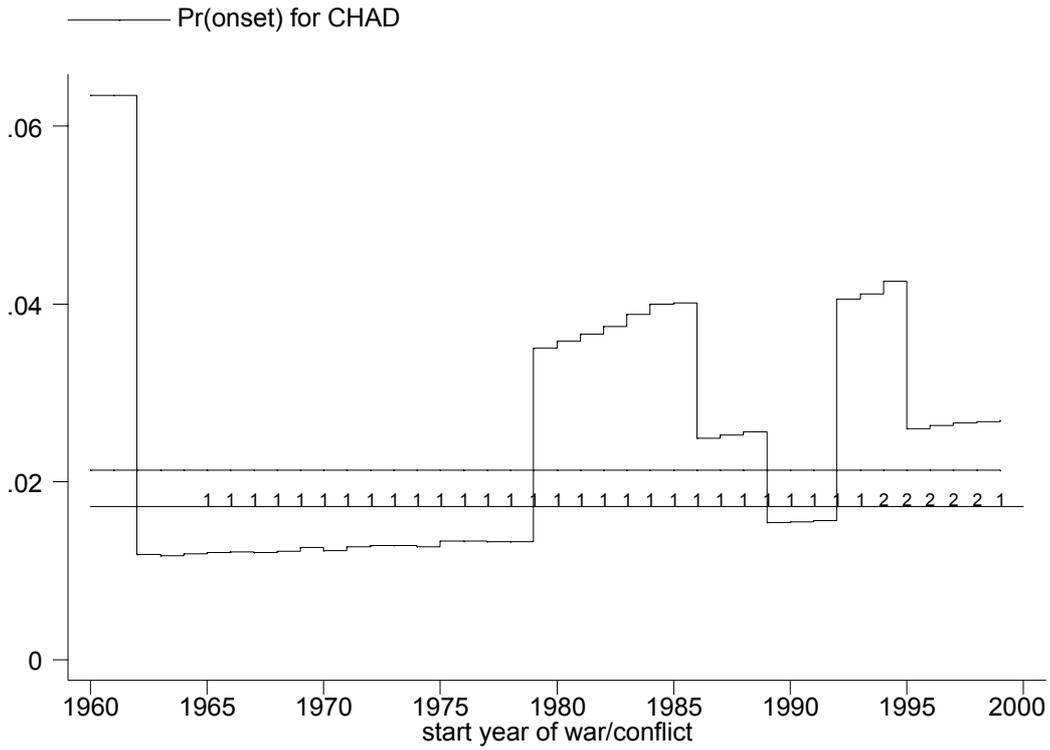
cname	year	pr	gdp~l	pop	mtn~t	Oil	ins~b	anocl
CHAD	1960	.0638658	.756	3064	8.5	0	0	0
CHAD	1961	.0638658	.756	3118	8.5	0	0	0
CHAD	1962	.0122614	.754	3174	8.5	0	0	0
CHAD	1963	.0121218	.805	3230	8.5	0	0	0
CHAD	1964	.0123331	.766	3287	8.5	0	0	0
CHAD	1965	.0124799	.744	3345	8.5	0	0	0
CHAD	1966	.005203	.736	3404	8.5	0	0	0
CHAD	1967	.0051762	.767	3465	8.5	0	0	0
CHAD	1968	.0052421	.743	3526	8.5	0	0	0
CHAD	1969	.0054346	.646	3588	8.5	0	0	0
CHAD	1970	.0052588	.763	3652	8.5	0	0	0
CHAD	1971	.0054629	.66	3723	8.5	0	0	0
CHAD	1972	.0055097	.65	3796	8.5	0	0	0
CHAD	1973	.0055179	.662	3871	8.5	0	0	0
CHAD	1974	.0054415	.722	3949	8.5	0	0	0
CHAD	1975	.0057351	.576	4030	8.5	0	0	0
CHAD	1976	.0057377	.592	4113	8.5	0	0	0
CHAD	1977	.005687	.637	4199	8.5	0	0	0
CHAD	1978	.0056993	.648	4288	8.5	0	0	0
CHAD	1979	.0154669	.628	4381	8.5	0	1	1
CHAD	1980	.0158281	.574	4477	8.5	0	1	1
CHAD	1981	.0161573	.528	4577	8.5	0	1	1
CHAD	1982	.0165635	.469	4680	8.5	0	1	1
CHAD	1983	.0171983	.37	4788	8.5	0	1	1
CHAD	1984	.0176956	.3	4900	8.5	0	1	1
CHAD	1985	.0177509	.31	5018	8.5	0	1	1
CHAD	1986	.0108654	.409	5141	8.5	0	1	0
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CHAD	1993	.018163	.408	6248.25	8.5	0	1	1
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CHAD	1998	.0116011	.35	7352.14	8.5	0	0	1
CHAD	1999	.0116365	.364	.	8.5	0	0	1

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     Variable |       Obs        Mean    Std. Dev.       Min        Max
-------------+--------------------------------------------------------
          pr |        40    .0132514     .012649   .0051762   .0638658
      gdpenl |        40       .5466     .169606         .3       .805
         pop |        39    4649.631     1235.83       3064    7352.14
      mtnest |        40         8.5           0        8.5        8.5
         Oil |        40           0           0          0          0
-------------+--------------------------------------------------------
      instab |        40        .325    .4743416          0          1
       anocl |        40        .375    .4902903          0          1

     Variable |       Obs        Mean    Std. Dev.       Min        Max
-------------+--------------------------------------------------------
          pr |      1550    .0187746    .0196424   .0006432   .2190491
      gdpenl |      1561    1.095448    .9549041       .196      7.777
         pop |      1550    10008.91    14530.35        270   121257.3
      mtnest |      1593    12.75548    22.33017          0   82.20001
         Oil |      1593    .0803515     .271922          0          1
-------------+--------------------------------------------------------
      instab |      1587    .1770636    .3818429          0          1
       anocl |      1582    .2237674    .4168998          0          1

     Variable |       Obs        Mean    Std. Dev.       Min        Max
-------------+--------------------------------------------------------
          pr |      6327    .0167842    .0232433   3.19e-10   .5059608
      gdpenl |      6373    3.651117    4.536645       .048     66.735
         pop |      6433    31786.92    102560.8        222    1238599
      mtnest |      6610    18.08833    20.96648          0       94.3
         Oil |      6610    .1295008    .3357787          0          1
-------------+--------------------------------------------------------
      instab |      6596    .1464524     .353586          0          1
       anocl |      6541    .2256536     .418044          0          1
```