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NOTE

Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

Documents of the Security Council (symbol S/ . . .) are normally published in quarterly *Supplements* of the *Official Records of the Security Council*. The date of the document indicates the supplement in which it appears or in which information about it is given.

The resolutions of the Security Council, numbered in accordance with a system adopted in 1964, are published in yearly volumes of *Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council*. The new system, which has been applied retroactively to resolutions adopted before 1 January 1965, became fully operative on that date.

Held in New York on Tuesday, 22 February 1983, at noon

President: Mr. Oleg Aleksandrovich TROYANOVSKY
(Union of Soviet Socialist Republics).

Present: The representatives of the following States: China, France, Guyana, Jordan, Malta, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Poland, Togo, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Zaire, Zimbabwe.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2415)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. Letter dated 19 February 1983 from the Permanent Representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15615)

The meeting was called to order at 12.35 p.m.

Expression of welcome to the representative of Jordan

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): I should like at the outset of this meeting to extend a warm welcome to Mr. Abdullah Salah, the new representative of Jordan. We wish him every possible success and look forward to the same close co-operation with him that we enjoyed with his predecessor, Mr. Nuseibeh.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Letter dated 19 February 1983 from the Permanent Representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15615)

2. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Benin, Democratic Yemen, Egypt, Ghana, The Islamic Republic of Iran, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, the Sudan and the Syrian Arab Republic in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Treiki (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Soglo (Benin), Mr. Al-Ashtal (Democratic Yemen), Mr. Khalil (Egypt), Mr. Hayford (Ghana), Mr. Rajaie-Khorassani (Islamic Republic of Iran), Mr. Abdalla (Sudan) and Mr. El-Fattal (Syrian Arab Republic) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

3. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Russian*): The Council is meeting today in response to the request made by the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya in his letter dated 19 February.

4. Members of the Council also have before them document S/15614, which contains the text of a letter dated 18 February from the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya to the President of the Council. I should like to inform members that I have received a letter dated 22 February from the representative of the United States, which will be circulated during the course of this meeting as document S/15617.

5. The first speaker is the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, upon whom I now call.

6. Mr. TREIKI (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Allow me at the outset, Sir, on behalf of the delegation of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya to extend to you warm congratulations on your presidency for this month. We are pleased to see you presiding over the Council, since you represent a friendly country with which we are bound by strong ties: a responsible super-Power known for its support for the struggle of peoples against colonialism and for the causes of liberation and independence. We are pleased also because of your wide political experience, your wisdom and your effectiveness, which eminently qualify you for this responsibility.

7. I wish also to extend to my colleague and friend, Mr. Amega of Togo, our appreciation for the diplomatic expertise with which he conducted the work of the Council last month.

8. Through you, Mr. President, I should like to extend my thanks and gratitude to the members of the Council for giving me this opportunity to speak before this body. As this is my first statement before the Council this year I express my country's appreciation for the adoption of the resolution introducing Arabic as an official working language of the Council [*resolution 528 (1982)*]. It is an acknowledgement of the importance and role of Arabic

here at the United Nations and is also a token of appreciation for the Arab people.

9. I welcome my colleague the representative of Jordan and wish him every success. I also welcome the States that have acceded to membership of the Council this year: Malta, the Netherlands, Nicaragua, Pakistan and Zimbabwe.

10. The American threats and provocations against the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya that we are witnessing today are neither a matter of coincidence nor transient in nature, but represent an established and deliberate aggressive policy that has been pursued since 1969, following the Great 1 September Revolution. Until then, as everyone knows, Libya in its entirety had been an aggressive military base of the United States, there being five American bases spread over the country, the most important of which was Willis—the largest American base outside the United States at the time. Moreover, American monopolies used to control the Libyan economy—especially the oil sector—and used it in their own interest. With the Revolution and an end to the puppet régime of the American Administration a new phase in the history of the Libyan people and of the Arab nation began: the aggressive American bases were evacuated, an end was put to the oil monopolies in the area, and Libya pursued a policy of economic emancipation and the nationalization of the oil resources in the interest of the people of the region, in particular, and of oil-producing nations, in general.

11. Neither the Revolution's support for our African brothers, for the liberation movements in southern Africa and for the struggle of the Palestinian people, nor Libya's pursuit of a non-aligned, anti-racist, anti-Zionist and anti-colonialist policy is acceptable to the United States, the leader of international terrorism; hence the process of threats, provocation and direct and indirect aggression against Libya, from the aggressive act by the Sadat régime, incited by the United States, and his waging of war against Libya in 1977, to the act of direct aggression in the Gulf of Sidra in August 1981, in addition to the economic boycott designed to starve the Libyan people, not to mention the prejudiced media campaign, economic pressures and the inciting of other States to be hostile to the Jamahiriya. The United States Administration's aggressive policy against the Libyan people and its policy of terrorism are assuming daily ever-wider forms and manifestations.

12. In the past Libya has repeatedly notified the Council and the Secretary-General of such acts of aggression and terrorism pursued by the United States authorities against our country. The United States Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean has been violating Libyan territorial waters and airspace. By way of example we refer to the following correspondence with the United Nations.

13. First, in a letter dated 30 May 1973, addressed to the President of the Council [S/10939], it was specifically reported that on 21 March an American C-130 military aircraft had violated Libyan airspace for the purpose of

reconnaissance and spying. In the letter it is stated that on 30 April an American aircraft carrier of the Sixth Fleet which was based near the Libyan coast had spied on the Libyan Air Force and jammed Libyan communications. Moreover, a wave of United States military aircraft had been launched from the carrier to interfere with Libyan training flights in the area.

14. Secondly, the annex to a letter dated 1 August 1980, addressed to the President of the Security Council [S/14094], contained the following list of violations of Libyan airspace by United States aircraft:

1975 — One violation on 18 October.

1977 — Eight violations, seven over the north of Tripoli: one on 28 January, two on 11 April and four on 18 April; one violation over the north of Benghazi.

1978 — Seven violations, five north of Tripoli: one on 12 February, three on 11 March and one on 12 March; two violations north of Tobruk on 7 December.

1979 — Six violations north of Tripoli: 3 February, 15 March, 12 June and 6, 19 and 30 July.

1980 — Up until June of that year, 135 violations: 103 north of Tripoli, 6 north of Sidra and 26 north of Benghazi.

— Violations north of Tripoli: one on 19 February, one on 22 February, two on 24 February, one on 25 February, one on 26 February and two on 2 March.

15. Thirdly, in a letter dated 20 August 1981, addressed to the President of the Council [S/14636], it was stated that on 19 August at 0512 (GMT) eight American aircraft of the United States Sixth Fleet which were part of American forces conducting manoeuvres near Libyan shores had intercepted two Libyan Arab Air Force aircraft while they were conducting reconnaissance duties in Libyan airspace. Those Libyan aircraft were attacked by American aircraft. That act of aggression was condemned by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the Group of Arab States.

16. Fourthly, in a letter dated 3 February 1982, addressed to the Secretary-General [S/14860], in which it was stated that on 31 January at 1422 (GMT) two American F-14 jet fighters from the United States Sixth Fleet had intercepted a Libyan airliner, a Boeing 727 belonging to the Libyan Arab Airlines, on its regular flight from Tripoli to Athens. The two American fighters had carried on acrobatic provocative manoeuvres against the Libyan commercial plane, following it over a distance of 11 kilometres. That incident had occurred in international airspace within the Greek Aviation Information Area, about 48 kilometres south-west of the Greek island of Paleo Hora, penetrating the international air route known as "B-1", above the Libyan Arab Airlines aircraft.

17. On 5 February 1982 *The New York Times* stated that Greece had lodged a complaint with the United States for the above-mentioned violation of Greek airspace, which constituted an act of aggression against and a detriment to Libyan economic interests.

18. There have been many recent violations of Libyan territorial waters. On 31 December 1982 three violations occurred in the Sidra region. On 19 January 1983 two violations occurred in the Benghazi region.

19. The latest event in the series of United States provocations and threats against the Libyan Jamahiriya have been actions of the American AWACS, which have been constantly spying along the eastern region of Libya. Those actions have resulted in the obstruction and jamming of civil communication. On 13 February the United States aircraft-carrier *Nimitz* and some vessels accompanying it approached the Libyan coast near the Gulf of Sidra. On 16 February, 13 violations of the airspace occurred in the Sidra area.

20. On 17 February some naval vessels of the United States Sixth Fleet approached the limit of the territorial waters 22 kilometres from latitude 32. In addition to the dispatch of AWACS to a neighbouring country for the purpose of using them for espionage and obstruction of our civil communication.

21. Last week United States Defense Department officials stated that the movements of the American Sixth Fleet and AWACS were related to the so-called Libyan mobilization on the borders of the Sudan with a view to interfering in that country's affairs and that those movements, especially those of the AWACS, were for the purpose of joint manoeuvres with Egyptian forces.

22. Following those developments the Egyptian Government denied the presence of any joint manoeuvres. *The Christian Science Monitor* of 18 February stated that Egyptian officials had claimed to have no knowledge of a recent Libyan military build-up against the Sudan. They also denied reports by the United States Defense Department that Egyptian troops were in a state of alert. That shows the falsehood of the American allegations.

23. In addition, there are the discrepancies between statements on the subject by the United States Departments of State and Defense and by the White House and even the President of the United States. Those discrepancies add to the ambiguities concerning the presence of AWACS in Egypt, as stated in *The Washington Post* of 18 February.

24. In this regard I should like to refer to the fact that the leader of the September Revolution has affirmed that no forces were mobilized on the borders with Sudan and Egypt; that the Jamahiriya has no desire to interfere in the affairs of Egypt, the Sudan or any other State; and that the Jamahiriya is a small country which desires to live in peace.

25. It is clear from this that the United States wants to fabricate pretexts to interfere in the affairs of the States of the area and incite them against each other under the policy of divide and rule so as to impose its hegemony and control on the peoples of the area and compel them to acquiesce in United States policy. It is also trying to subjugate the peoples of the area to the desires of the racists in occupied Palestine and southern Africa.

26. The aim of the United States is clear. As stated in *The New York Times* of 22 February, "The plan, according to American officials, was to lure Libya into striking and then to destroy as much of its air force as possible."* That was the United States plan.

27. United States acts of aggression have not been limited to acts of military provocation but include prejudiced media campaigns against the Jamahiriya. The United States Administration is feeding this campaign with false information by American officials and deliberate distortions, such as describing Libyan assistance to internationally recognized liberation movements as assistance to international terrorism. We refer also to the so-called assassination squad which was fabricated by the United States Administration and for which it could find no proof. That squad existed only in the imagination of some United States officials.

28. Former Secretary of State Haig accused the Jamahiriya of being responsible for the Sadat assassination. But the Egyptian Government itself has stated that the assassination of Sadat was strictly internal and had no connection with any other country. That accusation was an attempt by the United States Administration to incite Libya's neighbours against it.

29. The aim of the United States Administration was to prepare American and world public opinion for its acts of aggression against the Jamahiriya. Actually, the current United States Administration closed the people's office in Washington in May 1981; that was followed by punitive economic measures. On 11 March 1982 the United States Administration imposed an embargo on the import of Libyan oil and the export of tractors, aircraft, aircraft equipment and technical information. It also requested United States citizens working in the oil sector or with American firms in the Jamahiriya to leave that country. It requested United States citizens not to travel to the Jamahiriya, under the pretext of concern for their safety, in spite of the fact that there had been no incidents and that a pledge had been made to respect them, like any other foreigner working in Libya.

30. Provocations, threats and acts of aggression against Libya are nothing new; they fall within the United States strategy of intervention in the affairs of States which refuse to acquiesce in its policies and colonialist interests.

31. It is an open secret that the United States intervenes in the internal affairs of States all over the world. In Asia,

* Quoted in English by the speaker.

the United States waged a war of aggression against the Vietnamese people that ended in the defeat of the United States.

32. We all know of its continued intervention in Korea's affairs, the latest being those aggressive manoeuvres a few weeks ago in which more than 70,000 American soldiers participated, designed to threaten North Korea and destabilize the area.

33. The United States also intervened in the affairs of the Iranian people, overthrew the patriotic Government of Mossadegh and imposed a puppet régime in 1953, supported the dictatorship of the Shah and provided it with all means of torture through its intelligence. However, the struggling Iranian people triumphed and the American influence ended. The United States did not despair; it went on working, through its lackeys, against the Iranian Revolution, to undermine the régime, and it launched an act of direct aggression against Iran's sovereignty. It is now trying to prolong the war between Iran and Iraq in order to smash the Iranian Revolution and debilitate and distract Iraq from its national goal of confronting the Zionist enemy, the ally of America.

34. In Latin America, acting from the viewpoint that that region falls within the American sphere of influence, the United States undermined unity there when it partitioned Greater Colombia.

35. In 1963 the United States dispatched 23,000 soldiers to the Dominican Republic and imposed a pro-American Government.

36. The United States became hostile to Cuba once its lackey, the dictator Batista, was overthrown and once there was a revolution which rebuffed American domination. The United States tried to invade Cuba several times, the most important attempt being the so-called Bay of Pigs invasion, and when it failed the United States made several attempts to assassinate President Castro through the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and laid political and economic siege to Cuba.

37. In 1954 it intervened in Guatemala and imposed a Government to its own liking.

38. In Chile it overthrew the legally elected Government in 1973 and assassinated President Salvador Allende. As the facts have shown, Kissinger personally planned this operation, which was implemented by the CIA.

39. In Nicaragua the United States Administration supported the feudal, oppressive régime of the dictator Somoza, which conformed to American interests. The United States Administration tried to prolong the life of that régime although it was aware of its violations of human rights. Since that régime was overthrown, this Administration has financed and plotted terrorism against the people of Nicaragua. Here I would recall that the Co-ordinator of the Council of the Government of National

Reconstruction declared in a recent statement before the Ministerial Meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Countries held at Managua from 10 to 14 January that the CIA was behind all the military operations waged against his country and that it was using the neighbouring countries as springboards in implementing its plans for further intervention in the internal affairs of Nicaragua [see *S/15628, annex, appendix I*].

40. The United States Administration tries persistently to stop the winds of change in Latin America through the destruction of progressive régimes; it uses all means to achieve its ends and to support those régimes loyal to it, as in the case of El Salvador and other countries.

41. In Africa the United States Administration supports and is allied with the racist régime in South Africa. It supports that régime militarily, economically and politically. It obstructs the achievement by Namibia of its independence and tries to implant its military bases there. It combats progressive régimes and hatches plots to assassinate African leaders; this happened in the Congo, where President Lumumba was assassinated by the CIA.

42. The United States has shirked all its responsibilities as a major Power that is a permanent member of the Security Council. It has pursued international terrorism and is indeed at the vanguard of that terrorism, which is part of the daily conduct of its policy. The purpose of the widespread American military bases and the presence of American naval fleets all over the world is only to terrorize peoples and protect colonial monopolies and the racist and Zionist régimes as everyone well knows. The CIA has waged organized terrorism through assassinating national leaders, as happened to Allende in Chile and Lumumba in the Congo, in addition to the attempts to assassinate President Castro and Colonel Qaddafi, as well as the assassination of American black leaders like Martin Luther King and Malcolm X. And all of this is in addition to the organized sabotage conducted by the CIA in many countries throughout the world. The present Administration has supported this terrorist agency, increased appropriations for it and given it new powers to undertake widespread sabotage in different regions of the world and inside the United States.

43. *The New York Times* of 16 January published an article in its magazine section in which it stated that at a moment when the Reagan Administration is forcing most Government agencies to retrench, the CIA and its fellow intelligence organizations are enjoying boom times. With a budget increase of 25 per cent for 1983 as compared with the previous year, this is the fastest growing major agency in the Federal Government. The article goes on to say that the Agency has invested vast sums of money in the technology of intelligence, including communications-intercept stations and computers. There were also revelations about dirty tricks, drug experimentation, surveillance of American citizens and a long string of other abuses.

44. The CIA conducted extensive domestic spying during the 1960s and early 1970s under the pretext of gathering foreign intelligence information.

45. *The New York Times* goes on to describe the Agency's actions, saying that the record of its covert actions is replete with daring actions, among which have been attempts at assassination, participation in *coups d'état* in a number of countries and the training of specialized security forces to protect a select group of foreign leaders, as well as the provision of funds and equipment to rebels against the nationalist Governments, as was the case in Nicaragua and Iran.

46. The recent actions of the United States confirm the grave danger posed by the American terrorist policy to international peace and security and to the freedom and independence of peoples. The United States claim that there is a Libyan threat against Libya's neighbours cannot but be the object of ridicule and contempt by the international community. The States concerned themselves confirm the falsity of the American allegations, and even if we assumed that differences actually existed between Libya and its neighbours, what business can it be of the United States? The United States is not the Security Council, nor is it the policeman of the world. Instead of working for pacification and calling upon neighbours to come to agreement, it has resorted to the policy of creating discord and provocation. The allegation of the United States Administration that some Arab States are friendly to the United States is without basis. America's only friend in the region is Israel. The United States Administration, which established a strategic alliance with the Zionist entity, realizes that all Arab peoples are against it. Regardless of differences of opinion among the Arab Governments, the United States Administration will always be the chief enemy of the Arab nation and the ally of the Zionist entity. Libya is a part of the Arab nation and shares the hopes and aspirations of the Arab nation. If there are any temporary differences among some Arab States, these will disappear. The only danger to the Arab nation is that posed by the Zionist entity, supported by the United States, and the aggressive policy of the United States in the region. The occupation of Palestine and other Arab territories, the raid against the Iraqi nuclear reactor and the occupation of Lebanon could not have happened without the support of the United States Administration for aggression and its pursuit of a policy of terrorism.

47. We are a small, peace-loving people. We want to build up our country and to contribute to the unity of our nation. We want peace and security. We are eminently qualified to understand the meaning of peace and security. We lost more than half our people in a war against the Italian Fascist invasion, a bitter war that lasted more than 20 years. Our people, which liberated the country from the colonialist American bases and liberated its economy and made great strides in development, will protect its development and achievements regardless of the price, even if it means sacrificing half its population as it did in the past; we will not be intimidated by the forces of aggression or by aircraft carriers.

48. History repeats itself. In 1805 the United States invaded Libya. We repulsed the aggression and captured the cruiser *Philadelphia*, under the command of Captain Bainbridge. The same year we repulsed a land invasion, in which the United States had enlisted mercenaries from Western Sahara, under General Eaton, the then Consul General of the United States in Tunis.

49. Our people will fight regardless of the circumstances and regardless of the sacrifices, if war and aggression are imposed upon it.

50. The Security Council, which has the responsibility for maintaining security in the world, must shoulder that responsibility, especially when one of its permanent members violates the Charter of the United Nations and jeopardizes international peace and security. Although we are convinced of the good will of most of its members, we know that the Council will be unable to adopt any effective measure, in view of its structure. However, the Council must face its responsibility and condemn the aggression. What happened to Libya may happen to other States—indeed it has already happened to others in the past—unless an end is put to the arrogance of cynicism of the United States Administration, its intervention in the internal affairs of States and its threat to international peace and security.

51. We are a small, non-aligned people. We want to have relations with everybody based on mutual respect and non-intervention, including the United States of America. We have tried in the past, and we are prepared at present, to hold a dialogue and discuss any problems with the United States Administration, if such problems exist. But that Administration consistently rejects the policy of dialogue and opts for that of domination, which we reject regardless of the sacrifices.

52. Finally, I wish to tell the United States Administration that the policy of intervention and aggression will only militate against the interests of peace and security and those of the United States itself. Peoples, no matter how small and weak, cannot accept humiliation and colonialism, and if they are doomed to die they will die on their feet.

53. Mrs. KIRKPATRICK (United States of America): I should like to begin, Sir, by taking advantage of this first opportunity offered me at a formal meeting to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency. Also, I should like to welcome personally—since I am not certain whether it has already been done by my delegation during my absence—the representatives of the new members of the Council, Malta, the Netherlands, Nicaragua, Pakistan and Zimbabwe, and express our firm and clear desire to work with them on the Council in the search for international peace and security. Similarly, I wish to welcome our new colleague from Jordan, Mr. Salah, whose contributions will, I hope, be as substantial as those of his distinguished predecessor, our good friend Mr. Nuseibeh.

54. Mr. President, on behalf of my Government I have today addressed the following letter to you for circulation as an official document of the Security Council:

"The Government of the United States rejects the false and malicious charges of the Government of Libya and calls the attention of the Security Council to yet another example of a threat to international peace and security posed by the policies of the Libyan Government.

"Furious that its plans for illegal, violent action were frustrated, the Government of Libya comes now to the Council with lying complaints against the United States. In fact, the United States committed none of the acts charged by the Government of Libya.

"The United States dispatched no offensive aircraft into the region, violated no Libyan airspace. As a matter of fact, neither the United States carrier *Nimitz* nor its aircraft entered water or airspace claimed by Libya on the days in question, although we have every right to enter these international waters, recognized as such under international law. We also have every right to conduct, under appropriate circumstances, training exercises with friendly Governments.

"The United States affirms its rights under international law and the Charter of the United Nations and intends to exercise them.

"Naturally, the Government of Libya would prefer that no obstacles—however legal—be interposed to its plots and expansionist projects. But peace-loving nations cannot accommodate Libya's designs on its neighbours.

"In calling attention to Libya's false charges, the United States notes that such lies mock the serious work of building international peace, just as Libya's repeated efforts to interfere in the affairs of its neighbours destroy security in the region." [S/15617.]

55. The United States did not seek this confrontation in the Security Council with the Government of Libya. But we welcome the opportunity thus presented to put facts on the record—not fabrications of Colonel Qaddafi's spokesman—and to assign responsibility for this grave threat to international peace and security where that responsibility belongs.

56. I speak, of course, of the Government of Qaddafi's Libya and I wish to put this threat, which seems for the moment to have receded, in the context of the pattern of Libyan-sponsored world-wide terrorism and adventurism directed against its neighbours—indeed, throughout northern, eastern and central Africa. This pattern of lawless expansionism constitutes a continuing threat to peace and security in the region and beyond.

57. My Government and the American people have never sought, and do not now seek, any confrontation with the Government or the people of Libya. We have

never engaged, and do not now engage, in acts of provocation. But we are deeply sensitive to threats to international peace, to our own security and to the security and national independence of Libya's neighbours. And let there be no doubt: we will respond, as appropriate, to Libyan threats.

58. Briefly, I wish to recall the salient events that led to this situation. Last Friday, 18 February, official Sudanese Radio announced the discovery of a Libyan-backed coup plot against the Government of President Gaafar Nimeiri. It announced the arrest of Libyan-sponsored dissidents and infiltrators. It also reported that the Government of Sudan had been closely watching concentrations of Libyan bombers and fighter aircraft in south-east Libya, close to the Sudanese and Egyptian borders. This concentration of Libyan aircraft had been of particular concern to the Sudanese.

59. In view of the successful steps which the Sudan has now taken to deal with this latest Libyan effort to destabilize one of its neighbours, we are now able to put the spotlight of world attention on events in the region. We follow Qaddafi's irresponsible intrusions into the affairs of his neighbours closely and with deep concern. We had been aware for some time of his efforts directed against President Nimeiri. We were also aware of the concentrations of Libyan aircraft which were of concern to the Sudanese and the Egyptians. Because of the situation, we moved up the date of an already-scheduled AWACS training exercise—scheduled for about a month hence—and sent our AWACS and tanker aircraft into Egypt. We have also had United States naval forces deployed in the eastern Mediterranean. Their presence in international waters sometimes seems to have a deterring effect on Libyan adventurism in the region.

60. The desired result seems to have been achieved—at least for the present. The statement on Sudanese Radio and yesterday's statement by the Sudanese Assembly speak for themselves. We can be reassured by the bold and decisive manner in which the Sudanese dealt with the threat of Libyan expansionism.

61. Fortunately, the most recent threat has receded. But the pattern of Libyan misconduct is long-standing. Colonel Qaddafi conducts a virulent, hostile foreign policy which respects the territorial integrity, national independence, right to peace and security and self-determination of no one. Because of a relative lack of conventional military power, Colonel Qaddafi has tried to accomplish his goals through a combination of economic and military aid to radical Governments, bribery of officials, help to international terrorists by providing sanctuary, funds, weapons and planning, assassination of exiled opponents and planned assassination of target Government officials, and assistance to guerrilla groups working to overthrow established Governments.

62. The Qaddafi régime has been engaged in these activities almost since it took power. For example, in 1972, Libya provided sanctuary to the perpetrators of the Munich Olympics murders. Qaddafi also gave refuge to

the terrorists who had taken 60 hostages at the 1975 Vienna meeting of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries. Libya has been used as a safe area in which terrorist groups have planned acts to be committed in many of Europe's capitals. The infamous Carlos has operated out of Libya over several years. The weapons found on the French terrorists Bréguet and Kopp had been sold to the Libyan army. It was their release that Carlos had demanded.

63. Assassination has been an important Libyan tool. The proof of Libya's utilization of this tool is not hard to come by. The 1980-1981 murders of a dozen exiled Libyans, primarily in Western Europe's capitals, has been reported by the international press in detail. Less widely known are a 1975 plot to murder the Prime Minister of a neighbouring country, plans to kill American ambassadors in several Middle Eastern countries and at least one European capital, and a November 1981 attempt to plant explosives in the American Embassy Club in Khartoum—explosives which were concealed in stereo speakers designed to detonate on a Saturday evening when scores of people would have been present and killed.

64. A major fact of Libyan foreign policy has been and remains subversion and destabilization of moderate independent Government in the Middle East, Africa and elsewhere. Chad has been a recent principal victim of the aggressive policies of Libya. Currently, Libyan intentions towards Chad are a major concern. Colonel Qaddafi has brought large numbers of Chadian followers to Libya, trained and equipped them, and is moving them into the northern parts of Chad. Other efforts to increase his own strength in that area are under way. Most disturbing was the mid-January deployment of a dozen Libyan SU-22 ground attack fighters to the Aouzou air base in northern Chad, apparently in preparation for a Libyan option to provide air cover for an assault by dissidents and infiltrators against the Chadian Government and Chadian-held population centres.

65. A Libyan team of approximately 80 advisers in another African republic may be assisting anti-Government Chadians there.

66. Libya has a long record of training guerrillas, supplying weapons, and plotting the subversion and destabilization of its north African neighbours. In the Horn of Africa, Libya continues to try to overthrow the Governments of the Sudan and Somalia. A number of Libyans are in Ethiopia advising Somali and Sudanese guerrillas. Libyan aircraft and ships continue to train guerrillas, supply arms, ammunition, explosives and *matériel* to the Somali Salvation Front and the Sudanese rebels. Also, Libya's deliveries of increasingly advanced weapons to warring tribes in the Sudan have contributed to death and violence in that region.

67. Elsewhere, Libya delivers military equipment and is involving itself increasingly, for example, in this hemisphere, always on behalf of military dictatorships, always opposed to democratic régimes and movements.

68. There is the pattern of Libyan misconduct worldwide. It constitutes, as I have said, a grave threat to international peace and security. The culprit in this proceeding is indentified beyond any reasonable doubt or question.

69. What has happened to Libya may happen to other States, the representative of Libya has suggested. I should like to say that we hope so. We hope that what happened to Libya will happen to other States. We hope that all States with aggressive designs on their neighbours will be discouraged by the lawful response of others to desist from their unlawful plans. My Government rests its case on the factual record and its adherence to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations in the cause of international peace and security.

The meeting rose at 1.25 p.m.
