


Security Council

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**PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWO THOUSAND FIVE HUNDRED
AND TWENTIETH MEETING**

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Tuesday, 27 March 1984, at 10.30 a.m.

President: Mr. ARIAS STELLA

(Peru)

Members:	China	Mr. LIANG Yufan
	Egypt	Mr. KHALIL
	France	Mr. LOUET
	India	Mr. KRISHNAN
	Malta	Mr. GAUCI
	Netherlands	Mr. Van der STOEL
	Nicaragua	Mr. CHAMORRO MORA
	Pakistan	Mr. SHAH NAWAZ
	Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic	Mr. KRAVETS
	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics	Mr. TROYANOVSKY
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir John THOMSON
	United States of America	Mrs. KIRKPATRICK
	Upper Volta	Mr. BASSOLE
	Zimbabwe	Mr. MASHINGAIDZE

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The meeting was called to order at 11.25 a.m.

TRIBUTE TO THE MEMORY OF HIS EXCELLENCY MR. AHMED SEKOU TOURE, PRESIDENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY REPUBLIC OF GUINEA

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The international community has learned with deep regret of the death of His Excellency Mr. Ahmed Sékou Touré, President of the People's Revolutionary Republic of Guinea. President Sékou Touré was an outstanding African statesman. I am sure that I am expressing the feelings of all the members of the Council in transmitting to the Government and the people of Guinea, as well as to the members of the bereaved family of the President, our sincere condolences upon the great loss they have suffered.

EXPRESSION OF THANKS TO THE RETIRING PRESIDENT

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): At the outset of this meeting, I should like, on behalf of the Council, to pay a tribute to His Excellency Mr. Shah Nawaz, Permanent Representative of Pakistan to the United Nations, for his services as President of the Security Council in February. Ambassador Shah Nawaz earned our profound gratitude for the consummate diplomatic skill and the unfailing courtesy with which he guided the Council's deliberations last month.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

LETTER DATED 18 MARCH 1984 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SUDAN TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/16420)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Benin, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Nigeria, Oman, Sudan and Zaire in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite these representatives to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in conformity with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Mubarak (Sudan) and Mr. Treiki (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) took places at the Council table; Mr. Ogouma (Benin), Mr. Garba (Nigeria), Mr. Ali (Oman) and Mr. N'Ji-Lamule (Zaire) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The Security Council will now begin consideration of the agenda item.

The Security Council is meeting today in response to a request which appears in a letter dated 18 March 1984 sent to the President of the Security Council by the Permanent Representative of Sudan to the United Nations and contained in document S/16420.

I should also like to bring to the attention of members of the Council the following documents: S/16419, a letter dated 17 March 1984, addressed to the Secretary-General by the Permanent Representative of Sudan to the United Nations,

(The President)

and document S/16421, a letter dated 19 March 1984, addressed to the Secretary-General by the Acting Chargé d'Affaires of the Permanent Mission of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya to the United Nations.

The first speaker is the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Sudan. I welcome him here and invite him to make his statement.

Mr. MUBARAK (Sudan) (interpretation from Arabic): It saddens us to begin this meeting with a eulogy to a prominent leader of Africa who devoted his life to the struggle for the liberation and unity of the African continent. One of the founding fathers of the Organization of African Unity, the Non-Aligned Movement and the Islamic Conference, he is none other than the late President Ahmed Sékou Touré of the fraternal People's Revolutionary Republic of Guinea.

The death of President Sékou Touré comes at a time when the African continent is in greatest need of his wisdom and great experience in fostering unity among African States, the liberation of Namibia, the elimination of racial discrimination and the achievement of the aspirations of the African continent for progress and development. I should like through you, Mr. President, to convey to the people and Government of Guinea and to the family of the departed President Sékou Touré the sincerest condolences of the Government and people of the Sudan. We are confident that the principles to which the late President devoted his life will remain a source of inspiration and guidance to the brotherly people of Guinea in its endeavours to achieve its aspirations.

Allow me at the outset to extend congratulations to you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of this Council for this month. I am confident that your capabilities and wisdom will crown the deliberations of this Council with the desired results which will contribute to bolstering peace and stability and to putting an end to acts of aggression and terrorism.

(Mr. Mubarak, Sudan)

I should like also to extend congratulations to your predecessor, Ambassador Shah Nawaz, Permanent Representative of Pakistan, on the wisdom he displayed in presiding over the Council last month.

Allow me also to thank you and the members of the Council for granting the request of the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan to convene this Council to consider the complaint contained in document S/16420.

(Mr. Mubarak, Sudan)

At 11.30 a.m. on Friday, 16 March, a Soviet-built Tupolev TU-22 bomber of the Libyan air force carried out an air raid over the city of Omdurman, one of the three boroughs making up the national capital of Sudan. It dropped five 500-pound bombs, one of which did not explode and is still in our possession. It is a Soviet-made bomb dating back to 1978.

That raid resulted in the death of five citizens inside their houses, the wounding of a great number and the destruction of premises belonging to the public broadcasting station, some private homes and several vehicles.

The bomber attacked the city of Omdurman from the south-west at a low altitude, thus enabling the city's population to see it very clearly. It then turned back, after having dropped its bombs, and flew off towards the north-west.

The Government of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan has ascertained, on the basis of clear and categorical evidence, that the Libyan bomber took off from the military base of Kufra, in south-eastern Libya, to which it returned following the dastardly attack. It was led by a Libyan crew, consisting of the pilot, Lieutenant-Colonel Salim Ahmed Muftah, Major Murad Nusradin Al-Karmuni and the co-pilot, Al-Mulsif Al-Mabruk. The crew of the bomber was promoted immediately after the raid for the sabotage they had perpetrated. The bomber is one of seven Soviet-built TU-22s owned by Libya. It is a medium-range bomber with a range of 1,570 nautical miles - that is, about 3,000 kilometres - and its supersonic speed is about 1,600 kilometres an hour, which enables it to strike its target and return without refuelling. This bomber is characterized by its radar-jamming ability. According to reports from international strategic institutes, the only State in Africa possessing such bombers is Libya.

(Mr. Mubarak, Sudan)

The Government of the Sudan has evidence confirming that the squadron of TU-22s owned by Libya and permanently stationed at Kufra base was transferred to another site immediately following the raid against Omdurman.

The city of Omdurman is situated on the western bank of the Nile, separated from Khartoum, the capital, by the White Nile, and from Khartoum Bahri, the third borough of the capital, by the Blue Nile. It is the headquarters of the National People's Council and of the public television and broadcasting station of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan. It is the most densely populated city in the Sudan, especially the area situated on the bank of the Nile which was the target of the Libyan attack.

The plane, flying low as it did, with the noise it made and the explosion of its bombs, gave rise to panic among the peaceful population in their homes at the weekend.

The gravity of this event lies not only in the fact that it is a flagrant act of aggression against and a blatant violation of the sovereignty of the Sudan, a dastardly act of war and a heinous attack against civilian targets in the most densely populated city in the Sudan, but also in the fact that it is one more link, certainly not the last, in an uninterrupted chain of acts of aggression, sabotage and flagrant, continuous interference in the internal affairs of the Sudan, announced and implemented by Libya over the past few years in full view of the world. The most recent such occasion was the speech by Colonel Qaddafi on 2 March, when he stated:

"We tell the lackeys in the Sudan that we are allied with the popular revolution in south Sudan to liberate the Sudan inch by inch, just as Lebanon was liberated."

He continued:

"The Libyan revolution has decided to ally itself with the revolution in south Sudan, because the People's Jamahiriya was heartened by America's defeat in Lebanon."

The records of this Council and of the regional organizations to which the Sudan and Libya belong affirm this and spare us the need to go into details of the bleak record of the Libyan régime with respect to the Sudan and to other African and Arab States. It suffices here to review, simply by way of example, some of the events to which Sudan has been exposed over the past few years, while indicating at the same time Sudan's persistent and recurrent efforts to treat the acts of aggression by the Libyan régime within the context of the League of Arab States and the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and to inform those organizations and this Council of these practices.

First, in July 1976, Sudan was the victim of a brutal invasion by forces mobilized and trained by Libya, which equipped them with the most modern weapons and equipment and with vehicles to infiltrate the north-west frontiers of Sudan. The invasion was aimed at overthrowing the régime and installing a puppet régime that would place Sudan under Libyan guardianship and make it into a corridor for sabotage and intervention by the Libyan régime in other African States. In spite of the fact that the people and Government of Sudan repulsed the invasion, the loss of life, especially among civilians and children, and the destruction inflicted upon the capital, left a deep wound which cannot heal with the passage of time. We refer here to Security Council document S/12122 of 5 July 1976, containing the complaint by Sudan and its request for an urgent meeting of the Council to discuss the Libyan act of aggression.

(Mr. Mubarak, Sudan)

Second, in June 1981, Libya planted explosives in the Embassy of Chad in Khartoum, resulting in loss of life and property. Some of the perpetrators of the crimes, who had come from Libya to carry out this act of sabotage, confessed the details of Libya's involvement in that incident.

Third, the Libyan occupation forces in Chad shelled villages in western Sudan with bombs and rockets on 10 September 1981 and subsequent days. This resulted in loss of life and property. We informed the ambassadors of all the States represented in Khartoum of what had happened and asked them to convey the information to their Governments. We also affirmed, in order to pre-empt Libyan lies, Sudan's readiness to receive fact-finding commissions from the League of Arab States, the OAU or the United Nations.

(Mr. Mubarak, Sudan)

Libya's insistence on continually interfering in the internal affairs of the Sudan, its denial of the Sudan's legitimate right to sovereignty over its own territory, and to adopt policies emanating from the ambitions and hopes of the people, and its rejection of the principles of good-neighbourliness, non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States, and the non-use or threat of use of force in international relations.

The reason behind the repeated Libyan acts of aggression against the Sudan is as follows: The Libyan régime wishes to impose its tutelage and hegemony upon us and to deprive us of our right to adopt independent positions. We are not war-mongers or empire-builders. We do not export revolutionary philosophies. We do not aspire to hegemony or domination over anyone; all we aspire to is peace and security, which would enable us to devote our attention to the urgent needs of our people and to continue our development efforts aimed at achieving well-being for our people. The President of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan has reiterated this on many occasions, most recently in his address on 3 March 1984, in which he said that the cornerstone of our foreign relations is the protection of common peace and security, and mutual respect for the right of international and national sovereignty, for the safety and security of all peoples and States of the region, and for the right to choose political and social systems without any interference, tutelage or coercion.

As the representative of a developing country, Mr. President, you are aware that the stifling international economic crisis, which paralyzes our economies and threatens the very survival of our peoples and the ability of our Governments to guarantee the provision of basic necessities, permits none of us to indulge in dreams of leadership, domination and hegemony - particularly in Africa, where

(Mr. Mubarak, Sudan)

adverse international economic factors are combined with natural factors to turn the everyday endeavour for subsistence into a desperate daily struggle for millions of people.

Today we face challenges, we bear the burdens of reconstruction and we must withstand economic crises, and therefore we cannot create conflicts, waste our potential and our resources on stockpiling highly sophisticated modern weapons. We must concentrate on the priorities of our peoples, on achieving social and economic development for our countries, on bringing about the independence of Namibia, on eradicating apartheid in southern Africa, on achieving a just and comprehensive peace in the Middle East, and on securing the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people.

(Mr. Mubarak, Sudan)

These are concerns and priorities whose realization requires great efforts and the mobilization and dedication of every potential and all resources. However, the purpose and policy of the Libyan leadership, to which it devotes all its potential, is to destabilize the security of the States of the region and impede their development in order to achieve its ambition of hegemony, domination and tutelage over peoples.

Sudan resorted to the Security Council following the Libyan invasion in July 1976, but withdrew its complaint in response to the mediation of our Arab and African brothers. It was a worthy mediation, which we accepted on the basis of our Arab and African commitment and the great importance that we attach to the role played by the League of Arab States and the Organization of African Unity. It may be appropriate to mention here what the then Minister for Foreign Affairs of Sudan said when he met with the Secretary-General of the United Nations following the withdrawal of the complaint. He assured him that despite the recognition by Sudan and its people of the role of the Organization of African Unity and the League of Arab States in settling conflicts between Member States, Sudan did not consider that what Libya had done was part of a mere conflict between two States. In its view, it was a flagrant aggression which would threaten the peace and security of the region if the international community, represented in the Security Council, did not face it firmly.

Once again we affirm that the Libyan air raid against Sudan cannot be considered part of a conflict between two States or an offshoot of such a conflict. It was a deliberate, unprovoked act of aggression and a serious violation which cannot be condoned. It is also a serious precedent which undermines the basis of international relations and the conventions and norms which govern such relations, prohibiting aggression and the use of force. In that light,

(Mr. Mubarak, Sudan)

it goes beyond a mere violation of the security and sovereignty of one State and becomes a threat to the peace and security of the region, and therefore requires firm action by the international community.

The air raid carried out by Libya against my country on the morning of Friday, 16 March 1984, was undoubtedly a blatant act of aggression and a clear, flagrant violation of the sovereignty and security of Sudan and its citizens. It also represents a direct threat to peace and security in the region and the world in general. Because the Charter has entrusted this Council with the responsibility for taking all necessary measures to safeguard international peace and security, the Council must do the following: first, condemn the Libyan act of aggression carried out on the morning of Friday, 16 March 1984; secondly, call upon Libya to desist forthwith from repeating such an act; and, thirdly, persuade Libya to respect the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Sudan.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I thank the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Sudan for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, the Secretary of the People's Committee of the People's Bureau for Foreign Liaison of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, His Excellency Mr. Ali Abdusalam Treiki. I invite him to make his statement.

Mr. TREIKI (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (interpretation from Arabic): Before beginning my statement I should like to express our deep regret at the loss of an African leader - President Ahmed Sékou Touré, of revolutionary Guinea. Those who knew President Sékou Touré personally - and I am proud to be among them - realize the importance of his role in Africa's struggle for independence and freedom. President Sékou Touré led his people in a long struggle for independence and said "No" to colonialism at a time when many other African leaders said "Yes". The

(Mr. Treiki, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)

strong fraternal links that bind Libya and Guinea have developed through fruitful, continuous co-operation. We express our condolences and ask mercy for the late departed and patience for his bereaved family.

I should like to express to you, Sir, our sincere congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. As you represent a non-aligned country and people aspiring to freedom, like the rest of the peoples that struggle against hegemony and colonialism, we are confident that you are eminently qualified to preside over the Council during this critical period. In addition, I cannot fail to express our great thanks and appreciation to our brother, Ambassador Shah Nawaz, of Pakistan, for the excellent manner in which he presided over the Council last month.

I cannot conceal my feelings of regret and disappointment to be speaking before you, Mr. President, about an allegation relating to two fraternal countries whose peoples are bound by ties of blood, religion and language. Those two peoples have a common history and a common destiny. Together with the Republic of Egypt, they are members of what has been called the Tripoli Charter, an organization to promote unity. Libya and Sudan were both supposed to carry out joint action to denounce the real enemy of the Arab nation and together to confront the imperialist threat represented by the allies of zionism. That was a duty incumbent upon both Sudan and Libya. But one cannot always have what one wants.

(Mr. Treiki, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)

I know the Sudan and its people very well, and I had therefore expected that fraternal country to be an ally of Libya against imperialist American intervention. We stand together in one broad front against the Zionists and their imperialist allies.

I should like at the outset to address the remarks with which the Foreign Minister of Sudan concluded his statement. He wondered about the reasons behind the dispute between Libya and the Sudan. He said we were one people with one language, neighbours who had no problems regarding borders or other issues. I agree with him in that respect, but I disagree with him about the reasons. The reasons lie in the fact that the Sudan has been used by the forces of imperialism to launch a feverish campaign against the great 1 September Revolution as a revolution that stands against imperialism and supports the rights of peoples.

The Foreign Minister of the Sudan spoke of events for which he claimed Libya was responsible, but he forgot that the matter is rooted in the internal situation in Sudan and the problems faced by that fraternal country. We know of those problems. Between the coup d'état of May 1969 and the present day, Sudan has been exposed to more than 18 coups d'état.

Today's Washington Post states that:

"The escalating tension sheds light on Nimeiri's weakness since he succeeded in frustrating 15 coups d'état after assuming power in 1969."

At present - the newspaper goes on -

"Nimeiri has at his disposal the American AWACS to protect him from real or imagined external enemies."

In The Toronto Sun, Eric Margolis writes about the internal problems of the Sudan as follows:

(Mr. Treiki, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)

"His régime hardly extends beyond the borders of Khartoum, the capital, in which an army of 55,000 soldiers protects the régime, which also enjoys intense support from Egypt and the West."

He also says that Sudan has witnessed 18 attempted coups d'état in past years.

What is happening in the Sudan, such as the continuous internal upheavals, is caused by mismanagement and corruption. In three successive articles, Le Monde, a very reputable newspaper known to all members, under the title "Le Soudan en mal de stabilité", clear reference is made to the problems faced by the Sudan. Moreover, some Sudanese officials speak of these problems. Le Monde states:

(spoke in French)

"President Nimeiri has created a vacuum around himself. He is at the same time Head of State and of Government, Chairman of the only party, the Sudanese Socialist Union, Commander-in-Chief of the army, and head ... of the Sudanese news agency."

(continued in Arabic)

Le Monde then speaks of the problems faced by the Sudan that have led to, among other things, continuous liquidations within the leadership of the Sudan. Everybody knows that Nimeiri is the only survivor of the leadership that undertook the coup of May. Le Monde even speaks of judges. I think no other country has witnessed such a mass expulsion of judges from their posts. Mr. Hassan Al-Turabi, who currently occupies the post of assistant to the President of the Sudan, after four years as Attorney-General told Le Monde that the President of the Republic

(Mr. Treiki, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)

had weakened all Sudanese institutions, that the sole political party existed only on paper, that it no longer had any freedom, in a country where the people mouthed empty slogans, that there was a deep rift between the Government and the people, and that one could not rule out the possibility of a military coup d'état organized by a "Jerry Rawlings or a Sergeant Doe".

These political problems in the Sudan, which have led to such continuous upheavals, are also reflected in the adverse economic situation in the Sudan, which is not a result of the Sudan's being a poor country: it is the richest and largest country in Africa, according to United Nations statistics, which indicate that the Sudan could support the whole of Africa; it is, rather, the result of mismanagement in the Sudan.

According to The Washington Post, of late the foreign debt of the Sudan has reached \$9 billion, and interest on the loans comprising that debt exceeds the national income of that country, including debts to the Jamahiriya, against which the Sudan is complaining. Those debts to the Jamahiriya amount to \$21 million, at 2.5 per cent interest. Sudan has not even paid the 2.5 per cent interest on those loans. This economic situation has led to grave political problems and, according to Le Monde, it has also led Sudan to place itself under the guardianship of the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

(Mr. Treiki, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)

Le Monde said that the Sudan had become a protectorate of the IMF. Naturally, this means it has become a protectorate of the United States of America, as is now evident.

The problems did not affect only the northern part of the Sudan but also extended to the south of the Sudan. The upheaval now being witnessed in the Sudan in the form of civil war is the result of violations of agreements concluded to achieve national conciliation in the south. These deteriorating internal economic and political problems have adversely affected both the domestic and foreign policies of the Sudan.

At one time, in 1980, the Sudan severed diplomatic relations with Iraq and accused Iraq of hatching a conspiracy. In 1981 it accused Syria of hatching a conspiracy and severed diplomatic relations with Syria. Next, it expelled the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and the Palestinians from the Sudan. But its main problem is what it is facing with Libya, under instructions.

In Libya there is a régime which builds and spends money not on armaments, as mentioned by the Foreign Minister of the Sudan, but on the economy. Every Libyan citizen in Libya has a modern home. There is one doctor for every thousand Libyans. There is a network of roads and hospitals in Libya the like of which does not exist in Africa. There are in Libya more than 100,000 Sudanese brothers who have fled their country to make a living in a fraternal neighbouring country and they live amongst their own people.

What is the situation in the Sudan? No electricity, no water and no roads - hence the continuous endeavour to provoke Libya and falsely accuse it, because

(Mr. Treiki, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)

Libya is a good whipping boy to obtain American assistance. And here I should like to quote the following from the statement of the Vice-President of Sudan,

Mr. Turabi, to Le Monde:

(spoke in French)

"Qaddafi has become the spectre used to incite Americans to assist Sudan."

(continued in Arabic)

According to a statement of the Sudanese Vice-President to Le Monde in the context of this orientation, the Sudanese régime started a systematic and continuous campaign of aggression against Libya.

In a statement to the Herald Tribune of Paris in April 1981, President Nimeiri said that he was at war with Colonel Muammar Qaddafi, that he believed the world should attempt to get rid of him - even by resorting to murder - and that he personally was ready to provide assistance to any person who would undertake to do that.

The Egyptian newspaper Al Akhbar - which I do not believe supports Libya - on 17 May 1981 published a statement by President Nimeiri to the German News Agency to the effect that his forces were not afraid of a military confrontation with Libya, that he was working to overthrow Colonel Qaddafi and that the aim of his strategy was to get rid of Qaddafi.

In a statement by him before members of the People's Council in the District of Cordovan, President Nimeiri made the following statement which was published in Al Akhbar in 1981:

"Do not be surprised if one day you see me leading a military division fighting inside Libya."

(Mr. Treiki, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)

Is there anything clearer than this: "Do not be surprised if one day you see me leading a military division fighting inside Libya"?

In a statement to the The Washington Post on 13 October 1981, the President of the Sudanese régime said that he had actually started training his lackeys to infiltrate into Libya in order to overthrow the Libyan régime.

This continuous hostility on the part of the Sudanese régime against Libya which I have outlined is the corner stone of the foreign policy of the Sudanese régime, in keeping with instructions received by it from the United States Administration.

I do not want to speak about hostility towards the progressive movements in the Arab homeland and on the African continent, in keeping with that approach. I shall not speak about provocations against fraternal African States neighbouring the Sudan and known to all representatives here - this scenario which we are discussing for the second time.

In 1976, President Nimeiri attended an African Summit Conference held in Mauritius - at which I headed the delegation of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya - to lodge a complaint with the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and to ask that Libya be condemned because, as stated by the leaders of the Sudan and by him at the time, Libyan-assisted forces had moved from Benghazi through the Mediterranean, covering 4,000 miles. However, faced with the refusal of the Africans at the time, President Nimeiri withdrew his complaint and said that he would come to the Security Council - which he did, as stated by the Foreign Minister of the Sudan - because the Powers which instructed him to do so were not members of the OAU or the Arab League but were represented in this Council and those Powers claimed that they were able to defend him.

(Mr. Treiki, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)

But, unlike what has been stated by the Foreign Minister of the Sudan, he first went to the OAU, then withdrew his complaint to the OAU and later came to the Security Council. It was ascertained that not a single Libyan had participated and that it was a Sudanese coup attempt -- one of the many attempted coups that I have mentioned - during which Abdel Khalek Mahjub and Hashem Attalah were liquidated.

(Mr. Treiki, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)

It would be impossible for me to give the Council a list of all those who were assassinated in the Sudan. Perhaps the Foreign Minister of the Sudan knows that during one of the coups d'état which was undertaken by Hashem Attalah President Nimeiri was imprisoned and later saved by Libya. Everybody knows this, and I need not go into the details.

Now Libya is accused of invading the Sudan. Well, Libya at one time saved President Nimeiri when he was in gaol in Khartoum.

Last year we witnessed a scenario: there was a threat against the Sudan; an imperialist aircraft carrier moved against Libya; and AWACS were deployed. Now we are witnessing the same scenario all over again, but this latest scenario is clear in the sense that there is not a single piece of evidence to support it.

However, we could furnish evidence from their own camp. The Times of London printed the following headline: "Suspicion grows that Khartoum launched the raid on its own people". The Christian Science Monitor, an American newspaper, used the headline: "Did Libya Bomb the Sudan?". The answer may lie in the mutiny in the Sudan. That was a headline in the Christian Science Monitor, which wrote that the perpetrator of this act could be one of two: either an officer flying a MiG-15 or President Nimeiri undertook the action by using a MiG-15. That newspaper added that that action was taken in an attempt to obtain American aid. The New York Times also speaks of doubts surrounding this incident. The Foreign Minister of the Sudan said that the aircraft which attacked the Sudan was a medium-range Tupolev TU-22 flying at low altitude. According to the Sudanese régime, this aircraft took off from the base at Kufra and flew all the way to Khartoum. The Sudanese Foreign Minister said that it had a range of 3,000 kilometers. The distance from Kufra to Khartoum is more than 3,000 kilometers - about 2,000 miles. Hence this aircraft

(Mr. Treiki, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)

would have been flying without refuelling beyond its range - and without any protection whatsoever in broad daylight, at 11.30 a.m., through sectors monitored by American AWACS. Could the AWACS have broken down? We all know that those aircraft are present in the area, but according to them this bomber covered all that distance - more than its range, as mentioned by the Sudanese Foreign Minister - to bomb Omdurman while flying at low altitude, and the Sudanese air force and the foreign military forces in the Sudan were caught by surprise by this aircraft bombing Omdurman in broad daylight.

Even though I am not a military man, I would be ashamed to make such statements.

It is incredible that the Sudan, which could identify the members of the Libyan crew - Mr. Mohamed Mighani Mubarak mentioned Salem Ahmed Mufta and another member - was unable to do anything about this aircraft. It seems that the information provided to the Sudan, which included the names of crew members, also indicated that the crew had been promoted. I do not know the source for that piece of information.

We have constantly affirmed that we have no knowledge of this incident, that no single Libyan aircraft ever violated Sudanese air space. What is the evidence? They say that Libya has such aircraft, that the fact that Libya has a certain type of aircraft means that Libya undertook the raid. The other piece of evidence is that there is a base in Kufra. As everyone knows, the facility in Kufra is a civilian airport open to international traffic.

This is the scenario: As everybody knows, the Sudanese Vice-President came to the United States of America and requested assistance, and it was declared that some assistance would be airlifted. Then the Sudanese régime, through the

(Mr. Treiki, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)

President in Khartoum, denied the statement. Having stated that they had failed to obtain such assistance, they had to fabricate a certain incident to justify imperialist American intervention and the dispatch of the AWACS. Hence the colonization of the Sudan and the dispatch of foreign forces to that country. The justification for the action undertaken was that Libya had launched this raid.

It is clear that there is no single piece of evidence supporting this baseless allegation. I affirm before the Council that that allegation is unfounded, that not a single Libyan aircraft participated in any raid and that there is no justification for Libyan participation in any action against the Sudan. I affirm that this incident has been fabricated. Regrettably, a Government has struck against its own citizens in an attempt to receive assistance from foreign Powers against a fraternal country.

We have no problems with the Sudan. I agree with the Foreign Minister of the Sudan. We seek good relations with fraternal Sudan. When you, Mr. President, asked me to meet with the Foreign Minister of Sudan, everyone knows that I stated my readiness to do so.

Our problem is not with the Sudan; the problem of the Sudan is with the enemies of the Arab nation, with the imperialists, with those who help sionism to occupy a cherished part of Palestine, with those who try to colonize the Arab homeland and to pit the Arab countries one against the other, with those who are now intervening and dispatching their weapons and forces. They should realize that the Arab nation is one and that there is no intervention by one Arab country in the internal affairs of another, but that what befalls one Arab country affects another.

(Mr. Treiki, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)

I assure the Council that the picture is now clear and shows that these allegations are false, that the real culprit is the United States, against which we have brought a complaint before this Council. This Council should be concerned about considering our complaint against aggressive American imperialism. As for this issue, there is no need for even continuing its discussion.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I thank the Secretary of the People's Committee of the People's Bureau for Foreign Liaison of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. KHALIL (Egypt) (interpretation from Arabic): The delegation of Egypt at the outset offers its sincere condolences to the Government and people of friendly Guinea. While as Africans we mourn the death of the late President Ahmed Sékou Touré, we may all find consolation in his unforgettable imprint on the pages of history. The record of his struggle is well known and his contribution to the cause of liberation was not limited to his own country, but extended to the whole African continent and beyond.

Ahmed Sékou Touré was among the founders of the Organization of African Unity and the Non-Aligned Movement as well as the Islamic Conference. His efforts on behalf of the cause of liberation will forever be indelibly remembered.

The delegation of Egypt would like to express to you, Sir, the representative of Peru, a friendly and non-aligned country, its congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council. We are confident that your long experience and well-known statesmanship will ensure that the deliberations of the Security Council are conducted in the best possible way.

I take this opportunity also to express our complete satisfaction with and sincere admiration for the exemplary manner in which your predecessor, Ambassador Shah Nawaz, the Permanent Representative of non-aligned and friendly Pakistan, conducted the work of this Council last February.

The Council has listened to the statement of Mr. Mohamed Mirghani Mubarak, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan, in which he reviewed the details of the act of armed aggression carried out on Friday, 16 March, when Sudanese airspace was violated by a Tupolev TU-22, which bombed

(Mr. Khalil, Egypt)

Omdurman, a Sudanese city, before returning to its base in Libyan territory. The only country of the region possessing such aircraft is the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya.

The Egyptian delegation, which listened very carefully to the statement made by Mr. Ali Abdusalam Treiki, Secretary of the People's Committee of the People's Bureau for Foreign Liaison, finds it unnecessary to reconfirm the hard facts presented by the Foreign Minister of Sudan, facts that cannot be refuted by baseless, illogical allegations which have no relation to the subject under discussion. In brief, everything said here cannot change the hard, irrefutable facts which the Foreign Minister presented here.

The act of aggression carried out on 16 March against Sudanese territory, in complete violation of the principles of international law and of the Charter of the United Nations, is regrettably not the first of its kind from the same source. The Foreign Minister of Sudan has reviewed the details and we need not repeat them. What is important from our viewpoint is that this act and, indeed, the whole series of acts of aggression carried out against Sudan have but one basis, namely, the uncontrollable desire to destabilize Sudan and interfere in its internal affairs. In the face of this and similar acts, how can we believe the repeated claims of good intentions and of a desire to improve relations?

Egypt has since the beginning, at all levels and in all official and peoples' organizations, denounced the air raid against the territory and people of fraternal Sudan. Egypt, which condemns the perpetrators of this act of aggression, has stated that it stands firmly by the side of Sudan, supporting it and participating in its defence. Egypt, which neither contemplates committing aggression, nor pursues a policy of interfering in the internal affairs of any State or of supporting insurgents against legitimate Governments, is closely watching the

(Mr. Khalil, Egypt)

situation and its potential threat to international peace and security, in particular in the African continent. Egypt reaffirms before this Council its full support for fraternal Sudan in fulfilment of its obligations under the mutual defence pact linking the two countries to deter aggression. The relationship between Egypt and the Sudan is one of destiny and fate. The Sudan lies at Egypt's strategic southern flank, and the stability and security of the Sudan are intimately linked to those of Egypt.

Based on all these unequivocal considerations, we stand by the side of Sudan and are watching the situation with the utmost concern so as to thwart any foreign attempt to interfere in the internal affairs of Sudan, commit acts of aggression against it, or to undermine its security.

It saddens us to have to refer once again to the fact that Libya and the Sudan, two Arab, Moslem and African countries, members of the same Non-Aligned Movement - as mentioned by the Foreign Minister of Sudan and the Secretary of the People's Committee of the People's Bureau for Foreign Liaison - are bound to Egypt by ties of kinship, religion, language, heritage and a common destiny. This sadness stems from the fact that their common borders - which we still hope will be ones of good-neighbourliness, promoting fraternity and the development of mutually constructive relations - have come to be regarded by some as a conduit for acts of infiltration and interference in the security of fraternal States and for sowing the seeds of dissension and division.

The Sudan has not committed aggression against anybody and did not send planes to bomb innocent civilians. On the contrary, it is the Sudanese Government and people which have been subjected to shameful acts of aggression, and they have the right to strengthen their self-defence capacity and to ensure their security. The

(Mr. Khalil, Egypt)

United Nations Charter itself ensures the right of legitimate collective and individual self-defence, and the mutual defence pact between Egypt and the Sudan not only prescribes the mutual obligations of the two countries but also asserts the national Arab and African duties of mutual support and of common defence of their security and stability against any attempted aggression.

(Mr. Khalil, Egypt)

Egypt joins the Sudan in calling upon the Security Council to shoulder its responsibility by upholding what is right, in conformity with the Charter and international law, in order to check the policy of aggression and denounce any form of intervention in the internal affairs of States or threat to their stability and territorial integrity.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I thank the representative of Egypt for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Zaire. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. N'JI-LAMULE (Zaire) (interpretation from French): Mr. President, given the distressing circumstances surrounding the start of this debate, allow my delegation to offer the fraternal delegation of Guinea our heartfelt condolences on the untimely demise of Mr. Ahmed Sékou Touré, the Head of State of Guinea.

I should now like to thank you, Sir, and the other members of the Council for having allowed me, on behalf of the delegation of Zaire, to speak in today's debate. I am particularly happy to see a diplomat of your stature and with your attributes conducting the debate, since the seriousness of the case now before the Council will certainly require your great skill and experience as a statesman who has served the cause of peace and understanding among peoples.

Finally, I should like to take this opportunity to congratulate your predecessor, the Ambassador of Pakistan, for his talent and the outstanding way in which he guided the Council's work last month.

On 16 March, Sudan, a neighbour of Zaire, fell victim to a barbaric and dastardly act of aggression that caused dismay and bewilderment. An airplane, that came from outside the country, dropped bombs and brought death and destruction to an independent and sovereign country.

(Mr. N'Ji-Lamule, Zaire)

These are serious matters of profound concern to my Government, because they flagrantly violate the principles of the United Nations Charter and the generally accepted principles of international law on the non-use of force and non-interference in the internal affairs of other States. Never have the uncertainty and the dangers besetting the militarily weak countries of our region of Africa been so great because of the subversive actions of some sorcerer's apprentices who wish to fashion the map of our continent in their own way, seeking to place at the head of States men of straw to use as mere pawns in their machiavellian game. The Governments of Africa have the right and the duty to unite their forces to guarantee the security of the States of the region against the barbarism that would replace the sacred principles of our African organization - the Organization of African Unity (OAU) - the inviolability of the borders inherited from colonial times and non-interference in the internal affairs of other States. Those principles are the very basis of peace and balance in Africa and departure from them would have serious consequences. We must note with regret that the frequency and proliferation of acts of interference in the internal affairs of other States are assuming ever greater proportions and, unless we are careful, no State in the region will soon feel secure. Hence it is imperative to remove as soon as possible the dangers that such barbaric acts entail for the national security of all African States, their peace and their future. We must restore respect for the principles of the Charter and respect for the principles of international law. Otherwise, no one can feel safe and what some are experiencing today could happen to others tomorrow.

(Mr. N'Ji-Lamule, Zaire)

For its part, Zaire will always strive to bring about respect for those principles and will condemn with equal vehemence any act of barbarism that might befall any other country. Zaire has in the past been the victim of repeated attempts at destabilization and it feels a particular closeness and solidarity with Sudan, since the same legitimate aspirations to preserve independence and national sovereignty inspire and guide the actions of our Governments. Zaire expects the international community strongly to denounce such barbaric acts.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I thank the representative of Zaire for the kind words he addressed to me.

In view of the lateness of the hour, I think it best to adjourn the meeting. The next meeting of the Council to continue consideration of the item on its agenda will take place this afternoon at 3.30 p.m.

The meeting rose at 1.00 p.m.