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*PRODUCER: Andy Denwood*

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#### ACTUALITY IN VEHICLE

CARNEY: We've driven hours and hours up a dirt road to come to the eastern border of Chad, the border of Chad with Sudan. We're just about to go into the town of Adre which, until last year, was no more than an ordinary market town. Today it's a heavily fortified garrison. If I look to my left, just at the top of the hill, there's a tank, there's an armoured vehicle, there are clearly army checkpoints all along here. Since late last year, this remote region has become the centre of a developing security and humanitarian crisis. Violence from neighbouring Darfur is spilling across the border. Yet it's three years since Darfur first hit the headlines - three years in which the international community has been talking tough, but failing to deliver.

REEVES: In many ways we are witnessing Rwanda in slow motion. It's as though the gods of history are looking down upon us and seeing our failure in 1994, decided to give us another chance and we're failing just as badly.

SIGNATURE TUNE

ACTUALITY IN REFUGEE CAMP

CARNEY: This is Gaga refugee camp in Eastern Chad. The clinic is busy vaccinating the children of families who have just arrived. But even under the shade of the plastic awning it's hot and it's dusty. They're trying to keep the vaccines cold in coolboxes they've got under the table. I can see the rows of tents in front of me. They're pitched on baked hard red earth. But you can tell who's been here longest because some people have made little fences out of dead wood. They're keeping in the goats and the donkeys. Some of the tents have got straw panels around them. That's to keep the sandstorms out. Ginette Le Breton works for the United Nations High Commission for Refugees and she says they're struggling to keep up.

LE BRETON: First when they arrive, like you can see some of them, they are under trees with the little belongings they have. At night they sleep either under trees, or for the children, they go sometimes under those plastic sheeting that has been put in place as a reception area. But although we've been adding more staff in order to give tents to these people as quickly as possible, as you can see in the sun it's getting quite warm and not a good idea to stay too long in the sun. So right now I think they are able to have a tent in two or three days. It's getting quite good.

CARNEY: What's the temperature at the minute?

LE BRETON: It's probably close to 45, it's probably getting there, and it's going to go higher in April and in May.

CARNEY: There are twelve UNHCR camps in Eastern Chad, housing over 200,000 Sudanese who have fled the fighting in Darfur. And the numbers were stable until a new stream of dispossessed and desperate recently started turning up. Gaga's the only camp that has now got any space left.

LE BRETON: In January it was still slow, probably five hundred, six hundred. In February we had a hundred and twenty-five, two hundred a day sometimes, and it kept on going and going. But refugees keep telling us, more will be coming. The majority of them, they're here because they fear attacks. Three years ago it was in Darfur they fled attacks and violence in their villages so they came to the border,



MOHAMMED (VIA INTERPRETER): Yes, I was there. We did not react. They have come and they have start killing.

CARNEY: What sort of people were they? Describe them.

MOHAMMED (VIA INTERPRETER): Those people are the Janjaweed and they came with the government forces.

CARNEY: What makes you think they were Janjaweed?

MOHAMMED (VIA INTERPRETER): Because they arrived on horses, camels, with helicopters.

CARNEY: And what did the helicopters do?

MOHAMMED (VIA INTERPRETER): The helicopter fired first and then the Janjaweed come later to finish the job.

CARNEY: What happened to the rest of the village?

MOHAMMED (VIA INTERPRETER): Some had been killed and others just run for safety. My mother succeed to run away but my father was killed. They were shot. My brother also was shot down. The rest of us succeed to run for escape.

CARNEY: They lived in an area of Darfur called Masteri. UN reports confirm very high levels of violence and insecurity there. Last December there was heavy fighting as Sudanese forces, supported by what were described as armed tribesmen, attacked Sudanese rebels. Armed militias destroyed all the water points constructed by the aid agencies and NGO workers had to withdraw, leaving 140,000 people without assistance. But this year the Janjaweed have extended their reach into Chad. Two-thirds of the recent arrivals at Gaga camp are Sudanese, they'd been attacked in Darfur and had sought peace in Chad's border villages, where they've lived for the past two years. But now those villages too are suffering attacks from armed raiders.

## ACTUALITY IN REGISTRATION OFFICE

CARNEY: In the refugees' registration office, Ahmed Ibrahim was waiting to get a ticket for tents and cooking utensils for his two wives and nine children. They'd hidden in the bush for ten days after the Janjaweed struck.

IBRAHIM (VIA INTERPRETER): It was about 7am when people coming out from the mosque after the morning prayer, Janjaweed came and they just attacked people there, start shooting and killing.

CARNEY: What did the people who attacked you look like?  
How do you know they were Janjaweed?

IBRAHIM (VIA INTERPRETER): Because they come with arms and they are on horses and camels.

CARNEY: How many of them were there?

IBRAHIM (VIA INTERPRETER): I can't tell you exactly how many, but they came in great great numbers of raiders. Let's talk about more than three hundred. When they arrive, they start shooting and racing with the horses and people start crying, saying that the Arabs have come, the Arabs have come. Everybody was running for cover. And then the village was empty, they took away all the livestock and all they could find there. What could we do with bare hands and faced to men with weapons and arms? All we can do is just to run away. We buried more than fifteen. We counted about twenty people injured by the Janjaweed.

CARNEY: There are no accurate figures for the number of dead or injured from these raids, but the hospital at Adre, the only one in the whole border region, regularly sees the casualties. There are currently 26 patients with gunshot wounds, often brought in after a day's trek by horse and cart. The hospital's run by Medicines San Frontiers, in a sprawling compound with a big 'no guns inside here' sign at the barrier. The facilities are basic, there aren't enough beds in the small concrete wards, so there are



CARNEY: And what's the hospital had to do, what sort of treatment have you had to give him?

BONELLE: He came very injured on his leg. So we had to first to put a lot of bandages and he had to receive blood, and it's our problem here, we have no blood bank, so we have to find people, relatives or any people, I gave my blood, everybody gave his blood to try to save them. He had to go to the operating theatre. There we can see how bad it was, so we had no choice, we had to amputate his two legs.

CARNEY: Both legs?

BONELLE: Yes.

CARNEY: The local government official, Touka Ramadan Kore, doesn't hesitate before blaming the Government of Sudan for backing the Janjaweed raids.

KORE (VIA INTERPRETER): Well this issue is very crucial to me. It's an issue of major concern, because we are facing always on a daily basis attack from Janjaweed, supported by the Sudanese army. It's a big issue of concern. And from time to time I make the rounds to see the situation of these populations and it's really disastrous. So far this militia, the Janjaweed, succeeded to take hundreds of thousands of livestock from peaceful populations all along the border in the Chadian side. Sudan is not only helping the Janjaweed, but it's trying to create a situation of instability along the border.

CARNEY: The Government of Sudan denies supporting or arming the Janjaweed, or playing any part in militia raids across the border into Chad. In the New Year the area there was considered so dangerous that most aid agencies which monitor the situation pulled back. But eyewitness evidence comes from Olivier Bercault from Human Rights Watch, who in January drove south from Adre. Local people told him the Janjaweed sometimes came by themselves, sometimes they attacked with Chadian rebels, and on at least one occasion had apparent backup from the Sudanese army.

BERCAULT: We interviewed a lot of people, of course, villagers, victims, witnesses, and we asked a lot of questions, and the description of the assailants is the same as the one we got from victims inside Sudan. There are two types of assailant - the Janjaweed and the regular soldiers. The Janjaweed are wearing these uniforms but without any ranks on the uniforms, and they are on horses, they wear turbans and they speak Sudanese Arabic. On the other hand, the description of the soldiers by the Chadian villagers are very precise. You can see the ranks on their shoulders and they have caps and not turbans, they were in armoured vehicles and helicopters flying over the village and bombing them.

CARNEY: His strongest evidence comes from a hamlet in an area called Gongour, where he says that between December 5<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> last year there were four attacks. In the first two, people said the Janjaweed militias were backed by Sudanese soldiers, vehicles and two helicopters. They thought at first the forces were going after anti Sudanese SLA rebels, fleeing to Chad after clashes in Darfur. But then they said twenty-two hamlets were directly attacked by the Janjaweed, which looted livestock and food.

BERCAULT: We went to a hamlet called Backu and we saw like a huge area on the side of a hill completely burnt down, and so we were looking for pieces of rocket shrapnel and we found a lot of pieces actually. After an hour finally we found this piece the size of a human hand with serial numbers and letters, exactly looking like the types I found myself in Sudan in Jebel Mara. It's an area which has been attacked and bombed by the Sudanese army. Then, when I was back in New York, I compared the serial numbers and they were exactly the same, so it was corroborating what the villagers told me that the Sudanese army had attacked and bombed the area.

CARNEY: The Sudanese Ambassador in London, Dr Hassan Abdin, vehemently denies the charge and any accusations his Government has armed Janjaweed militias or supported raids on villages in Darfur or Chad. There's a ceasefire agreement in Darfur and he says any violations are noted by the African Union peacekeeping force.

People we have recently talked to in Chad, these are refugees who have had to flee their villages, say that they have been attacked by militias backed by Sudanese Government forces. And yet you say the Sudanese Government is not supporting the Janjaweed.

ABDIN: Well probably these people are telling you stories about the past.

CARNEY: No, they weren't stories about the past. These are people who've just arrived at refugee camps in Chad.

ABDIN: Yes, but really do you have any other evidence? You don't have any evidence at all, there's no evidence of that. It's just the hearsay and probably what you listen to from some of the refugees, which should be taken with a grain of salt. We haven't heard about government helicopters, at least this year, bombing people or giving support to organised groups like so-called Arab militias or Janjaweed.

CARNEY: Human Rights Watch recently went to Chad and they gathered fragments of rocket shrapnel from a village, this is in Chad, which matched the same type of weapons that are used by the Sudanese Government forces in Darfur when they looked at the serial numbers. Isn't that proof?

ABDIN: No, we don't take the evidence from Human Rights Watch. We don't trust reports of the Human Rights Watch, because I think they are politically motivated.

CARNEY: Why hasn't Sudan complied with the UN resolution that asked them to disarm the militia?

ABDIN: Well, we did comply with that resolution as far as it was possible to control these militias. These are not government armed militias. These are self armed militias, so-called Janjaweed, defending their own interest.

CARNEY: So are you saying Sudan is unable to control militias in its own country, that you simply have no writ over the Janjaweed?

ABDIN: In Darfur, in Darfur, by the way some of these Janjaweed are not fighting for political reasons, some of them are simply highway robbers.

## ACTUALITY OF PATROL, RADIO, ETC

CARNEY: An army patrol gets ready to roll out of Adre. The town is bristling with troops, but it's not the Janjaweed raids that have brought them here in such large numbers. It's a serious threat to Chad's own President Deby. Chadian rebel groups opposed to his government are hiding just across the border. Last December there was an eight hour battle in Adre after the rebels attacked. The government moved its troops from garrisons along the border to reinforce the town. This created a security vacuum, which is being filled by Janjaweed Arab raiders, bandits, Chadian rebels and nomadic militias, all seeking easy pickings. Charged with defending both the seven hundred mile border and the town, Field Commander Colonel Mohammed Suleyman dismisses any suggestions he hasn't got the troops to secure an area that feels like the wild west, but once again he implicates the Government of Sudan in creating instability in the area.

SULEYMAN (VIA INTERPRETER): It's like a gate, because it's close to El Geneina, and in El Geneina in Sudan is one of the base from which Sudan's forces can use the aircraft, the aeroplanes and all the military equipment to reach Chad. And that's why we are getting ready now to face any threat from Sudan.

CARNEY: How do you know that Sudan is supporting the Chad rebels on the Sudanese side of the border? What evidence is there for that?

SULEYMAN (VIA INTERPRETER): For sure we have evidence. We caught some equipment during the attack of December 18. More than 34 vehicles equipped with 12.7mm machine guns, these are Chinese made arms and it came from Sudan.

CARNEY: The Government of Sudan denies helping the Chadian rebels, but the Adre attack led to Chad declaring what it called 'a state of belligerence with Sudan,' teetering on the edge of war. On paper, fences were apparently mended, with an agreement last month that neither country would support its opposition rebels. Though the monitoring group to oversee the pact still isn't on the ground.

## ACTUALITY OF RADIO

CARNEY: For the UNHCR and humanitarian agencies, security in Eastern Chad is now paramount. In some areas vehicles only move in convoy, and there are constant radio location checks back to base. In January, around 180 aid workers were temporarily pulled back from the field. Two refugee camps are to be moved as they are too close to the unstable border, and the World Food Programme says mounting violence in Eastern Chad could seriously impede relief efforts. Across the border in parts of West Darfur, mounting violence and attacks on aid convoys means the UNHCR's programme there has been halved. In Chad, as Myriam Houtart explains, they've started seeing banditry too.

HOUTART: We have seen an increase of incidents, security incidents on our side, in terms of bandits, car hijacking, we have had even staff taken away for several hours. I think we're still not a target directly, it's still targeted at assets, but it has an impact on our capacity to operate because there are several roads that are becoming no go for humanitarian workers because of the danger.

CARNEY: It's only in the past month that the UNHCR's allowed small humanitarian teams back to the border to see what's going on; and it's worrying news. There are reports of empty villages, and as Myriam Houtart confirms, large numbers of Chadians are amongst those who've fled, and who've now become homeless in their own country.

HOUTART: There are people who have left the border, the number is not clear yet, thirty or forty thousand, maybe more. Some villages seem to be empty, with houses burned and people living in kind of temporary shelter, have moved away from their villages because of constant attack. Recently in March there's been an increase in attack from militia, Arabic militia from Sudan.

CARNEY: So what sort of conditions are these people facing? Have they got any assistance there?

HOUTART: For the moment, no. Obviously the problems is growing and there is a concern from our side that even if there is no need for assistance immediately, this might lead to a crisis in a few weeks if the number continues to grow,









BENN: The international system hasn't done what they ought to have done – in this case to protect people. And that is a responsibility that all of us bear. The humanitarian situation, the people who have been affected by the conflict, is better now than it was two years ago because of the huge international effort to provide support to people in the camps. But that is just dealing with the symptoms of the crisis rather than finding a solution.

CARNEY: But how long do people have to wait for some real action? The sanctions resolution was a year ago now. The resolution that gave the government of Sudan thirty days to disarm the Janjaweed was eighteen months ago. The Janjaweed is still not disarmed. There aren't any sanctions in place.

BENN: On sanctions I hope very much a decision is going to be reached quickly. We've been pressing, as the UK, for the resolution to be agreed, for the sanctions committee to start its work, for the committee to reach a decision where there is evidence to take action against individuals, and I hope that will happen soon.

CARNEY: The latest international peace plan to bring security to Darfur is to replace the current African Union peacekeeping mission with a beefed-up UN force. The African Union doesn't have enough numbers or equipment or a robust enough mandate. But Sudan has lobbied heavily against UN troops in Darfur, saying it would only consider a mission there if the current peace talks succeed. Sudan's President has said the country will become a graveyard for foreign troops, and Dr Hassan Abdin, the Sudanese Ambassador, says a UN deployment in Darfur will raise the spectre of Iraq.

ABDIN: We think it's premature at this juncture to talk about a replacement of the AU mission with a United Nations mission, because the AU, we think, is capable of controlling the situation or at least containing the violence that is happening in Darfur.

CARNEY: But nobody is suggesting that the African Union can actually manage the situation in West Darfur at the moment. It's not well equipped enough, it doesn't have a strong enough mandate, it can't intervene properly to protect civilian populations.

ABDIN: Well just three or four weeks ago, everybody was commending the AU role, but for some reason, you know, which we don't understand, people now are talking about replacing the African Union instead of supporting it logistically. This should not be aborted by talking prematurely about UN forces. I tell you, if we do that, we will simply be running the risk of another insurgency like the one you have in Iraq.

CARNEY: What do you mean by running the risk of an insurgency?

ABDIN: Even the rebels themselves, I think, will fight back foreign troops. What would a United Nations or foreign troops do in Darfur? They will try to rein in some of these groups, whether it's the Janjaweed, whether it is other rebels, so I think this will simply increase the level of violence and will start new conflicts.

CARNEY: The Sudanese Ambassador in London is warning that if UN troops are brought into Darfur, there will be another insurgency and it'll become like Iraq, with militias and rebels turning against the foreign troops. Are you willing to take that risk?

BENN: I would say to the Government of Sudan, as I have directly, and to the Sudanese Ambassador, you might just ask yourselves the question, why is the international community contemplating this? And the answer is, because for three years this conflict has gone on in Darfur. The Government of Sudan has not lived up to its obligations under the peace agreement to try and control the situation. If there can be a peace agreement in Darfur, then that will reduce tension between Darfur and Sudan and Chad, and then in time we could see an improvement in the situation. But things, frankly, are pretty grim at the moment.

#### ACTUALITY IN GAGA REFUGEE CAMP

CARNEY: This was the year when forty thousand Sudanese refugees should have been going home to Darfur. Instead there's a UNHCR contingency plan to assist up to fifty thousand new refugees and displaced people, should the need

