

UNITED NATIONS



SECURITY COUNCIL
OFFICIAL RECORDS

UN LIBRARY

JUL 24 1985

THIRTY-EIGHTH YEAR

UNISA COLLECTION

2462nd

MEETING: 3 AUGUST 1983

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2462)	1
Adoption of the agenda	1
Letter dated 2 August 1983 from the Permanent Representative of Chad to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15902) ..	1

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.

2462nd MEETING

Held in New York on Wednesday, 3 August 1983, at 1.30 p.m.

President: Mr. Luc de La BARRE de NANTEUIL
(France).

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/2462)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. Letter dated 2 August 1983 from the Permanent Representative of Chad to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15902)

The meeting was called to order at 2.15 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Letter dated 2 August 1983 from the Permanent Representative of Chad to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15902)

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I should like to inform the members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Chad and the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya 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. Barma (Chad) and Mr. Burwin (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) took places at the Council table.

2. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The Council is meeting today in response to the request made in a letter dated 2 August from the representative of Chad to the President of the Security Council.

3. Members of the Council also have before them document S/15903, containing the text of a letter dated

2 August from the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya to the President of the Council.

4. The first speaker is the representative of Chad, on whom I now call.

5. Mr. BARMA (Chad) (*interpretation from French*): It is with a special feeling that I have asked to be allowed to present our complaint at a time when my country, Chad, is the object of open aggression by Libya.

6. Before doing so, however, I should like, on behalf of my delegation, to express to you, Sir, our satisfaction at seeing you occupying the presidency for August. There is no need to emphasize the historic links between France and Chad because they are common knowledge. France has had special responsibilities to discharge with regard to Chad. With that background and, above all, in the light of the breadth of your experience as a statesman and accomplished diplomat and your personal knowledge of the subject under consideration, we are sure that the outcome of the Council's deliberations will be a happy one for the martyred people of Chad.

7. We should like also to take this opportunity to express our great appreciation for the outstanding way in which Mr. Ling Qing, representative of the People's Republic of China, conducted the Council's business last month. The excellent relations between China and Chad were confirmed by the official visit paid to Beijing recently by the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Co-operation of Chad.

8. Finally, we are grateful to you and the other members of the Council for having responded so promptly to the appeal of the Government and people of Chad as a whole at this critical time in our history.

9. Since 31 July, the very day when the Chad National Armed Forces retook the town of Faya-Largeau in the north of Chad, the Libyan air force came into action, cruelly stepping up Libya's barbarous aggression against Chad. Since that date that town has been the daily target, right up to this moment, of systematic massive bombardments by Libyan MiG-21s and -23s, Tupolev-22s and Mirages. During the night between 1 and 2 August, the planes bombarded the town for seven hours, thus causing a great many casualties among the innocent civilian population.

10. This is deliberate genocide against the martyred people of Chad, who ask only to live in peace and enlightened

understanding with all the brother and neighbouring peoples, including the people of Libya.

11. This situation undoubtedly endangers peace and security in the region. That is why today Chad comes before the Council, the main body charged, under the Charter of the United Nations, to ensure the maintenance of international peace and security, so that it should be able to assume its responsibilities in this serious situation that prevails between Chad and Libya—which is the latter's fault.

12. Representatives will recall that last March [S/15643], Chad made a complaint against Libya owing to its illegal military occupation of part of Chad's territory generally known as the "Aouzou Strip". Despite repeated denials from Libya, discussions in the Council clearly established the existence of a border conflict between the two countries. That is why, after those discussions, a major statement was unanimously adopted by members of the Council [S/15688] which invited both parties to resolve their dispute by peaceful means, particularly within the framework of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), in accordance with the principles of respect for political independence, national sovereignty and territorial integrity. But in particular the statement urged both parties to refrain from any action that might exacerbate the situation.

13. Blithely flouting that statement, the Libyan Government not only continued to extend its military occupation over Chad territory but also undertook a real attempt to destabilize Chad. Indeed, on 8 April—in other words, two days after the adoption of the Council's statement—Libyan planes began to fly over some parts of Chad, particularly the prefectures of Borkou-Ennedi-Tibesti and Kanem. That incident and others following it were brought to the attention of members of the Council by the Government of Chad in letters dated 8 and 19 April [S/15693 and S/15709]. At the same time Libya threw its hordes of mercenaries and its Islamic Legion into the conquest of the townships of Bardai, Wour, Zouar, Ounianga-Kebir and Yebbi-bou. This Libyan expansionism reached its frenetic height with the occupation on 23 June last of Faya-Largeau, the main township in the north of the country.

14. At that time the President of the Republic, Mr. Hissein Habré, personally informed the Council of that escalation of Libyan aggression in a message dated 23 June [S/15843]. Pursuing its expansionist action, the Libyan Government unleashed its Islamic Legion and mercenaries against the east of the country, successively occupying the townships of Fada, Kalait, Oum-Chalouba, Arada, Biltine and Abéché. But thanks to the energetic reaction of the government forces, backed up by appreciable logistic assistance and support from friendly countries, the enemy was routed and the central authorities again took control of the entire eastern part of the country.

15. We wish to pay a warm tribute to those friendly and fraternal countries that responded positively to Chad's

appeal and to those who expressed their political and diplomatic support for the legitimate Government of the Republic of Chad.

16. The liberation of the strategic town of Faya-Largeau, which became the political capital of the Libyan occupation army and its mercenaries from all sides, was, as may be imagined, a rude shock for Colonel Qaddafi in his satanic undertaking to invade and annex Chad. It is easy to imagine the passion with which his air force indiscriminately struck the town of Faya-Largeau and its environs, causing enormous loss of human life and material damage.

17. Libya's covert intention, which runs counter to the rules of international law because it is giving itself over to acts of aggression against a neighbouring brother country, is to destabilize the régime in order to set up another that would be true to its own persuasion and thus to perpetuate its illegal occupation of the Aouzou Strip, annex the entire country and use it as a base for aggression against other neighbouring countries, which would enable it to carry out its diabolical dream of creating the famous "United States of the Sahel".

18. As everyone knows, for about 20 years Chad has been living through a real tragedy caused and maintained from outside, mainly by Libya.

19. The various successive Governments of Chad at N'Djamena, in particular that presided over by Mr. Hissein Habré, have spared neither time nor effort to try to bring about normalization of relations between the two countries. To give the latest example, negotiations were undertaken at N'Djamena and then at Tripoli in 1983 to find a solution to the dispute between Chad and Libya. But the conditions set by the latter, which we made known to the international community during the last Council debate on the Chad complaint [2419th meeting, para. 177], were so arrogant that the delegation of Chad rejected them *in toto*. Let us recall that for Chad those conditions would mean, first, its becoming an Islamic republic, when the country has definitely chosen to be a lay country, which did not prevent it from being a founding member of the Organization of the Islamic Conference; secondly, its forming a strategic alliance with Libya in order to destabilize neighbouring countries such as Cameroon, the Niger, Nigeria and the Sudan, which Libya describes as reactionary régimes; thirdly, our country's agreeing to consider only the historic boundaries between the two countries, which would be tantamount to Chad's accepting an outright merger with Libya, which the latter tried to bring about in January 1981, as with other countries.

20. Despite our rejection of those conditions, our Government has always expressed its willingness to maintain talks with Libya in order to arrive at a peaceful settlement of the dispute. This emerges clearly from letters sent by our country to the President of the Council and dated 27 July and 1 August 1983 [S/15889 and S/15897].

21. It is therefore very hard to understand why the Tripoli régime would frenetically and at all costs strive to subject Chad by force, with absolute contempt for all international rules. Taking as an example the Lagos Accord [S/14378, annex I], which for the Libyans would be valid, though everyone knows it has been made a dead letter, one of the main provisions of that Accord forbids neighbouring countries to interfere in Chad's internal affairs, does it not? And yet Libyan aircraft savagely bombard townships in Chad, thus committing veritable genocide.

22. Chad is today the victim of flagrant aggression by Libya in blatant violation of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, the Charter of the Organization of African Unity and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. This is implicitly admitted by the Libyan Government itself, if its spokesmen are listened to.

23. Libya is responsible for the loss of human life among peaceable Chad populations. Libya is responsible for the massive destruction of Chad's patrimony. Libya is responsible for blocking Chad's socio-economic development; indeed, we now head the list of the poorest countries in the world. Libya has always been and remains a major obstacle to the work of national reconciliation among the people of Chad.

24. Chad urges the Council fully to assume the responsibilities incumbent on it under the Charter of the United Nations by firmly condemning Libya for its untoward bombardments of Chad townships by its air force and immediately ordering it to end such bombardments and without delay to withdraw its occupation forces from Chad.

25. Despite the criminal action of Libya against my country, Chad remains ready to engage in talks to arrive at a peaceful settlement of the conflict. As was stressed by the President of the Republic in a message addressed to the President of the Council on 17 March:

"Chad must exist as any other sovereign State, and the territorial integrity which it acquired at the time of its independence on 11 August 1960 must be preserved in accordance with the principle of inviolability of frontiers inherited from the colonial era to which the African countries, including the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, solemnly subscribed in 1964 at Cairo. The people of Chad claim the right to live in peace within the frontiers which were inherited from the colonial era and which enjoy international recognition" [see S/15644].

26. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker is the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, on whom I now call.

27. Mr. BURWIN (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Mr. President, I have already had occasion to extend my thanks to you on your assumption of the presidency for this month, and I have also

expressed our appreciation and gratitude to the representative of China for his excellent conduct of the work of the Council last month.

28. The position of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya on the events unfolding in Chad has been clarified in previous statements to the Council and in several letters that have been addressed to the Council, among which are those contained in documents S/15844 of 27 June, S/15856 of 6 July and S/15903 of 2 August and the message we addressed to the President of the Council this morning, 3 August [S/15906].

29. Our participation in these deliberations is designed primarily to help the Council acquaint itself with the reasons underlying the painful events to which the people of Chad have been subjected for years and to explain Libya's point of view in that connection. My statement is not in reply to those who claim to represent Chad, because the current Government in that country is illegitimate and made up of insurgents. I should like to begin by reiterating the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya's categorical denial of all the allegations contained in documents S/15897 and S/15898 of 1 August and S/15902 of 2 August, as well as in the statement that has just been made in the Council. The Libyan Arab Jamahiriya does not intervene in the affairs of Chad and has sent neither planes nor troops to that country. We wish others would act in like manner; in particular we wish the war planes from the aircraft carrier of the American Sixth Fleet would cease their violations of Libyan airspace and waters, along with their spying activities over Libyan territory. The Jamahiriya has declared its neutrality *vis-à-vis* the current conflict in Chad and has proposed to the OAU that it send a fact-finding mission to Chad to verify it. In that connection, I wish to read out the letter we addressed this morning to the President of the Council. It reads as follows:

[The speaker read out the letter contained in document S/15906.]

30. I wish to assert that the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya firmly believes in the principles of the United Nations, the OAU and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, and that it adheres to respect for the principles of political independence, the territorial integrity of all States, non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States and good-neighbourliness.

31. The people of the Jamahiriya and the people of Chad are bound together by spiritual, cultural, geographic and historic ties. They share a common history of struggle against colonialism. When they were under colonial domination earlier in this century they fought side by side. The Libyans fought against French colonialism on the territory of Chad and the people of Chad fought on Libyan soil against Italian Fascist colonialism. Moreover, thousands of Libyans found refuge in Chad during the Libyan liberation struggle against Fascist colonialism, while thousands of Chadians currently live in the Jamahiriya, where they work and are treated as brothers.

32. The volatile situation and civil war in Chad are nothing new. Rather, they are results of colonialism. Chad acceded to independence in the early 1960s, and the disturbances there began in 1963; civil war broke out in 1965 and has continued up to the present time.

33. The conflict in Chad is one among factions in that country and has been fomented by religious, tribal and ethnic factors, and power struggles instigated by colonialism.

34. The Libyan Arab Jamahiriya has taken care to preserve the fraternal and good-neighbourly relations that bind the Libyan and Chadian people and has consistently sought to realize the unity of the people of Chad, as well as their security and stability. Libya was the first State that attempted to effect a national reconciliation in Chad and to put an end to the tragedy that has afflicted the Chadian people since the early 1960s. Among the results of the conflict in Chad are the adverse effects this conflict has had on the Jamahiriya. We now find foreign forces—a Franco-American colonialist military presence—on our southern borders. From the early 1960s until the first national reconciliation conference at Sebha in the Jamahiriya in February of 1978, the Jamahiriya has been instrumental in helping to break down the psychological barrier between FROLINAT [*front de libération nationale du Tchad*] and the Government of Chad and to bring about mutual recognition between the two parties in the meetings held at Sebha and Benghazi that ended on 27 March 1978. The Jamahiriya also participated in all the conferences subsequently held at Lagos, with a view to achieving national reconciliation in Chad, conferences that led to the Lagos Accord and the Transitional National Union Government, in which all the Chad factions were included under the leadership of Goukouni Weddey, a Government that was recognized by the OAU.

35. The Chad problem is one of the complex problems before the OAU. It has needed intense efforts by the Presidents of the neighbouring States throughout the past five years to restore peace to that fraternal country. However, those efforts have always come up against manoeuvres and conspiracies by colonialism and its power-hungry lackeys, who would not like to see peace and security in the country. Thus we saw one of the lackeys of colonialism, Hissein Habré, violating every agreement reached between the various conflicting factions. Those who follow the history of this person know full well who he is and what he wants. In a nutshell, he is an adventurer, whose only concern is to assume the presidency of the country by any means. Hissein Habré has consistently sought to fan the flames of civil war so as to be able, with the help of certain States, to eliminate all the other factions in Chad and achieve power on the corpses of the people of Chad.

36. The proof of this is very clear. After signing with the Government of General Felix Malloum an agreement which enabled him to reach the capital of Chad and to assume the post of Prime Minister on 31 August 1978, he did not like that post, and started manoeuvring to seize the presidency. He violated the Khartoum Agreement and

unleashed a long war against the capital which claimed the lives of thousands of innocents.

37. Libya at the time was not responsible for what happened in Chad. The neighbouring States initiated collective efforts to solve the problem. These led to the convening of the first Kano Conference, held from 8 to 15 March 1979, and the signing of the 15 March agreement which led to the resignation of President Felix Malloum and Hissein Habré from their respective posts and the formation of a provisional Council of State under Goukouni Weddey to conduct the country's affairs pending the formation of a Transitional National Union Government including all factions in Chad.

38. Hissein Habré continued his sinister manoeuvres and deceived Goukouni Weddey into forming a Government including their two factions only and excluding the other factions. This led to the continuation of the civil war and necessitated further efforts by the neighbouring countries to achieve peace and national reconciliation. As a result the first Lagos Conference, which was boycotted by Hissein Habré, was convened from 25 to 27 May 1979. It issued a statement on 27 May emphasizing that the Government constituted at that time was a violation of the Kano Agreement and that its formation was an unacceptable act. The Conference called upon that alleged Government to resign immediately and to agree with the other factions to form a Transitional National Union Government. But Hissein Habré approved of dismantling the Government only when he ascertained that the OAU rejected that Government and that Goukouni Weddey would abandon him because he started doubting Hissein Habré's intentions.

39. Thus the second Lagos Conference was convened from 13 to 21 August 1979. It was attended by 11 Chad factions, including that of the Armed Forces of the North, led by Hissein Habré. All these factions signed the agreement which resulted in the formation of a Transitional National Union Government on 10 November 1979 under Goukouni Weddey, including all the conflicting factions in Chad.

40. Hissein Habré assumed the post of Minister of Defence, where he once more showed his hunger for power, using his post to consolidate his forces and to sow discord among the people of Chad. His forces waged aggression against the remaining forces, starting on 21 March 1980. This prompted the Government of National Union to dismiss him as an insurgent who had violated the Lagos Accord. The Government mobilized its forces to quell his rebellion, which it did in December 1980.

41. Libya, at the request of the legitimate Government and in accordance with an agreement between the two countries, acted to put an end to that rebellion. For the first time since 1965 Chad enjoyed peace. But Hissein Habré did not despair, since he was embraced by some African States and by the United States, which provided him with large amounts of arms and a large number of military advisers and mercenaries. He seized the opportu-

nity of the Libyan withdrawal from Chad to wage civil war again, and was able, through the collusion of some African States with forces in Chad, part of the OAU contingent, to return to the capital and expel the legitimate Government, the Government resulting from the Lagos Accord and recognized by the OAU. That Government moved to northern Chad and made Bardai its capital. Hissein Habré took advantage of the difficulties facing the legitimate Government and started contacting other States in an attempt to strip the Transitional National Union Government of legitimacy.

42. In this regard we should also like to mention that the message addressed to the President of the Council was addressed to him from outside Chad. Where were the forces of Zaire, which were among the African contingent at the time? Where was the conscience of the American Administration and of other colonialist Powers when the forces of Habré started their attack on the legitimate Government of the country? The United States intervened there, and there is a declared, official intervention by the United States, by France and by Zairian forces. However, it seems that this intervention and the presence of these Governments does not bother the conscience of the American Administration, and that these forces are in Chad to protect a legitimate, elected Government that respects human rights.

43. We also recall that Hissein Habré once arrested archaeologists, including Mrs. Claustre, a French archaeologist. France is well aware of that. Habré also murdered the French emissary who went to negotiate with him. After negotiations, and with assistance from Libya, it was possible to release Mrs. Claustre.

44. They say that the Government of Habré is a legitimate, elected Government, respecting human rights, those criteria adhered to by the United States in dealing with foreign Governments. All of this is baseless and spurious. The United States Administration is concerned not with human rights or elections but with those who protect its interests by imposing dictatorial régimes. It is concerned with those who are willing to be its lackeys and not its friends, not people with self-respect, but people who in return for a handful of dollars given through the United States Central Intelligence Agency, will exercise dictatorship and domination over the destinies of peoples.

45. Recently, when the legitimate Government under Goukouni Weddey was able to organize its forces and achieve several victories against the rebellious forces of Hissein Habré, the imperialist forces and some lackey States raised their voices, complaining of a Libyan intervention in Chad. Where were those voices when Hissein Habré rebelled against the legitimate Government in March 1980? Why did not those Powers move and provide the government forces with weapons and troops, as they are doing now for the Government of Habré, if they were really interested in peace in Chad? Why did they not object to the direct intervention of Zaire in Chad and call upon it to withdraw its forces from Chad, as it did with Libya in 1980?

46. The cause of the deterioration in the situation in Chad, which, to an extent, is jeopardizing peace and security in the area, is foreign intervention, especially the direct intervention by the United States and France. Those countries have begun an air-lift to provide the rebellious forces of Hissein Habré with equipment and military advisers. Zaire has sent more than 2,000 troops to fight on the side of the forces of Hissein Habré, and mercenaries have in addition been recruited from France and Belgium.

47. Today's newspapers tell us that French assistance has reached \$40 million and that this assistance is unlimited and could well increase. As for declared American assistance, it has reached \$10 million, and a further \$10 million has been allocated for Redeye anti-aircraft missiles. American military advisers are now on their way to N'Djamena or are there already. America is pressuring France to use its aeroplanes or its air force; it is exerting this pressure through promises of material aid. A "committee" has been formed under the chairmanship of the President of the United States to plan intervention in the affairs of Chad and of Libya.

48. I regret mentioning France while that country's representative is presiding over the Council, but these are facts which cannot be escaped.

49. This continued intervention will only aggravate the situation and will not restore peace in Chad. The Libyan Arab Jamahiriya condemns these acts of intervention and calls for their immediate termination. It calls for the withdrawal of Zairian and other forces and of American and French military advisers and for the termination of arms shipments. This would help the Chad people to put its house in order and to restore security in Chad.

50. What is happening in Chad is an internal issue which concerns the people of Chad only. A solution of the problem must be found within the framework of the OAU and in accordance with the Lagos Accord [S/14378, annex I], which was endorsed by the OAU. In this connection, we should like to recall the statement issued last month by the Bureau of the OAU. In the fourth paragraph of that statement, the Bureau

"requests the current Chairman of the OAU to undertake any action, including the convening of the Standing Committee on Chad, aimed at bringing about lasting peace in Chad."*

51. The OAU is considering the problem of Chad. Contacts are now being made. We believe that the Charter of the United Nations itself calls for and encourages regional initiatives and solutions and bilateral negotiations. The Libyan Arab Jamahiriya is ready to settle any problems with the legitimate Government of Chad under Goukouni Weddey, and to do so at any time and in any place.

* Quoted in English by the speaker.

52. If there is a genuine desire to restore peace in Chad, action must be taken immediately to convene a conference on national reconciliation under the auspices of the OAU, to be attended by all the Chad factions which signed the Lagos Accord. Furthermore, an end must be put to foreign intervention in the internal affairs of Chad and to the flow of weapons to the rebellious forces of Hissein Habré.

53. The Jamahiriya is always ready to work with its sister States of Africa to help achieve peace and security in Chad.

54. A question was raised: who is responsible for what is taking place in Chad? I should like to state that those responsible for the murders and massacres in Chad are the rebels, the imperialist forces, and the current intervention in Chad, particularly by France and the United States.

55. Even the mass media say that it is difficult—or rather that they have not been able—to ascertain the veracity of the allegations of the Habré régime concerning the raids by Libyan war-planes on Faya-Largeau. The reason is that the illegitimate Government of Habré has forbidden journalists to visit that town.

56. Permit me, Mr. President, to refer to the statement issued by the representative of Chad, or rather the illegitimate Government of Chad, and I reiterate that the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya is not occupying any part of Chad and has no designs on the territory of other States. Libyan forces were in Chad legitimately and, had Libya wished to impose its will on Chad, it could have done so then. Moreover, the allegations of the imperialist Powers and their lackeys concerning the so-called Islamic Libyan legion are a baseless fabrication of the mass media and of the lackeys of imperialism in the region.

57. Especially from the Libyan point of view, the problem of Chad is a pretext, in particular, for the American Administration to satisfy its hunger for dominating peoples in the world. What is happening to Libya is also happening to Nicaragua in Central America, and in South-East Asia. The United States does not want national Governments: the United States Administration wants to return to Libya after having been expelled, so that it can exploit our oil and our airspace and build military bases with the intention of intervening in neighbouring States, of spying on Arab and African States, of supporting the expansionist Zionist entity in the Middle East region, and of smothering any voice raised against its immoral policies, especially concerning the Middle East question.

58. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): As President I am obliged to point out that the letter addressed by the representative of Chad was on behalf of the Government of Chad.

59. I shall now call on the representative of Zaire who wishes to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

60. Mr. UMBA di LUTETE (Zaire) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, despite the gravity of the situation

I should nevertheless like to take this opportunity to express my particular pleasure at seeing you in the Chair. Not only does your country maintain excellent relations with my own, but I note that your delegation and mine enjoy excellent relations, too. I have no doubt whatsoever that your competence and experience, which you have so often in the past placed at the service of the Council, will be of invaluable assistance to us again.

61. I also take this same opportunity to associate in this tribute the representative of China, who presided over the Council last month with so much competence.

62. Returning to the subject under discussion, I shall be brief. In my dialect we say, "When you want to stop a naked madman, you must be dressed yourself", because if you adopt the same fashion as his, people will wonder which one is the madman.

63. Having said that, reference was made just now to President Habré as an adventurer. It is not up to me to respond to that; I hope that the representative of Chad will have occasion to respond to that kind of calumny. Obviously what is at issue here is the Government. But what was the régime of the present Libyan Government at the beginning? Did it overthrow a king? Does it owe its present legitimacy to that? I do not think so.

64. But since the representative of Libya has raised the question of where the Zairian forces were when Weddey was in power, I should just like to refresh his memory by saying that the forces of Zaire were in fact in Chad at the request of the OAU, as, indeed, was the case with other forces under the command of the OAU, and their instructions were not to intervene in a civil war. It was at that time that the forces of Zaire were in Chad, at the request of a Government which the whole OAU considered to be the legal Government of Chad. It was not because one or two States were challenging its legitimacy that the Government of Chad suddenly became non-legitimate.

65. The forces of Zaire are in Chad; let us not attempt to conceal the fact. We are not hypocrites. They were requested by the Government of Hissein Habré and will remain there as long as the Government of Hissein Habré so wishes.

66. If the forces of Zaire are involved, it is because external forces committed aggression against what the OAU considers to be a legitimate Government.

67. In June the nineteenth session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU was held at Addis Ababa. At that same time there was a country which thought that the real Government was that of Goukouni Weddey. The head of State of that country had to leave the meeting. Why? Because he was clearly in the minority and not supported by anyone.

68. I am astonished by the claim just made here in the Council—where this is considered a serious matter—that the legal Government is that of Mr. Goukouni Weddey. That is certainly not the understanding among Africans.

69. Reference has also been made here to the communiqué from the OAU Bureau, but the previous speaker who quoted that has forgotten that that communiqué was first addressed to his country. It was because his country had intervened in Chad that that communiqué was made public so as not to make the situation worse.

70. He also said that his country is not an enemy of Chad's. Well, yesterday I think everybody had an opportunity to read the press reports. The press agency of his own country yesterday announced the death of President Habré. Unfortunately for him, President Habré is still alive. The town was savagely bombed, in an obvious attempt to kill President Habré. But unfortunately for them this did not happen. There can be no doubt as to who bombed the town, since the other side does not have an air force.

71. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on the representative of Chad.

72. Mr. BARMA (Chad) (*interpretation from French*): The Libyan representative, who is seated across the room from me here, claimed not to be exercising the right of reply in response to the statement made by my delegation on behalf of the Chad Government and indulged in describing the background to the situation in Chad as if he were a leader of the country. He even dares to make a judgement about the legitimacy of a Government, as if his own Government were legitimate.

73. As the representative of Zaire has rightly just recalled, we know how Colonel Qaddafi came to power. It was by a *coup d'état*. He overthrew the king. Does he have some sort of certificate of legitimacy delivered by an international body? I think not.

74. The representative of Libya has just shown the international community how far his country clearly interferes in the internal affairs of state in Chad. By what right can he make value judgements about the person of the President of Chad?

75. I will not descend to the level of the representative of Libya because I am well-brought up and I speak on behalf of a State. I shall therefore not give myself over to the sort of silly nonsense and pettifoggery that we have just heard about my Head of State, and I shall not dignify it with a reply. It is not he who is going to set up any régime in Chad, although we all know that for 20 years that is what Libya has sought to do. Chad has not been at peace because Libya has wanted exactly what I have described, despite the fact that the Libyan representative claims that his country seeks national reconciliation. But we know otherwise: it is Libya that is the major obstacle to national reconciliation. It wants at all cost to have puppets in Chad, so that it can do what it wants in Chad. But it will not succeed in that goal because of the great determination of our people. We know that they have been an obstacle to our development, as I said in my statement.

76. The Libyan representative said that his country was neutral concerning current events in Chad and that it had

requested the OAU to send a commission of inquiry to see what was happening in Chad. As far as I am aware, the Chad rebels have no aircraft. Who, then, is bombing the city of Faya-Largeau, if not Libyan aircraft? His own spokesmen have admitted that Libyan aircraft are overflying Chad territory and that their bombing of that territory was continuing.

77. As for what he called "foreign intervention in Chad," I should like to say to him that, if there is any foreign intervention in Chad, it is precisely Libyan intervention. There is overt aggression by Libya against the Chad people, which is a tragedy for that people. If friendly countries—which he named—have been kind enough to respond to the appeal made to them, they did so on the appeal of a legitimate Government, a Government that is recognized by the international community—even if that does not please the Libyan representative. Hence, if there is foreign intervention in Chad, if there is aggression against Chad, it is precisely on the part of Libya and no other country.

78. I shall confine myself to this statement for the time being, but I reserve the right to make an appropriate reply after I read the verbatim record of the statement made by the representative of Libya.

79. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya has asked to speak, and I now call on him.

80. Mr. BURWIN (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (*interpretation from Arabic*): At its eighteenth session, held at Nairobi in June 1981, the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU adopted a resolution on Chad, one of whose paragraphs reads as follows:

"Reaffirms its support to the Transitional National Union Government and requests that all Member states of the OAU support this Government in its efforts to maintain peace and security in the country and abstain from interfering in the internal affairs of the country."¹

81. I stated that there were Libyan forces in Chad; and had Libya wanted to impose a president on Chad, it would have done so. But those Libyan forces went to Chad at the request of the legitimate Government of Chad and withdrew at the request of that Government.

82. Libya takes a neutral position on the conflict in Chad among Chad factions.

83. If it is alleged that there is a legitimate Government and security and stability in Chad, then why should we go to the trouble of discussing the deteriorating situation in Chad and why are Zairian forces and military advisers from the United States and other countries there, as well as mercenaries, as reported by Japanese journalists?

84. Is Goukouni Weddey a Chad national or not? Are those fighting with him not also Chad nationals? Who occupied Abéché and Oum-Chalouba? Were they Libyan

forces? Who destroyed N'Djamena and murdered worshippers in a mosque? Was it not Hissein Habré? Who abducted the French archaeologist? Was it not Hissein Habré?

85. With regard to the statement from the OAU, it was addressed to all African States—and that is why it was rejected by Hissein Habré. It is also addressed to non-African States intervening in Chad.

86. I stated that the deteriorating situation in Chad certainly had adverse effects on my country and that it would

create problems for the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. As I said, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya stands ready to seek genuine national reconciliation in Chad, including all Chad factions.

The meeting rose at 3.25 p.m.

NOTE

¹ A/36/534, annex II, resolution AHG/Res.102 (XVIII)/Rev.1.

كيفية الحصول على منشورات الأمم المتحدة

يمكن الحصول على منشورات الأمم المتحدة من المكتبات ودور التوزيع في جميع أنحاء العالم. استعلم عنها من المكتبة التي تتعامل معها أو كتب إلى: الأمم المتحدة، قسم البيع في نيويورك أو في جنيف.

如何购取联合国出版物

联合国出版物在全世界各地的书店和经售处均有发售。请向书店询问或写信到纽约或日内瓦的联合国销售组。

HOW TO OBTAIN UNITED NATIONS PUBLICATIONS

United Nations publications may be obtained from bookstores and distributors throughout the world. Consult your bookstore or write to: United Nations, Sales Section, New York or Geneva.

COMMENT SE PROCURER LES PUBLICATIONS DES NATIONS UNIES

Les publications des Nations Unies sont en vente dans les librairies et les agences dépositaires du monde entier. Informez-vous auprès de votre libraire ou adressez-vous à : Nations Unies, Section des ventes, New York ou Genève.

КАК ПОЛУЧИТЬ ИЗДАНИЯ ОРГАНИЗАЦИИ ОБЪЕДИНЕННЫХ НАЦИЙ

Издания Организации Объединенных Наций можно купить в книжных магазинах и агентствах во всех районах мира. Наводите справки об изданиях в вашем книжном магазине или пишите по адресу: Организация Объединенных Наций, Секция по продаже изданий, Нью-Йорк или Женева.

COMO CONSEGUIR PUBLICACIONES DE LAS NACIONES UNIDAS

Las publicaciones de las Naciones Unidas están en venta en librerías y casas distribuidoras en todas partes del mundo. Consulte a su librero o diríjase a: Naciones Unidas, Sección de Ventas, Nueva York o Ginebra.
