



Armed Conflicts Report

Chad (1965 - first combat deaths)

Update: January 2009

Summary

Type of Conflict

Parties to the Conflict

Status of Fighting

Number of Deaths

Political Developments

Background

Arms Sources

Summary:

2008 In February, rebel forces attempted a coup d'etat in the capital N'Djamena. Although unsuccessful, the attempted coup resulted in several hundred deaths, displaced tens of thousands and prompted the Chadian government to declare a state of emergency. A joint-international mission was deployed in Chad, including an EU military component (EUFOR) and a UN humanitarian component, the United Nations Mission in Central African Republic and Chad (MINURCAT). However, the relative ineffectualness of these missions, in combination with rebel proxy violence in the Sudan/Darfur-Chad border regions, hampered potential developments towards security. The humanitarian situation deteriorated as insecurity hampered the efforts of aid organizations. Citing Chad's continued failure to use oil revenues for poverty reduction, the World Bank finally ended its involvement there by recalling loans from the Chad-Cameroon oil pipeline.

2007 The governments of Chad, Sudan and the Central African Republic signed an agreement to not support rebels in their territory attacking the other signatories, however, cross border attacks continued in 2007 and led to the death and increased displacement of Chadian citizens as well as Sudanese refugees living in Chad. Despite the signing of a ceasefire agreement by the government and four main armed opposition groups, no lasting peace agreement has been reached and armed resistance to President Idriss Deby's leadership continued to intensify. Ethnic violence also continued and led UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon to propose two possible military operations for Chad, in combination with the European Union peacekeeping mission that is set to deploy in early 2008. There is concern that investment agreements reached between the government of Chad and China will allow President Deby's government to purchase additional weapons and ammunition to prolong the conflict.

2006 The creation of a new rebel coalition of eight factions, the United Front for Democratic Change (FUCD) resulted in numerous skirmishes with government troops, including a failed siege of the capital, N'Djamena in April. Reported casualties include several hundred combatants and civilians. Tension between the government of Chad and that of Sudan remains high as relations were temporarily suspended due to the belief that the government of Khartoum is financing the FUCD. Ethnic violence has also erupted along the southeast Chad-Sudan border, further increasing the fear that conflict in Darfur has spread into Chad. President Idriss Deby was elected to another term in office in May, however the legitimacy of the election is in question since opposition parties boycotted the vote. The World Bank also froze revenue accounts after the government professed it wished to use development money to purchase arms, leaving the country even further embroiled in desperate poverty.

2005 There was no fighting reported between the Chad government and one of the two remaining factions of the MDJT after the two sides signed a peace agreement. However, the government clashed with the newly formed SCUD, a rebel group made up of army deserters demanding the resignation of President Idriss Deby. The President increased his power following the government's victory in a widely disputed national referendum that allows Deby to run for a third term.

2004 Government troops were deployed to fight MDJT rebels and to deal with potential spill-over from the Darfur conflict near Chad's eastern border with Sudan. There were no reported deaths and the government and MDJT rebels continued negotiations to end the northern rebellion. A total of at least 80 deaths were reported in interethnic violence and in a March battle between Chad forces and suspected Islamic extremists. During the year US special forces trained government troops as part of the US "War on Terror." In a novel development, government troops and former soldiers who had deserted the Chadian army throughout the year clashed on several occasions raising the specter of increasing violence.

2003 The intensity of the conflict between the government and rebel forces diminished for a third consecutive year. Only one rebel group, the Movement for Democracy and Justice in Chad (MDJT), remained military active. A civil war which began in October 2002 in neighbouring Central African Republic (CAR) led to an influx of refugees into Chad, resulting in increased inter-communal violence in the border areas. However, by March the victorious rebels assumed control of the CAR and relations between the two states stabilized.

2002 The conflict continued to decline after a peace agreement in January and a government offer of rebel amnesty in February. These were initially rejected by extremists within the main rebel group, MDJT, but in September, the leader of the hardliners was reportedly killed, raising hopes that opposition to negotiation would dwindle. Tensions continued to mount between Chad and the Central African Republic (CAR) as the latter fought a domestic rebel group which was allegedly backed by the Chadian government.

2001 Fighting between government and rebel forces was greatly reduced in 2001, with only minor clashes reported and few deaths. By January 2002, the Chadian government had signed a comprehensive peace agreement with the rebel Movement for Democracy and Justice in Chad (MDJT).

2000 Clashes between government forces and rebels in the north intensified during the year. Several hundred people were reportedly killed in the conflict in 2000, up from estimated conflict deaths in the previous year.

1999 Fighting between government forces and the rebel Movement for Democracy and Justice in Chad (MDJT) continued in the northern region of Tibesti. There also were reports of rebel attacks against government forces stationed in the south despite a 1998 peace accord. At least 65 people – and possibly hundreds more -- died in the fighting.

1998 Intense fighting in southern Chad between government forces and the rebel Armed Forces for a Federal Republic (FARF) continued until a May peace accord. Other rebel groups continued lower intensity rebellions in the northeast.

Type of Conflict:

State control/Failed state

Parties to the Conflict:

1) Government:

Under President Idriss Deby. Several military and paramilitary services are responsible for internal security.

"In 2006 citizens reelected President Idriss Deby, leader of the Patriotic Salvation Movement (MPS), to a third term in what unofficial observers characterized as an orderly but seriously flawed election boycotted by the opposition. Deby has ruled the country since taking power in a 1990 coup." [2008 *Human Rights Report: Chad*. Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, US State Department, 2009]

"Chad's ruler Idriss Deby has created a new elite security force charged with ensuring his safety

days after dissolving his Republican Guard, highlighting fears of renewed instability in the central African country. Deby disbanded the Republican Guard at the weekend following a wave of army desertions. Analysts said the move appeared to be an effort to quickly instill order in the armed forces and ensure the survival of his administration. In a presidential decree made public on Tuesday, Deby said he was forming a new 1,640-strong force, drawn from the army and police, known as the Principle Security Service for State Institutions (DGSSIE)." [*Reuters*, November 1, 2005]

Aligned with:

2) US special forces who in 2004 trained Chadian soldiers in counter-terrorism as part of the Trans-Saharan Counter-Terrorism Initiative.

"U.S. Marines supervise Chadian soldiers as they practice maintenance on their AK-47 assault rifles. The Marines are part of a team of Marine Corps Forces Europe, Marine Corps Forces Atlantic, and II Marine Expeditionary Force Marines and Sailors who are training Chadian soldiers in individual through company level infantry skills. The training is part of a State Department initiative to reduce the flow of illicit arms, goods and people through Chad's borders and deny safe havens to terrorists." ["Chad: June –August 2004," *United States European Command website* at http://www.eucom.mil/Directorates/ECPA/index.htm?http://www.eucom.mil/directorates/ecpa/Exercises/Pan_Sahel/PSI_Photo_Gallery.htm&2

3) France, who maintains a battalion of more than 1,000 troops in its former colony and supports the government through training, administration and intelligence.

"France has a vision of multilateral intervention but it is the only European country that has a military presence... They are lonely in Africa. There is no one else to take the lead." [Alex Vines, head of the Africa Programme at Chatham House, *Mail&Guardian*, October 26, 2007]

"France has maintained a contingent of troops in its former colony since independence in 1960, and is providing intelligence information to the Chadian government." [*BBC News*, April 13, 2006]

"Chad no longer receives military hardware from France, but French troops are stationed in the country and Chadian officers continue to be trained by France. France has supported Deby but also supported the president he toppled." [*The Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, April 19, 2006]

Versus:

4) The Resistance Nationale. On 12 December, 2007, three of the main armed opposition groups within Chad – the Union Forces for Democracy (UFDD), the Rassemblement des forces pour le changement (RFC) and the Union des forces pour la democratie et le developpement fondamentale (UFDD-F) – issued a statement that they had formed an alliance, the Resistance Nationale. The alliance is composed of an executive committee comprised of leaders from each of the armed groups. The purpose of the coalition is to coordinate attacks aimed at overthrowing President Deby.

a) UFDD - an Arab-dominated rebel group, is the largest Chadian rebel force opposed to President Deby. The group is led by Mahamat Nouri, who was a member of Deby's cabinet until breaking with him in 2006 and launching the UFDD. The UFDD is composed of smaller armed factions including the United Front for Democratic Change (FUC), the Chadian Democratic Revolutionary Council (CDRT), and the Union of Forces for Progress and Democracy. The UFDD has several 1000 active members. The UFDD is accused of conducting joint operations with the Sudanese Janjaweed that target refugee camps in eastern Chad.

b) RFC – contains less than 1 000 combatants. The RFC is composed mainly of defectors from Chad's Republican Guard and is active in the area north of Abeche. It is led by President Deby's uncle and former chief of staff, Timane Erdimi. The RFC is also associated with the Concorde Nationale Tchadieme (CNT), which is led by Hassan Saleh al-Djinedi and has several 1000 active members.

c) UFDDF – the UFDDF is a former splinter groups of the UFDD. It is led by Abdelwahid Aboud.

5) Rally of Democratic Forces (FaFD). The FaFD is a Zaghawa dissident group, the same ethnic group as President Deby. It is thought to be a separate and growing rebel force in southern Chad, which also seeks to gain support for organizing early elections which it hopes will lead to the appointment of his successor and the cessation of his term as President.

6) The Rally for Democracy and Change (RLD) : Led by Mohamed Nour, the RLD formed late in 2005 and operates out of Sudan's Darfur region, launching attacks into eastern Chad. The RLD is made up of members of local ethnic groups and army deserters opposed to President Deby. It is loosely allied with SCUD.

"Nour, 35, said RDL was formed four months ago and had bases in Darfur. He is from the Tama tribe, which spans both sides of the border, and took part in the rebellion that ousted Hissene Habre as president and brought Deby to power in 1990. But he said Deby had become corrupt and worse than Habre while in power, so he decided to move into armed opposition. 'Then I came to Darfur and set up military camps.'" [CNN.com, December 22, 2005]

7) The United Front for Democratic Change (FUCD), a rebel group composed of eight different factions including the RLD and headed by Mahamout Nour, has come to prominence in early 2006 with raids in numerous villages as well as a failed siege of the capital, N'Djamena. The group demands the resignation of Chadian President, Idriss Deby and is believed to be both aligned with and funded by the al-Bashir government in Khartoum.

"Analysts say the rebel United Front for Democratic Change (FUCD), a loose but fractious alliance of opponents of Deby who carried out the attack on N'Djamena, includes Chadian Arab groups who are pro-Khartoum. "If they take power in Chad, they are likely to cooperate with Khartoum militarily to attack the refugees in Darfur...Khartoum is backing them precisely for this purpose", says Suliman Baldo, Africa program director of the Brussels-based international Crisis Group." [Reuters, April 16, 2006]

8) The al-Bashir government of Khartoum, Sudan. Although al-Bashir has frequently denied involvement in the backing of rebel troops, Deby continuously accused the government of Khartoum of funding and supporting numerous rebel movements in Chad and as a result, diplomatic relations were periodically severed throughout 2006. Many human rights groups also believe that Chadian rebels, who have their bases in Darfur, are both funded and supported by the Sudanese government. There have also been reports of possible alignment of Chadian rebels with the Sudanese Janjaweed militia.

"These rebel groups would have sought to overthrow Idriss Deby for their own reasons, but they would not have gotten this far without the backing of Sudan." [Reed Brody, HRW lawyer and Chad expert, Newsweek, Feb 5, 2008]

International Forces:

Joint UN-EU peacekeeping operations, mandated through March 2009:

EU military component (EUFOR TCHAD/RCA)

1) In co-operation with UNAMID (UN mission in Darfur), EUFOR is mandated to protect/return displaced civilians/refugees, including 57,000 refugees from CAR, 263,000 from Darfur, and 180,000 IDPs.

2) Approximately 3,300 troops as of September 30, 2008

UN humanitarian component, the United Nations Mission in Central African Republic and Chad (MINURCAT)

1) Mandated to support humanitarian efforts, by training and assisting local police

2) 863 personnel, including only 236 police officers. 400 Chadian police officers have been trained as of December 2008

3) Is expected to expand and take over the responsibilities of EUFOR in 2009.

[Source: Colin Thomas-Jensen, *Enough Strategy Paper* 17, April 2008; Lauren Ploch, *CRS Report for Congress*,

January 30, 2008; *Military Balance 2009; UN Peacekeeping Operations Year in Review 2008*]

Status of Fighting:

2008 On February 2-3, an estimated 3000 rebels attempted an unsuccessful coup in Chad's capital, N'Djamena. At least 400 were reported dead, over 1000 wounded, and 20,000-30,000 civilians fled to Cameroon as a result of the fighting. Skirmishes in April between rebel groups and the Chadian army killed 7 civilians and wounded 47. Rebel group National Alliance launched new offensives in June, seizing several towns in eastern Chad but not advancing to the capital. These attacks were believed to have killed 160 people. The government of Chad continues to accuse Khartoum of supporting this rebel activity. In August 2008, a United Nations working group confirmed the continued use of child soldiers by all parties involved in conflict in Chad, including rebel groups situated in Darfur. Over 400,000 refugees and internally displaced persons live in camps in eastern Chad, bordering Darfur. These camps became sites of gender-based violence and child trafficking in 2008, further facilitating the use of children as soldiers. Despite the presence of EU peacekeepers (EUFOR), the increasing victimization of humanitarian workers has led to periodic suspensions of their activities, leaving refugees and IDPs with less or no aid, and exacerbating their vulnerability. The US State Department reports that the government's human rights record deteriorated relative to 2007, while rebel groups, ethnic-based militias and bandits continued to be responsible for various human rights abuses.

"[The rebels] couch their demands in terms of justice and democracy, but none of them have any real democratic credentials. They are mostly fighting for a piece of the action. There are no good guys here. The tragedy of Chad is that since independence, power has only changed by force of arms." [Interview with Reed Brody, HRW lawyer and Chad expert, *Newsweek*, February 5th, 2008]

2007 Chadian citizens continued to flee their homes due to alleged cross-border attacks by the Janjaweed militia from Sudan, as well as inter-communal hostilities. Despite the commencement of peace talks, rebels stated that the bombing of their positions near the border of Sudan, demonstrates the government's bad faith in participating in the talks. It has been speculated that continued persistent attacks by the rebels on government forces are aimed at weakening Chad's army for the purpose of attempting to seize the capital, N'Djamena. Soldiers and fighters of the United Front for Democratic Change (an armed opposition group that had agreed to disarm), clashed in Goz Beida. Five hundred rebels of the UFDC, who were waiting to be integrated into the national army, abandoned their posts and have been accused by the Chadian army of refusing to integrate. Former leader of the UFDC, Mahamat Nour, who signed a peace agreement and agreed to join the government as Defence Minister, accused the Zaghawas of initiating the violence. Following a flare up of violence that killed at least twenty people, the government declared a state of emergency along its eastern border with Sudan's Darfur region. The twelve day emergency period applied to eastern Ouaddai and Wadi Fira in the northern part of Chad known as the BET. The violence was said to be a result of ethnic tension in the region.

"In addition to the situation of war on the frontier with Sudan, which has still not found definitive solutions, we are seeing more and more murderous inter-community conflicts that bring bloodshed to certain regions of the country." [Hourmadji Moussa Doumgor, *Reuters*, October 16, 2007]

"The Chadian army and its allied paramilitary forces are keeping thousands of child soldiers out of demobilization efforts, despite the government's promises to release underage fighters from military service." [Human Rights Watch, *Mail&Guardian*, July 17, 2007]

2006 Tensions continue to increase as many fear the ethnic conflict from Darfur has spilled over the Chadian border. Throughout 2006 the rebel group known as the United Front for Democratic Change (FUCD) has carried out numerous attacks on government troops including a failed attempt at seizing the capital, N'Djamena in April. In addition, the government of President Idriss Deby continuously accuses the Sudanese government of al-Bashir of backing rebel movements believed to be aligned with both Khartoum and the Janjaweed militia. Refugee camps as well as aid caches have been seized, limiting the ability of aid workers to access the hundreds of thousands displaced along the Chad-Sudan border. Rebel forces have also been forcefully recruiting fighters from the camps, including child soldiers under the age of 12. Towards the end of 2006, there were also reported clashes between Arab groups and ethnic Africans which elevated the fear that crisis in

Darfur had engulfed the Chadian border region.

"Government troops repelled a rebel attack on the Chadian capital and the country's president went on state-run radio to assure residents he remains in control of the impoverished African country. Following three hours of fighting, which included attack helicopters, tanks and artillery, President Idriss Deby said his troops had defeated the rebels after they attempted to infiltrate N'Djamena before dawn." [*The Globe and Mail.com*, April 13, 2006]

"Sudanese security forces helped recruit rebels, including child soldiers, from refugee camps in the Darfur region of western Sudan for a revolt in neighbouring Chad, rebel prisoners told African Union investigators. Some of the fighters trained in Darfur were as young as 12." [*Washingtonpost.com*, April 24, 2006]

"Sudanese cross-border raiders have massacred more than 100 villagers in Chad, Human Rights Watch alleged, expressing concern Darfur's violence was spreading. "Sudanese militiamen are moving further and further into Chad and are looting and killing Chadian villagers," said Peter Tarkirambudde, Africa director of Human Rights Watch." [*The Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, May 25, 2006]

"Growing numbers of Chadian civilians are joining raids on their black African countrymen by mounted Arab Janjaweed militia from Sudan's neighbouring Darfur region as violence worsens in eastern Chad." [*Reuters*, June 23, 2006]

2005 Towards the end of the year government troops clashed with the newly-formed rebel groups SCUD in the capital Ndjama and with the RLD in eastern Chad near the Sudan/Chad border. President Idriss accused Sudan's government of aiding the rebels and declared "a state of belligerence" against Sudan. There were no reports of clashes between government troops and MDJT factions.

2004 Although government troops were deployed to the north to fight MDJT rebels and to the east to deal with border tensions over the Darfur conflict in Sudan, there were no reported deaths as a result. A March report of a two-day battle between Chad forces and suspected members of the Salafist Group for Preaching and Combat on the Niger border claimed 43 deaths. There also were reports of clashes between herders and sedentary populations and other interethnic violence.

"During the year, the ANT and Gendarmerie were deployed to the north to fight MDJT rebels and the international terrorist organization Salafist Group for Call and Combat (GSPC), to the east to maintain security along the border with Sudan, and to the south following the arrival of refugees from the Central African Republic (CAR) in 2003. ...

Clashes between herders and sedentary populations and other interethnic violence, often concerning land use, continued to be a serious problem." [*Chad: Country Reports on Human Rights Practices – 2004*, Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, US State Department, February 28, 2005]

2003 Conflict between the government and the rebel groups was virtually non-existent throughout 2003, bar one exception. In September, the Movement for Democracy and Justice in Chad (MDJT) launched an attack on government installations in Northern Chad. At the outset of the year, relations between Chad and the Central African Republic (CAR) deteriorated as the CAR Government was overthrown by domestic rebels, allegedly supported by Chadian authorities. The rebellion led to an influx of CAR refugees into Chad, resulting in increased tension in the border areas. Following the rebellion, relations between the two states stabilized. In the latter part of the year armed conflict within western Sudan spilled over into Chad, threatening to draw it into the conflict.

"The government in Bangui maintains that the Chadian government has helped and is helping the rebels. The rebels entered the Central African Republic from Chad in October. The Chadian government has denied all allegations of cooperating with the rebels." [*Africa Online*, January 9, 2003]

2002 Government forces clashed with rebels in the north in May. In general, however, the intensity of fighting

continued to decrease, with a few exceptions, following the signing of a peace agreement in January. Meanwhile, tensions between Chad and the Central African Republic (CAR) intensified, with civilians and combatants targeted by Chadian and CAR forces along the border.

'Chad and the Central African Republic (CAR) have traded accusations following a clash on their border. Chad said 20 suspected mercenaries and two of its soldiers were killed after an attack launched from the CAR. But officials in the CAR capital, Bangui, responded by saying Chad was the aggressor.' [BBC News, August 7, 2002]

2001 Fighting between government and rebel forces was greatly reduced in 2001 with only minor clashes reported. However, in November tensions rose between Chad and the Central African Republic (CAR) after General Bozize, a former CAR army chief-of-staff, fled to southern Chad.

2000 Clashes between government forces and the rebel Movement for Democracy and Justice in Chad (MJDT) continued in the Tibesti region. The rebels were reported to have made significant gains, capturing the key garrison town of Bardai from the government. The fighting intensified at the end of the year as government forces launched a massive operation to dislodge the rebels from their stronghold in the north.

1999 Fighting between government forces and the rebels belonging to the Movement for Democracy and Justice in Chad (MJDT) continued in the northern region of Tibesti. The situation in the southern regions was mostly calm, though in July the National Front for a Renewed Chad (FNTR) claimed to have ambushed government forces stationed in the area between Goz Beida and Koukou Angarana.

1998 After over four months of intensive fighting and atrocities by both the government and the FARF, a peace deal was signed in May which held through the rest of the year. The government was still involved in other conflicts, though the May peace dramatically curbed total violence.

Number of Deaths:

Total: More than 51,000 people have been killed since the conflict began in 1965. Approximately 7,000 of these deaths occurred after 1990.

2008 As in past years, calculating a definitive death toll is difficult due to both under and over reporting. Formal clashes between the Chadian army and various rebel groups killed about 570 people in 2008. This figure favours independent estimates of 400 killed in the February coup attempt, rather than the claim made by President Deby that 700 were killed. An isolated clash between the army and religious radicals in July killed an additional 74 people. Reports suggest that over 1000 people were wounded as a result of violent conflict.

"Chadian rebels backed by Sudan invaded Chad from bases in Darfur in January. By February 2, rebels and government forces were fighting gun battles in N'Djamena, Chad's capital. Government tanks and helicopters caused serious destruction to civilian installations, including the central market. More than 400 civilians were killed and over 1,000 wounded before the rebels retreated back to Darfur the next day. Spillover from the fighting left Chadian rebels in northern Cameroon, along with 30,000 Chadian refugees." [Source: HRW *World Report 2009 (Chad)*]

2007 Calculating a definitive death toll for the conflict remains problematic due to the under-reporting and over-reporting of loss by both government and rebel forces. The geographic isolation of Chad and the areas where the fighting is taking place are also factors which have frustrated efforts. It has been estimated that more than 1 000 deaths occurred this year due to the fighting although some note that the number of civilian casualties reported, as a percentage of the total number of lives lost, was lower this year than in the past. The death toll for this year includes refugees from the Sudan, who are currently living in Chad, as well as a United Nations aid worker.

[Sources: *Guardian*, September 8, 2007; *BBC News*, October 19, 2007; *Mail and Guardian*, November 27, 2007; *Human Rights Watch 2007*]

"The ongoing violence is threatening the lives and well-being of tens of thousands of Chadians and Sudanese refugees throughout the region." [Serge Male, UNHCR's representative in Chad, *Reuters*, January 5, 2007]

2006 Definite information about combatant casualties remains unclear as rebel groups and government officials continue to issue conflicting claims of killing hundreds on the other side while suffering relatively few casualties themselves. Civilian casualties have remained high with at least 300 dead. In a major blow to President Idriss Deby, the joint head of Chad's armed forces, General Moussa Sougui was killed in October during fighting along the Sudanese border.

"Government officials claim some 150 rebels were killed in Adre and around 370 in the raid on N'Djamena. FUCD officials denied this, saying their forces lost only 20 in the capital. [*Reuters*, April 16, 2006]

"The UNHCR confirmed that the recent violence, which started on the 4th of November, has left more than 220 people dead and appeared to mirror that of the unrest in the neighbouring Darfur region of Sudan." [*BBC News*, November 16, 2006]

"Bobok, Chad, was the scene of one of the heaviest battles this year between government forces and rebels opposed to President Idriss Deby. Both sides claim victory in the latest clash of this hit-and-run low intensity war. The rebels claim that between 200 and 300 government troops were killed while they lost 50. However, the government claims that they killed more than 100 rebels while losing only 30 troops." [*IOL.za*, December 12, 2006]

2005 At least 100 people were killed as fighting erupted late in the year between the government forces and newly-formed rebel groups, SCUD and RLD.

"Security and relations with Sudan deteriorated as rebel group Rally for Democracy and Liberty attacked Chadian forces in Adre near Sudanese border 18 and 19 December, with estimates of over 100 killed." [*CrisisWatch*, International Crisis Group, January 1, 2006]

"Last week, clashes between troops and rebels near Adre on the border with Sudan left a dozen soldiers dead and five injured, according to military sources. Rebels seized three army vehicles loaded with arms and destroyed two others." [*Reuters*, December 12, 2005]

2004 There were no reported deaths as a result of fighting between MJDT rebels and government troops. At least 80 deaths were reported in other armed violence -- 43 in a March battle with suspected foreign terrorists on the Niger border, and over 40 in interethnic conflict in a number of regions.

"In March, 21 persons died and 13 were injured in fighting between herders and local residents in Yomi. Also in March, police were deployed to Chagoua, a suburb of N'Djamena, to halt clashes between the Kim and Ere communities. In May, interethnic conflict in southern Chari Baguirmi between Moabits and Tidjanias resulted in 9 deaths and 15 persons injured. In June, an interethnic conflict in the region of Mayo-Kebbi erupted between two communities and resulted in 14 deaths and 50 injured persons." [*Chad: Country Reports on Human Rights Practices – 2004*, Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, US State Department, February 28, 2005]

2003 Approximately 100 people were killed in Chad throughout the year. Significantly, more deaths were reported from inter-communal clashes over resources than from fighting between rebel and government forces. Estimates of the number of fatalities from the one clash between rebel and government forces ranged from 4 to 40 deaths.

2002 The number of conflict deaths likely exceeded 50 as civilians continued to be targets for both rebel and government forces. Civilians were also killed along the Chadian-CAR border.

2001 The death toll for 2001 was much lower than 2000 due to the reduction in fighting between government and rebel troops.

2000 The death toll for 2000 was in the hundreds with claims that at least 413 government soldiers and more than 120 rebels lost their lives. Among the dead were General Kerim Nassour, responsible for the personal safety of President Deby, and his deputy Colonel Fadoul Allamine.

1999 At least 65 people were killed, and possibly hundreds more, in 1999.

1998 At least 110 people died in the conflict in 1998, mostly civilians caught in pre-May attacks.

Political Developments:

2008 The joint UN-EU peacekeeping operations approved for Chad by the UN Security Council in September 2007 were deployed in early 2008. The EU military component (EUFOR) became officially functional in February. The humanitarian component, the United Nations Mission in Central African Republic and Chad (MINURCAT), faced extensive delays and had a minimal impact. More recently, the Security Council planned to increase the number of current personnel from 3000 to 4900, and replace EU soldiers with UN peacekeepers. Meanwhile, the immediate aftermath of the coup attempt saw extensive political implications. The government declared a 2 week state of emergency on February 14. It became an occasion for tight media control, forced evictions of thousands, and a crackdown on political opposition. Three prominent opposition politicians were detained, and Ibni Oumar Mahamat Saleh remains "disappeared." Under pressure from their French allies, the government undertook a Commission of Inquiry into the aftermath of the coup; in September, its report implicated the Presidential Guard in Saleh's disappearance and found national security forces to be responsible for unlawful killings, torture, rape and arbitrary arrest. Government helicopters were also found to be responsible for indiscriminate bombing of civilians. So far, no individuals have been held directly accountable. The coup attempt in Chad, and similar coup attempt against Khartoum in May, exacerbated the existing tensions between Chad and Sudan. Each government continued to accuse the other of supporting proxy rebel groups despite agreements to the contrary. Indeed, under intense regional-political pressure, another such agreement, known as the Dakar Agreement, was made in March 2008 and broken by May. Diplomatic relations were resumed in October, but it remains unclear whether arrangements for a regional monitoring force, as outlined in the Dakar Agreement, will be attempted at all.

"We cannot solve the problem in Darfur without Chad" –Sudan Foreign Minister Deng Alor
[Source: *BBC News*, February 26, 2008]

2007 Early in the year, the governments of Chad, Sudan and the Central African Republic signed an agreement not to support rebels within their own territory who were attacking the other signatories. Despite this agreement, attacks, primarily across the Sudan-Chadian border, continued and heightened tensions between the three countries. In August, Deby and opposition parties calmed political tensions by agreeing to form an independent electoral commission to hold delayed parliamentary polls by 2009. Up to 3 700 European Union peacekeepers are due to start deploying in early 2008 on a mission to protect thousands of Sudanese and Chadian refugees as well as foreign aid workers. UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon also proposed two possible military operations for Chad aimed at protecting twelve refugee camps and key towns where Chadian citizens have fled. This departs from the position of former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan, who felt that due to the difficult logistics posed by the area and risk to the troops, peacekeepers should not be deployed until the parties agreed to a ceasefire. Despite the commencement of peace talks in January 2007, following the visit of UN High Commissioner for Refugees in December of 2006, no lasting agreements have been attained and violence in several regions has reached new levels. On October 26, 2007, the Chadian government and four of the main rebel groups (the UFDD, RFC, DNT and UFDD-F) signed a peace accord in Libya which called for an 'immediate' ceasefire and the integration of rebel fighters into the national army. The UFDD and RFC announced in November that they would break the ceasefire and the status of the other signatories remains unknown and questionable.

"The plight of those living in Chad and north-eastern Central African Republic, in particular those in IDP and refugee camps is getting worse and worse as violence from Darfur spills over the border." [Emyr Jones Parry, Britain's Security Council Representative, *IRIN News*, February 17, 2007]

"If the EU and UN don't take the conflict in Chad seriously it risks becoming a total war, something like we are seeing now in Iraq." [Albissaty Saleh Allazan, leader of Chadian rebel group, Conseil d'Action Revolutionnaire, *IRIN*, September 14, 2007]

"If this force is coming to secure the refugee camps, then we see no problem... But if they are coming to help Idriss Deby's regime, we'll consider them a foreign occupation force and we'll fight them." [RFC leader, Timane Erdimi, *Reuters*, November 28, 2007]

2006 Idriss Deby won a victory in Presidential elections held in May, however the legitimacy of the victory remains questionable as opposition groups boycotted the vote and many civilians were disinterested. The President also survived a coup attempt in April, when government forces, reportedly aided by French intelligence, were able to repel an attack from rebel forces in the capital of N'Djamena. Relations with the government of al-Bashir in Khartoum remain strained as Deby continues to allege that Sudan is backing rebel movements in Chad. Following increasing hostilities, Deby severed diplomatic relations and closed the border. Despite the signing of a pact in February that was designed to facilitate dialogue between the two countries, relations remain strained as violence continues to spill over to Chad from the distressed Sudanese region of Darfur. In addition, ethnic violence between Arabs and ethnic Africans in the southeast prompted the government to declare a state of emergency late in the year.

2005 The government won a disputed national referendum on several constitutional amendments meant to increase the power of President Idriss Deby. The successful amendments included the end of a clause limiting the president to two consecutive terms and the replacement of the Senate with the Economic, Social and Cultural Council, whose members are nominated by the president. The referendum was boycotted by the opposition. In August a peace accord was reached between the Chadian government and the "moderate" faction of the MDJT, led by Hassan Abdallah Mardigue. New rebel groups, the Platform for Change, National Unity and Democracy (SCUD), and the Rally for Democracy and Liberty (RDL) emerged after several hundred soldiers deserted the Chadian army. The new rebel groups demanded the resignation of Idriss Deby.

"A peace accord between the Chadian government and the rebel group, the Movement for Democracy and Justice in Chad (MDJT), was signed Thursday at Yebbi-bou, a town controlled by the MDJT in the large Tibesti region (northern Chad), the Chadian Communications minister announced in a press release. The accord sets out 'an immediate ceasefire, the suspension of all military activity, the integration of MDJT's combatants into the Chadian national army..., the integration of MDJT officials in the Chadian administration, the release of prisoners of war held by both sides' said a source close to the president. The accord...remains open to all remaining rebel groups allied with the MDJT....Mr. Choua Dazi [leader of the hardline faction of the MDJT], speaking on satellite phone, told AFP he 'categorically' rejects the accord that according to him does not apply to the MDJT. The movement 'exists always and continues to fight until a comprehensive solution is achieved in Chad", he said." [*Le Tchadien.com*, August 29, 2005; translation by Project Ploughshares]

2004 In May members of the government security forces led a failed coup attempt against President Deby. The government and remaining MDJT rebels continued negotiations to end the rebellion in the Tibesti region. During the year US special forces were deployed to Chad to train government troops as part of the US "Trans-Sahara Counter Terrorism Initiative."

2003 A January peace agreement between the Chadian Government and the National Resistance Army (ANR) rebel group held throughout the year. Although relations between Chad and the Central African Republic (CAR) were strained during a coup against the latter's government, following the victory of the rebels in March relations between the two states normalized. The governments of Chad and Sudan collaborated on various initiatives in an attempt to resolve the conflict along the Chadian-Sudanese border.

"The presidents of Sudan and Chad agreed Wednesday to organize a conference of all border tribes that would seek to end violence in Sudan's Darfur region ... Sudan and Chad already have taken some steps to end the violence. The two countries signed a military protocol in November that allows the Chadian government to deploy troops to quell the unrest in Darfur." [*Deutsche Presse Agentur*, December 10, 2003]

"The government of Chad has signed a peace agreement with one of the main rebel groups, the National Resistance Army (ANR). The ANR is active in eastern Chad, near the border with Sudan and the Central African Republic. The accord, signed in Gabon, provides for an immediate ceasefire and an amnesty for all ANR fighters and supporters." [*BBC World Service*, January 10, 2003]

2002 In January and February, extremists within the MDJT rejected a peace agreement and general amnesty offered by the government. In September, independent media reports claimed that the MDJT's extremist leader was seriously injured by a landmine and subsequently taken to Libya where he was reported to have died.

Some analysts suggested that this may weaken the rebels' resolve and lead extremist fighters to accept the government peace offers. Relations between Chad and the Central African Republic (CAR) became increasingly hostile over border issues and Chad's willingness to provide sanctuary to former CAR army chief, General Bozize. In fact, in October General Bozize launched an attack into CAR territory from Chad. A number of key African leaders called for a regional response to prevent further aggression between the two countries.

2001 In May, President Idriss Deby was re-elected by 67 per cent of the vote to his second term in office. According to media reports the election was neither free nor fair with many irregularities reported. The President's actions further alienated the rebels as well as those living within the government-controlled capital, N'Djamena. By January 2002, a breakthrough was reached between the government and the rebel Movement for Democracy and Justice in Chad with the signing of a peace agreement.

"The Chadian government signed a peace agreement with the rebel Movement for Democracy and Justice in Chad (MDJT), following three days of negotiations in the Libyan capital. The agreement provides for an immediate ceasefire, a general amnesty for prisoners held by both sides, and the involvement of the MDJT in the government and other state institutions." [*IRIN*, January 8, 2002]

2000 In April, a meeting sponsored by Libyan president Ghadafi between President Idriss Déby and former head of state Goukouni Weddèye ended without progress. Gabon President Omar Bongo allowed the Coordination des Mouvements Armés et Partis Politiques de l'Opposition (CMAP), an umbrella organization bringing together the Chadian opposition, to operate out of Libreville. At year-end, the Chad government declared that a portion of a \$24 million advance from international oil companies -- Exxon, Chevron, and Petronas -- was used to fight the rebels. The World Bank, which is helping to finance an oil pipeline, expressed concern over the government's military spending.

1999 The government and the armed opposition group, the Movement for Democracy and Development (MDD) signed a reconciliation accord in Khartoum, Sudan in July 1999. On the other hand, thirteen armed political movements announced in December the formation in Paris of a new alliance against the government, the CMAP (Coordination des Mouvements Armes et Politiques de l'Opposition).

1998 With the FARF leader, Laokein Barde Frisson missing and presumed dead, the FARF entered into peace negotiations in May which led to a shaky settlement, though one strictly adhered to during the remainder of 1998. Members of the FARF were granted amnesty for the numerous atrocities they committed, especially on the civilian population, during their insurgency between October 1997 and May 1998. The government was non-committal in acknowledging the serious human rights abuses they committed during this time. The peace accord represented a major, though not final, step in Chad's attempts at brokering a long lasting peace.

Background:

Chad has been embroiled in internal intermittent armed conflict since its independence from France in 1965. In the 1990s, the main fighting was between the government of President Idriss Déby and southern factions, the most important of which has been the Movement for Democracy and Development linked to deposed President Hissene Habre. Other rebel groups, including the Armed Forces for a Federal Republic (FARF) and the Movement for Democracy and Justice in Chad (MDJT) have joined the fighting more recently.

The country has moved slowly towards a representative government, establishing an interim legislative body, the Higher Council of Transition (CST), in 1993. Following earlier delayed polls, 1996 saw the adoption of a Constitution in a March referendum and the election of Idriss Déby for a five-year presidential term. Although the election was marred by reports of fraud, vote-rigging, and irregularities by local officials, no major incidents of violence were reported. During 1997, elections to replace the CST with a National Legislative Assembly were held, followed by confirmation of a presidentially nominated Prime Minister by the new Assembly. An April 1997 peace agreement between the government and FARF to integrate FARF forces into the state army broke down, resulting in renewed fighting in October 1997.

In December 1999, thirteen armed political movements formed a new alliance against the government, the CMAP (Coordination des Mouvements Armes et Politiques de l'Opposition). By 2000 most fighting between government and rebel forces had shifted to the north of the country. In January 2002, the government and more moderate elements of the MDJT signed a peace agreement and the government issued a general amnesty

to rebel fighters, offering many former combatants positions in the government and the military. A faction of the MDJT rejected the peace agreement and continued fighting in the North, the only military active rebel group by 2003. By 2004 the northern rebellion had lost much of its strength and peace negotiations between the government and the remaining rebels resulted in a peace accord in 2005. However, army deserters and ethnic groups opposed to President Deby formed two new rebel groups, the Platform for Change, National Unity and Democracy (French acronym, SCUD) and the Rally for Democracy and Change (RLD), and fighting continued in the east of the country. In 2006 eight rebel factions united to form the United Front for Democratic Change (FUCD). The new faction is allegedly funded and supported by the Sudanese government in Khartoum and holds its bases in Darfur, Sudan. An attempted siege on the capital, N'Djamena in April 2006 strained relations between Deby and Khartoum as diplomatic relations were cut and the border closed. Despite a formal agreement to resume contact with Sudan, the Chadian government has declared a state of emergency in many southern regions as ethnic conflict has begun to erupt, realizing the fear that the crisis in Darfur spread to Chad.

The pattern of 2006 repeated itself almost verbatim in 2008, with coup attempts threatening any modicum of diplomacy between the governments of Chad and Sudan. Meanwhile, it was announced that former president Habre will face trial in Senegal for crimes against humanity allegedly committed under his presidency. Habre was also sentenced to death in Chad, in absentia, for his alleged involvement in the February 2008 coup attempt. A future transfer of power to Habre's ally and rebel leader Mahamat Nouri, whether via elections or force, could result in political backlash against Habre's detractors and ethnic backlash against the Zagwara ethnic group of which Deby is a member.

"Another factor in [the conflict] was the decision by President Idriss Deby of Chad a couple of years back to amend the constitution so that he could sever a third term as president. So the people who thought it was their turn to get a piece of the pie, which [...] comes down to the revenues from the oil fields, [...] felt that the only alternative was to pick up arms. And they then went and joined the existing rebels that are trying to overthrow the Chadian government"
[Interview with Reed Brody, HRW lawyer and Chad expert, *Newsweek*, Feb 5, 2008]

Arms Sources:

In January, 2006, the World Bank froze accounts belonging to Chad, as the government refused to employ oil revenues for the eradication of poverty and infrastructure development. The sanctions came after President Deby professed that he wished to use millions in oil revenue for the purchase of weapons. In 2005, Chad reportedly spent an estimated 50.5 million USD on arms. The government has stated that if the Bank refuses to release their accounts they will cease oil production entirely.

The government has received weapons from the Ukraine, Russia, United States, France and the Netherlands. Reports in 2000 indicated that Chad spent US \$4 million of World Bank oil pipeline project funds to purchase arms to fight the civil war. According to at least one report, arms originating from Sudan have made their way to Chad via private sources. Furthermore, there remain many small arms in Chad which were brought into the country during the cold war, as France and Libya backed opposing Chadian forces.

[Sources: *SIPRI Yearbook 2005/2006*, *The Military Balance 2004/2005*, *SIPRI Arms Transfer Database*; *BBC News*, 1999; *World Military Expenditures and Arms Transfers 1999-2000*; *Energy Information Administration*, October 2002; *IRIN Web Special on Civilian Protection in Armed Conflict*, March 30, 2003]

"Like France, the United States provides military support to Chad in spite of its human rights record. American diplomats have urged President Deby to undertake voluntary democratic reforms, but the United States could exert far more pressure, given the amount of military assistance it provides. In the US 2006 defence budget, Chad was one of roughly a dozen countries to receive at least 10 million USD in Section 1206 funding, intended to build counterterrorism capacity in foreign military forces. US Marines and Army Special Forces instructors organize and train brigades of elite counterterrorism commandos, some of whom have defected to the rebels. The sale of four American-made C-130 transport aircraft was pending at this writing." [*Human Rights Watch*, January 2008]

"France simultaneously provides support to the Chadian military, even though it has been

responsible for some of the very human rights abuses the French initiatives are designed to mitigate. France has more than 1 000 troops permanently stationed in Chad and has provided military intelligence, logistical assistance, medical services and ammunition to the Chadian military." [VOA News, January 24, 2007]

"The World Bank, has halted all loans to the country and frozen an oil escrow account over Chad's management of its petrodollars." [Reuters, January 31, 2006]

Economic Factors:

In 2007, the Chadian and Chinese governments agreed on plans to allow Chinese firms to build a petroleum refinery and a cement factory in Chad. Many international actors worry that China's unconditional investment will fuel the current conflict by providing the government with revenue which will be used to purchase weapons and ammunition. There is also concern that the country's natural resources will be exploited and that the benefits from Chinese investment will be hoarded by the government and used to reward its supporters. This situation could increase and prolong the current instability in Chad, as well as make future attempts to find a peace settlement more difficult. Citing Chad's continued failure to use oil revenues for poverty reduction, the World Bank recalled its outstanding loans from Chad's oil pipeline project to the Cameroon in 2008. The World Bank thus ended a decade long involvement with the project that generated an estimated \$2.5 billion in government revenue.

"We have very high hopes... If the West does not want to invest in us, let the Chinese come. We welcome them. They don't tell us what to do and they bring development. They are good partners." [Khalifa Malloum, Secretary General of Bongor's Regional Government in Chad, *New York Times*, August 13, 2007]

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