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CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2464)	1
Adoption of the agenda	1
Letter dated 8 August 1983 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15914)	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.

2464th MEETING

Held in New York on Thursday, 11 August 1983, at 6.30 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/2464)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. Letter dated 8 August 1983 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15914)

The meeting was called to order at 6.55 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Letter dated 8 August 1983 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15914)

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Cuba, Democratic Yemen, the Islamic Republic of Iran, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and the Syrian Arab Republic in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the agenda. In keeping 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. Burwin (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Garcia Iturbe (Cuba), Mr. Al-Alfi (Democratic Yemen), Mr. Rajaie-Khorassani (Islamic Republic of Iran) and Mr. Al-Atassi (Syrian Arab Republic) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

2. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The Security Council is meeting today in response to the request made by the representative of the Libyan Arab

Jamahiriya to the President of the Council in a letter dated 8 August.

3. Members of the Council also have before them the following documents: S/15912, containing the text of a letter dated 6 August from the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya to the President of the Council; S/15913, containing the text of a letter dated 8 August from the representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to the Secretary-General; S/15919 and S/15920, containing the texts of two letters dated 10 August from the representative of the United States to the President of the Council.

4. Members of the Council have received photocopies of a letter dated 11 August from the representative of the Sudan to the President of the Council. The text of this letter will be distributed tomorrow as document S/15921.

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

6. Mr. BURWIN (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Mr. President, I wish at the outset to express to you, and through you to the other members of the Council, our thanks for the prompt response to our request for the convening of the Council. There is no doubt that this prompt response clearly indicates the Council's desire to discharge its responsibilities concerning the maintenance of international peace and security.

7. In a message conveyed by Colonel Muammar Qaddafi, Leader of the victorious Revolution of glorious September, addressed to the President of the Council and the Secretary-General, he indicated the threats posed to international peace and security, as well as the reasons for convening a meeting of the Council [*see S/15912*]. He informed the President of the Council that international security was faced by a threat of the utmost gravity in the Arab region and Africa as a result of the landing of United States forces of all kinds in these areas, some of them taking place on Libya's borders; and that the landing of those forces presents a direct threat to the security of Libya, which is compelled to defend itself from the threat posed by the landing by sea and by air of American forces on its borders.

8. The Leader of the revolution added:

"I wish to inform you that the responsibility for any breakdown of international security in this region as a result of that landing lies entirely with the Government

of the United States, and consequently with the Security Council, if it does not intervene to compel the Government in question to halt this large-scale troop landing, which threatens security in this extremely sensitive and troubled region.

"I request the Security Council to take all measures consistent with its responsibilities for safeguarding the security of States Members of the United Nations and also peace and security in the region." [ibid.]

9. As representatives know, the Council met last February [2416th meeting] when it was acquainted with United States aggressive intentions and provocations against the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. We had hoped that the United States Administration would change its conduct and cease its provocations and violations of Libya's territorial sovereignty and allow the Libyan people to live in peace and build its country in security like any other nation. But the United States Administration, which is driven by a lust for power, still believes that military power is enough to frustrate the will of the people and change the political systems in the smaller countries which oppose its policy, reject the domination of its hegemony, pursue a free policy and observe the principles of non-alignment. Thus the United States Administration has persisted in its aggressive policy against Libya and escalated the tension in the area, using all means and designs in order to create the pretexts it believes necessary to attack the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya.

10. The United States has been an enemy of Libya since the 1969 revolution in Libya. The reasons for this enmity are crystal clear. Libya pursues a non-aligned policy, and the United States wants it to be one of the puppet régimes, under its hegemony, as was the case before the revolution. Libya dismantled the American bases that were on its soil, and the United States wants to restore those bases to use them in acts of aggression against the neighbouring countries, as it did in 1967 when American aircraft took off from Willis Air Base to attack Nasser's Egypt and help the Zionist entity in its aggression against the Arab countries, as well as support the racist régime in South Africa and provide it with weapons from those bases.

11. Libya nationalized the oil companies and put an end to the American monopolies; it liberated its economy. But the United States does not want it to control the main resources of its economy so that the United States may continue its enslavement of our country and keep it linked to the will of American imperialism. Libya stands by countries under colonial and racist domination and supports their liberation movements, as in the cases of the peoples of Palestine, Namibia and South Africa. The United States supports the two racist régimes in Pretoria and Tel Aviv. It considers them its allies, and that is the reason it can never support the policy of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and its support of freedom.

12. Therefore, Libya has been the object of virulent media campaigns and a series of direct and indirect threats and provocations and aggression. We have given details of those acts in the United Nations, in addition to our statement before the Council on 22 February [2415th meeting]. There is no need to go over those details. It is

enough to indicate here that after that date we conveyed a letter on 10 May to the President of the Council concerning the aggressive and provocative acts of the United States Administration [S/15755]. I should like to point out briefly that the United States aggressive policy against the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya has been embodied in concrete acts since 1972, as follows.

13. Since 1972 the United States has refused to enter into a dialogue and to establish normal diplomatic relations with Libya. Since 1973 American aircraft have so far violated Libyan airspace 336 times, 174 of them during the past months; 158 violations took place after the meetings of the Council last February. It seems that the United States is in complete accord with the international community! In 1974 the United States stopped the delivery of eight C-130 aircraft despite the fact that they had been paid for. In January 1977, the United States Defense Department added Libya to the list of enemies of the United States of America. In 1978 the United States launched an undeclared economic war and froze the civil Boeing aircraft deal which was about to be concluded with the Libyan Arab Airlines. In the period 27 to 30 July 1978, the United States Sixth Fleet conducted provocative manoeuvres near the Libyan coast. On 22 April 1979, a United States jet fighter intercepted a civil Libyan aeroplane which was on a regular flight between Benghazi and Damascus. On 8 August the United States Sixth Fleet conducted further provocative manoeuvres near Libyan territorial waters. In May 1980, espionage cells spying on the Jamahiriya were discovered.

14. Since 1981 there has been an intensification of the inimical media campaign against the Jamahiriya. In May United States authorities closed the Libyan People's Office in Washington and expelled all those who worked there. On 3 July, the plot hatched by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) to assassinate Colonel Qaddafi, the Leader of the Libyan Revolution, was unveiled. On 19 August, United States aircraft violated Libyan airspace and engaged in a skirmish with two Libyan aircraft that were on a regular flight. Also, the aircraft-carrier *Nimitz* entered the territorial waters in the Gulf of Sidra. Since August pressure has been brought to bear on American oil companies to stop their operations in Libya. On 18 September, the United States Administration prohibited the completion of American spare parts for the maintenance of civil aviation in Libya. On 10 December, the United States Administration advised all Americans to leave Libya and prohibited American citizens from travelling to Libya with a view to preventing Libya from exporting oil and, consequently, undermining its economy.

15. On 10 March 1982, the United States Administration prohibited the importation of Libyan oil and the exportation of spare parts and technical equipment used in the oil industry in Libya. On 26 March, exportation of all equipment and technical devices to Libya was prohibited.

16. On 16 February 1983, the United States Administration sent four AWACS aircraft to Egypt and moved the aircraft-carrier *Nimitz* to the Libyan coast. On 18 Febru-

ary, the *Nimitz* jammed radio broadcasts inside the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and obstructed civil wireless communications. On 18 March, the American Administration enacted legislation preventing Libyan students from studying nuclear energy or aviation in the United States. And just yesterday, nine Libyan students were arrested in Miami and put in jail by the American authorities. On 31 January, American fighter jets intercepted a Libyan aeroplane on a regular flight from Greece to Libya. The Rapid Deployment Forces are at present conducting manoeuvres in two countries neighbouring on Libya; and we already stated our views with regard to those manoeuvres, along with a number of other States, in document S/15872 of 18 July.

17. All that is from the historical perspective. But what is the present situation? The United States is exploiting the civil war in Chad and has begun to send its troops and to concentrate them in three countries bordering on the Jamahiriya, as well as off its coast. These forces have in the last few days been sent in successive waves consisting of military aircraft, ships and spy planes, as well as aeroplanes capable of in-flight fuelling, all within the framework of preparing for aggression against the Jamahiriya under the camouflage of helping and protecting the rebel régime in Chad, claiming strategic interest in the region. The sophisticated military machinery being directed against Libya, which includes the aircraft-carrier *Eisenhower* and another ship carrying guided missiles and seven escort ships are now north-west of Benghazi, off the Libyan coast. A helicopter carrier is stationed south of the island of Crete, along with four other ships. Along the border between the Sudan and Libya there are at present two AWACS aircraft, 16 F-15 jet fighters and 4 tanker aircraft for refuelling in the air, as well as Y-2 reconnaissance aircraft. The strategic American reconnaissance planes are conducting military missions, and two of them are engaged in continuous 24-hour-per-day operations along the Libyan-Egyptian-Sudanese-Chadian borders. One of these planes takes off from an Egyptian airbase while the other takes off from Sudanese territory. Four reconnaissance aircraft fly continuously over the Libyan coast two of them are based in Greece, one in Cyprus and the fourth in Egypt.

18. As for the American aircraft stationed in Egypt, there are two AWACS and six airborne refuelling aircraft, as well as 24 F-16s and 40 military helicopters. One C-135 began flying aggressive missions aimed at monitoring movements in Chad from Sudanese territory. A satellite station has been placed in N'Djamena, as well as missile platforms furnished by the United States to the rebel Habré in N'Djamena near the Sudanese border.

19. The United States persists in bringing pressure to bear on Egypt and the Sudan to compel them to send their troops to Chad. The United States has sent a group of transport aircraft to Zaire to transfer more of that country's troops to Chad to fight alongside the rebel Hisssein Habré and possibly to play a part in the American conspiracy and aggression against the Jamahiriya.

20. The United States has reneged on all its international responsibilities as a major Power and a permanent member of the Security Council, and it has begun to engage in and lead international terrorism, as well as to commit acts of piracy and terrorism as a day-to-day policy. The deployment and spread of American bases and the American fleet throughout the world has but one aim—that of intimidating peoples and protecting imperialist monopolies, as well as to protect racist régimes, strangle liberation movements and fight against nationalist régimes.

21. The actions being taken by the United States confirm the gravity of the American policy, a terrorist policy aimed against international peace and security and the freedom and independence of peoples. The sending of such troops to Africa and the increase of its naval flotilla off the Libyan coast is a direct threat to the security and sovereignty of the people of Libya. On 5 August, we sent a letter to the President of the Security Council setting forth our point of view [see S/15910].

22. I cannot fail at this juncture to draw the attention of the Council once again to the serious situation that has resulted from the intensification by the American Administration of tension both in the Mediterranean and in Africa through its official statements, which are of a threatening nature, as well as through the sending of units of the Sixth Fleet to the waters off the coast of Libya and of advisers and military equipment to Chad, not to mention the AWACS planes to neighbouring countries of Libya with a view to monitoring Libyan airspace.

23. That policy and the practices being pursued by the American Administration confirm the fixed aggressive intentions of that Government against the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, intentions that we have drawn attention to in the past.

24. The American provocations and threats directed against the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and other peoples in the world are part of the American strategy of intervention in the affairs of independent States which refuse to yield to the policies and colonial interests of that country and that reject racism, monopoly and hegemony.

25. Such aggressive practices are violations of the Charter of the United Nations and of international law, especially the principles prohibiting the use or threat of force and calling for non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States and recognition of the rights of people freely to choose their political, economic and social systems. They are also a violation of United Nations resolutions aimed at turning the Mediterranean into a zone of peace and co-operation.

26. The continuation of such practices on the part of the American Administration constitutes a source of aggression, intervention and instability in many parts of the world. It is also support of the racist régimes in Palestine and southern Africa against the interests of the Arab and African peoples. Libya is now alerting the international community of the threats being posed to it and to the

security and peace of its people, and the gravity of the situation in the Mediterranean and Africa and is thus drawing attention to the danger to international peace and security inherent in that policy.

27. The claims of protecting interests on which the American intervention is based have made many countries of the world subject to American provocations, aggression and intervention in their internal affairs. The United States has arrogated to itself the right to act as international policeman and has assumed the right, through its troops, military bases and agents to dominate the world and usurp the competence of the Security Council and to immobilize it by resorting to the exercise of its right of veto against draft resolutions aimed at protecting the rights of people. It thus flouts the will of the international community and stands beside the racist and imperialist régimes. It has exercised its veto power more than 30 times against the causes of various peoples.

28. This is sufficient. I shall not delve into the American conspiracies and aggressive acts in different parts of the world, especially in Central America. It is sufficient to mention what it does against Nicaragua, Cuba and Grenada. We mentioned something to this effect at last February's meeting.

29. We are a small, peaceful, non-aligned people. We work at building our country. We want peace for ourselves and security for ourselves and other peoples. The people of Libya, which liberated its country from the American and British bases, liberated its economy and achieved mammoth development progress, wishes to have relations based on mutual respect and non-intervention with all nations, including the United States. We have tried to enter into dialogue with the United States, and we are still ready to do so, and to consider any present problems, if there are any, with the American Administration. But that Administration continually refuses the policy of dialogue and insists on the policy of dependence, putting us in the position of puppets, which we refuse. I wish to confirm that the Libyan people will protect its freedom, sovereignty and achievements, whatever the circumstances and whatever the sacrifices, and will never be intimidated by the aircraft carriers or the AWACS aircraft on its borders.

30. In conclusion, I should like to say that the Security Council must discharge its responsibilities in full and condemn the American provocations and put an end to them if it really wishes to preserve the prestige of the United Nations and its reputation as a means of maintaining peace and security in the world.

31. Mr. LICHENSTEIN (United States of America): At the outset, I must comment on the dramatic and revealing contrast between the dignified and compelling presentation that we heard earlier today from the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and Co-operation of Chad, addressing a real and urgent issue of international peace and security, and the combination of fabrications and irrelevances that we have just heard from the representative of Libya.

32. The Council today is confronted with a most grave threat to international peace and security and a brazen, contemptuous challenge to the bedrock principles of the Charter of the United Nations. This threat and this challenge come primarily from one source—and let there be no doubt on this score. Libya is engaged in open, flagrant, unprovoked aggression against the legitimate Government of the sovereign nation of Chad. Libyan ground and air forces have invaded Chad. These forces, with Libyan tanks, Libyan aircraft and Libyan artillery, attacked and overwhelmed the key military outpost of Faya-Largeau. That town has been subjected to vicious bombardment by Libyan war planes manned by Libyan pilots—indiscriminate bombardment with napalm and high explosives on civilian as well as military targets.

33. This is Libya's war. It is Libya that is guilty of aggression. It is Libya that stands in contemptuous disregard of its obligations under the Charter. And one more basic fact must be confronted: in this assault on the very concept of non-use of force in reconciliation of differences between States, the outlaw régime of Muammar Qaddafi is supported, supplied and encouraged by a permanent member of the Council, the Soviet Union.

34. And now the Soviet Union joins Libya in an attempt to obfuscate the clear issue we have been confronting—the fact of Libyan aggression against Chad—with a smoke-screen of patently diversionary countercharges. They—Libya and the Soviets—allege United States intervention, United States interference, in the affairs of African nations. And so it is necessary, as a first order of business, to sort out these various issues, even as we keep our principal focus on the overriding issue of Libyan expansionism.

35. One of the peripheral issues injected into the debate as a deliberate diversion is that of joint training exercises in the Middle East in which United States forces will be engaged along with those of several other nations—even, I might note, as the Soviets and Libyans engage in such exercises, as recently, indeed, as 30 June to 4 July of this year. These exercises have absolutely nothing to do with the events we confront in Chad, as the Libyans and Soviets know perfectly well, and as the United States Government made perfectly clear in a letter of 22 July addressed to the President of the Council [S/15887], and reiterated in its letter dated 10 August [S/15919]. I quote from that letter:

“The purposes and scope of these joint exercises are clearly set forth in my letter of 22 July [S/15887] to you, and in advance announcements by several of the Governments whose forces are participating in the exercises. These training exercises threaten no one, are wholly defensive in nature, do not involve contested land or sea space and are entirely consistent with international law and the Charter of the United Nations.

“The United States unequivocally states that the exercises pose no threat to the security of any country in Africa and the Middle Eastern region and that the exercises are not a response to any other situation or activity which may be taking place in any neighbouring country or countries.

"These exercises were scheduled and planned before Libya launched its invasion of Chad with ground and air forces. No amount of obfuscation on the part of Libya can disguise the fact that Libyan conspiracies, threats, and aggressions against its neighbours—now graphically demonstrated by Libyan armoured battalions and warplanes operating deep within the territory of Chad—have upset the peace and security of the region."

36. A second issue intended simply and solely to divert attention from Libyan aggression is that of alleged United States intervention in northern Africa, as charged in a tandem of complaints by Libya and the Soviet Union earlier this week [S/15910 and S/15913, annex]. The United States Government has also replied to these utter fabrications in a letter to the President of the Council dated 10 August [S/15920], from which I wish to quote:

"The statements contained in these two letters are clearly designed to divert attention from the fact that the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya itself bears the primary responsibility for tension and conflict in Chad and the surrounding area. It has been conclusively demonstrated that the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya is engaged in the unlawful use of armed force against the territorial integrity and political independence of Chad. Over an extended period, aircraft of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya have conducted an intensive campaign of bombing cities in Chad using incendiary as well as conventional bombs. Units of the Libyan Army have penetrated deeply into Chad and are now engaged in offensive military action against the armed forces of Chad.

"These Libyan forces have been equipped by the Soviet Union with highly sophisticated military equipment, including aircraft, helicopters, tanks, armoured personnel carriers, missiles and artillery, which is being used against military targets and civilian population in Chad.

"The United States and other concerned countries have responded to this unlawful use of force. At the request of the Government of Chad, a country with a very limited and purely defensive military capability, the United States has provided logistical support and assistance in monitoring the situation to aid Chad in its struggle to defend itself against the unprovoked acts of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. The Council should be aware that we are dealing with a case of aggression by the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya which constitutes a major threat to the peace and security of the region.

"All of the actions of the United States have been designed to assist the Government of Chad to exercise its inherent right of self-defence. These actions are wholly consistent with international law and the Charter of the United Nations."

37. Now let us return to the realm of harsh reality: to the factual record of Libyan aggression against Chad, which is and must remain our primary focus today, as it also constitutes the sole present threat in that region to peace and security.

38. On 24 June, Libyan-supported rebel forces led by Goukouni Weddey captured the key outpost of Faya-Largeau from the army of Chad, led by its President, Hissein Habré. The town of Abéché fell to rebel forces on 8 July. But then, to Libya's apparent consternation, the army of Chad recaptured Faya-Largeau on 30 July, as it had re-taken Abéché on 12 July; and it was this dramatic turnabout that sparked a sudden escalation of Libyan involvement in Chad, which was extensive before that battle and which has been critical to the insurgents all along. Indeed, since August of last year, Libya had been building up the insurgent forces of Goukouni, principally at a training base at the town of Sebha in Libya.

39. Elements of 15 Libyan battalions have been active in northern Chad, going back to last August. These include commando, mechanized infantry, armed reconnaissance, artillery and tank battalions. The artillery that was used with such devastating effect in June in the battle of Faya-Largeau, for example, was manned by Libyans.

40. The insurgents have been massively armed with new and sophisticated Soviet equipment by Libya. Almost everything the insurgents have, from heavy artillery to shoes to food, has been provided by Libya.

41. Insurgent administration, logistics and operational planning have all been under the authority of the Libyan commander at Sebha.

42. During the last two weeks in July, just before the recapture by the armed forces of Chad of Faya-Largeau, several Libyan units were dispatched to Ounianga Kébir and Ogoui, both located in northern Chad, but well to the south of the contested Aouzou Strip—in the territory of Chad, that is to say, even by Libya's own definition—to permit the insurgents, with Libyan advisors, to concentrate on Faya-Largeau. Libyan transport aircraft in this period made daily flights to Faya-Largeau with arms and supplies. But at this point in the campaign Libya had not yet committed major ground forces on a scale comparable to the 7,000 to 9,000 Libyan troops sent to Chad in 1980 and then withdrawn in 1981. Apparently the Libyans thought Goukouni would win without them.

43. The immediate Libyan reaction to the re-taking of Faya-Largeau on 30 July was bombing raids on Faya, using Soviet-supplied SU-22 ground-attack aircraft from the Libyan airbase near the town of Aouzou in the Aouzou Strip. On this day, 30 July, there was a squadron of SU-22s at the Aouzou airbase, as well as several SF-260 attack aircraft and Soviet-supplied MI-24 attack helicopters. In the initial attack the SU-22s used napalm, cluster bombs and high-explosive bombs and concentrated their attacks on the centre of Faya-Largeau. There were comparable air attacks virtually every day after 30 July until Faya-Largeau fell on 10 August.

44. On 1 August, SF-260 attack planes and MI-24s were moved to airfields at Ounianga Kébir and Ogoui in northern Chad, much closer to the front. During the night of 1-2 August, two Mirage F-1s flew sorties over Faya-

Largeau, dropping both napalm and high-explosive bombs.

45. The attacks continued throughout this first week of August, carried out by SU-22s, TU-22s and, for night-time raids, Mirage F-1s. During the night of 2-3 August, three F-1s were employed, and on the night of 3-4 August four F-1s. The first wave of SU-22s at dawn on 3 August dropped no fewer than 48 bombs, and on that same day the Chad Government forces brought down their first SU-22, whose Libyan pilot was captured and has since confirmed that the air attacks, using napalm, were carried out by Libyan planes, flown by Libyan pilots, operating under Libyan command.

46. Meanwhile, at the Sebha and Kufra barracks in southern Libya, artillery and armoured convoys were formed and began moving into Chad. An entire Libyan mechanized infantry battalion was sent to Ogoi on 31 July, and another had arrived there by 4 August, with more than 30 armoured personnel carriers and both T-54 and T-55 tanks. As we meet here today, upwards of 2,500 or 3,000 Libyan troops have overwhelmed, and now occupy, Faya-Largeau in this Libyan war against its neighbour, Chad.

47. These are the plain, grim, undeniable facts. They constitute the tangible scenario of open and unprovoked Libyan aggression that mocks the Charter of the United Nations, and the message seems clear to my Government: if that aggression is permitted to go unpunished, then the Council will be revealed as impotent and Qaddafi's brutal "new colonialism" will threaten even more urgently the security of northern and north-central Africa.

48. Nor, indeed, should any of this come as a surprise to us. The pattern of Libyan expansionism, Libyan aggression, Libyan misconduct—in Africa and far beyond—is long-standing.

49. 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. Along with offensive military power—arrayed, as in Chad, against the powerless and the impoverished—Qaddafi pursues his expansionist goals through a combination of economic and military aid to radical Governments around the world; bribery of officials; help to international terrorists by providing sanctuary, funds, weapons and operational planning; assassination of exiled opponents and the planned assassination of the officials of target Governments; and assistance to guerrilla groups working to overthrow established Governments.

50. The Qaddafi régime has been engaged in all these activities almost since it took power. In 1972, for example, Libya provided sanctuary to the perpetrators of the Munich Olympics murders. Qaddafi also gave refuge to the terrorists who took hostages at the meeting held at Vienna in 1975 by the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC). Libya has consistently been used as a safe haven in which terrorists have planned their

campaigns for many European capitals. The infamous "Carlos" has operated out of Libya for several years. The weapons found on the French terrorists Breguet and Kopp had been sold originally to the Libyan army. It was their release that Carlos demanded.

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

52. A major facet of Libyan foreign policy has been and remains subversion and destabilization of independent Governments in the Middle East, Africa and elsewhere. Chad has, of course, been a principal victim as it is the victim today—but Libyan aggression against Chad is but one element of a clearly systematic pattern. In the Horn of Africa, in the Sudan and Somalia, Libya works to overthrow the Governments. In February of this year, the Sudan uncovered a Libyan-backed coup plot against the Government of President Gaafar Nimeiri and, just in time, apprehended Libyan-sponsored insurgents and infiltrators. As all of us will recall, the Council met in urgent session last February [2415th to 2418th meetings] to consider that Libyan plot—fortunately an unsuccessful one. But the effort continues: Libyan "advisers" continue to train Somali and Sudanese guerrillas; Libya supplies arms, ammunition, explosives and other material to the Somali Salvation Front and to Sudanese rebels. Libya's delivery of increasingly sophisticated weapons to warring tribes in the Sudan has contributed to death and violence in that region.

53. Elsewhere, even in the Western Hemisphere, Libya delivers military equipment to guerrilla groups and to military dictatorships—always in opposition to democratic régimes to established Governments.

54. This is the pattern of Libyan misconduct, worldwide. It constitutes, as I have said, a most grave threat to international peace and security, in violation of the Charter of the United Nations, the Charter of the Organization of African Unity, of every norm of rational, civilized behaviour. The culprit in this proceeding is identified beyond any reasonable doubt or question.

55. What then is to be done? The immediate, urgent requirements are simple enough to state. First, the unprovoked, flagrant aggression of Libya must be labelled for what it is: a direct challenge to the Charter and a grave threat to international peace and security. Secondly, there must be an end—now, today—to this latest in the long-standing pattern of Libyan lawlessness, by whatever

appropriate means are available to the Government of Chad and to those nations in Africa and elsewhere which have responded to that Government's appeal for help.

56. With an end to Libyan aggression, the enduring problems of that embattled nation can be addressed in a reasonable way, in a spirit of reconciliation that will promote international peace and security.

57. With an end to Libyan aggression all things are possible. As long as this lawless behaviour continues, it must be condemned and it must and will be vigorously opposed.

58. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker is the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

59. Mr. AL-ATASSI (Syrian Arab Republic) (*interpretation from Arabic*): My delegation has already had an opportunity to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month, when this important organ has shouldered the responsibilities entrusted to it under the Charter of the United Nations in reviewing the situation in the occupied Arab territories and the practices of the Zionist racist entity as a result of the criminal attack perpetrated by Zionist settlers against the students of the Islamic University of Al-Khalil. As representatives will recall, the Council's work ended in failure owing to the negative vote of a super-Power, the United States. On this occasion I repeat my delegation's congratulations to you, Sir, a true son of France, which is linked to my country by ties of friendship and affection.

60. I wish also to express to the representative of China my own admiration and that of my delegation for the wise and able manner in which he guided the Council's work last month.

61. Today the Council is meeting at the urgent request of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, which believes there is a threat against its national security and its sovereignty over its lands and resources, and its people with death and annihilation, by a super-Power, a permanent member of the Security Council, a State which claims to have great responsibilities, including responsibility for maintaining international peace and security. That State is the United States.

62. It is truly natural and right that the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya should feel endangered. The series of events justifies its recourse to the Council. The intensive military manoeuvres to train American soldiers in desert fighting—training being carried out by the United States with its friends and allies on the eastern borders of Libya—and its sending of AWACS spy planes over Libyan territory in themselves pose a great threat to the people of the African continent and to the Arab people as a whole and, indeed, to international peace and security.

63. The United States Administration's recent accusation against the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya of intervention

in the internal affairs of Chad is paving the way for sending more AWACS spy planes and F-15 fighter aircraft and increased military assistance to Chad in an attempt to tighten the vise around this young Libyan Revolution.

64. The United States realizes fully that its accusation against Libya of intervention in Chad is transparent and based on no firm facts. The United States of America is not unaware that the situation in Chad has been the same for approximately 18 years without Libya having interfered at all in the situation. The United States cannot deny that it knows that foreign forces are present in Chad; rather, it blesses those forces. Their presence will only fuel the fires in that country, which has many ties with my country. The fact that the United States of America has sent military experts to Chad is an overt, flagrant challenge to the OAU, which is still in control of the situation and exerting all possible efforts to find the appropriate African solution to the situation in Chad. The United States is not deaf to or unaware of all those facts. Instead it deliberately ignores them so as to find justification for escalating its virulent campaign against the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, that young State which has chosen the path of revolution and steadfastness in the face of the Zionists' imperialist designs.

65. If the United States were truly willing to maintain international peace and security, it would have been more appropriate for it—instead of accusing Libya of endangering international peace and security—to use such language in the case of Israel when that country invaded Lebanon in the summer of last year. It would have been more appropriate to use such language in respect of Israel when it annexed Jerusalem. It would have been more appropriate to use such language when Israel annexed the Syrian Golan Heights. Unfortunately, the United States of America did not consider those Israeli acts as any threat to international peace and security. It did not send AWACS spy aircraft. It did not send F-15 aircraft. Nor did it send American military advisers to assist those States which fell victim to Israeli aggression. That would be an exception to the rule, since Israel is the favoured strategic ally of the United States, the guardian of American interests in the area.

66. My delegation believes that the rancour of the United States against the Libyan Revolution has been lurking since its inception on 1 September 1969. The first achievement of the Revolution was the elimination of foreign military bases from all its territory and, more importantly, the maritime Willis Air Base in the Libyan Capital of Tripoli. I had the honour of serving in Tripoli as a representative of my country when the Libyan Revolution took place. I assure the members of the Council that the Libyan people, who were forbidden even to approach the walls of the American base, had many stories to tell about the huge base and its role in the Zionist aggressive war against the Arab nation in 1967. It was even said that the base was being visited by an Israeli official every week to co-ordinate and harmonize activities against the Arab nation.

67. We would need many words and long speeches were we to list all of the factors that led American imperialism to escalate its campaign against the young Libyan revolution. The United States is against every revolution in the world. It is against the aspirations of all peoples to build their future for themselves with their own resources. The United States feels that its interests are threatened and it does not hesitate to employ a policy of oppression and of injustice and even of threats of aggression against all revolutions throughout the world. How otherwise can one explain the presence of the American fleet in Central America? Is it for pleasure, or for fishing, or is it rather to flex its muscles in the face of the Sandinist Nicaraguan revolution and to attempt to strike at that revolution both from within and without? How otherwise can one explain the presence of the American Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean, if not to strike at the Libyan Revolution and other Arab revolutions and to support the Zionist entity in occupied Palestine? Has there not been an American attempt to strike at the Iranian revolution from American bases and ships in the region? It is truly paradoxical that the United States should be the country to carry out all those acts while it is a Permanent Member of the Security Council, and claims to defend international peace and security when in fact it is threatening international peace and security.

68. The Syrian Arab Republic shares Libya's concern at the American provocations. Syria considers itself to be in the same boat as Libya in the struggle for independence and sovereignty. It has been written that we are to take the difficult path, the path of struggle, for this is the path of dignity, instead of the easier path, the path of capitulation, defeatism and humiliation as set forth in the Camp David accords. American threats against Libya and the military manoeuvres being carried out on the borders of Libya, as well as the many names and denominations being brought into play—Rapid Deployment Forces, American Strategic Alliance, "Bright Star-83"—all motivate our Arab people to renew their commitment to fight on to victory. Viet Nam is an example that is still remembered.

69. We hope that the Council will be able to prove its credibility before all the peoples of the world. We hope that it will demonstrate its independence and its commitment to the Articles of the Charter of the United Nations. We hope that it will lift the threat and injustice from the shoulders of the oppressed peoples. The Articles of the Charter are clear to all who attempt to pose a threat to international peace and security.

70. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker is the representative of Democratic Yemen. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

71. Mr. AL-ALFI (Democratic Yemen) (*interpretation from Arabic*): It gives me great pleasure at the outset to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency for this month. We are confident that your well-known wisdom and abilities will contribute to the success of the Council's deliberations. I should also like to pay a tribute to the wise guidance of your predecessor, Mr. Ling

Qing of the People's Republic of China, during his term as President last month.

72. The resentment of the international community with regard to the provocative policies and practices of the United States is increasing; those policies and practices are creating hotbeds of tension and entail threats of the use of force in order to prevail and of intervention in the internal affairs of peoples and States throughout the world, especially those States that have opted for an independent economic and social system. Those policies being pursued by the American Administration are in contravention of the Charter of the United Nations and of the principles of international law and pose a threat to international peace and security.

73. In order to achieve its strategic aims of dominating the natural resources and plundering the wealth of the peoples of the world, the United States has invoked the pretext of its security, even at distances of thousands of miles. It has no qualms about resorting to the threat or use of force against nationalistic, progressive States, as well as against liberation movements resolved to confront its conspiratorial and aggressive policies.

74. On the pretext of security and national interest the American Administration has engaged in a series of military provocations and threats against many States in the Middle East, the Far East, Africa and Latin America, aimed at extending American influence and at compromising the freedom and independence of peoples that long for peace and stability. In Central America, Nicaragua, that peaceful country in the process of building its new society amidst unfavourable economic circumstances, is being subjected to every sort of provocation and threat, as well as to military, political and economic pressures on the part of the United States, culminating in the sending of the American fleet to the Nicaraguan coasts in an operation fraught with the threat to employ force against the Sandinist Revolution. The Council has witnessed broad-based denunciations by the international community against these aggressive acts.

75. Today the Council, for the second time in less than six months, is seized of the complaint of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya against American provocations that are jeopardizing its security and sovereignty—provocations that have been brought to a grave stage by the sending of American *matériel* and equipment, including AWACS spy planes and F-15 fighters, to the countries neighbouring the Jamahiriya. Equally provocative has been the United States admission that it does spy on Libyan territory and that it is doubling its military assistance to Chad, which now amounts to \$25 million, in its attempt to escalate the civil war now raging in that country. All this is being done in order that the United States can have a pretext for intervening in the internal affairs of African States.

76. These foolhardy provocations against the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya are but one manifestation of the aggressive policy pursued by the American Administration in the Arab area in particular and in other parts of the world

generally. It is not a pure coincidence that the American provocations against the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya occur at the same time as the military manoeuvres conducted by the American forces in collaboration with the United States' agents in the area since the establishment of the Rapid Deployment Forces, for which the United States set up a military command in the Middle East. One of these exercises will take place near the coast of Democratic Yemen.

77. Democratic Yemen has more than once drawn attention to the gravity of the American goals and the provocative actions of the United States aimed at returning our area to the era of direct colonialism, hegemony and imperialist domination over the destiny and riches of the peoples of the area.

78. Democratic Yemen, together with other concerned countries, sent the President of the Council a letter dated 18 July [S/15872], drawing the Council's attention to the fact that a major Power's conducting these manoeuvres poses a grave danger to the security and independence of the peoples of the area and is considered a direct intervention in their internal affairs. We also made it clear that these repeated provocative manoeuvres represent part of the American policy based on aggression and intervention in the affairs of other States, and that the United States thereby proves that it has abandoned its responsibilities as a permanent member of the Security Council, foremost among whose tasks is the maintenance of international peace and security.

79. Democratic Yemen regards the conducting of such manoeuvres near its territories as a threat to its security and stability as well as to the security and stability of the whole area. It also draws attention to the fact that the goals of these manoeuvres go beyond the flexing of muscles. They become a direct threat not only to Democratic Yemen but to many of the other countries of the Middle East and Africa, because of the aggressive designs of the United States, whose tentacles stretched as far as Lebanon, exposing Syria to threats of deliberate aggression, with the aim of shaking its steadfastness against imperialist as well as Zionist designs. This also exposes the Palestinian cause to the danger of total liquidation.

80. At the same time as denouncing the American provocations against the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Democratic Yemen declares its full support for, and solidarity with, the Libyan revolution in standing firm against these American provocations and threats, aimed at compromising the security, independence and sovereignty of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. They reveal aggressive intentions against Libya.

81. I wish to conclude my statement by reading the text of a telegram sent by President Ali Nasser Mohammed to his brother, Muammar Qaddafi:

"We are following with deep concern the news of the escalation of the American aggressive provocation against the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, where fleets and American military aircraft violate the territorial waters

and airspace of Libya, in contravention of all international laws and norms. This is an expression of its aggressive frantic intentions in preparation to launch a treacherous aggression against the Libyan Revolution, and is an attempt to force the brotherly Libyan people to retreat from its position that is nationalistic and inimical to imperialism and Zionism. These aggressive acts, which are simultaneous with the provocative manoeuvres of the Rapid Deployment Forces on the territories of certain Arab countries, are but one new act in a series of attacks and conspiracies against the national liberation movement of the Arab world, and a serious challenge to the security, stability and progress of our entire Arab peoples. This is a matter that requires more resolve and steadfastness against all the manifestations of the hostile, imperialist, Zionist activity.

"We in Democratic Yemen, the Party, the people and the Government, reaffirm our unlimited support for the fraternal Libyan people in its confrontation with the American provocations in all their forms and in defending its territories and its territorial waters, and denounce the American circles' aggression in this respect. Moreover, we call upon Arab States and peoples and all the forces of liberation and peace in the world to stand by the fraternal Libyan people and to condemn the American aggressive intentions."

82. Mr. OVINNIKOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): Only six months ago, in February, the Council considered the item concerning provocations of the United States against Libya. Now the Council once again has to return to this item, since the situation in and around Libya is once again dangerously tense.

83. Major units of the American fleet, including two air-strike task forces, have been sent in haste towards the Libyan coast. United States military aircraft are daily carrying out provocative flights near the Libyan border, seeking a pretext for a military confrontation. American aircraft such as the AWACS spy plane are carrying out all kinds of reconnaissance deep in Libyan territory. Finally, in the territories of countries neighbouring on Libya or near it, major exercises have begun with the participation of American troops. The anti-Libyan nature of all of these manoeuvres is quite clear.

84. All of these militaristic preparations are accompanied by a systematic campaign of threats and intimidation waged by the American Administration against Libya and its leadership. Under various sorts of fallacious and trumped-up pretexts, the atmosphere of tension around Libya is being whipped up. The United States feels it can virtually give that sovereign State an ultimatum, dictating what policy it should pursue.

85. The question arises: does simple coincidence explain the fact that the United States is now involved in large-scale flexing of its military muscle both in the Middle East and in Central America? Is it mere happenstance that Washington applies virtually the same policy to Libya

and Nicaragua? We see the very same basic components and elements: open threats and blackmail, demonstrative emplacement of aircraft carriers and reconnaissance aircraft and so-called routine manoeuvres in areas adjacent to the borders of those two countries.

86. Logic and history have taught us that repeated phenomena often conceal a pattern. In this case it is the aggressive militaristic essence of the policy of the United States which from all the evidence has begun to consider holding sway in the countries of the third world with the help of the military fist and the big club. Libya and Nicaragua have today had to bear the brunt of imperialistic attack because those two small developing countries are pursuing an independent foreign policy and not asking for advice from Washington. Tomorrow any other non-aligned State whose policy for some reason does not suit the United States might also become a victim.

87. This is how serious the situation is. Events in and around Libya prove that what is involved is in essence an attempt by imperialist forces to achieve most dangerous neo-colonialist plans against developing States and against the Non-Aligned Movement as a whole.

88. Today we cannot but refer to specific pieces of information and the plans of the Pentagon and the CIA. They are still secret, but today we can point to facts that are known and form part of the preparations for these vile schemes. And that is what we intend to do.

89. The brain trusts in the United States have worked out these plans in good time. We can refer in particular to a study entitled "Collective Management" issued recently under the aegis of a well-known New York institution, the Council on Foreign Relations. There, quite clearly, is dependence on the collapse of such organizations of the third world as OPEC, the Group of 77, the OAU and even the Organization of American States if it escapes control by Washington. There are also frank attempts "to complete the elimination of 'third world' from the vocabulary of contemporary international relations".

90. Let us turn to other American sources. Let us take a recent publication of the Stanford Research Institute entitled "Seven Tomorrows". Of the seven versions of tomorrow chosen there for the possible developments over the next 10 to 15 years—the 1980s and the 1990s—two versions provide for the economic recolonization by the United States of States that have freed themselves from colonial dependency. The other five versions are geared towards direct military intervention by the United States against those countries. In particular there is provision for—and I think this is useful for all to know—American military operations against Mexico, the countries of North Africa, the countries of the Middle East, in particular Kuwait, and against Iran, the Philippines, Indonesia, Jamaica and, finally, China. In this context the authors believe it possible in particular to make an attempt by military means to seize the oil fields in Libya.

91. Finally, yet another study published by the Centre for Strategic International Study of Georgetown University in Washington, D.C., entitled "The Future of Conflicts in the 1980s", asserts that the main sphere of conflicts of lesser intensity would be the third world and that those conflicts would arise primarily out of internal complications and instability there. Further on in that study cynical scenarios are given as to how the United States and other Western Powers might best interfere in these internal conflicts.

92. One wonders what this is: is it an innocent academic exercise carried out by a few irresponsible authors? No: it involves something far more serious. These are by no means mere theoretical studies. They are guidelines for action. Suffice it to state that in the current United States Administration almost half of the assistants to the Secretary of State and other high-ranking foreign policy officials are members of that Council on Foreign Relations—almost half. In the current Administration no less than 40 high-ranking officials are graduates of the Stanford research complex, including the particular institute which I mentioned. Finally, the Georgetown centre is represented in the current Administration by the Under-Secretary of State, by a number of officials on the National Security Council, and also—I would like especial note to be taken of this—by the Permanent Representative of the United States to the United Nations. In other words, those who recently developed these vile schemes directed against third-world countries are placed today in official posts so that they can make the appropriate policy for the United States.

93. And that policy is already being carried out in actual fact. The United States has established the so-called Rapid Deployment Forces, which are directed, first and foremost, against the countries of the Near and Middle East. The first of January 1983 saw the establishment of a new military command in the Pentagon, which has been called the Central Command. It is responsible for 19 States in Asia and Africa as well as a substantial part of the Indian Ocean, including the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea. The United States is relentlessly seeking for itself greater and greater military advantages and bases in those areas, and it is establishing spring-boards under the label of so-called multi-national forces. States there are being arbitrarily united, one after another, in a sphere of "strategic" or "vital" interests of the United States. Thus, what is involved is a global plan for carrying out punitive operations against recalcitrant developing countries which do not wish to follow along with Washington's policy.

94. That is why what is occurring today in and around Libya—like what is occurring in and around Nicaragua—is only, so to speak, the tip of the iceberg. It is but a part of what American strategists have in store for countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America: an attempt to re-colonize liberated States under a new façade, and to go back to the times of the colonizer's pith helmet and gun-boat diplomacy—perhaps even to usher in a new era of "aircraft-carrier diplomacy".

95. One cannot fail to see that such activities and hegemonic United States claims to the role of "international policeman" are in flagrant contradiction of the main principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of the obligations of the United States as a permanent member of the Security Council. We are now able to understand quite clearly why the United States and other countries members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) voted against the Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention and Interference in the Internal Affairs of States, which was adopted by the General Assembly in 1981.¹ They did not wish to tie their hands by any obligations but preferred to keep them free for intervention.

96. In these circumstances, the Soviet delegation considers as appropriate and valid the appeal by Libya to the Council for the protection of its sovereignty and national independence against imperialistic meddling. Motivated by feelings of friendship and solidarity for peoples of young developing countries, the Soviet Union strongly condemns the policy of military blackmail and threats pursued by the United States against Libya. Through its actions, the United States is attempting to exacerbate what is already a hotbed of international tensions in the Middle East, and to create yet another serious threat to international peace and security. Such conduct is unacceptable and inadmissible in relations among States. Washington's great-Power high-handedness and its systematic and flagrant interference in the internal affairs of other States must immediately come to an end.

97. I should like to say a few words about the statement made by the representative of the United States. By his frequent use of the words "Soviet Union" and "Soviets", he tried to convey a fallacious idea of the source of the threat to third-world countries. But the facts speak more eloquently. It is not the Soviet Union, but the United States, which is dispatching its naval fleet to the shores of small, young countries. It is not the Soviet Union, but the United States, which has covered the globe with its military bases, which number close to 1,500.

98. It is not the Soviet Union but the United States which has 43 per cent of all its military forces outside its borders in the territories of others. It is not the Soviet Union but the United States which has declared as a sphere of vital interest regions which are tens of thousands of kilometres distant from the United States. Finally, it is not the Soviet Union but the United States which, with cowboy bravado, is today spreading nuclear weapons all over the world.

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

100. Mr. BURWIN (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (*interpretation from Arabic*): At the outset I wish categorically to deny the allegation of Libyan intervention in Chad made by the representative of the United States. Talking of Chad is but a pretext the United States has searched for or probably created to enter the region.

101. The United States of America claims to be concerned about peace. Yet it rushed to the rescue of Habré. How we wish it had hurried to save Lebanon when it was subjected to a sea, land and air invasion. We do not know what the United States Administration has given to the people and Government of Lebanon or to the Arabs or to the Palestinian people. The representative of the United States has given only his veto to the cause of the Palestinian people—to the cause of self-determination. How we wish that the United States would really put into practice all the principles it preaches. All these principles should be applied to South Africa. How we wish it would rush to liberate Angola and force South Africa to desist in attacking Angola, Mozambique and other countries in the region. How we wish it would apply human rights to black Africans in South Africa.

102. Muammar Qaddafi does not act as a world policeman as does the United States Administration. As for the United States training exercises which were said to have been planned long in advance, they have become an unacceptable myth because they always coincide with events. As our past experiences have taught us, they are prepared in advance, filed and put into action at the appropriate time.

103. The United States representative mentioned the matter of the Libyan pilot as did the representative of Habré. I had wanted to deal with this subject at the previous meeting, but did not have a chance to do so. I wish to say that that pilot is part of the Libyan Aviation Club. His aircraft was downed in 1981. He was imprisoned by Habré's forces in 1981 and Habré now brings him out to try to prove a point.

104. As for the OPEC incident mentioned by the representative of the United States—it seems that he does not even know the details of the incident, and that everything that happens is traced back to Libya—I wish to draw his attention to the fact that a Libyan national was a victim of that terrible event. He was Yusuf Al-Zamari, who was a member of the Libyan delegation to OPEC at that time.

105. As for attempted acts of sabotage, assassination and *coups d'état*, I shall quote from a speech made by Mr. Treiki on 22 February before the Council. He said:

"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 colonialist policies and colonialist interests.

"It is an open secret that the United States intervenes in the internal affairs of States all over the world. In Asia, the United States waged a war of aggression against the Vietnamese people that ended in the defeat of the United States.

"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.

"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 . . . against the Iranian Revolution . . . 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 . . .

"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.

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

"The United States became hostile to Cuba once its lackey, the dictator Batista, was overthrown . . . 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.

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

"In Chile it overthrew the elected Government in 1973 . . . As the facts have shown, Kissinger personally planned this operation, which was implemented by the CIA.

"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, that 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 Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs 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 the internal affairs of Nicaragua [see S/15628, annex, appendix I].

"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.

"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 . . .

". . .

"The *New York Times* of 16 January published an article . . . 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 [and that numerous plots, including assassination and other subversive activities, had been uncovered]. There were also revelations about . . . surveillance of American citizens . . .

"The CIA conducted extensive domestic spying during the 1960s and early 1970s under the pretext of gathering foreign intelligence information." [2415th meeting, paras. 30-44.]

106. In general the United States accuses Libya of intervening in the affairs of its neighbours. As Mr. Treiki said,

"even if we assumed that differences actually existed between Libya and its neighbours . . . instead of working for pacification and calling upon neighbours to come to agreement, it has resorted to the policy of creating discord and provocation" [*ibid.*, para. 46].

107. As for Libya, I should like to quote from what is said against it in American circles. On 17 May 1981, the *Daily News* of New York said that the Reagan Administration has secret plans to use Egypt and other Arabic countries to overthrow the Qaddafi régime. It stated that "the American officials describe Qaddafi as a cancer that had to be removed". The paper also stated that a high-ranking official in the State Department said the efforts to achieve that end do not include assassination. The newspaper also quoted a high State Department official as saying that "Secretary of State Alexander Haig considers Qaddafi in the same light as Castro because his course was counter to the national interests of the United States of America". The *Christian Science Monitor* of 29 July 1981 stated that "contrary to what is known there were reports that William Casey, the Director of the CIA, had not allowed that Agency to overthrow the Qaddafi Government." The newspaper went on to say that according to these reports President Sadat had on many occasions expressed the wish that he might have a friendly

neighbour as a leader for Libya. Another article, this time in *The Washington Post* of 31 July 1981 by the famous journalist Joseph Kraft, stated that "the differences in Congress about William Casey are centered on the plan he sanctioned to launch a *coup d'état* in Libya and assassinate its strongman Muammar Qaddafi."

108. On 3 August 1981, *African News* mentioned that CIA efforts to overthrow the Libyan Government would in no way surprise any of those who followed the statements of the Reagan Administration since January and quoted Chester Crocker, the Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, as saying before the Senate a month ago that "Libyan diplomacy is an unprecedented obstacle to American interests and aims" and pledged to provide assistance to those régimes that oppose Libyan aggression, as he called it. *African News* added that *Newsweek* magazine had mentioned, in July 1981, that it had learned that the CIA had a broad, multi-stage and very costly plan to overthrow Qaddafi and that that plan included a campaign against the reputation of the Libyan leader and the establishment of a resistance and para-military activity against him. *African News* added that *Newsweek* had inadvertently corroborated the reports that the CIA was financing a campaign against Qaddafi and that the funds for that campaign were wasted. The magazine had published a picture of Qaddafi surrounded by oil wells and Arabs carrying guns, with the caption "The most dangerous man in the world".

109. I could cite many more examples, but I do not wish to make a lengthy speech. The representative of the United States has tried to criticize the Soviet Union and its relations with Libya. We would simply like to say that the Soviet Union is a friend of peoples struggling for self-determination. It is a friend to national liberation movements, the same movements that the United States calls "terrorist movements". It is sheer coincidence that the interests of oppressed States are in line with the interests of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union did not ask to set up military bases in Libya; it did not try to take over our natural resources. Our relations with the Soviet Union are based on mutual respect. We thank the Soviet Union for all the assistance provided to us.

110. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The representative of the United States has asked to speak in exercise of his right of reply. I now call on him.

111. Mr. LICHENSTEIN (United States of America): I beg your indulgence, Sir, and that of my colleagues for a few moments only. I would not want to let the occasion pass without commending our friend, the representative of

the Soviet Union, for a fascinating, exhaustive and extremely revealing scholarly analysis of certain texts which have recently appeared from the independent and autonomous institutions of American *academia*. I am always astonished and filled with awe at the perfect way in which the representative of the Soviet Union always imposes on the practices of pluralistic democracy the plots and schemes and systematic designs of what, I imagine, is the only system he knows well, that of authoritarian totalitarianism. But then, I suppose, all of us are the captives of our experience in this regard.

112. I must also make it perfectly clear to the members of the Council that we in the United States delegation, and, indeed, we in the Government of the United States, in no way hold Georgetown University responsible for the views and the activities of Mrs. Jeane Kirkpatrick. We only thank Georgetown University for giving her the opportunity to develop and practise her considerable scholarly talents.

113. May I say to the representatives of both the Soviet Union and Libya that I stand by every fact and every piece of incontrovertible, concrete evidence that I presented in my statement earlier this evening, including the careful and even loving choice of adjectives.

114. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has asked to speak in exercise of his right of reply. I invite him to make his statement.

115. Mr. OVINNIKOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): If a so-called pluralist democracy gives rise to such foul plans against third-world countries, then shame on such a democracy. If a pluralist democracy puts people who work out such plans in Government posts so that they may carry out those plans, then shame on such a democracy.

116. I note that the representative of the United States has not refuted the essence of those vile schemes directed against third-world countries.

The meeting rose at 9.05 p.m.

NOTE

¹ Resolution 36/103 of 9 December 1981, annex.

كيفية الحصول على منشورات الأمم المتحدة

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