



CFK Peace Brief

CHAD: Consolidating Gains

Security Sector Reform Recommendations to the Government of Chad

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SUMMARY

The Government of Chad's (GOC) request not to renew MINURCAT's mandate opens up opportunities, as the UN Mission develops its exit strategy, to re-invigorate Security Sector Reforms. While progress in Chad has been noted, impunity and lawlessness in eastern Chad continue. The GOC can help improve security for all its citizens by:

- Implementing national security sector reforms
- Developing a comprehensive strategy to secure eastern Chad
- Linking security sector reforms to justice system reforms
- Opening Chad's democratic space

In response to widespread insecurity and escalating violence in eastern Chad, the international community, in consultation with the Government of Chad (GOC), authorized the deployment of a Multidimensional Peacekeeping Operation ^[1]. A year ago, the United Nations Mission in the Central African Republic and Chad (MINURCAT II) replaced the European bridging Force (EUFOR) to help foster favorable security conditions for the voluntary and lasting return of refugees and internally displaced populations (IDP).

On January 19, 2010, in a verbal note to the United Nations Secretary-General (UNSG) and the United Nations Security Council (UNSC), the Government of Chad opted not to renew MINURCAT's mandate; identifying slow deployment, an uneven track record of success, and a change in context as reasons for its decision.

While much remains to be done, the Chadian Government has in recent months made significant progress in a variety of areas that are worth consolidating. This Peace Brief highlights areas where additional efforts can be made by the GOC as it prepares to take

^[1] S/RES/1778 (2007)

over security responsibilities in eastern Chad and seeks to maintain the gains made by the United Nations Mission in the Central African Republic and Chad.

Improvements in the Chadian Context

Over the past several months, significant changes were noted in the Chadian context. While border areas are by no means secure ^[2], improvements in Chad-Sudan relations and the current strength of Chad's Defense and Security Forces (Chadian National Army, National and Nomadic Guard, Gendarmerie and Police) have diminished the likelihood of any major rebel incursions on N'Djamena.

The Government's fight against corruption, through the Ministry Delegate to the Presidency in Charge of General State Control and Moralization, is beginning to cleanse the political environment in the capital city. Many hope that these arrests will encourage long awaited reforms of the Justice and the Penal Systems and become an opportunity for the Government to replace convicted offenders with honest and competent Chadians.

Progress made by the GOC and the political opposition in the implementation of the August 13, 2007 Electoral Reform Agreement is preparing Chad for legislative elections in November 2010 and Presidential elections in April 2011. Real concessions were made by both the Government and the political opposition for the sake of improving the democratic process in Chad.

Continued Insecurity in Eastern Chad

For a country at the bottom of most development indicators, perceived by many international stakeholders and national observers to be gangrened by corruption and nepotism, the road towards visible and palpable reform is inevitably long and uneven. While change is incremental, gains need to be consolidated and the Government of Chad encouraged to venture even further in its stabilization and reconstruction efforts. Taming eastern Chad will be for the Government a true test of will. In a climate of complete impunity, banditry in eastern Chad is flourishing. Insecurity and lawlessness are expressed in their worst forms; by a chronic non-respect of the law.

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While the true level of banditry is difficult to assess, civilian populations are continuously at risk of aggressive robberies, physical attacks, and intimidations. Victims time and again describe bandits "as unidentified individuals wearing military uniforms

^[2] MINURCAT BRQ 1 February 2010 (violent combats in Kalae, near Um Dukhum, opposing the Chadian National Army against a rebel group entering Chadian territory)

and carrying automatic machine guns” [3]. Vehicles are regularly carjacked, the local population, refugees and IDPs threatened and shot, NGO bases robbed, and in 2009 several aid workers were even kidnapped. Consequently, humanitarian presence has been reduced in many high-risk areas, leaving certain villages exposed and without services. The proliferation of arms, banditry, and judicial impunity continue to present serious obstacles to securing eastern Chad.

Despite improvements in Chad-Sudan relations, border areas remain extremely volatile. The infiltration of soldiers and armed men, especially in zones north of Farchana occurs on a regular basis. The Ouré Cassoni refugee camp is regularly accessed by armed groups and both child and forced recruitments have been reported [4].

Failure to establish proper security conditions in eastern Chad may result in increased inter-communal conflict, increased internal and trans-border banditry, and potentially jeopardize Chad-Sudan relations.

RECOMMENDATIONS

We commend the Government’s desire to assume responsibility for ensuring the effective protection of civilians, for addressing widespread impunity, and for supporting an environment that facilitates the delivery of humanitarian assistance in eastern Chad. As the Government of Chad, in consultation with the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO), discusses an appropriate strategy for a controlled and phased exit of the UN Mission, we urge the GOC to take advantage of MINURCAT’s remaining time in Chad to re-invigorate its own Security Sector Reforms (SSR).

1. National Security Sector Reforms

Chadian Defense and Security Forces Military Doctrine and Standards: referring to the 2005 “Etats Généraux des Armées,” the GOC should translate the recommendations in a realistic action plan. Instilling a common military doctrine, a respect for the military hierarchy, and strong values in its soldiers and police forces can only strengthen Chad’s national security. By eliminating gaps between policy and practice, and prioritizing the protection of civilians, the Chadian Government can inspire a new sense of excellence and service in its armed men. To improve the quality of its Defense and Security Forces, it would be important to raise the recruitment standards for new soldiers, require minimal competency exams, literacy tests, and basic military training for all incoming recruits, while offering human rights

[3] “MINURCAT: Achievements, disappointments and a fragile future” Institute of Studies on Conflicts and Humanitarian Action (IECAH), Madrid, 26 February 2010, p.6

[4] Ibid.

and rule of law training to all current military and police personnel. Impartiality in the way personnel is assigned to different posts and the determination of pay grades based on competence can improve morale. The Government's sensitization campaigns to encourage birth registrations and vaccination are positive steps that should be re-invigorated. The decision to distribute bio-metric identification cards to all military personnel and regulating the sale of military uniforms can begin the process of identifying who is a Chadian soldier.

Corruption: the GOC is strongly encouraged to continue fighting corruption and the mismanagement of public goods in all its forms and to seize the opportunity to decrease instances of nepotism by replacing convicted officials with individuals hired based on their qualifications. Ensuring the financial stability of its armed men can decrease instances of corruption and theft by military and police personnel.

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2. Security in Eastern Chad

A *Controlled and Phased approach to MINURCAT's Transfer of Responsibility:* by developing a comprehensive security strategy that meets the specific safety needs of all civilians in eastern Chad (including locals, refugees, IDPs and humanitarian aid workers), the Government can ensure an effective and timely hand-over of responsibility from the UN Mission. Considering the UN Security Council's commitment to improve the transition and exit strategy of its Peacekeeping Operations [5], the GOC should ensure that MINURCAT's withdrawal ultimately strengthens the capacity of its national institutions. As the GOC begins to incrementally replace UN Forces around refugee and IDP sites, the Chadian National Army (ANT) should also focus on preventative deployment in high-risk areas that lacked a UN presence in order to mitigate opportunistic and sporadic banditry. Specific evacuation plans for civilian populations should be elaborated in consultation with beneficiaries in case of emergency or imminent danger. Because the ANT cannot be everywhere, local security structures such as vigilance committees and civilian security networks developed by traditional authorities must be preserved and strengthened.

"*Détachement Intégrés de Sécurité*" (DIS): the GOC should also develop a long-term strategy to progressively assume complete control of the DIS and eventually re-integrate DIS agents into Chad's national police forces. The GOC should increase the number of DIS agents, maintain high selection and recruitment standards based on

[5] Security Council 6270th Meeting, 12 February 2010

objective qualifications, and improve the DIS' security coordination mechanisms with other components of the military. Of course, establishing independent monitoring mechanisms will also help maintain the quality of the police force, ensure accountability to the communities they serve, and give the Government the opportunity to catch and sanction offenders.

Public Trust: the confidence of the local population in the Chadian army's ability to provide security for all its citizens equally is low. The Chadian Government can rebuild the public's trust in its Defense and Security Forces by bringing to justice undisciplined soldiers and by ensuring that convicted individuals complete their sentences. Victims must be able to report a crime to the proper authorities without the fear of retribution and knowing that justice will be served. Improving communication with refugees and IDPs by establishing systematic consultations with both and assuming leadership and initiative in linking with non-governmental partners and international stakeholders can go a long way.

3. Linking Security Sector Reforms to Justice System Reforms

National Justice System Reforms: In coordination with the European Union's Justice System Support Program (PRAJUST), the GOC should continue implementing the 2003 "Etats Généraux de la Justice" and re-enforce the development of an independent Justice System. Any attempt to undermine the judicial process, particularly during an election period, will damage the public's confidence in the Government's ability to hold free and fair elections. A Justice System unable to try high-profile corruption cases damages the Government's credibility and promotes lawlessness. The UN can help the GOC bring Chad's Penal System up to international norms of basic human rights standards by continuing to rehabilitate Chad's prison infrastructure, training prison guards, and assisting the Government revise its penal code.

Professional Judges: while MINURCAT's judicial training of "sous-prefets" may have short-term benefits for the up-coming elections, careful consideration must be given that these programs not blur the separation between executive and judicial power. To avoid this potential problem, the Government should commit financial resources to hiring and training new judges and lawyers and start the process of replacing non-professional judges with professional judges. Traditional systems of justice can be reinforced until

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qualified judges are ready to be instated. Respecting basic selection criteria and ensuring the transparent appointment of all judicial staff will strengthen the Government's ability to ensure that all its citizens receive equal treatment under the law.

4. Chad's Democratic Space

Governance: Holding free and fair elections should be the Government's focus during the next year and all perceptions of fraud should be minimized or avoided altogether. Given the vital need to have impartial members of the "Bureau Permanent des Elections" (BPE) in the sub-regions, and in accordance with the August 13 Electoral Reform Agreement, the GOC should urgently begin the demilitarization of its territory allowing administrative positions to be filled by non-military personnel.

Long-term Peace: In the long run, the sustainability of any peacebuilding efforts in eastern Chad will depend on improving governance and opening the democratic space in N'Djamena. The GOC's willingness to invest in Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR) programs can facilitate the re-integration of ex-combatants and help break the cycle of violence in Chad. Creating job opportunities for young people can ensure that the next generation finds legal employment more lucrative than joining a rebel group. Raising education standards, implementing national civic education and human rights programs for local communities can empower young people to engage peacefully in the governance of their country.

Conclusions

Given the Government's current political resolve for change, it follows that the GOC should seek to continue in its stabilization and reconstruction efforts by assuming full responsibility for the security of its entire territory. Securing eastern Chad will be for the Government a great challenge. The Government can use the "lessons learned" from MINURCAT's limitations and successes to develop its own comprehensive strategy to secure eastern Chad and consolidate gains already made.

As the Government of Chad, in collaboration with the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations, prepares for the withdrawal of UN troops, it is imperative that the hand-over include UN support for genuine National Security Sector Reforms to minimize protection gaps in eastern Chad. It is highly recommended that any UN exit strategy enhance the capacity of the Government to secure its own territory. We therefore urge the GOC to use the UN' technical expertise as a catalyst for transitioning its own security sector activities from short-term stabilization to long-term peace, enhancing the delivery of basic services and prioritizing the protection of civilians.