



**Consejo de Seguridad**

Distr.  
GENERAL

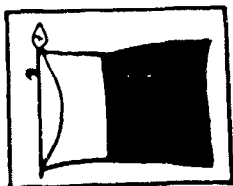
S/19400  
4 de enero de 1988  
ESPAÑOL  
ORIGINAL: FRANCES

---

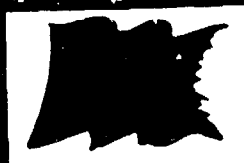
CARTA DE FECHA 9 DE DICIEMBRE DE 1987 DIRIGIDA AL PRESIDENTE DEL  
CONSEJO DE SEGURIDAD POR EL REPRESENTANTE PERMANENTE DEL CHAD  
ANTE LAS NACIONES UNIDAS

Como continuación de nuestra carta de 20 de agosto de 1987, publicada con el  
símbolo S/19066, tengo el honor de solicitar que el presente documento se  
distribuya como documento del Consejo de Seguridad y pase a formar parte de la  
documentación sobre la cuestión del Chad y Libia que el Consejo tiene ante sí.

(Firmado) El-Hadj Mahamat Ali ADOUM  
Embajador  
Representante Permanente



# QADHAFI CHAD



INTERFERENCE  
AGGRESSION  
OCCUPATION

# **QADHAFI/CHAD**

**INTERFERENCE  
AGGRESSION  
OCCUPATION**

**WHITE PAPER**

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	page
BRIEF SURVEY OF CHAD .....	4
INTRODUCTION .....	6
CHAPTER I : Violation of International Law by Qadhafi .....	8
CHAPTER II : Who are the Aggressors? Human and Material Resources .....	23
CHAPTER III : Evidence and Chronology of Events Annex .....	33
CHAPTER IV : Other Terrorist and Barbaric activities by Qadhafi in Chad and Elsewhere .....	105
CHAPTER V : Damage caused to the Economy and to its Infrastructure .....	110
CONCLUSION .....	122



## **BRIEF SURVEY OF CHAD**

Perceived as a large sedimentary basin sinking toward Lake Chad, the country covers an area of 1,284,000 square kilometers, which is 2.5 times the area of France. Its relief, which is as diverse as its culture, ranges from the mountain masses of the Tibesti region to the savannahs of the southern part of the country, and includes the desert and the Sahel.

Its population, 4.5 million souls, i.e. three inhabitants per square kilometer, is relatively small. Chad is a landlocked country 1,500 to 3,000 kilometers away from the coasts. It is surrounded by five neighboring countries: Cameroon and the Central African Republic to the south, Sudan to the east, Niger and Nigeria to the west, and Libya to the north.

Independent since 1960, Chad is divided administratively into fourteen prefectures, sub-prefectures, and administrative posts:

1. Batha (Ati), 2. Biltine (Biltine), 3. Borkou-Ennedi- Tibesti (Faya-Largeau), 4. Chari-Baguirmi (N'Djaména, the capital), 5. Guera (Mongo), 6. Kanem (Mao), 7. Lac (Bol), 8. Logone Occidental (Moundou), 9. Logone Oriental (Doba), 10. Mayo-Kebbi (Bongor), 11. Moyen Chari (Sarh), 12. Ouaddai (Abéché), 13. Salamat (Am-timan), 14. Tandjile (Lai).

The main cities, except for the capital, N'Djaména, which has 400,000 inhabitants, are as follows:

Sarh (50,000 inhabitants), Moundou (40,000 inhabitants), and Abéché (32,000 inhabitants).

The urban population of the country is estimated at one million.

At the present time, Chad's economy rests essentially on animal breeding and agriculture, especially cotton; the country's livestock was estimated at ten million head in 1984, and cotton production, estimated at 110,000 tons, is the principal agricultural product, which accounts for nearly 80 percent of the country's exports. Fishing, which is poorly organized, is carried out in Lake Chad and the two main rivers, the Chari and the Logone, as well as in other small streams. Nonetheless, fishing amounts to 5 percent of the GDP (Gross Domestic Product), behind the forest-agricultural-pastoral sector, which amounts to 50 percent of the GDP on the average.

Chad contains significant mining resources, the only one of which to have been tapped is oil. A mini-refinery project has been set up to cover the country's internal needs. The per capita income is still low, i.e., the equivalent of \$88 per year. Chad is self-sufficient in food production during periods of normal rainfall.

The industrial sector is still poorly developed and is limited to the following: cotton gins and cotton-spinning and-weaving plants (STT); cigarette production by the Manufacture des Cigarettes du Tchad (MCT); brewing by the Brasseries du Logone (BDL); cooking oil production by the Huileries de Moundou and Abéché, and lastly, at

N'Djaména, to plants producing agricultural materials, paints, beverages and ice. Until 1977, these conversion industries contributed 10 percent of the GDP. Thermal power stations furnish most of the power and water in the large urban centers.

The telecommunications sector, which was destroyed by the war, has been restored and is in full development, thanks to the Chadian International Communications Company (Telecommunications internationales du Tchad - TIT).

Although the country is relatively well served by commercial airlines, Chad's ground transportation network is still poor with 12,000 kilometers of roads and 20,000 kilometers of trails.

On the international plane, Chad is a member of the United Nations (UN), the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the Customs and Economic Union of Central Africa (UDEAC), the Economic Community of Central African States (CEEAC), the Islamic Conference and other regional and subregional organizations.

The country's official languages are French and Arabic.

Its national anthem is "La Tchadienne".

Its flag is blue, yellow and red.

Hissein Habré has been president of the country since 7 June 1982.

## INTRODUCTION

At last, a spade is being called a spade. For the past fifteen years, Chadian patriots have been fighting Libyan military aggression and occupation.

Colonel Qadhafi has clearly and repeatedly proclaimed his determination to annex Chad, which he alternately calls Libya's "living space" or "natural extension". Qadhafi's military campaigns in Chad were commented upon in great detail in the media and in private conversations (including in the backstage of international politics). Colonel Qadhafi even had the audacity to stage troop withdrawals from Chadian territory for the benefit of the press (a sham of course). While at the same time denying his army's presence in Chad in international forums.

Denunciation of this aggression by international organizations could no doubt have checked the conquering colonel's ardor. For a long time, however, facts were hidden by Qadhafi's smoke screens. Thus forced to use the language of war, Chadians took up this challenge by the powerful Libyan war machine and in an unprecedented burst of national spirit, inflicted dramatic defeats that laid bare Qadhafi's colonial enterprise in Chad. The number of Libyan prisoners (more than 800 men and officers as we are finishing this document) and the size of the military apparatus captured by the Chadian army proved it beyond a doubt.

Starting in 1986, international opinion (whether the Organization of African Unity or Organization of the Islamic Conference) finally posed the problem as it was, officially approaching it as a Chad/Libya conflict. Yet, how long was the way from the day when the Libyan army first entered northern Chad, to this new international awareness of the conflict! A way lined with thousands of bodies, misery and desolation. Chad wrote its plea with the blood of its sons. No text could better demonstrate Libyan aggression and occupation of Chad. This white paper has no other objective than to remind its readers of the aims, methods and ravages of Qadhafi's expansionist campaign in Chad, and the threat it represents to the whole region.

**By attacking and occupying Chad, Qadhafi is mocking the international community, individually and collectively defying the states in this community.**

## مقدمة :

اخيرا نسى الدولة : قضية . فنذ ١٥ عاما يقاتل الوطنيين  
التشاديين ضد العدوان العسكري والاحتلال اللبسيين .

والعقيد القذافي يعلن صراحة وفي عدة مناسبات رجسته  
في ضم تشاد التي يطلق عليها احيانا محالا حيوييا واحيانا اخرى  
امتدادا طبيعييا للليبيا . ان حملات القذافي العسكرية في تشاد  
تم تناولها بتفاصيل سهلة عبر الصحافة في المحادثات الخاصة  
بما فيها كواليس السياسة الدولية . ان العقيد القذافي بنفسه  
يقوم مدفوعا بحماسة الى حد تنظيم شاهد من الاسحاب للصحافة  
( اسحاب خادع بالطبع ) لحيشته من التراب التشادي ، ولكنه في  
نفس الوقت ينفي من على المنابر الدولية اي تواحد لحيشته في  
شاد .

كان من شأن فضح المحافل الدولية للعدوان ، هلا شك  
ان يكبح مغامرة العقيد القذافي . ولكن الحقيقة بقيت مدة طويلة ،  
ترى من خلال منظار الخداعات التي روجها القذافي . والتشاديون  
الذين حكم عليهم من خلال هذا الواقع ، استعمال لفة السلاح<sup>٤</sup>  
رفعوا تحدى الى الحرب اللبسية القوية ، والحقوا بها نفس  
انتفاضة وغنية لا مثيل لها ، هزائم مشهودة عرت  
الحطة الاستعمارية للقذافي في تشاد .

في الوقت الذي نعد فيه هذا المستند ، بلغ عدد اسرى  
الحرب اللبسيين اكثر من ٩٠٠ جندي وضابط ، وان ضخامة  
العتاد العسكري الذي استولى عليه الجيش التشادي ، يعد دليل  
غير قابل للدحض .

واختتام<sup>٥</sup> من عام ١٩٨٦ ، وضع الراي العام الدولي ( منظمة  
الوحدة الافريقية او منظمة المؤتمر الاسلامي ) المشكلة في حجمها  
الحقيقي ، وتناولها كنزاع بين تشاد وليبيا . لكم كانت الترسيق  
طويلة منذ دخول الجيش الليبي الدشمال تشاد حتى الوصول الى  
هذا الوجه الدولي للنزاع . . . طريق زرع بالاف الجثث والشقاء  
والامس . لقد كتبت مرافعتها بدم ابنائها . ولا يمكن لاي نص ان  
يصف العدوان والاحتلال اللبسيين لتشاد بشكل افضل . والكتاب الابيض  
الحالي ليس له اية فائدة اخرى سوى التذكير بالاهداف والطرق  
والاكتساحات التي تسببت بها الحطة التوسعية للقذافي في تشاد ،  
والتهديد الذي شكلته لكل المناطق .

**CHAPTER I**

**VIOLATION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW  
BY QADHAFI**

## **HOW COLONEL QADHAFI VIOLATES INTERNATIONAL LAW**

For more than fifteen years, Chad has been the victim of an armed conflict which is the result of Colonel Muammar Qadhafi's dream of domination, i.e., of making Chad a springboard for the conquest of all of sub-Saharan Africa, and even beyond. Only the resistance of the Chadian people can keep this dream from being realized, especially with the collapse of Libyan troops in the campaign, which they began early in 1987. But it is quite possible that the Libyan colonel's adventures will not end in Chad, if he really wants to make this country the stepping stone toward his "Islamic Republic of the Sahelian States". For in seeking to dominate through force of arms a country the territorial limits of which are set by international agreements, the Libyan regime is lighting the wick of a conflagration which Africa has sought to avoid through the fundamental principles of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), namely the inviolability of the borders inherited from the colonial period.

The time has now come, even as the ad hoc committee of the panafrikan organization to which the matter has been referred is meeting in Libreville (Gabon), to describe the OAU's efforts to find a negotiated solution to this conflict, which Chad would so willingly do without.

The very principle of the inviolability of the borders inherited from the colonialist era when the various countries gained their independence, which is binding on all member states of the OAU, was adopted by resolution AGH/RES 16(1) during the meeting of the heads of state of OAU countries held in Cairo from 17 to 21 July.

Trusting in the OAU, the Chadians have always thought that that organization has the appropriate legal means to resolve the conflict that pits them against the Libyan regime. The question of territory is at the root of all these upheavals. From its inception, the ad hoc Committee of the OAU defined the real dimensions of the question, whence the correct decision that brought about the establishment of the subcommittee of experts (lawyers, cartographers) assigned to make an inventory of the points of contention. The committee was unable to meet subsequently because Libya, for obvious reasons, has always sought to circumvent the issue. From 1977 to the present, Libya has maneuvered, often through the use of force, to resolve the question in its own way, through subterfuge, in short. It was not by chance that, as early as 1977 when the ad hoc Committee of the OAU was formed, the Government in Tripoli increased its military pressure against Chad at a never equalled pace, under the pretext of an internal conflict of which it had been the principal instigator for the needs of its own cause.

As early as 1970, while he was supporting this internal quarrel, Colonel Qadhafi timidly revealed his expansionistic designs by publishing an official road map of his country, which was distributed by the Fergala Bookshop. The caption on this map clearly indicates that the international borders shown must not be considered as permanent since they are subject to modification (sic). This map shows Aozou as being

in Libyan territory, of course. The immediate result of this was that in 1971, there appeared in Chad a Libyan military presence that was to increase markedly starting in 1973. From then on, it was merely a question of Libya's expansion throughout the Borkou-Ennedi-Tibesti (BET) region up to the Chari River.

Forceful action by Hissein Habré's patriotic forces, then in the bush, pushed the Libyans back into the BET which became, from that time on, the scene of the bloodiest operations, the outcome of which we now know.

By sustaining the war and keeping it going on such a large scale, Libya wanted at the time, to give substance to its contention that there was no Chadian/Libyan conflict, that it was merely a matter of an internal struggle for power in Chad. At the same time, the fighting must have worried Chad to such a degree that it was more concerned about its own survival than about monitoring the entire expanse of its territory.

This Libyan scheme actually did succeed for a time in diverting international attention from the Chad/Libya dispute and in focusing commentary on the rebellion. But the diversion was short-lived, since the micro-groups established and equipped by Libya disintegrated by 1980 when they came into contact with the Chadian patriotic forces.

In order to save its stake, Libya brought in its Islamic Legion and its own Army to wipe out Chad's nationalist forces and install at the head of the country men who, as a token of their gratitude, renounced all territorial claims in the north. Thanks to the curiosity of the media, day by day for nine months in 1980, the entire world witnessed the Libyan Army's attempt to kill off the nationalist forces in N'Djaména.

When he considered that the work of his own Army was finished, Qadhafi came to N'Djaména to celebrate his victory with those who were under obligation to him, and hastened to summon them to his home to have them sign (under ludicrous conditions) a treaty merging Chad and Libya. But after only 18 months of resistance, the Chadian patriotic forces once again defeated this policy with a triumphal entry in N'Djaména on 7 June 1982.

Openly proclaiming its determination to drive out any government in Chad, which did not pledge allegiance to it, Libya once again rallied its remaining men to form a barrier under its cover in the northern half of Chad, to reconquer the whole of Chad at a later date. The Libyan leaders even went so far as to demand the right of control over Chad.

Disenchanted, their protégés abandoned the Libyan adventure, a move which proved to be for them the road to salvation and rehabilitation. The Libyan Army of occupation and the fragments of their Islamic Legion were all that remained.

The pretext of "the Chadian Opposition" fell apart, and the Libyan Army, exposed for what it was by the victories of the Chadian National Armed Forces (FANT), has been obliged to give ground since January 1987, leaving behind huge quantities of ultramodern armament and hundreds of prisoners, among whom are some who hold the highest grades in the Libyan Army. The sacrifice of the Chadian martyrs and the determination of the FANT have succeeded in foiling Libya's plans to distort the problem. Consequently, we are now facing the disagreement in its true dimensions.

Although the Libyan Army has retreated, it has not evacuated Chad completely. On the contrary, it is currently concentrated in the mountains of the Tibesti region and is bringing in even more sophisticated and lethal weapons to resume the attack, as it has done several times in the past.

To spend such great sums of money, deploy such lethal and sophisticated weapons, and commit troops in such great numbers in Chad, Libya must have been convinced that it stood no chance at all of obtaining this territory by legal means. That is why Libya preferred a solution by force of arms to any legal solution arrived at through the deliberations of the ad hoc committee of the OAU. But Libya has failed even in the area of its own choosing. At the same time, Libya's diversionary schemes have been laid bare, and no one can now deny that Chad is confronted with Libyan military aggression and occupation.

The Chadian Government, on the other hand, has always advocated a peaceful solution. Its continual requests for a convening of the ad hoc Committee of the OAU testify to this. Better still, Chad has been convinced throughout this decade that the war could have been brought to an end, if the ad hoc committee had fulfilled its mission according to its mandate. For the fighting that is plunging Chad, as well as the Libyan people, into mourning is an exercise in futility by the Tripoli regime in its determination to conquer Chadian lands.

Fortunately, the border between Chad and Libya is among the most precisely drawn borders in Africa. Its plan is beyond question; it has been re-authenticated on a regular basis by the administrative powers, and is defined by the following agreements:

- The 14 June 1898 Convention between France and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland defining these two countries' possessions in Africa.
- The 21 March 1899 Supplementary Declaration defining the borders between Chad and Libya.
- The 1902 Franco-Italian Agreements reaffirming previous agreements.
- The Convention for the definition of the borders between Tunisia and Tripolitania, signed in Tripoli of Barbary on 19 May, 1910.
- The Supplementary Convention to the 21 March 1899 London Declaration, itself an addendum to the 14 June 1898 Convention defining the French and English possessions' boundaries and zones of influence west and east of Niger, 8 September 1919.
- The 12 September 1919 Arrangement between France and Italy on the borders between Tripolitania, Algeria and Tunisia.
- The (stillborn) 7 January 1935 Laval-Mussolini Treaty modifying the boundaries defined by the 21 March 1899 and 8 September 1919 Franco-British Conventions.
- Letters denouncing the 7 January 1935 Agreements.
- Resolution 392 (V) of the UNGA (UN General Assembly), dated 15 December 1950, entitled "Procedures to adopt for defining the borders of former Italian Colonies, in so far as they have not already been set by international arrangements".
- The Treaty of Friendship and Good Neighborliness between the Republic of France and the United Kingdom of Libya (10 August 1955).
- The 10 August 1955 letter from the French Legation in Libya to the Libyan Government.



— OAU Resolution AHG/Res. 16 (I) dated 21 July 1964 on the inviolability of the borders inherited from colonial times.

As can be seen on Map No. 1, the 14 June 1898 Convention between France and the United Kingdom was the first diplomatic act clearly delimitating the Chad-Libya border (it was never modified), at a time when the tracing of boundaries within French and British colonial possessions had not yet been completed.

The 21 March 1899 Supplementary Declaration to the 14 June 1898 Convention defined the Chad-Libya border more precisely.

Quote:

"The undersigned, duly authorized by their Governments, signed the following Declaration:

Article 4 of the 14 June 1898 Convention is supplemented with the following provisions, which shall be considered an integral part thereof:

1. (about the Chad-Sudan boundaries)
2. (idem)

3. In principle, it is understood that the French Zone north of the 15th parallel shall be bounded in the northeast and east by a line beginning at the point of intersection between the Tropic of Cancer (latitude 23° 27'N) and longitude 16°E (13° 27'E of Paris), descending in a southeasterly direction until it meets longitude 24°E (21° 40'E of Paris) and then following longitude 24°E until it meets, north of the 15th parallel, the Darfour boundary that will be set at a later date".

End of quote.

The 1 November 1902 Franco-Italian Agreements reaffirm both the previous agreements of 14 June 1898 and the Supplementary Declaration of 21 March 1899.

On 8 September 1919 a Convention was signed in Paris as a Supplement to the 21 March 1899 London Declaration, which was itself an addition to the 14 June 1898 Convention setting the French and British colonial possessions' boundaries and zones of influence west and east of Niger. It confirmed the 1899 Declaration:

"It is agreed that this Convention shall alter nothing in the interpretation given the 21 March 1899 Declaration according to which the terms in Article 3—"the boundary shall then go in a southeasterly direction to longitude 24°E (21° 40'E of Paris)"—are taken to mean "shall take a southeasterly direction to longitude 24°E to the intersection of said longitude with latitude 19° 30'N."

This Declaration modified the 21 March 1899 Declaration by further clarifying its Articles 2 and 3.

Giulio Prinetti stated on 14 December 1901 to the Italian House of Representatives: "The French Government informed us some time ago that the Franco-British Convention dated 21 March 1899 set a limit that France had no intention of overstepping concerning the Tripoli Wilaya, province of the Turkish Empire". On this point, the views of the French and Italian Governments coincided.

In 1902, negotiations were initiated to "further define the implications of the 1900 commitments".

An agreement was reached on 1 November 1902. It was known as the Barrère-Prinetti Declaration and also consisted in an exchange of letters:

A letter from Barrère to Prinetti dated 1 November 1902, from Rome, stating that it seemed appropriate to define further the commitments made in December 1900.

France admitted from then on that "each of the two powers shall develop freely its own sphere of influence at a time it shall deem appropriate, without action by one being necessarily subordinated to action by the other".

The letter further stated concerning the "Tripolitania" boundaries: "It was explained on this occasion that the limit to French expansion in northern Africa referred to in my aforementioned letter of 14 December, 1900, was indeed meant to refer to the Tripolitania boundary as indicated on the map attached to the 21 March 1899 Declaration Supplementary to the English Convention of 14 June 1898".

"This interpretation does not now leave any difference of opinion between our Governments concerning their respective interests in the Mediterranean".

The 14-16 December 1900 exchange of letters between Barrère and Visconti-Venosta included a letter from Barrère to the Marquis of Visconti-Venosta, dated 14 December 1900 from Rome:

"Following the conclusion of the 21 March 1899 Convention, the French Government in response to the Italian Government gave such clarifications as to resolve any doubts concerning the implications of this paper".

Visconti-Venosta wished to get "more explicit assurances", Barrère provided them:

"I was (...) authorized by the Foreign Minister, because of the friendly relations between France and Italy, and with the thought that this explanation will lead to their further improvement, to inform your Excellency that the 21 March 1899 Convention, by leaving the Wilayet of Tripoli out of the influence-sharing it sanctions, sets a limit to the French sphere of influence regarding Tripolitania-Cyrenaica which the Government of the Republic has no intention of overstepping, and that it has no plan to intercept Tripoli's caravan communications with areas concerned by said Convention".

The 12 September 1919 Agreement modified the 1899 boundaries between Libya on the one hand, and Algeria and Niger on the other; it did not, however, concern the Chadian border which started east of Toummo. The terms of the preamble to the Pichon-Bonin letter exchange indicated that the agreement they were sanctioning was only partial: "His Italian Majesty's Government and the Government of the French Republic have already agreed on the following points, while reserving other points for later examination" (...)

Had it been ratified, the (stillborn) 7 January 1935 Laval-Mussolini Treaty would have modified the borders defined by the Franco-British Conventions of 21 March 1899 and 8 September, 1919.

Had it been ratified, this "Treaty" would also have concerned Tunisia, French colonies bordering on Libya, Eritrea and French Somalia.

Map No 2 (attached to the stillborn agreement) showed in a thick black line the modification that could have occurred had this agreement been ratified.

Qadhafi claims that only this stillborn "Agreement" is valid.

He maintains that all agreements previous to the stillborn ones of 7 January 1935 are not valid because they were signed by colonial powers in their own interests! As if France and Italy had ceased to be colonial powers in 1935! In fact, anything that suits Qadhafi is good and legal, and anything that does not suit him is bad and has no legal existence in his view!

We shall see below that the power-hungry colonel does not recognize (because it does not suit him) the agreements signed by sovereign Libya under King Idriss maintaining that the king was not free, that as far as he is concerned the said agreements are "full of hypocrisy", their "articles are muddled" and all agreements previous to the stillborn Laval-Mussolini "Agreements" **"do not come up to the Libyan people's aspirations and if history were taken into account, Libyan territory would extend beyond its present limits"**.

We shall see that Fascist Italy's Foreign Minister Count Ciano used the same arguments to declare the 1935 stillborn "agreements" null and void.

Indeed what Qadhafi is brandishing today, Mussolini had invalidated; yet while they contradict each other in what they say, the two men are pursuing the same objective.

Qadhafi is obviously attempting to justify what is not justifiable, because what he could not get through the use of arms, he could have got, if he were right, by peaceful means, according to the UN and OAU Charters and resolutions pertaining to the sovereignty and territorial integrity of member States.

**Why then is the 7 January 1935 Laval-Mussolini "agreement" stillborn, and therefore nonexistent?**

This agreement, titled **"Treaty of Rome for the settlement of French and Italian interests in Africa"**, called for transfer to Italy of a 114,000-square-kilometer strip of territory along the Niger and Chad border. The Laval regime was thus hoping both to satisfy Mussolini's lust for territory and to ensure his neutrality in case of a war with Nazi Germany, by attracting Italy to the side of the European status quo, i.e. the side of the 1918 victors and the Versailles Treaty.

Article 1 of this stillborn "Treaty" conditioned its implementation on a French promise for the completion of a Convention on Tunisia. The Ethiopian War and Spanish Civil War, in addition to Mussolini's ferocious hunger for French colonial possessions, weighed heavily in Fascist Italy's decision to abandon the agreement, which was never ratified.

Like Qadhafi, Mussolini wanted to acquire additional territory through war. The Tunisian Convention was never negotiated. Fascist Italy became Nazi Germany's ally. On 2 December, on orders from his Government, François-Poncet made an official démarche to Italian Foreign Minister Count Ciano, asking whether the Italian Government held the January 1935 Agreements as still valid.

On 17 December, 1938 Italian Foreign Minister Count Ciano stated that the Treaty of Rome **"was neither ratified nor completed, and had been superseded by history"**.

Below are the full text of the letters from Count Ciano to the French ambassador denouncing the 7 January 1935 Agreements:

Quote: "1.0.24.12.77

17 December 1938

1938

Italy

Mr. Ambassador,

In a conversation on the 8th inst., Your Excellency conveyed to me the wish of the French Government to know whether the Italian Government considered the 7 January

1935 Franco-Italian Agreements still operative and whether it felt that these Agreements could still serve as a basis for Franco-Italian relations.

I answered that the importance and nature of this question were too real for me to give a final answer on the spot; it would require a more thorough analysis.

I now have the honor to inform you of what follows, which confirms what I told you personally at the time.

The 7 January 1935 Franco-Italian Agreements are made up, as your Excellency knows, of a Treaty on the settlement of our mutual interests in Africa and a series of instruments closely related to it.

Article 7 of the Treaty establishes that it should be ratified and conditions its entry into force upon the exchange of ratification documents. This exchange never took place. While constitutional procedures preparatory to ratification were started immediately after the signing, ratification was never carried out. Negotiations on provisions for the special Convention on Tunisia were never even initiated, a Convention which, according to Article I of the Treaty, was to have entered into force on the same day as the Treaty itself.

The Franco-Italian Treaty for the settlement of mutual interests in Africa was, therefore, never completed.

Besides these legal considerations, account must be taken of the fact that both the Treaty and the other instruments were based on very definite premises that were never confirmed in actual practice.

As is known, in return for settling a series of questions, the 1935 Agreements were aimed at developing friendship and a relationship of trusting collaboration between Italy and France. Under the 1935 Agreements, Italy in particular agreed to considerable sacrifices, concerning both the rights of Italian citizens in Tunisia and the rights granted under article 13 of the 1915 London Pact, taking into account a just understanding and consonant attitude on the part of France concerning the needs for Italy to expand in East Africa.

But France's attitude, when Italy was forced by the Negus' activity to resolve the problem of its relations with Ethiopia, and also later, did conform to its intentions. It was indeed quite the opposite. One only has to refer—without needlessly dwelling on them—to the various stages of events gone through since 1935.

Besides, the January Agreements that were never implemented, as Your Excellency noted in our conversation of the 2nd inst., have lost their meaning and can obviously not be considered as being in force today.

In addition they have been superseded by history.

Generally speaking, they related to a general political situation that was rapidly overtaken by events following the implementation of sanctions. Moreover, the Constitution of the Empire created fundamentally important new rights and interests. Under these circumstances, and for the sake of their improvement, Franco-Italian relations should not be based today on the 1935 Agreements; if these relations are to be improved, they must obviously undergo an examination mutually agreed upon by both Governments.

Sincerely

End of quote. (Signed) Count Ciano

Acknowledging Count Ciano's statement, French Ambassador François-Poncet replied: "Since ratification instruments could not be exchanged, following adjournment of the Tunisian Convention that was to precede this exchange, France is not responsible for Italy's evaluation of circumstances that led Italy to wish for its adjournment. There was, therefore, no actual transfer of territory since French troops continued to occupy positions they had set up along the border, namely, Aozou, Gouro, Tekro, Ouri, and Ounianga". And this remained the case until Chadian independence, and 13 years after, when Qadhafi sent his troops to Aozou in 1973.

So the stillborn Rome "Treaty" never came into force because Italy denounced it, which France then acknowledged. This stillborn "Treaty" was never ratified; therefore, neither exchange of ratification instruments nor publication in the National Assembly's Record ever occurred.

A treaty's signatories, although endowed with full powers, are not qualified to commit definitively the state they represent. The chief of state is the only one who can sign, ratify and order publication (of a treaty) in the National Assembly's Record. The parties in a bilateral treaty can bring it to life by ratifying it; or one of the parties can indicate its determination not to ratify it. This is what Italy did when it refused to agree to be bound by the treaty.

That is the reason why the stillborn Laval-Mussolini "agreement" has lapsed, it is null and void and without legal existence, does not bind any power and cannot be invoked against Chad nor any other power. Moreover, after 10 June 1940, when Italy declared war on France, the Peace Treaty signed on 10 February 1947 by the Allied powers and Italy, specified in Article 23, para I: "Italy renounces all its rights and titles to its territorial possessions in Africa, namely Libya, Eritrea and Italian Somalia".

Thus Italy withdrew from its dialogue with France concerning the border between Chad and Libya.

Finally, to include everything concerning this stillborn "agreement", Resolution 392 (V) adopted on 15 December 1950 by the UNGA, entitled "Procedures for the delimitation of the borders of former Italian colonies in so far as they have not already been set by international arrangements" recommended in para I: "Concerning Libya, the Libyan border with French territories, insofar as it has not been set by international arrangements, be delimited when Libya becomes independent, through negotiation between the Libyan and French Governments assisted, should one or the other party request it, by a third party selected by them, or failing an agreement, appointed by the Secretary General."

Pursuant to this Resolution, France (a colonial power) and the United Kingdom of Libya (an independent country) signed in Tripoli on 10 August 1955 a Treaty of Friendship and Good Neighborliness which stipulated, in Article 3, that "both high contracting Parties recognize that the borders between Libya's territory on the one hand and the territories of Tunisia, Algeria, French West Africa and French Equatorial Africa on the other, are those resulting from international instruments in force when the United Kingdom of Libya was established, as they were defined in the exchange of letters attached in Annex I", namely:

- 14 June 1898 Franco-British Convention
- 21 March 1899 Supplementary Declaration to the preceding Convention
- 1 November 1902 Franco-Italian Agreements

- 12 May 1910 Convention between the French Republic and the Sublime Door (Ottoman Government)
- 8 September 1919 Franco-British Convention
- 12 September 1919 Franco-Italian Arrangement

The stillborn Laval-Mussolini "Agreement" was not cited; it was ignored, which established the obsolescence or nonexistence of the Rome Agreements.

The 10 August 1955 Treaty was ratified by both parties.

On the French side, it was approved on 20 November 1956 by the French National Assembly; Act No 56-1235 of 12 December 1956 authorized ratification.

The exchange of instruments of ratification took place on 20 February 1957. It was published and brought into force by Decree No 57-436 of 26 March 1957.

All conditions were met for this Treaty's validity. It was approved and ratified, the exchange of instruments took place, and it was published and brought into force. For the expansionist colonel, however, this treaty is "full of hypocrisy", its articles are "muddled", and he does not recognize it because "the treaty" has done much harm "to the Libyan people".

Yet legally this Treaty does exist while the stillborn Treaty of 1935 does not.

This Treaty, which was signed before the OAU was founded, is wholly consistent with Article III, para 3, of the OAU Charter and the Cairo resolution of 21 July 1964, which stipulated that:

**"All member States shall commit themselves to respect the borders existing at the time they gained independence", i.e. the borders "resulting from international instruments in force when the OAU was established".**

Qadhafi's refusal to recognize the above international instruments, although his refusal does not detract from their legal existence and validity, goes hand in hand with his questioning of all boundaries defined in Annex I of the Tripoli Treaty, and therefore also concerns Tunisia, Algeria and all French-speaking states in West and Equatorial Africa bordering on Libya! Qadhafi's hegemonic regime cannot change the course of history despite his excessive sophisticated war arsenal.

**This is the reason why for many years determined Chadian patriots dared to say no to Qadhafi's expansionist pro-slavery regime, by thwarting its expansionist activities and designs on Chad. They have fought, are fighting and will fight for the Chadian side and indirectly for all states contiguous to Libya whose borders are being questioned by the hegemonic regime.**

Colonel Qadhafi, preoccupied with the link he thought was the weakest, is far from having achieved his goal of occupying Libya's other neighbors so as to be in a position to satisfy his hegemonic and expansionist designs on the entire region.

As we saw earlier, Annex I of the Tripoli Treaty did not cite the stillborn Laval-Mussolini "Agreement", which, therefore, could not be invoked against France at the time nor against independent Chad. In fact, during discussions on ratification of the Tripoli Treaty at a Council of the French Republic meeting on 20 November 1956, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs Maurice Faure stated:

**"This Treaty of Tripoli stipulates final abandonment by Libya of claims Italy may have made on the Tibesti area under Mussolini pursuant to agreements signed (but not**

ratified) with Pierre Laval (National Assembly Record, parliamentary debates, Council of the French Republic, 29 November 1956, p. 2365).

The border between Chad and Libya was defined with the utmost clarity by the Treaty of 10 August 1956 and the letters exchanged on the day it was signed, as annexes in which both high contracting Parties recognized that between

**"Ghat and Toummo, the border goes through the following three points (Map No.2): the Tokharkouri Gap, the Anai Pass and the point marked 101 (Garet Derouet el Djemel).**

**The border between Chad and Libya is defined by two straight lines:**

a. The first line, from Toummo to the intersection of the Tropic of Cancer and longitude 15°E. It concerns Chad only northeast of its intersection with the Niger border.

b. The second line, from the point of intersection between the Tropic of Cancer and longitude 16°E, to the point of intersection between longitude 24°E and latitude 19° 30'N. This is the point where the Chadian, Libyan and Sudanese borders meet.

As pointed out earlier, there is nothing ambiguous about this border's legal foundation.

Finally the Treaty of Friendship and Good Neighborliness signed on 2 March 1966 in Tripoli by the United Kingdom of Libya and (independent) Chad, and the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance signed on 23 December 1972 in Tripoli by Qadhafi's regime and Chad in no way reopened the question of the borders inherited from colonial times.

Article 2 of the 2 March 1966 Agreement granting "ease of movement to populations settled on either side of the border, within geographic areas" and citing the points quoted below implicitly recognized the international agreements and clearly (recognized) geographic areas groundlessly claimed by Qadhafi. They are:

With reference to the United Kingdom of Libya: Koufra, Gatroum, Mourzouk, Oubaki, Ghat.

With reference to the Republic of Chad: Zouar, Largeau, Fada, Bardai, Aozou, Wour, Korizo, Ounianga and Tekro, all illegally occupied militarily by Libyan troops until recently (2 January 1987), before the Chadian National Armed Forces inflicted stinging defeats on the occupation army, ousted from all parts of the Borkou-Ennedi-Tibesti region, except Aozou, the last remaining stage in the total liberation of Chad.

In spite of everything, in spite of irrefutable evidence that its troops occupy a part of Chad's territory, the regime of the hegemonic and expansionist colonel issues denials and lies as it always has. Just as his representatives to international forums are endlessly denying and lying. This was the case on 10 August 1977 in Libreville where the ad hoc committee on the Chad-Libya disagreement set up by the 14th OAU Summit met for the first and last time. The subcommittee set up by the ad hoc committee, made up of lawyers and cartographers, to study all aspects of the border problem between Chad and Libya, which was to visit the capitals of the parties in conflict and the disputed area in order to assess the situation on the spot; its activity also was blocked by the colonel's regime.

The only argument of Tripoli's representatives is to produce legally groundless maps of their claims, systematically turning to evasion whenever a specific question is asked on how they justify their occupation. What is worse is the discovery that Qadhafi

reasons as Hitler did, rejecting all treaties that do not suit him, and claiming rights based on vague and arbitrary historic considerations he invents for the benefit of a mythical Libya endowed with rights over its neighbors.

The Security Council before which the disagreement was placed on 17 February 1978, 21 March 1983 and many other times, was unable to solve the problem peacefully as Chad had always wished, because of Qadhafi's hegemonic and expansionist regime's systematic refusal to cooperate.

The charters and principles of the United Nations, the Non-Aligned Countries, the Organization of African Unity, and the Islamic Conference unreservedly condemn interference in any state's internal affairs, threats of aggression, aggressive acts, the use of force, the occupation of territories, and the recruiting, financing and use of mercenaries. Therefore, all the states on the planet have a moral obligation when faced with illegal and reprehensible acts committed by one or several states. All states have a duty directly or indirectly to contribute to putting an end to such acts. Those states that keep silent about Libya's occupation of Chad, and about terrorist activities by Qadhafi's hegemonic regime, are inciting and encouraging him to persist, at a time when condemnation or direct action would be a deterrent.

Because of past experiences, the Government of the Third Republic has no illusions concerning Libya's negative behavior. Its refusal to engage in discussions to find a peaceful solution to the conflict that makes both countries adversaries is quite simply dictated by Libya's lack of legal evidence, which it would have to produce to support its claims.

Chad has always replied to the use of arms, the only language which the occupying power speaks, by resorting to conciliation and international arbitration, by the OAU, especially.

The sacrifice accepted by the Chadian people to confront this aggression has already passed all understanding, and will continue until the day when the last square meter of our territory has been liberated.

Africa shares responsibility for this tragedy, and must assume it or risk being condemned by History. The censure must be widespread, unanimous, to put Colonel Qadhafi's regime in the dock, as was done by some states on 27 February 1987 at Addis Ababa at the 45th session of the Council Of Ministers, when those states with determination, denounced and condemned the Tripoli regime. The OAU's principles are simple:

**Sovereign equality of all member states;**

**Non-interference in the internal affairs of the states;**

**Respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of each state and for its inalienable right to independence;**

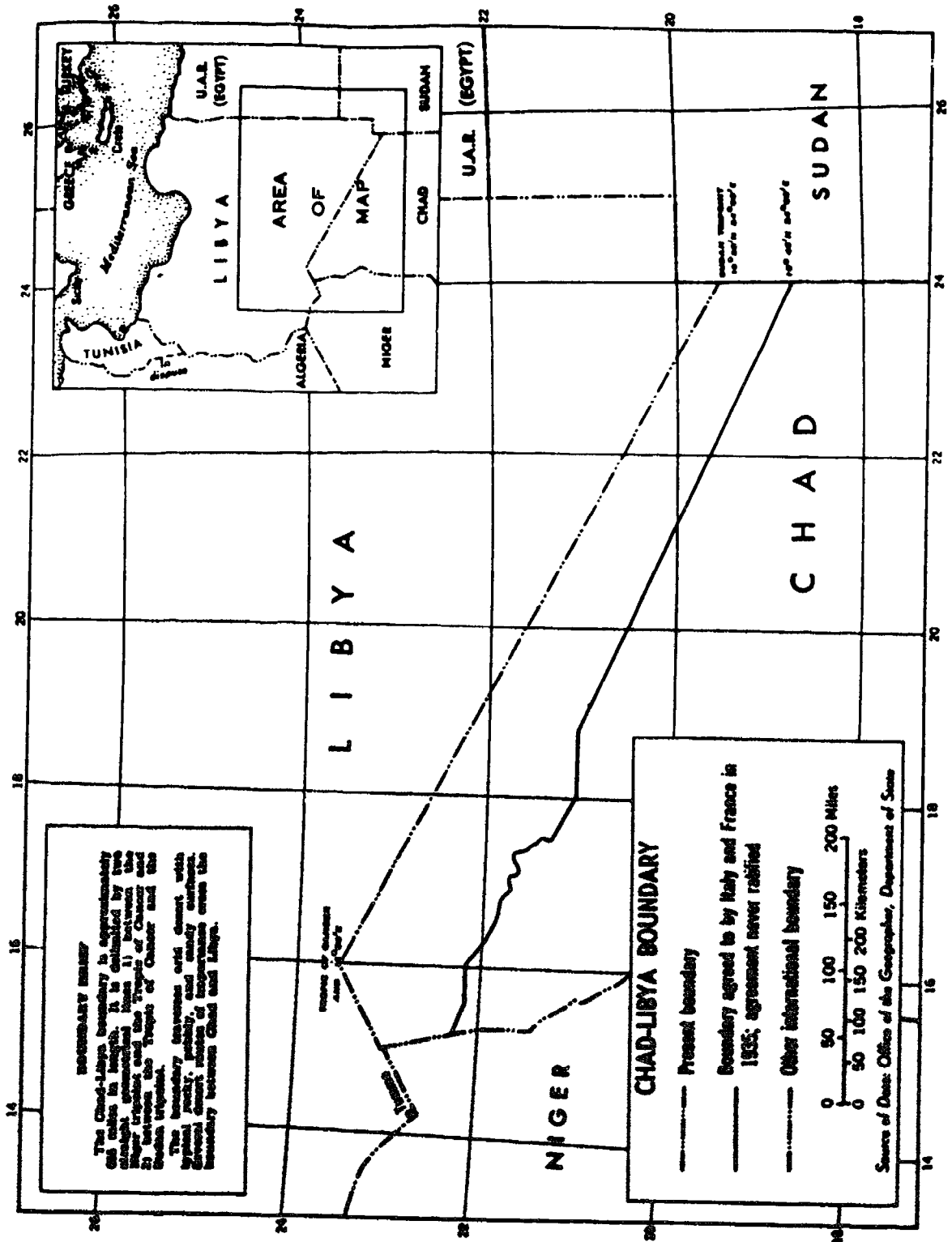
**Peaceful settlement of disagreements through negotiation, mediation, conciliation and arbitration.**

**The scrupulous respect for these principles is a question of honor and credibility for the pan-African organization. Chad will remain Chadian.**









## **CHAPTER II**

# **WHO ARE THE AGGRESSORS? HUMAN AND MATERIAL RESOURCES**

## **WHO ARE THE AGGRESSORS AGAINST THE CHADIAN PEOPLE?**

The Libyan Army has been in Chad since 1972. At the end of that year, the Army literally invaded the Aozou region, carrying out the wishes of Colonel Qadhafi, who had just declared that this area, which covers 114,000 square kilometers, was an integral part of Libyan territory. The Aozou Administrative District was very quickly transformed into a military base intended to be used as a support base for other military operations deep inside Chad. It was from Aozou that Libyan troops were deployed throughout the entire Tibesti region in 1974, and the Borkou and Ennedi regions starting in 1978. Two years later, the Libyan Army of Occupation was operating in almost all of Chad. From June 1980 on, the occupation was complete.

In 1983, the Libyan occupation force, which had withdrawn to the far north of Chad at the end of 1981, was redeployed throughout the Borkou-Ennedi-Tibesti area. Specific strategies aimed at the total annihilation of Chad were carefully worked out at each stage of the Libyan occupation.

The first years of the occupation were marked by intense activity, systematically carried out by the Libyan Army and the People's Committees, which was aimed at eradicating Chadian culture and "Libyanizing" the people. The people of the BET were forced to become Libyan nationals, as the first Libyan colonists were gradually settling there. This action led to the first clashes between Tripoli's Army and the Chadians of Frolinat's Second Army led by President Hissein Habré. The reluctance of the Chadian armed units prompted Colonel Qadhafi to increase the human and material resources being sent to Chad. The Libyan troops used a lethal arsenal against Chadian government troops for the first time during the fighting at Bardai in 1976. The clashes that set them against the fighting men of the Second Army seem to have prompted the Libyans to decide to practice a scorched earth policy from that time on. The 106mm guns, the RPG's, SPG's, 23mm, 14.5mm; the BM-13, BM-16 and BM-21 Stalin Organs; and the heavy tanks caused incalculable damage a year later when the Libyans captured Bardai and Faya-Largeau. These towns were a distressing sight after the fighting, looking as though they had been burned to the ground and flattened by a bulldozer.

In 1980, Qadhafi substantially increased his expeditionary force as well as the arsenal being used in the combat zone. He used his air force in the fighting for the first time. The giant bombers and ground support carried out the blind destruction of the capital and of the other Chadian localities being held by the Patriotic Forces. The 1980-1981 period was particularly trying for the Chadians who, for the first time, became fully aware of Qadhafi's determination to remove their country from the world map. The most terrifying scenes were part of daily life. The combined action of the air force, tanks and guns of every caliber hit the Chadian civilian population, the infrastructures and the flora and fauna indiscriminately. Other equally abominable criminal acts also took place, such as the summary executions of cadres and well-known personalities, deportations of young people to Libya, torture, jailings, so many extremely barbaric crimes committed against the Chadians on a daily basis.

The last five years constitute another stage of Libya's aggression, i.e., the all-out Libyanization of the Borkou-Ennedi-Tibesti region. The systematic genocide of men, women, and children of this region was organized. The torturers of Libya's invasion army used torture, summary executions, and destruction by heavy armor and the air force extensively to silence the Chadians of the BET region who rejected the Libyan occupation. All of the localities of the BET have been subjected to indescribable suffering during the past few years. Defenseless women, elderly people, and children have been tortured. Those who have managed to escape the massacres have taken refuge in the nearby mountains where they were at the mercy of bad weather, which often has finished some of them off. We must add to these the groups of compatriots who have died in the Sahara Desert while trying to reach the advanced posts of the Chadian Armed Forces at Kouba, Kalait, Monou or Ziguey. All of these crimes, which have caused thousands of deaths and orphaned thousands of children, are attributable to the Libyan regime, and more specifically to Qadhafi.

Some people will ask why Qadhafi failed in his plan to annex Chad. The answer is simple. The men who make up the Libyan Army were cast into the Chadian war against their will. Forcibly taken from their families, hastily trained, then unwillingly used against their Chadian brothers, the Libyan soldiers lack drive in military operations. The many Libyan soldiers and officers who have been taken prisoner, most of whom are natives of the areas of Benghazi, Beida, Derna and Tobruk (members of the Gadadifa, the tribe to which Qadhafi belongs, are excluded from military operations carried out in Chad) have all asserted that this war is the exclusive doing of the chief of the Libyan State. Qadhafi's madness has victimized the Libyans just as much as it has their Chadian brothers. This view is indeed the one that prevails, even among the ranks of the Libyan military officials, who openly show their opposition to the Chadian campaign. We know, for example, that Colonel Hassan Ishkal was executed for having stated that "the war in Chad is a nasty affair for the Libyan Army, which demands to be pulled out of it." Nevertheless, such a statement clearly conveys the state of agitation that is progressively overtaking Libya's working classes. The people have understood that Qadhafi's military venture in Chad is fraught with serious consequences for their country, because it is destroying thousands of their sons and consuming billions of dollars of Libya's national patrimony. The attitude taken by Qaddafi toward the parents and families of the soldiers who have died in the Chadian war is more cynical. Indeed, what explanation can be given for the fact that allowances paid to the parents or the families of these men are cut off the moment they die or are taken prisoner in Chad.

The strength of the Libyan expeditionary force and its weaponry based in the Borkou-Ennedi-Tibesti region before the last offensive of the FANT and immediately following the liberation of Fada clearly indicates that Chad is indeed Qadhafi's number one target. In his view the fact that the economy of his country is bled white or that his fellow citizens are being swept away by his adventure is unimportant. Isn't this what prompted Lieutenant Colonel Abdallah Ahmat Khaled Alshuki, taken prisoner by the FANT at Ouadi-Doum, to say that "Qadhafi is the main cause of all the ills to which the Libyan people are being subjected."

Tripoli has concentrated 1,100 men, 23 bombers, 10 combat helicopters, and 5 transport planes at the Aozou airbase. This powder magazine is being protected by 15 antiaircraft missile batteries from the SA 8 to the SA 13, including the formidable ZSU 23/4 (the latest Soviet gadget which is capable of shooting down a plane flying at a very high altitude), and some tanks. The base is protected by fourteen radar stations.

Just as Aozou was used effectively to conquer the Borkou-Ennedi-Tibesti region, the base at Ouadi-Doum was designed to extend the Libyan conquest to those regions of Chad that border on the Sahel and the Sudan. After building a 4,000-meter-long paved airstrip there, the Libyans stationed eighteen bombers, several combat helicopters and transport planes at the base. The 5,000 men guarding this fortified town are equipped with two hundred T54, T55, T62, and BMP tanks, thirty BM21 Stalin organs, ten 107-mm LRM batteries, and twenty-five 122-mm batteries. The base is protected by 57 antiaircraft missile batteries, including two SA 13's, twelve SA 6's, one ZSU 23/4, and five PU 2's. The sector is covered by four powerful radar stations: Side Net, Long Track, Flat Face, and Thin Skin.

Farther to the south of Ouadi-Doum, the base at Faya-Largeau was protected by 2,500 men, four bombers, two combat helicopters, three transport planes, sixty T55, and BMP tanks, and six BM21's. Antiaircraft defense was provided by thirteen ZSU 23/4, SA7 and ZSU2 missile batteries. The entire complex was covered by two radar stations: Spoon Rest and Side Net.

The other bases, i.e., Ounianga-Kebir, Ogoui, Zouar, Yebbi-Bou, Zoumri, Kiour, and Gouro comprise 7,100 men in all. Stationed at Ounianga-Kebir, Ogoui and Zouar were six bombers, three combat helicopters, some transport planes, sixty-five tanks and five BM21's.

Despite this large arsenal, the Libyan Army melted like snow before the irresistible thrust of the Chadian National Armed Forces. The by far too deadly arsenal concentrated by Qadhafi on Chadian soil was unable to defeat the fighting men of the Chadian National Armed Forces -- not because the arsenal is ineffective. Contrary to one argument that keeps going the rounds, in no way does the clumsiness of the Libyan tanks diminish their lethal capabilities. It must be recalled in this connection that, as is the case with bombers, heavy tanks merely provide support for the action of troops equipped with guns ranging from 12.7-mm to the 107-mm, including the 14.5- and the 23-mm's mounted on light, all-terrain vehicles.

### THE ISLAMIC LEGION

This mercenary corps is a motley group of men recruited in various African countries. The Islamic Legion has been present in Chad since the beginning of the Libyan aggression. The idea behind the formation of this group is based on three main reasons, which mesh perfectly with the designs of its initiator to destabilize all of Africa. Because he dreams of governing all of the countries that comprise the Sahel, Qadhafi recruits black and white Africans of all nationalities indiscriminately under the banner of a heretical Islam, only to cast them into the Chadian hornet's nest.

The nationals of Senegal, Benin, Nigeria, Niger, Mauritania, the Central African Republic, Zaire, Sudan, Chad, Mali, Tunisia and other African countries who comprise the Islamic Legion were recruited to be used, first of all, against their own countries when the time comes. Meanwhile, they must take part in the destruction of Chad, Qadhafi's prime target. The use of this cannon fodder allows the gravedigger of African nations to strengthen the force with which he intends to destabilize Africa. Another objective that Qadhafi pursues through the Islamic Legion concerns a sort of blackmail, the purpose of which is to intimidate those African governments that might dare to say no to Qadhafi's hegemonic designs. His last objective is to initiate relations between Chad and those countries whose nationals comprise the Islamic Legion.

All of these objectives are based on a simple-minded Machiavellianism that aims to divide the continent so that Libyan hegemony may prevail.

At the outset, the recruitment of Islamic Legion personnel was based on corruption, backed up by intensive propaganda, which represented Tripoli as being both Africa's heaven and the center of a panafrican revolution, outside of which there is no salvation for the African people. But this machination was soon debunked. Thus the haphazard recruitments occurring in the cities and the countryside have become veritable tests of strength between the Libyan cannon fodder merchants and the recruits and have resulted in truly tragic scenes in Tripoli and other African cities. Added to this hostility is the activity of the press, which constantly denounces Qadhafi's recruitment of mercenaries for the purpose of involving them in the war in Chad.

That being the case, one can easily understand that the only recourse open to Qadhafi's proslavers to get their mercenaries is the use of force. In the crush, skilled workers who have gone to Libya to find work are also recruited for the Islamic Legion. Thus it is that the Sudan alone has supplied more than three thousand men. In order to attract his prey, Qadhafi offers from 800 to 2,000 dollars, which is pathetic when one considers that these persons are being sent to certain death. As they rush headlong into the fighting, they are usually captured or killed by the Chadian National Armed Forces. Thus it was what happened to Tidjani Niassé Kaoulak cost the lives of thousands of Senegalese and other West Africans, who did not even have time to collect the money which they had been promised. They were soon killed in the fighting.

It is sad to listen to the men of the Islamic Legion themselves relate the circumstances of their recruitment and the manner in which they were thrown into the Chadian fight. Sudanese, Mauritians, and others who have been captured by the Chadian National Armed Forces have stated that they were dragged into the Libyan trap by the double game of propaganda and deception. On their arrival in Tripoli, they were told that only two possibilities were open to them, i.e., either join the Islamic Legion or go to jail. Some recalcitrants chose prison. This was only a postponement. All of the men were inevitably hurled into the Chadian war of occupation. A group of Mauritanian nationals who had been captured during the fighting in Zouar in February 1987 have asserted that they were hauled out of their prison at Ghadames and then thrown into the fighting at Zouar against the Chadians.

One of the Mauritanian prisoners, Sourri Seid Bilal, explains that he was taken from Tripoli to Janzouri along with twenty-eight of his compatriots to be given employment. "To our great surprise, he states, the Libyans gave us military uniforms. Then we landed in Zouar." Sourri Seid Bilal continues his statement as follows: "I would tell all the Mauritians who want to come to Libya to work not to do it, because there is no work in Libya. The Libyans will merely transform you into mercenaries to go to fight in Chad." And in conclusion, he adds: "I ask all the Mauritians not to come to Libya, so that they won't end up as I have now, a prisoner." Let it be said in passing that the camps at Sebha in southwestern Libya and Ghadames, which is located in the vast desert extending between Algeria, Libya and Niger, have become veritable brainwashing centers for everyone, be he Libyan or foreign, who attempts to resist recruitment by the People's Committees. Resistance is not always successful if one can judge by the frequent clashes between the mercenaries and Qadhafi's henchmen. We shall mention here the case of the Tuaregs from Niger who refuse to return to their country to foment trouble. Closer to our country, violent fighting took place at the beginning of March 1987 at Tina in the Darfur area of the Sudan between mercenaries of the Islamic Legion and Libyan soldiers.



The men of the Islamic Legion have never been effective in the field because they do not feel that Qadhafi's venture really concerns them. That explains why, very early on, Qadhafi turned toward the Chadians.

In his structural conception of the Islamic Legion, Qadhafi did in fact reserve choice spots for the Chadians, for the simple reason that Chad is his primary military and political objective. Chadians are being massively recruited to play roles that would normally go to the Libyans or to other mercenaries of the Islamic Legion, but also to create the illusion that the Libyan war of occupation is a Chado-Chadian conflict.

The presence of vast numbers of Chadian within the Libyan mercenary ranks is attributable to the armed struggle, beginning in 1965. The various political factions have in turn kept Qadhafi's Islamic Legion going.

The first phase in the recruitment of Chadians for the Islamic Legion took place between 1973 and 1980. During that period, Tripoli tried hard to use the executive staff of FROLINAT (Chadian National Liberation Front) to beef up its mercenary ranks. Being uninformed as to Qadhafi's real intentions, thousands of Chadians allowed themselves to fall into the Libyan trap without knowing what lay in store for them. Officially, Qadhafi's cannon fodder merchants were recruiting for FROLINAT. Hundreds of offices were opened in Chad, the Sudan, and Libya. This activity was all the more dangerous because it affected all the social classes in Chad. From the highest-ranking executive to people in the remotest village, everyone felt the scourge. All sectors of national life were ravaged by the Libyan canker.

The better to divide the Chadians and really get what he wanted, Qadhafi placed high stakes on the cultural, religious, and socio-economic differences of the country. While crisscrossing the countryside and the towns, Qadhafi's propagandists insisted that "Moslems are persecuted in Chad and Libya pledges to bring them salvation." All of those who accepted Qadhafi's much too attractive offer received from him the mission to destroy the national economy and culture, in order, they were told, to undermine the central government quickly. In short, Tripoli was recommending that they wage war against Chadian identity and against everything that Chad already possessed in the way of economic infrastructures.

Particularly destructive blows were struck against Chadian moral, cultural, and socio-economic values in the eastern, northern, and central regions of the country.

Old people, celebrities, members of religious orders, executives and merchants were killed in cold blood and their goods plundered. The education and health infrastructures were completely destroyed by Qadhafi's men on the pretext that they were too representative of the values of French imperialism. The perpetrators of this destruction habitually implied that other values, which are none other than those recommended by the Green Book, would be introduced to replace the old ones. The clashes that occurred so frequently between the Resistance and the government forces brought about other destruction, especially of human lives. Qadhafi must have rubbed his hands in the face of such a tragedy, since his ultimate aim was to weaken Chad completely so that he might one day pick it as he would a ripe fruit.

During 1980, Tripoli started the second phase of its plan to destroy Chad. The south and southwest of the country, which had hitherto escaped the horrors of the war, were affected. Progressively the virus of the Qadhafi disease spread over the entire country. Blithely returning to his initial argument, Qadhafi succeeded in winning over

to his cause several Chadian politicians who helped him to carry war and destruction to the northern regions. Between 1980 and 1982, Libyan mercenary recruiters brought in record numbers of men.

Through the intervention of the politico-military factions that rallied to Libya's side, Tripoli recruited tens of thousands of Chadians, who were dumped into the various battles. The most alarming scenes were observed throughout the country. In order to fill the gaps in his mercenary organization, Qadhafi pounced upon the rural youth like a wild beast. Offering ridiculously low monetary inducements and sometimes using force, the Libyan recruiters reaped a harvest of young men as they came upon them on the trails and in the markets. These are the Chadians who, armed to the teeth by Tripoli and supported by the Libyan ground forces and Air Force, have sacked Chad. Many Libyans have died, and their families know neither where nor when.

During the past three years, Qadhafi's lightning has struck Chadians living abroad, especially in Nigeria, Benin, and Libya. Enlistment of some Chadians in the two latter countries has continued in return for empty promises. Recruiting offices proliferated to such a point that, in Nigeria, the situation became explosive following denunciations of Libyan activism, which were published by some independent newspapers. But the most painful tragedy is that of the Chadian nationals living in Libya. Chadians are rounded up by the hundreds during raids organized by the police and the People's Committees and herded into the camps at Sebha. Those who refuse to don military garb are sent to Ghadames to be brainwashed. They are then forcibly transported to Chad to fight against their brothers in the Chadian National Armed Forces.

Under the deceptive pretext that he was helping them to seize power, Qadhafi has used the sons of Chad to destroy their own country. The especially outstanding qualities of the Chadians as warriors and their cultural diversities have been judiciously exploited to this end. Financed, trained and armed by Tripoli, thousands of Chadians have worked relentlessly against their common heritage for years on end. Knowingly or unknowingly, the sons of Chad, who were taken in by Qadhafi's fabulous promises, have systematically devastated the economy of their country and bereaved thousands of families from which they are descended. Through these men, the Libyans have shattered the structures of Chadian society. Over a long period of time, Qadhafi has been able to preserve almost intact the troops of his regular army stationed in Chad, through the use of the Chadians, who serve as a shield for the Libyan Army. It was not until 1987 that the Chadians as a whole became aware of this state of affairs and united in common cause against the Libyan invader, with results that are known. The Libyan expeditionary force was literally wiped out. During four months of fighting (December 1986 - March 1987), the Libyan Army left behind on the terrain military materiel worth more than 18,000 billion CFA francs (the base at Ouadi-Doum alone accounting for 900 billion CFA francs), more than 5,000 Libyan dead and more than 500 captured.

Libya's aggression has had serious consequences for the Chadian and Libyan peoples. This war has destroyed Chad and set the country back at every level. It has caused no less damage to the fraternal people of Libya, who have seen all of their country's wealth gobbled up by arms purchases, by the construction of military bases in Libya and in Chad, and by the upkeep of mercenaries whose aim is to fulfil the ambitions of a land-hungry maniac. In pursuing a dream that he knows full well cannot be realized as the 20th century comes to an end, Qadhafi has placed his people in an impossible situation. There is general stagnation on the political level. The most eloquent example of this is the abandonment for the benefit of the Chadian war of the planned construction

SITUATION DES TROUPEES LIBYENNES AU NORD DU TCHAD ET DANS LES BOUCHES TOUGHA ET AU SUD DE LA LIBYE (EN DATE DE FIN JANVIER 1981)

	Effectifs Soldats Libres	A I R (avion - hélicoptère)	O L = A I R (moyen, anti-aérien)	ARMEMENT TERRESTRE	Z F U S E
AOUZOUV (Tchad)	1,100	10 - MIQ 71 7 - L 39 6 - SF 260  2 - MI 24 4 - MI 8 1 - AH 26 1 - TWIN OTTER 3 - MI 25	3 - SA 13 4 - SA 9 4 - ZSU 23/4  4 - SA 8	1 - Chars   120 - V.L.M. Mort.	1 - J-800 KL 1 1 - J-80 PAIR 1 - J-80 PAIR  1 - TRAFIC 1A 4 - P.I.D. 1 - HAT DEFIL.
ADI-DOUN (Tchad)	5,000	3 - MIQ 71  2 - MIQ 71  1 - SF 260 1 - SU 22 2 - AH 26 3 - TU 22 1 - IL 76 5 - L 29  1 - TWIN OTTER 1 - MI 24	12 - SA 6  2 - SA 13  1 - ZSU 23/4 5 - SA 7 14 - SAM 7 5 - Z PU2	- Bataillon de chars Bn - Char (120) (C 120) 100 - RPG 30 - RM 21 10 - batteries LRN 107 35 - Pistes-Chars 20 - Camions cit. 150 - Véhicules divers	1 - J-800 CLS 1 - J-800 CLS 1 - TRAFIC 1A 1 - THIN 1110
ODDUI (Tchad)	800	6 - SF 260	ignaté	10 - RP 4 - Chars 2 - LRN /O	ignaté
OMIANGA-YESIE (Tchad)	700	ignaté	" "	30 - RP 2 - Chars 4 - Batteries RM 21 4 - Batteries LRN 107 8 - Camions gros porteur 1 - Camion cit. 12 - Véhicules divers	" "
Région SOUAI (Tchad)	1,500	2 - MI 24 1 - MI 8 1 - TWIN OTTER	" "	14 - Chars 15 - RP 10 - Camions gros porteurs 1 - LRN RM 21 125 - Véhicules divers	" "

of a 2,000-kilometer aqueduct. All of the national resources have been swallowed up in the bottomless pit of Qadhafi's military and political adventure. The Libyans, able in the past to buy everything they needed in any shop, must now stand in line in front of the shops and bakeries to buy food and clothing. It must also be added that the education of Libyan youth is no longer a topic of discussion, the national obsession being the Chadian war, as evidenced by the resolutions adopted by the latest Libyan People's Congress.

No less significant is the deterioration of the Libyan military apparatus. Between June 1980 and October 1981, the Army lost more than 1,500 men in Chad. From December 1986 to March 1987, it lost more than 5,500 men through death or capture. Between 1983 and 1986, several hundred Libyans were either killed or captured at Faya (sic), Abeche, Kalait, Kouba, Arada and Ziguey. All of the Libyan families whose sons have disappeared in Chad are kept in total ignorance as to the fate of their children, because Qadhafi claims that there are no Libyans in Chad. Yet all of that is not enough for the Libyan chief of state, who has just promised his people darker days. He told the latest Libyan People's Congress in plain language that his fellow citizens "must prepare for poverty and war." This intention is clearly confirmed in items 8, 12, 17, 22, and 26, which publicly acknowledge Libya's involvement in Chad, advocate more intensive participation in the fighting, call upon the People's Committees for total mobilization to bring back deserters, and give Colonel Qadhafi full power to wage the Chadian war.

FATA-LARGLAU (Tchad)	2,500	1 - AM 26 1 - G 222 1 - TCH OPIER 2 - SF 260 1 - MI 8 1 - MI 24	3 - ZSU 21/4 5 - SA 7 5 - ZSU 2	15 - Char. T-95 4 - MB 6 - BH 21	1 - SPOON REST 1 - SIDE NET
K... BARDAT (Tchad)	1,300	10 - ...	10 - ...	10 - ...	10 - ...
YEBRI-BOU (Tchad)	700	---	---	---	---
ZOMRI (Tchad)	700	---	---	---	---
...OUR (Tchad)	700	---	---	---	---
COURO (Tchad)	700	---	---	---	---
HAATEN ES SARRA (Libye)	1,000	4 - MIC 21 10 - SU 22 1 - MIC 21 10 - IL 39 2 - SF 260 5 - MI 24 1 - CM 47 3 - MI 8	4 - SA 11	---	2 - SPOON REST 1 - PLAT FACE 1 - SIDE NET 1 - BAR LOCK 1 - TALL ROD 1 - TALL KING 1 - SQUAT EYE 4 - RS BN 1 - HAY SERIES 1 - OCA
KOUFRA (Libye)	---	10 - MIO 75 4 - SF 260 1 - AM 26 2 - IL 76 1 - MI 8 7 - G 222	9 - SA 2	---	1 - SPOON REST 1 - PAWT SONG
SEBNA (Libye)	---	6 - MIO 25 10 - SF 260 9 - AM 26 2 - IL 76 2 - C 130 4 - P 27 3 - MI 8 1 - P 28	6 - SA 2 2 - SA 3	---	1 - BAR LOCK 1 - TALL ROD 1 - TALL KING 1 - SQUAT EYE 2 - SPOON REST 2 - SIDE NET

## **CHAPTER III**

# **EVIDENCE AND CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS**

*The estimate of losses and the list of weapons captured by the FANT are worthy of appearing in the accounts of modern conflicts. With these losses, which are summarized for your evaluation, Qadhafi is no longer in a position to have an impact upon regional equilibrium (Africa-Magreb).*

## **MAJOR STAGES IN LIBYAN DESIGNS FOR EXPANSION AND ANNEXATION**

Libyan immigration to Chad goes back to the middle of the 19th century. Relations between their country and our own were not merely cultural, commercial or religious in nature; they also were marked at the end of the 19th century by a desire for military and political domination.

In 1899, Al Mahdi, the eldest son of Mohamed Ben Ali es-Senussi, the founder of a "reformist movement" in the northern Libyan desert advocating a return to hard-line Islam, settled in Gouro in the heart of the Tibesti region.

His nephew, Ahmed Cherif, succeeded him in 1901. Under his leadership, the well-equipped Senussian troops carried out raids south of Batha and Guera. Some Arab tribes in these regions sided with them and joined the Senussian Brotherhood.

But it did not take long for French penetration into northern Chad to thwart the Senussi imperialists' objectives. Not having a free hand, the Senussi followers called on the Turkish Army for help and settled for the occupation of the Tibesti, Ennedi and Borkou regions. Turkish authorities made the Ennedi and Tibesti regions an integral part of the Libyan colony, leaving Borkou to the French troops.

Although he had occupied the Aozou region for a few days in 1955, King Idriss maintained an official policy of neutrality towards Chad until his fall in 1969.

From 1960 to 1965, the northern part of the country, known as the BET region, was administered by the French Army.

The Chadians took possession of the region in 1965. From that date, there were revolts in the center of the country. These were called the Mangalmé revolts. In 1966, the Chadian National Liberation Front (FROLINAT) was formed in Nyale, Sudan. The front was divided into two operational zones: FROLINAT's first army operated in the central and east-central areas of the country, while its second army operated in the north. This second army was called the Northern Armed Forces (FAN). The Chadian Army was stationed in the Aozou region until May 1968. FROLINAT's second army attacked the Chadian Army garrison in Aozou, cutting it off from the Bardai garrison. The Chadian Army high command then decided to attack, to free the soldiers blocked in the Aozou region, and in May 1968, decided to evacuate the garrison, which was very remote. FROLINAT's second army, FAN, then occupied the garrison. In 1972, the current president of Chad, Hissein Habré, joined the underground and with Goukouni formed the Northern Armed Forces Command Council (CCFAN) of which Hissein Habré was chairman and Goukouni his deputy. In October 1973 Libya, under the pretext of aiding the northern Moslems against the Government established by the southern Christians, offered its help to FROLINAT's second army in the form of flour,

uniforms and medicines. And then one fine day, Libya raised its flag and began to issue identity cards to the Chadians in the Aozou region. At that moment, President Habré said: "But what is going on? It was aid to continue our fight with the central government, and now they are giving identity cards to our fellow citizens. Is this aid or the beginning of Libya's colonization of Chad?"

In 1974, President Tombalbaye sent a delegation to Libya. The Libyans said: "We are not occupying your territory. There is a population which is suffering. We are helping it, that's all."

Then fighting broke out between Libyan and FROLINAT forces. The Libyans were chased out of the Aozou region, but there later was a division over how to behave toward Libya. Some said that Libyan aid had to be accepted in order to stand up to the central government; others said there was no question of accepting foreign aid to fight our fellow citizens. The quarrelling continued.

Then came the military coup in April 1975. After the coup, it was thought that things would be settled, but nothing happened.

In November 1976, during a congress held in Gouro, Chairman Habré told his comrade Goukouni that things had not changed and that we must take a clear position: should we or should we not ask Libya to evacuate the Aozou region, and should we reconcile with the government in office or continue to accept Libyan aid, something for which we would pay dearly in the future? Goukouni and Habré parted ways during this congress. Chairman Habré went farther south, and Goukouni remained with the Libyans in what is called the Aozou strip.

In 1977, on the eve of the Libreville summit, a Libyan delegation came to Chad for discussions with the Chadian Government. They said that they were not in the field; your fellow citizens are fighting you.

The Libyans helped Goukouni in 1978. He took control of Bardai, Zouar and Faya-Largeau with the help of Libyan troops. At that time, Chairman Habré signed an agreement with the government in office and became prime minister, forming his own government.

This is how the Libyans arrived in the Aozou strip. Aozou has never been, nor will it ever be, Libyan.

**25 September 1978**

Chairman Hisssein Habré appealed for African solidarity in stopping the Tripoli regime's aggression in Chad. "Chad will not cede an inch of its territory", the CCFAN chairman stressed.

**21 March 1980**

**The beginning of the invasion war in Chad.**

**October 1980**

**Libyan planes bomb N'Djaména.**

**9 November 1980**

**Qadhafi mounts a ground offensive against N'Djaména.**



15 December 1980

France warns Libya against continuing its military intervention in Chad.

6 January 1981

Tripoli and N'Djanéma announce a merger agreement between the two countries.

3 November 1981

Libyan troops leave Chad.

In 1983, Chairman Habré sent a delegation to Tripoli. The Libyans told us: "Listen, we have three conditions: you must recognize the firm border between Libya and Chad (south of Aozou); let us sign a pact so that we can continue the African revolution working out of Chad; you must proclaim Chad an arabian islamic state".

We said that none of these conditions was acceptable. The Libyans replied: "Go home, we are going to fight you".

10 August

Intensive Libyan bombing of Faya-Largeau.

16 September 1984

France and Libya sign an agreement for the complete and simultaneous withdrawal of their troops from Chad. In compliance with this accord, French disengagement is completed on 10 November, but Libya maintains its troops in the north of the country.

27 September 1984

Qadhafi tries to blow up the Council of Ministers meeting room. The plan fails.

27 February 1986

Libya begins an enlistment campaign in the Sahel countries for his Islamic Legion which is fighting in Chad.

20 March 1986

The five Libyans captured during fighting in Chicha are shown to the people.

17 October 1986

Confrontations occur between Goukouni Weddeye's supporters and Libyan troops. The Libyans find themselves in a adverse position and have to flee when 2,000 Toubou soldiers decide to turn on them and join up with the FANT (Chadian National Armed Forces).

11 December 1986

A Libyan column from the Aozou strip attacks Bardai.

12 December 1986

A Sukhoi plane is downed. A second Libyan column attacks Yebbi-Bou.

13 December 1986

Wour and Zouar are attacked by a third Libyan column.

20 December 1986

A Libyan offensive against Bardai, Wour and Zouar. The FANT make a victorious counterattack at Bardai; 400 Libyans are killed. The FANT mourn a martyr who fell on the field of honor, as well as for three wounded.

22 December 1986

Another Libyan attack occurs at Zouar. Libyan troops are engaged at Enneri Miski.

24 December 1986

A Libyan attack is forcefully repulsed at Zouar and Yebbi-Bou.

31 December 1986

A FANT counteroffensive takes place in Zouar. Results: 50 Libyans killed and 81 taken prisoner; tanks are destroyed or captured; two slightly wounded in the ranks of the patriotic forces.

2 January 1987

The FANT liberate Fada, one of the major Libyan garrisons in Chad.

Results:

Enemy losses:

— 784 Libyans killed

— 81 captured

Materiel captured:

— 13 T-55 tanks

— 7 120 mm BM 21s

— 16 BMPs

— Marchetti ground support planes

— complete radar station

— 4 AML-90s

— 2 BRDM

— 112 mm guns

— 107 mm surface-to-surface missiles

— 20 106 mm guns

— 14 14.5 mm machine guns

— 17 tank trucks

— 5 transreceivers

— 3 Mercedes personnel carriers

— 5 ambulances

— 4 repair vans

— 2 engineering graders

- a large amount of fuel and munitions of all calibers
- several Toyotas
- several SAM-7s
- numerous light weapons of all calibers.

Enemy materiel destroyed:

- 1 combat helicopter
- 92 T-55 tanks
- 5 107 mm surface-to-surface missiles
- 33 BMP
- 8 14.5 mm machine guns
- 12 Mercedes personnel carriers
- 5 tank trucks
- numerous deserters hiding among the boulders are tracked.

Friendly side:

- We mourn 18 martyrs who died heroically on the field of honor.
- 54 wounded.
- 3 light reconnaissance and support vehicles destroyed
- 1 20 mm gun destroyed

As you can see, the results speak for themselves. The enemy who fiercely committed men and materiel in the Machiavellian design of completely occupying our country found himself confronted by the valiant Chadian National Armed Forces, fiercely determined to thwart his plan to annex our beloved country.

**3 January 1987**

In the wake of their indescribable debacle at Fada, the Libyans start bombing the town and Zouar. The FANT retaliate: one Libyan helicopter is downed in the Fada region; 41 Libyan soldiers are killed and 10 taken prisoner. One Chadian is killed and eight wounded.

**4 January 1987**

Four Libyan MIGs bomb Arada (120 kilometers south of the 16th parallel), and drop bombs on the uninhabited region of Kalait. A little girl is killed in Arada and four women are wounded. The same day, the Libyan Air Force flies over Abéché and Sarh in southern Chad.

**5 January 1987**

**A Libyan Sukhoi is shot down over Fada.**

**6 January 1987**

Unwillingly, the Tripoli regime admits the intervention of its air force in Chadian air space, but as usual denies having any aggressive intention.

**A Libyan column is attacked and defeated by the FANT between Aozou and Bardai.**

7 January 1987

The French Air Force raids radar installations at the Libyan base of Ouadi-Doum on Chadian territory. The Libyan aggressor counterattacks: a squadron of MIG-23s bomb the villages of Kouba and Olanga, which are purely civilian targets.

8 January 1987

The FANT and ANL general staffs officially proclaim their unity under the supreme command of the president of the republic and chief of state, His Excellency El-Hadj Hissein Habré, in a broadcast on Radio-Chad. The ANL is integrated into the FANT.

There are violent skirmishes between the FANT and the Libyan attack troops. The enemy is routed. Results: several tanks and heavy weapons are destroyed and numerous aggressors are killed.

9 January 1987

Skirmishes occur in the Yebbi-Bou region. Defeated, the enemy leaves on the field 15 Libyans killed, many wounded, and seven vehicles of various types destroyed.

Goukouni Weddeye reappears in Tripoli, Libya, for the first time since he was placed under house arrest, almost three months ago. He calls for the fighting in Chad to stop.

10 January 1987

Additional skirmishes occur 50 kilometers from Yebbi-Bou.

Results:

- 1 Toyota equipped with a 14.5 mm machine gun captured
- 2 T-55 tanks destroyed

The enemy flees, leaving behind several dead and wounded.

13 January 1987

Violent fighting at the gates of Zouar. The enemy retreats.

Results:

- 10 tanks (7 T-54s and 3 T-55s) destroyed
- 3 Toyota equipped with 14.5 mm cannon destroyed
- 1 Toyota equipped with a surface-to-surface missile destroyed
- 3 Toyota personnel carriers destroyed
- 5 Mercedes 2632 loaded with munitions of all calibers destroyed
- 2 tank trucks destroyed
- 4 BMPs destroyed
- 6 enemy prisoners captured, including Turks and Malians
- 76 killed, including Lt. Col. Moustah Manaour Aramais
- Enemy command post completely destroyed.

**Lt. Col. Khalifa Aftar who fled among the boulders with some of his men is hunted down by our troops.**

**Materiel captured:**

**Two Toyotas, one of which is equipped with a radio**

**Friendly side:**

**We mourn four martyrs who fell on the field of honor and 10 wounded.**

**Losses in materiel:**

**— 3 Toyotas destroyed**

**21 January 1987**

**The FANT mount a major mopping-up operation in the Zouar region. All enemy command posts are destroyed. The FANT currently control the town of Zouar and its surrounding area. The Libyan rabble leaves several bodies and some materiel on the field. Numerous deserters are hunted down among the boulders.**

**Results:**

**— 193 Libyans killed**

**— 22 taken prisoner**

**— several wounded carried among the boulders**

**Materiel captured**

**— 1 heavy truck (Berliet)**

**— 2 106 mm guns**

**Materiel destroyed:**

**— 11 tanks**

**— 2 BM 21s**

**— 9 tank carriers**

**— 1 Toyota equipped with 14.5 mm machine gun**

**— 5 tank trucks**

**— 4 Toyota personnel carriers**

**— 2 Land Rovers**

**— 2 heavy trucks (Berliet)**

**— a large amount of munitions of all calibers.**

**Friendly side:**

**We mourn 10 martyrs who died gloriously on the field of honor, and 21 wounded.**

**Materiel destroyed:**

**— 3 General Motors trucks**

**— 1 Jeep with a 106 mm gun**

**— 1 light reconnaissance and support vehicle**

**— 1 Toyota**

**21 January 1987**

The Libyan Army is defeated again when Chadian troops gain control of Zouar: 194 Libyan soldiers are killed.

**22 January 1987**

Violent skirmishes occur between Oumchi and Yebbi-Bou.

Results:

Enemy side:

- 10 Libyans killed
- 6 Toyota vehicles destroyed
- 1 Mercedes tank trucks destroyed

FANT side:

- No losses

**23 January 1987**

Fighting resumes in the Zouar region at 4:00 a.m. against a large Libyan reinforcement column from Sebha. The enemy suffers heavy losses.

**1 February 1987**

A combat helicopter is shot down over Zouar at 11:30 a.m. The two crew members, Major Hafiz Diouma and a captain, are killed. A T-55 tank blows up in a mine field. The tank is destroyed and its crew killed.

**2 February 1987**

A MIG-25 fighter plane is downed at Zouar by FANT antiaircraft defense at 6:00 p.m.

**3 February 1987**

A T-55 tank is blown up by a mine close to the town of Zouar.

**4 February 1987**

The Libyan Air Force carries out several intense and savage bombings on the town of Fada at 4:15 p.m.

**4-5 February 1987**

During the night, from 9 p.m. to 1 a.m., the Libyan Air Force savagely and blindly bombs Fada and the surrounding area. Similar bombings occur over Zouar the same day from 9:00 p.m. to 4:00 a.m. The bombings resume the morning of 5 February over Zouar.

**5 February 1987**

Chad rejects any mediation by the Congo because it "reduces the settlement of this conflict to an accord between France and Libya". The plan provides in particular for the simultaneous withdrawal of French and Libyan forces from Chad.

**6 February 1987**

The invading Libyan Army rabble dares to attack FANT positions at Zouar. Very violent fighting is raging at 11:00 a.m. It ends in the Libyan Army's defeat.

**Results:**

**Enemy side:**

- 1 BMP tank captured
- 1 tank transporter captured
- 1 Toyota captured
- 1 Berliet heavy truck captured
- 3 Toyota personnel carriers captured
- 3 BMPs destroyed
- 42 killed
- 18 taken prisoner

**Friendly side:**

We regret that two men were slightly wounded.

**6 February 1987**

The redeployment of the French "Epervier" contingent, because of the creation of two new support positions in eastern Chad, Biltine and Abéché, is announced. French forces are being progressively reinforced.

**8 February 1987**

A FANT patrol engages in a skirmish with a Libyan patrol at Oueita, north of Fada, in the Ennedi region. The enemy flees toward Ouadi-Doum.

**Results:**

**Enemy side:**

- 12 killed
- 7 taken prisoner
- 5 vehicles captured
- 2 Toyota with 14.5 mm machine guns
- 1 Toyota with surface-to-surface missile
- 2 Toyota personnel carriers

**Friendly side:**

- no losses

Following this defeat, the enemy bombs the town of Fada at 7:45 p.m., as well as the town of Wour all night long on 8 February. These bombings had been resumed on the morning of 7 February over Wour and Zouar.

**8 February 1987**

Goukouni Weddeye goes to Algiers. This is his first known trip abroad since he was put under house arrest in Tripoli.

12 February 1987

Skirmishes take place in Zoumri in the Aozou region at 5:00 p.m. Here again the enemy is severely beaten.

**Results:**

**Enemy side:**

— 7 Libyans killed

— many wounded

**Materiel destroyed:**

— 1 Mercedes 26/24

— 3 Toyotas

**Friendly side:**

— no losses

14 February 1987

A Tupolev-22 bomber drops bombs on Kouba-Olenga at 12:15 p.m.

15 February 1987

At 1:15 a.m., the FANT wipe out a group of Libyans in the region of Zouar.

**Results:**

**Enemy side:**

— 23 killed

— one prisoner taken

— 3 T-55 destroyed

**Friendly side:**

We mourn one martyr who died on the field of honor.

16 February 1987

Violent fighting occurs between the FANT and the occupation troops in Zouar in the afternoon. The enemy is routed and suffers enormous losses in materiel and men.

**Results:**

**Enemy side:**

— 1 Toyota with a 14.5 mm machine gun destroyed

— 2 Toyotas with surface-to-surface missiles destroyed

— 3 heavy trucks destroyed

— 1 Mercedes tank truck destroyed

— 67 Libyan bodies are abandoned on the battlefield

**Friendly side:**

— 3 wounded



**17 February 1987**

Throughout the day, the enemy has resumed his savage bombing of Zouar where 14 Libyans are killed.

**19 February 1987**

The Libyan Air Force bombs the town of Zouar with particular intensity the whole day. At 3:45 p.m., the FANT antiaircraft defense shoots down a MIG fighter over Zouar.

**20 February 1987**

Violent skirmishes occur between the FANT and Qadhafi's army rabble in Wour, in the Aozou region.

Results:

Enemy side:

- 23 Libyans killed
- 1 Mercedes tank truck destroyed
- 1 heavy personnel carrier destroyed
- 1 Toyota with radio destroyed

On the same day, an enemy attack on Zouar is repulsed by the FANT. In his flight, the enemy abandons 18 bodies on the battlefield.

**22 February 1987**

The FANT sets up an ambush at Yebbi-Souma south of Aozou, during which:

- 7 Libyans are killed and four others wounded
- 2 Mercedes trucks loaded with munitions are destroyed
- 1 Toyota equipped with a 14.5 mm cannon is destroyed
- 1 Toyota equipped with a surface-to-surface missile is destroyed.

**23 February 1987**

Liberation and occupation forces skirmish in the region of Zouar. As usual, Qadhafi's troops receive their share of humiliation and death.

- 28 Libyans killed
- many wounded carried away

At 7:00 p.m. today, the Libyan Air Force resumes its bombing of innocent civilians in Fada.

**26 February 1987**

Fada is bombed by the Libyan air force all night from Thursday to Friday.

**28 February 1987**

The FANT repel an attack by Libyan troops north of the town of Zouar on the Wour (Tibesti) road. The Libyan column involved suffers heavy losses:

- 33 killed

- numerous vehicles are destroyed, including a T-55 tank, an armored personnel carrier, a tank carrier, two heavy trucks and two vehicles equipped with 14.5 machine guns. The FANT suffer no losses.

1 March 1987

A patrol of Libyan soldiers is wiped out by Chadian government forces in the region of Zouar, southwest of the Tibesti mountains. During the skirmishes, which occurred around 4:00 p.m., the Libyans lost a large amount of military materiel, including a tank carrier, two tank trucks and a Mercedes personnel carrier.

3 March 1987

The Libyan air force bombs FAda.

4 March 1987

The bombing of Fada resumes with the help of MIGs.

5 March 1987

Violent fighting occurs between the FANT and Libyan troops at Kirdimi, 80 kilometers northwest of Faya-Largeau.

6 March 1987

Chadian government forces kill 38 Libyan soldiers at Kirdimi, 80 kilometers northwest of Faya-Largeau, and 25 more at Wour, in the northwest of the Tibesti region, during fighting this Thursday. In addition to the 63 Libyans killed, 19 others are taken prisoner, while the FANT once again capture a large stock of military materiel from the enemy:

- 3 Jeeps with 106 mm guns
- 3 Toyotas equipped with surface-to-surface missiles and 14.5 mm machine guns

Materiel destroyed:

- 2 Jeeps fitted with 106 mm guns
- 2 Toyotas equipped with surface-to-surface missiles
- 3 Toyotas equipped with 14.5 mm machine guns

Chad suffers no losses in the two areas of fighting.

7 March 1987

Since morning, in Zouar, there has been violent fighting between FANT and Libyan assault troops; 13 libyan soldiers were killed on friday at Wour and 2 Soviet-made T-55 tanks were destroyed. Meanwhile, a light BMP was also destroyed in Zour (preliminary after-action report). In addition, attacking forces again bombarded Fada from midnight to 0005.

7 March 1987

The Sudanese prime minister, Sadak el-Mahdi, reveals that a Libyan force, without authority, penetrated Sudan and received orders to withdraw. Their presence was exposed by N'Djaména, which announces that Libyan troops were getting ready to attack Chad from Sudanese territory.

8 March 1987

The final assessment of the violent fighting on 7 June (in Zouar) is as follows:

Enemy side:

- 78 bodies of Libyans and of the Islamic Legion were abandoned on the battlefield.

Destroyed material:

- 2 T-55 tanks and their crews
- 4 BMPs with their crews
- 1 Stalin organ with its crew

Friendly side:

Nothing. The enemy was routed.

8 March 1987

Violent fighting occurs at 5:00 p.m. at Tekro, north of Ounianga Kebbir on the Koufra road, between the FANT and the Libyan proslavery troops.

Results:

- 17 Libyans killed
- 3 Libyans taken prisoner
- 2 Toyotas with 14.5 mm machine guns destroyed
- 1 Toyota bus destroyed

Friendly side:

- 1 slightly wounded man

8-9 March 1987

Chadian/Libyan negotiations under Sudanese mediation fail, in Khartoum.

9 March 1987

The Libyan Air Force continues its blind bombings in the BET. It drops bombs on Fada twice, at 11:00 p.m. and midnight.

10 March 1987

President Mitterrand states publicly for the first time that the solution to the Chadian conflict is "first of all military" and is being played out "on the battlefield." He emphasizes in addition that French military aid "is increasing from month to month."

12 March 1987

The FANT intercepts a strong and impressive Libyan column between Mogoro and Bir Kora in the direction of Ouadi-Doum where they inflict heavy losses on the enemy in men and materiel. Here are detailed results of this fighting:

- 4 Jeeps equipped with 106 mm guns captured
- 5 Toyotas equipped with surface-to-surface missiles captured
- 4 Toyotas equipped with 14.5 mm machine guns captured

- 1 Land Rover equipped with a radio captured
- 12 Toyota personnel carriers captured
- 128 light weapons captured
- 3 Toyota personnel carriers destroyed
- 1 Toyota equipped with short-range radio destroyed
- 112 Libyans killed, including three officers, Capt. Mayir and Lts Maouioud Kalifa and Mahamat Ahmed.
- 24 prisoners taken, including an officer, Capt. Brahim Massoud

Friendly side:

We mourn a martyr who fell gloriously on the field of honor and one wounded man. Despite the stinging defeats inflicted on the Libyan aggressors, they continued their blind and desparate bombing of Fada during the night of 12-13 March with three attacks (at 10:35 p.m., 11:40 p.m. and 3:15 a.m.).

14 March 1987

Libyan troops in northern Chad are estimated at some 20,000 men by N'Djaména and 11,000 or 12,000 by Western sources.

A Libyan Marchetti fighter is downed over Fada by Chadian antiaircraft defenses.

Friday night and Saturday the 14th, the post at Yarda (sub-prefecture of Faya-Largeau) is bombed by the Libyan Air Force. Ferrick de Waïdo in the Fada region is also bombed.

15 March 1987

The pilot of the Libyan plane shot down on 14 March has been caught. His name is Aboukash Ibrahim (born around 1960 in Binachar in the Sebha region).

17 March 1987

The proslavery Libyans have dared to attack our positions at Yarda in the Borkou region. But the valiant Chadian National Armed Forces, always equal to the task, retaliate, inflicting a stinging defeat on the aggressors. These are the results of the fight:

Enemy side:

The Libyan Army rabble flee in disorder, leaving behind 55 bodies and 25 prisoners of war on the battlefield.

Materiel captured:

- 3 T-55 tanks
- 3 Toyotas equipped with 14.5 mm machine guns

Materiel destroyed:

- 3 Jeeps equipped with 106 mm guns
- 4 T-55 tanks

Friendly side:

We mourn the loss of two martyrs who fell on the field of honor and five wounded.

19 March 1987

The FANT confront the Libyans at 7:00 a.m. at Bir-Kora, 50 kilometers southeast of Ouadi-Doum. Here are the provisional results of this heroic operation:

Enemy side:

- 384 Libyans killed
- 47 taken prisoner

Materiel captured:

- 8 BMP tanks
- 7 T-55 tanks
- 11 Jeeps equipped with 106 mm guns
- 7 122 mm cannon
- 12 Toyotas equipped with 14.5 mm machine guns
- 9 Land Rovers equipped with short-range radios
- 1 Toyota antiaircraft missile launcher
- 18 Mercedes personnel carriers
- 2 repair vans
- 22 Toyota troops carriers
- 1 sophisticated field kitchen
- a large amount of munitions of all calibers

Materiel destroyed:

- 1 Marchetti plane and its crew
- 14 BMP tanks
- 11 T-55 tanks
- 6 Toyotas with 14.5 mm machine guns
- 5 Jeeps with 106 mm guns
- 4 Toyotas with surface-to-surface missiles
- 8 Toyota personnel carriers
- 6 tank trucks
- 1 Land Rover equipped with short-range radio

Friendly side:

We mourn the loss of 6 martyrs who fell on the field of honor and 22 wounded.

**20 March 1987**

**As of 6:00 a.m. local time, the enemy, driven farther north by the valiant Chadian National Armed Forces, has dropped a large number of napalm bombs on the innocent people of Fada. Nothing will keep the valiant sons of Chad from accomplishing their noble mission of chasing the Libyan occupiers out of the country. "Chadian National Armed Forces ever forward for the final attack!"**

**20 March 1987**

**The valiant Chadian National Armed Forces have routed Qadhafi's proslavery troops following violent and particularly deadly fighting during the morning at Bir-Kora, 45 kilometers from Ouadi-Doum. Here are the detailed results of the battle:**

**Enemy side:**

- 402 killed**
- 74 taken prisoner**

**Materiel captured:**

- 10 BMP tanks**
- 6 T-55 tanks**
- 6 tank carriers**
- 5 BM-21s**
- 8 122 mm guns**
- 16 toyota personnel carriers**
- 1 Mercedes repair van**
- 6 water tank trucks**
- 2 Toyotas equipped with surface-to-surface missiles**
- 3 Toyotas equipped with 14.5 mm machine guns**
- 2 Land Rovers equipped with short-range radios**
- 2 command jeeps**
- 12 Toyota personnel carriers**

**Materiel destroyed:**

- 1 transport helicopter**
- 14 T-55 tanks**
- 8 BMPs**
- 3 BM-21s**
- 3 jeeps equipped with 106 mm cannons**
- 2 Toyotas equipped with surface-to-surface missiles**
- 5 Mercedes personnel carriers**
- 4 tank trucks**

Friendly side:

- 8 wounded and one light reconnaissance and support vehicle destroyed

20 March 1987

More fighting occurs at Bir-Kora. Here are the results:

Enemy side:

- 65 Libyans killed
- 15 Libyans taken prisoner

Materiel captured:

- 9 BMPs
- 2 Toyotas equipped with surface-to-surface missiles
- 2 Toyotas personnel carriers

Materiel destroyed:

- 7 BMPs

Friendly side:

We mourn the loss of one martyr who died gloriously on the field of honor, and five people who were slightly wounded.

22 March 1987

The enormous Libyan base at Ouadi-Doum, the largest and most deadly of the enemy bases in Chad, has been controlled since 7:00 p.m. by the incomparable and indomitable Chadian National Armed Forces. Here are the provisional results of the battle:

Enemy side:

- 1,269 Libyans killed, including Col. Gassim Ali Abou Naour, Deputy to the commander in chief of the zone
- 438 Libyans taken prisoner, including Col. Khalifa Aboul Gassim Absar, commander of the zone.

Materiel captured:

- 11 L-39 bombers
- 2 Marchetti bombers
- 3 MI-24 combat helicopters
- 66 BMPs
- 42 T-55 tanks
- 18 BM-21 Stalin organs
- 12 T-62 tanks
- 8 Cascavel armored vehicles
- 12 SAM-6 carriers

- 4 SAM-10 batteries
- 4 SU-23 tanks
- 6 complete radars
- 10 BTRs
- 40 SAM-6 guns
- 16 23 mm guns
- 36 14.5 mm machine guns
- 6 BRDMs
- 112 heavy trucks and tank trucks
- 128 Toyotas
- 12 ambulances
- large stocks of fuel, munitions, food supplies and medicines
- 8 generators
- additional military engineering equipment

**Materiel destroyed:**

- 4 L-39 bombers
- 2 Tupolev-22 bombers
- 1 MIG-21 bomber
- 2 large Antonov-26 planes
- 4 Marchetti bombers
- 3 combat helicopters
- 54 BMPs
- 47 T-55 tanks
- 8 BM-21 Stalin organs
- 12 122 mm guns
- 12 Cascavel armored vehicles
- 8 surface-to-surface missiles
- 3 SU-23 tanks
- 1 battery of SAM-6s

**21-22 March 1987**

**From Sudanese territory, Libyan troops attack the Chadian localities of Adré, Tiné and Kulbus, but they are repulsed by the FANT and retreat to Sudan.**

**"Faced with this dangerous situation, the Chadian Army will henceforth be authorized to pursue the aggressors wherever they find refuge until they are no longer able to cause harm."**



24 March 1987

French Defense Minister André Giraud states on radio Europe 1: "We have a cooperation agreement with Hissein Habré to recapture national territory from the invader, and we are carrying out this commitment". He adds, however, that "no French soldier" participated in the capture of Ouadi-Doum.

25 March 1987

Nineteen Libyan soldiers are killed while three others are taken prisoner Wednesday in a FANT ambush in the region of Zouar.

Six Libyan vehicles are destroyed and no losses are reported on the Chadian side.

26 March 1987

The Libyan air force bombs Zouar in the Tibesti region on Thursday.

27 March 1987

On this day at noon, Faya-Largeau, the capital of the Borkou-Ennedi-Tibesti region, and second enemy stronghold in Chad after Ouadi-Doum, comes under FANT's complete control.

In addition, this morning the Libyan Air Force began intense and savage bombing of Zouar to cover the mass flight of the Libyan rabble.

Today southeast of Zouar, the FANT intercepted a Libyan column, which had fled from Faya, and inflicted a stinging defeat on it. Here are the results of this skirmish:

**Enemy side:**

- 88 Libyans killed and abandoned on the battlefield
- 14 Libyans taken prisoner

**Materiel captured:**

- 6 Toyotas equipped with 14.5 mm machine guns
- 5 Toyota personnel carriers

**Materiel destroyed:**

- 2 T-55 tanks
- 3 BMP mechanized infantry combat vehicles
- 5 Cascavel light armored vehicles (AML)
- 1 Toyota equipped with surface-to-surface missiles

The Libyan Air Force bombed Ouadi-Doum yesterday. These savage and blind bombings resumed simultaneously this morning over Ouadi-Doum and Faya-Largeau, where innocent civilian populations were the most targeted.

30 March 1987

Here are the results following the fall of Faya:

**Enemy side:**

- 274 Libyans rallied
- 16 Libyans taken prisoner

**Materiel captured:**

- 11 T-55 tanks
- 7 BMPs
- 6 Jeeps equipped with 106 mm guns
- 66 heavy trucks
- 3 repair vans
- 2 tank carriers
- 2 ambulances
- 15 Toyotas and Land Rovers
- large amounts of munitions

In addition, apart from the town of Zouar, which we have controlled for a very long time, its surrounding areas as well as isolated enemy posts around the town have been entirely mopped up, and have come under the complete control of the Chadian Armed Forces.

Despite the lessons given the occupying troops, the Libyan Air Force bombed Ouadi-Doum all day yesterday, 29 March 1987.

**30 March 1987**

The total liberation of our land, which has been polluted by the Libyans, continues. The enemy garrison in Ounianga is now under the FANT's control. The results of the operation are as follows:

**Enemy side:**

- 30 Libyans taken prisoner

**Materiel captured:**

- 1 Marchetti bomber
- 15 T-55 tanks
- 17 BMPs
- 4 BM-21 Stalin organs
- 2 armored BRDMs
- 4 14.5 mm quadruple guns
- 6 tank trucks
- 7 heavy Mercedes trucks
- 4 Toyota personnel carriers

**Materiel destroyed:**

- 1 helicopter

**1 April 1987**

The locality of Gouro (north of Ouadi-Doum) comes under the FANT's control. All the prefectures in the Borkou and Ennedi regions have now been liberated.

Materiel captured:

- 2 BMPs
- 2 Toyotas equipped with surface-to-surface missiles
- 2 Toyotas equipped with 14.5 mm machine guns
- 2 heavy Mercedes trucks
- 2 Jeeps equipped with 106 mm guns
- 1 120 mm mortar
- 1 82 mm mortar

In addition, the FANT captured the following materiel during mopping-up operations in Zouar and the surrounding region:

- 3 T-54 tanks
- 3 BMPs
- 2 BM-21s
- 1 122 mm gun
- 1 Jeep equipped with a 106 mm guns
- 3 heavy Mercedes trucks
- 1 Mercedes repair van
- 1 grader
- a large stock of munitions of all calibers

Materiel destroyed:

- 4 T-54 tanks
- 2 BMPs
- 3 BM-21s

**7 April 1987**

The Libyan Air Force resumes its savage and blind bombing of FANT positions at Ouadi-Doum. Our bold fighters retaliate strongly, shooting down a MIG-21 at 7:30 a.m.

**9 April 1987**

Jane's Defence Weekly (GB) reports that, during the last battle of Ouadi-Doum, the Chadian National Armed Forces seized an arsenal of Soviet weapons evaluated at one billion dollars, which included materiel never before examined in the West. The money which Qadhafi drained from the peaceful Libyan people to buy his death machines would have been much more useful had he used it to build roads, railroads, hospitals, or even schools.

What has Qadhafi done with Libya's oil revenues? He has used them to finance terrorist acts. Qadhafi's Libya today has become a top spot for wheeling and dealing, where the settling of accounts is part of daily life. Purges ordered by Qadhafi himself

have eliminated part of the leadership: Colonel al-Mabrouk was tried in Sebha by a military court; Chief of Staff Aboubakr Youness was demoted from general to colonel; and Abdelsalam Jalloud was blamed for all the problems in Chad.

How can the Army react to its defeat in Chad, especially to the loss of its prestige? René Otayek, an expert on Libyan affairs, recently said, "this Army currently feels humiliated, and this is without doubt an important factor. Chad has for several years been a shield for the Libyan Army, and obviously, this will lead to a new wave of discontent among the military. It is difficult to forecast just how far this discontent may go. The regime may fear a possible convergence of this discontent and political opposition from abroad. This factor could turn out to be rather serious, in the not too distant future, for the Qadhafi regime."

At the beginning of this year, eight opposition movements, ranging from the Islamic Right to the Far Left, tried to put together a common political platform in Cairo. It is not yet known to what extent these movements could be united, but if they should manage to join the internal opposition in the country, in the Army especially, this could create a very dangerous situation—even more so since there currently is a wave of popular discontent over the economic crisis.

Since 11 December 1986, when the Libyan forces mounted an attack on the BET, they have abandoned 1,000 men and large stocks of materiel.

According to the FANT High Command, from 20 December 1986 to 30 March 1987, the Libyans lost 4,469 killed and 936 taken prisoner. The FANT mourn the loss of 77 dead and 132 wounded. The fighting took place successively at:

<b>Bardai</b>	<b>Yebbi-Suma</b>
<b>Wour</b>	<b>Kirdimi</b>
<b>Zouar</b>	<b>Terko</b>
<b>Fada</b>	<b>Mogoro</b>
<b>Yebbi-Bou</b>	<b>Birkoran</b>
<b>Omchi</b>	<b>Yarda</b>
<b>Oueita</b>	<b>Ouadi-Doum</b>
<b>Zoumri</b>	<b>Faya</b>

منذ ١١ ديسمبر ١٩٨٦ ذلك التاريخ الذي اندفع فيها  
الظول الليلية لشن هجوم على بركو - ايندى - تيمتي ، لقد  
تركت وراءها الآلاف من الرجال وعشاء هام . حسب ما جاء في بلاغات  
القيادة العليا للقوات المسلحة التشادية ، حمل في الفترة ما  
بين ٢٠ ديسمبر ١٩٨٦ و ٣٠ مارس ١٩٨٧ :

٤٤٦٩ قتيلا لبها .  
٩٣٦ أسيرا لبها ،

ومن جانب القوات التشادية :

٧٧ قتيلا  
١٣٢ جرحا .

دارت المعارك تباعا فسي :-

برداي	بهي سوما
ور	كيردي
زوار	تگسرو
فادا	سوحورو
بهي بو	بيركوران
اوشبي	باردا
اوتبا	وادی دوم
زومري	فايما .

The message addressed to the President of the Republic of Chad and the Chadian people by the National Front for the Salvation of Libya is significant in more ways than one. Not only does it translate the atmosphere of the end of a reign, which now prevails in Tripoli, it is also an example of the sincere hopes of the Libyan people who want to finish once and for all with a madman on the loose, namely Qadhafi. To fail to seize an opportunity is an unpardonable sin. The Libyans must understand this truth more than ever. Here is a letter from the National Front for the Salvation of Libya, one of the eight opposition movements.

"Greetings,

At a time when we are closely following the FANT's brilliant victories in their historic and just fight to liberate all of Chadian territory from Qadhafi's military presence, it is particularly pleasing for me to condemn, in my name and in the name of all members of the National Front for the Salvation of Libya, Qadhafi's open aggression against the brother people of Chad, the country's national sovereignty and its territorial integrity; we also condemn the impasse into which Qadhafi has thrown the sons of Libya who are in the Armed Forces in a lost aggressive war against our brothers and neighbors in Chad, a war from which the Libyan people have harvested only destruction and tragedy.

- We want you to know of our wholehearted desire to remain on your side and the side of the brother Chadian people in their just and legitimate struggle to lead a free, worthy and noble life in their own land.
- We send you and the brother people of Chad our sincere congratulations on the return of Ouadi-Doum to the Chadian family following the brilliant victories won by the FANT over Qadhafi's forces of oppression and aggression.

A day will come when all Chadian territory will return to its Chadian owners, and the day will also come when fate will turn against the clique of Qadhafi oppressors who arbitrarily judge the Libyan people by fire and sword. After that relations between the Libyan and Chadian peoples will return to what they were in the past, in fraternity and mutual profitable cooperation. May God protect the brother Chadian people. His protection has led you to this victory."

**Gueth Abdel-Madjit Seif Alnasr  
Deputy Secretary General of the  
National Front for the Salvation  
of Libya**

**This letter expresses the fact that the immense majority of Libyans, who can hardly express their feelings at home, stifled as they are by a very structured dictatorial system and omnipotent security services, have had their fill.**

Qadhafi believes that Chad constitutes his vital space, his national extension. Colonel Rifi believed it when he wrote this letter:

The Socialist People's  
Libyan Arab Jamahiriya

Date: 6 Rabie el-Sani 1396  
Corresponds to 5 December 1986

Libyan Arab Armed Forces  
Sebha Military Zone

In the name of Allah, the Benevolent, the Merciful  
To the Authorities and Populations of the Bardai Region

In the name of Allah and the Great Al Fateh Revolution, I send you this message asking you to stop the flow of blood, to unify efforts and establish security and stability among the men in your region and those for whom you are responsible.

Do not allow the rebels and saboteurs and those who do not want your well-being to turn your minds and create confusion and biased interpretations in your ranks.

The Tibesti region and all Toubou tribes living in this region are Libyan and are under the authority of the military zone of Sebha; they must enjoy all their rights as Libyans everywhere in the Jamahiriya.

This is why we do not want fighting and terrorism. Live in peace and peacefully; God will reward you twice.

He who attempts to resist or to use his arms against us should not be surprised at what happens in the end, and must shoulder all his responsibilities.

Do not give the rebel Hisscin Habre's allies the opportunity to infiltrate your ranks; collaborate with your Libyan brothers in Aozou, Aomchi, Amou and Guizindou; it is in your interest and that of your children, your wives and your elderly people.

Do send your delegates to give your allegiance and show your good intentions (toward the Libyan authorities).

Greetings.

Al Fateh forever and the fight continues

Colonel Major Al-Rifi Ali Al-Sharif  
Chief of the Military Zone of Sebha

التاريخ ٦ ربيع الثاني ١٣٩٦  
الموافق ٥/١٢/١٩٨٦ م

الجمهورية العربية الليبية الشعبية الاشتراكية  
القوات المسلحة العربية الليبية  
منطقة سبها العسكرية  
ممنممنممنممنم

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الى المسؤولين والاهالي بمنطقة / بر داء

باسم الله واسم الفاتح العظيم اوجه اليكم هذا الخطاب وذلك من اجل حقن الدماء  
وتوحيد الجهود ونشر الامن والاستقرار بين الناهي في منطقتكم والمناطق التابعة لكم .  
عليكم بعد م ن الاسلحة للمتمردين وانتمخريين والذين لا يريدون الخير لكم بالتاثير على  
عقولكم وخلق البلبلة والاشاعات المغرضة بينكم .  
ان منطقة تبستي وجبلالاح مائل التبو بهه هم لبييون ويتبعه = ون منطقة  
سبها العسكرية وعليهم وله علم على الليبيون في كل مكان من الجماهيرية .  
عليه لا نريد قتال ولا نريد ارهاق فاسلموا تسلموا يوحىكم الله اجركم مرتين  
ومن يقاوم او يوجه السلاح ضدنا فلا يلوم الا نفسه وتحمل مسؤوليته الكامله  
فلا تتركوا لاعوان المتمرد حسين حبرى الفرصه للذخول اليكم . وتعاونوا مع  
اخوانكم الليبيون من ايزو وام شى وامو وقزند واما فيه صالح ابنائكم  
ونسائكم وشبهوكم وارسال مندوبين منكم يؤكدون ولا تكلم وحسن نيتكم

والسلام عليكم ورحمة الله وبركاته

الفاتح ابيد ا . . والقلاح مستر

العقيد الزكن

الرفى على الشريف

امر منطقة سبها العسكرية



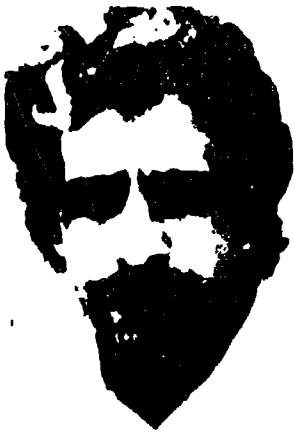
This statement, which was signed by Colonel Al Rifi Ali Al Sharif, commander of the military zone of Sebha, is significant because the Libyans consider their presence in this area permanent.

Libya has lost more than 3,000 men (at Fada, Bir-Kora, Ouadi-Doum, Zouar, Faya, etc...) since 2 January 1987.

Hundreds of prisoners are being held by the FANT. These are considerable figures. But Qadhafi and his clique do not admit to deaths or prisoners of war because they maintain that they are not in Chad. Are these prisoners whose photographs we are publishing Chadians?

Libyan officers being held prisoner in Chad:

1. Major ABDEL-SALAM MOHAMED CHARAFADINE ARRIYANI
2. Captain AL ARABI ABDEL-SALAM RAMADAN ABDALLAH
3. Second Lieutenant ABDEL-HAKIM MOHAMED AZOUGOUZI
4. Major BALGASSIM MOHAMED MSAIK
5. Second Lieutenant HISSEIN MOHAMED HISSEIN NISHAD
6. First Lieutenant MOHAMED MOHAMED LASTAID
7. Warrant Officer MUSTAPHA AL MABROUK
8. Warrant Officer OUMAR MASSAOUD
9. Colonel KHALIFA HAFTAR
10. Captain BRAHIM MAHAMAT SAWAI
11. Warrant Officer BECHIR ABDEL MADJIT BECHIR
12. Major MAHAMAT TAHIR ATI
13. Lieutenant-Colonel ABDALLAH AHMED KHALID
14. First Lieutenant FATHY MOHAMED ABOUBAKAR
15. Second Lieutenant DAW OUMAR AL MAJDOUB
16. First Lieutenant MOUSSEDAK MOUSBA AFANDI
17. Chief Warrant Officer RAMADAN SALEH RAMADAN
18. Chief Warrant Officer ALI SALEH SALIM
19. Chief Warrant Officer MOUSBAH MASSAOUD MAHAMAT
20. Doctor IDRIS MOHAMED ABOUFAID
21. Warrant Officer ALI OUSMAN MOHAMED
22. Chief Warrant Officer MUSTAPHA ABDOUL SALAM
23. Chief Warrant Officer MILAD MOUFTHA MOUSBAH
24. Chief Warrant Officer HAMID AHMAD MOHAMED
25. Second Lieutenant MOHAMED ALI KHALIFA AL ATREM
26. First Lieutenant SAAD AL GAZ AL MAHDI
27. Second Lieutenant SABAH AHMAD DJOUMA
28. First Lieutenant SEID MOHAMED
29. First Lieutenant ALI SALIM AL HAMDI
30. Second Lieutenant ABDEL ABOUZED AL HAJADJ
31. First Lieutenant ALI MOHAMED ACHOUAR
32. First Lieutenant MOHAMED MOHAMED ABDERAHMAN
33. Second Lieutenant MOHAMED MABROUK MOHAMED
34. Captain SALIM AHMAT ABDEL SALAM
35. Second Lieutenant ALI AMAR NARI
36. First Lieutenant BRAHIM MASSAOUD MOHAMED FILEFIL
37. Warrant Officer MOHAMED SHERIF NAVIL
38. Second Lieutenant MOHAMED ALI ABDALLAH AL OUBEIDI



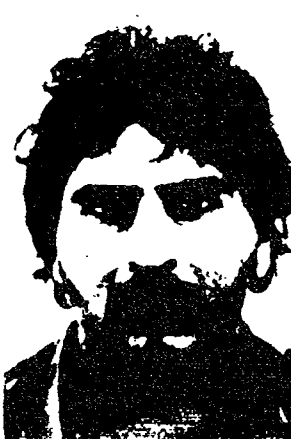
4



5



6



7



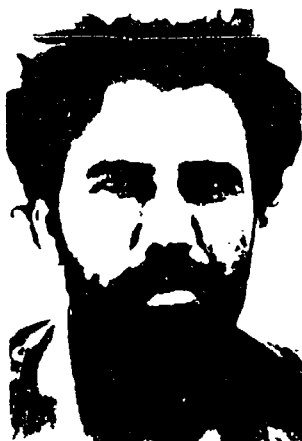
8



9



10



11



13



14



15



16



17



18



19



20



21



22



23



24



25



26



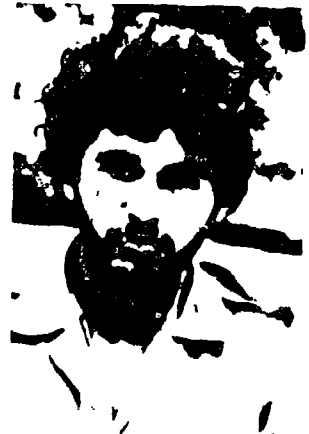
27



28



29



30



31



32



33



34



35



36



Libyan soldiers are there; the proof of this is in these accounts from a few prisoners.



Second Lieutenant MOHAMED ALI ABDALLAH  
AL-OUBEIDI. Age: 24.  
Place of birth: Benghazi.

I arrived in Chad on 20 December 1986. We left from the Benina airport and landed at the Ouadi-Doum airport. We then reached Fada on 20 December 1986. We remained there until 2 January, the day of the Fada attack. We were taken prisoner near Bir-Wey, located three or four kilometers from Fada. This was on 5 January 1987. I am currently in N'Djaména. I thank the Chadian people for the good treatment we are receiving in N'Djaména.

To my Libyan brothers in Chadian towns occupied by the Libyan colonizer, I ask them to surrender to the Chadian National Armed Forces or to withdraw inside their country. Chad is a Moslem country that knows God and his Prophet. Once again, I advise them to withdraw from Chadian territory or to surrender to the Chadian Army and Chadian authorities, because the manner in which we are being treated is purely Moslem. In addition, I appeal to the Libyan people to unite their efforts in rising up against Qadhafi's policy of oppression. As for my brothers and sisters, Faraj, Abdallah, Ahmat, Najwa, Mabrouka and Aicha, I want to let them know that I am in perfect health, and I pray to God that I shall not return to Libya as long as Qadhafi is in power there. Consequently, I hope to obtain temporary Chadian citizenship, because in Libya, we live under moral oppression.

I again thank the Chadian brothers for their good treatment of me. As an officer of the Libyan Army, I am prepared to use my knowledge of tanks anywhere and put forth all my efforts to make what knowledge I have in this field useful in the service of Chad. I shall not fail.



Colonel Khalifa Abougassem Haftar. Born circa 1943 in Hadj Bachia. Drafted into the Army while a student in 1964. A colonel in command of a military zone. Married. Twelve children.

I believe that the mission given the Libyan Armed Forces is not clear, and consequently it is a very confused mission; this is why I dare to make an appeal to the Libyan High Command and the Libyan people to review wisely Libyan operations in Chad. If they still believe that there are French forces which can threaten the Jamahiriya from the south, I can assert here that, during the fighting I led against the Chadians with bombing attacks, I never noted any foreign presence.

My dsorrow was even greater when I saw that they were all Moslems; they treated us humanely.

I saw that they care deeply for their land, which we have unjustly despoiled; and this was evident during the fighting with our Chadian brothers. We all believe in Islam, which unites the Libyan and Chadian peoples and we are related in many other ways: socially, economically, and politically.

I hope that this problem will be quickly resolved, putting an end to the spilling of Chadian and Libyan blood, so that the two peoples will regain their prosperity.

I repeat to the Libyan Armed Forces on Chadian soil that they must withdraw immediately inside Libya, aim their blows at the common enemy, and put an end to this regime which has done so much harm to historical relations between the Libyan and Chadian peoples.

The brother people have greatly suffered from poverty, ignorance and many other calamities.

I ask the Libyan people and the Libyan Army to overthrow this rotten regime led by Colonel Qadhafi, which has been the very cause of the deterioration of relations between Chad and Libya.

I believe that this will be the noblest mission you can accomplish, instead of attacking a people.



Aboubakar Ali Ahmad Iguei. Born c. 1964 in Tripoli. Laborer. Enlisted man drafted into the Army in 1983. BMB crew member. Bachelor.

I ask my Libyan colleagues on Chadian soil to withdraw, and all my brothers in Libya to mobilize and do all in their power to overthrow Qadhafi and liberate the Libyan people. The Libyan people must annihilate this rotten regime, which has divided them and discredited their values. May God aid them in realizing this work.



Faraj Mohamad Oumar. Born c. 1962 in Benghazi. Peasant. Enlisted man drafted into the Army in 1981. Light truck driver. Bachelor.

Libyan colleagues on Chadian soil must surrender to our brothers and friends in the Chadian Armed Forces. They must fight against the traitor Qadhafi's regime, which sends them throughout the world and kills them. May God cause my appeal to be heard, and may you fight against the criminal and bloodthirsty Qadhafi.



Idriss Saleh Abdel-Hamid Abdallah. Born c. 1942 in Beida. Electrician/driver. Enlisted man drafted into the Army in 1983. Married. Eight children.

I was taken prisoner in Fada. I was taken to Chad by force. I was dragged away from my family and my eight children. I had no intention of coming to Chad, but was forced to board the plane that was to land in Chad.

Therefore, I ask that Libyan troops withdraw from Chadian territory so that the two peoples may live in peace. I do not at all agree with Qadhafi's policy on Chad, a Moslem and brother country.





Mahmoud Assadick Bechir Gharghar. Born c. 1963 in Gueriane. Student. Enlisted man drafted into the Army in 1983. Married. One child.

The majority of the Libyan people disapprove of the current situation in Libya itself, as they disapprove of this war. Consequently the Libyan Army must withdraw from Chad, which is by no means Libyan territory. And those who die here are not martyrs. May they return to Libya to put an end to the regime of the traitor Qadhafi, who has dispersed families and orphaned children.

All Libyans, men and women, must rise up against this regime which has dispersed us.

We shall return to our country very soon, God willing.



Mohamad Amhamad Salim Arryani.

I was drafted into the Army on 1 January 1979 in Ghadames. I was later transferred to Benghazi to be sent to Chad. I then fled the Benghazi military camp to re-join my family in Ghadames. The military police caught me and sent me to Fada on 1 November 1986.

The situation in Libya itself is such that the population is suffering from a scarcity of consumer products. There are lines everywhere: for soap, macaroni, bread, etc... This is the result of Qadhafi's policy. We, the Libyan people, have no score to settle with the Chadian people. Qadhafi alone is responsible for the problem. The Libyan Army is in Chad against its will, but it must even so assume its responsibilities to get out of Chad and overthrow Qadhafi's regime.



Yakhlif Ammar Yakhlif Jachhoushi. Born c. 1957 in Zouara. Farmer. Enlisted man drafted into the Army in 1980. Secretary. Married. Two children.

The Revolutionary Committees and the Green Book are of no help to the Libyan people, except to a few so-called leaders. The Libyan people as a whole have nothing to gain from this regime. They do not suffer gladly the lines that form outside the shops that sell the basic necessities. The entire Libyan society suffers from this regime and its compulsory military service. Consequently, the Libyan forces must withdraw from Chadian soil to return to Libya and overthrow Qadhafi's regime.



Almouloudy Gammoune Ali Souleymane Assoukiny (Sebah).

I left Libya in December 1986. Libya's domestic situation is characterized by lines everywhere and for everything. The markets are short of basic consumer goods, and this shortage affects all products; and then there are the high prices. Qadhafi is the cause of all of this. He is at the root of all the problems facing the Libyan people, most of whom are emigrating and fleeing the country.

We see nothing good in the slogans currently being spouted in Libya. Quite the contrary; they have sown poverty among the Libyan people. The Libyan forces must quickly withdraw from Chadian territory, therefore. Those who cannot must surrender to the Chadian Army. And so I ask the Libyan Army to return to Libya to end Qadhafi's reign once and for all.



Bechir Abdallah Mustapha Ghileo. Born c. 1959 in Musuraka. Laborer. Enlisted man drafted into the Army in 1980. Bachelor.

On 25 November 1986, I was forced to come to Fada via Koufra to fight our Moslem brothers in Chad.

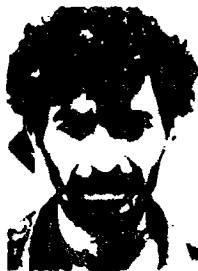
The town of Fada is now under Chadian Government control.

I appeal to my Libyan colleagues in Ouadi-Doum, Faya and elsewhere to surrender to the FANT or to return to Libya to finish off the regime of that agent Qadhafi, who has divided families and soldiers and exposed the rest of the Army to destruction and ruin.



Abdel-Medjid Mohamad Abdel-Wali. Born c. 1949 in Alamarria (Egypt). Accountant for "Societe Tibesti". Enlisted man drafted into the Army in 1985. T-62 tank driver. Married. Seven children.

The People's Committees' meetings and the slogans have added up to nothing, because the real power is Qadhafi himself. The Libyan people are tired. Consumer goods have become scarce. People have to line up for everything. Chad belongs to the Chadians, not the Libyans. The Libyan Army must return to Libya and cleanse the country of the internal enemy, i.e., overthrow Qadhafi, so that the two peoples can finally rest peacefully in their own countries. We shall return to Libya after it is liberated, God willing.



Mustapha Abdel-Salam Ahmat. Born c. 1962 in Benghazi. Student. Drafted into the Army in 1981. Sergeant. Bachelor.

I live in the El Mohajirim El-Majouri district. I joined the Army in October 1981 as a fourth class in "compulsory training". I arrived in Chad on 5 December 1986. Before that, I was in the 24th Battalion's prison in Libya. I was taken from prison to appear before a military court to answer for my desertion. Suddenly, I found myself at the airport, then on a plane which landed in Koufra. It was then that I was told that I was not going to a military court, but to Chad. I had no choice. I was a prisoner in their hands. Then, the battle of Fada erupted, and I was taken prisoner on 4 January 1987. I would not say that the FANT incarcerated me. I can even say that they saved my life, because I was lost in the desert; they found me and gave me food and drink. I am now in N'Djaména and in perfect health. Except for being so far away from my parents, I lack nothing. I would tell the Libyan people and the Libyan Army that it is of no use to hang on to prejudices and to respect that charlatan Qadhafi, who sends them to Chad, Uganda, Iran, etc. . . and is continually slaughtering them everywhere abroad.

Theoretically, if those who died in Fada had died in Libya, life for the Libyan people would have changed. So why are they dying in Fada? For what cause are they dying? If the 800 or so men of our group had gone to Tripoli that day, we would have changed the face of our life and our future at the same time.

The Libyans must stop obeying this impostor Qadhafi, because it is more honorable for them to die at home in Libya than to come to Chad and die. It is honorable for them to die in their own country instead of coming to fight Moslems to take away their land! This is unacceptable.



Mailoud Salim Ma-Ayoub. Born circa 1960 in Azizia. Workman. Enlisted man drafted into the Army in 1981. Mechanic's helper. Bachelor.

With regard to the current political situation and everyday life in Libya, I can say that the people are in chains, in a way. Qadhafi and his close collaborators dominate the situation.

Libyan soldiers who do not belong to Qadhafi's tribe are forced to come to fight in Chad, while his nearest and dearest are spared. The Libyan people disapprove of the war in Chad. Consequently, I beg the Libyan people and the Libyan Army to work jointly to overthrow the regime, so that the Chadian and Libyan people may live in peace and the respect of good neighborliness.

These two peoples have been brothers for a very long time, and the crisis they are currently experiencing will disappear as soon as the corrupt gang governing Libya disappears. This is why I make an appeal to the Libyan Army to make a rapid withdrawal from Chad and return to Libya, seize command, and overthrow this tyrannical regime, which has poisoned our relations with friendly countries and neighbors, such as Chad, Lebanon, Morocco, Egypt, etc. . .

I am well and treated wonderfully. Personally, believing what we had learned about the treatment of prisoners in Chad, I did not think that I would find such care there. We are really receiving good treatment.

I thank the Chadian Government, the FANT, and their leader, President Hissein Habré.

In Libya itself, an officer of the unofficial People's Militia opened up to a French journalist from the magazine *Actuel*; this interview took place in the Koufra garrison for Chad operations, the very one where Qadhafi had set up his headquarters at the beginning of 1987, to direct his military operations in our country personally. Disguised as a Berber, Luis Gonzales Mata, a reporter for the publication, met the Libyan officer, who insisted on remaining anonymous following his secret entry into Libya via the Egyptian border.

This officer belongs to the Fezzan tribe. His fellow tribesmen do not really support Qadhafi's great visions. But they predominate in the Libyan Army. Here is his story:

"Some 800 Fezzans are officers in the three services. The country's intelligence service is commanded by Colonel Senussi and Colonel Bechari, both Fezzans. The chief of staff of the armies, Colonel Jabor, is a Fezzan. The inspector general of the armies is also a Fezzan, as are the head of the Libyan contingent in Chad and the colonel in charge of Chad operations at headquarters."

The officer tries to explain this contagious disease: "The Fezzans supported Qadhafi as soon as he seized power. . . Very quickly after the revolution, all Libyans, without exception, deeply believed in Qadhafi. I am sure that a majority of the people have now changed their opinion."

— And what about the Army?

— The military are not really comfortable with this war. Ten years ago, Qadhafi still sparked enthusiasm, when he founded his Islamic Legion, which had the noble mission of reconquering occupied Arab lands, particularly Palestine, and also lending a military hand to help oppressed peoples. Qadhafi did not directly commit the Libyan Army, which only had to officer the volunteers who had rushed in from everywhere and were financed by oil money.

Until the end of the seventies, Qadhafi, rich as Croesus and backed by his piles of money, signed merger agreements with Syria and Egypt. He wore the halo of an Arab Bonaparte, incorruptible, frugal, practicing the highest virtues and Islam, but a modern man. Through him, the imperial unity of Arab Islam could be reborn. Libyan youth readily volunteered to export these values; embassies overflowed with missionary advisers; gifts were lavished on poor countries and aid to guerrilla groups was unstinting.

In northern Chad, Qadhafi had already occupied the Aozou strip under the pretext of aiding the Toubous in the Tibesti region in fighting the power of the Blacks who had taken over in N'Djaména.

Qadhafi made his first big blunder in Niger in 1974, when he attempted to buy back from President Hamani Diori a piece of Niger desert, which would extend the Aozou strip. It is said that this was one of the causes of the coup which ousted Diori. Furious with this insolence, Qadhafi began to use the radio to agitate the Tuaregs in Niger. He encouraged Sidi Mohamed, a Tuareg captain in the Niger Army, to attempt a coup. Sidi Mohamed was arrested, but Niger hushed up the affair. At the time, they feared this over-armed neighbor, from whom they were receiving a nice bundle of financial aid. . .

The Tuaregs began to have doubts when Qadhafi sent the Islamic Legion to defend Amin Dada in Uganda. Those who were part of the expedition understood nothing about it, and the whole affair ended in a ludicrous rout. This did not affect Qadhafi. Not very involved in the affair, the Army did not really get soaked by the fiasco.

At the end of 1980, Qadhafi committed his Army to the hilt in Chad. He had just been cast aside by Syria, which repudiated its merger treaties with Libya. Furious, Qadhafi turned straightaway toward the south. He had to do something spectacular to erase the affront. Sending the Tuaregs to aid the Toubous in conquering Chad was impossible. The Toubous and the Tuaregs are traditional enemies. So Qadhafi put want ads in Arab newspapers, particularly in Beirut and Mauritania, for recruits.

When Chad fell into Goukouni Weddeye's hands at the end of 1980, Qadhafi had himself reimbursed by forcing Weddeye into a merger agreement with Libya at the beginning of 1981. What an obsession! With one stroke, Qadhafi reinforced the opposition to the new regime, and gave Hisséin Habré and his Goranes legitimacy. We know the rest of his difficulties.

Discontent, in the Army especially, has been evident for several months. When Qadhafi removed Goukouni, the Toubous immediately dropped us, and we found ourselves fighting all the Chadians and without any Chadians to help them liberate

their people. The military no longer understood this fratricidal war was against Islamic brothers. Our only victory lay in forging Chadian national unity against us. The war was becoming very expensive, and we were much poorer.

Last February, we had to mobilize students and call up reserve members to flesh out our contingent in the face of a reinforcement of the Chadian Army, and following the rout of the last Islamic Legion battalions, we also had to requisition drivers and mechanics. Deductions from wages were started to finance the war.

At this time, the war really became unpopular. More and more mothers were weeping for sons who were dead and unburied somewhere in the desert. Younger and younger men were leaving home without enthusiasm and returning very disenchanted. Ground and air units, needed in the north of the country and along the Egyptian border, were moved to the south against the advice of staff headquarters. . . Shops began to empty; shortages set in . . .

Until then, Qadhafi had always been generous with oil money, and that had prevented many wild outbursts. The little Green Book and the People's Committees. . . But there. . ." The officer opens up. I go on:

"This is not enough to explain how the Libyan Army, which is so well-equipped received, if you'll excuse the expression, a real drubbing. . .

- You have to know that for years, Qadhafi has been organizing the most absolute instability in the Army. Officers have been replaced or transferred for no reason. Structures have been altered at the whim of the colonel's fantasies. His worst nightmare seems to be one of a united, efficient and well-staffed army, of which he could become the first victim. Officers are hardly inclined to take risks lest they be made scapegoats.
- The general staff could feel the problem coming. The Toubous were the eyes and ears of the Libyan Army. They knew their desert well. Why then had Qadhafi fallen out with them? No one understood any of it, but we already missed them.
- You also have to know that the Army is poorly informed; transistor radios are forbidden in the barracks, and the security services are directed by eastern advisers.

There was also the case of the first large captures of Libyan prisoners. The Army wanted to negotiate for their release. Last January, envoys were even sent to Paris to get France to intervene with the Chadians. But Qadhafi stopped the whole thing, saying that the prisoners had been weak and that they did not deserve to belong to the Arab nation."

Finally, and most importantly, Qadhafi made the same error as Hitler had when in difficulty. Qadhafi decided to take command of the operations himself after the fall of Fada and came to stay in Koufra part time. He ordered the recapture of Fada against the advice of his officers.

On 19 March, the officer states "Column A left Ouadi-Doum. Its mission was to skirt Fada on the west to cut off the Fada-Abeche road, thus preventing the arrival of reinforcements. . ."

This Libyan version corroborates the annexed complete story of the battle, which contains confirmation that a third column left from the Sudan.

"After the first ambush," recounted the officer, "Colonel Qadhafi, although Column B was very far away from the site of the ambush, gave the order to push toward Kora, to aid its brothers or, if it should be too late, to avenge them. Column B arrived too late and also fell into the ambush. . ."

- And the third column?
- This was where the monumental error was committed. As it moved out, Column B was more than 50 kilometers south of its theoretical point of departure. The French Air Force then showed up, and the column quickly turned back, staying out of the mêlée. . .
- So there were too many errors? Errors made by the general staff?
- Errors made by the supreme commander, who would really like to blame others for the mistakes. As of March 20, the general staff and foreign advisers were considering a withdrawal from the Ouadi-Doum base to our main line, the 22nd parallel. Qadhafi would not hear of it. The foreign advisers left the base, leaving it without electronic protection.

On 23 March, the general staff presented Qadhafi with the figures. More than 2,000 dead, 15 percent of the Army wiped out, even after it had been reinforced. The wounded arriving in Koufra and young recruits still in a state of shock after so violent a baptism by fire.

On hearing this report, Qadhafi became a raving maniac. He even struck the colonel who was directing the operations with his stick! He shouted, "There will be court martials for treason." He even accused his Soviet and East German allies of cowardice! . . . Qadhafi does not accept this defeat. . . It must be admitted that American AWACs and French listening devices aided the Chadians.

- You find this a determining factor?
- I did not say that. We now clearly know that the Chadians want their national unity. Qadhafi had always assured us that he had Paris's agreement on the division of Chad, which was the cornerstone for his union of the nomads of the Sahara. This then was false.
- How did the Soviets react?
- The Soviets were furious, continued the captain. Earlier you must remember, at the time of the American bombing of Tripoli in April 1986, the Soviet fleet had left our territorial waters a few hours before. . .

Qadhafi, forced by Rome to sell back Libya's 14 percent share of Fiat, made a good profit from it, more than two billion francs in cash. But he had to give most of it to the Soviets to get delivery of materiel and munitions.

It is astonishing, even so, to hear an officer of the Revolutionary Committees in charge of watching over troop morale, tell me all of this, for hours, in the Koufra headquarters—it is really something.

These statements convey the malaise within the expeditionary corps and Libya itself—a malaise heightened by resolutions adopted by the Libyan People's Committees during a meeting in Sebha at the end of February 1987, which call for a veritable state of emergency in the country.

Let the reader be the judge: (See Resolutions 11, 12, 23, 25, 31, 32 and 33):

11. Fight against and combat reluctance and apply the penalties provided against it;
12. Give official and legitimate support to the fighting in a strong manner, while leaving the security on the domestic front to the People's Committees;
23. Ban listening to enemy radio stations;
25. Divide the Jamahiriya into militia units for the protection of the cities;
31. Raise the morale of the troops and give the necessary assistance to their families;
32. Form committees at the district level to unite the Chadians and establish a program of action; and
33. Establish control files within the Army to detect deserters.

Does Qadhafi's policy on Chad have unanimous support in the Army?

No, it does not. Besides, the Libyan Army general staff seems to be nurturing a certain uneasiness regarding Qadhafi's policy. You have to know that the Libyan Army is kept in a state of suspicion by the current political regime. It was the Army that carried off the coup on 1 September 1969. For a few years, the Army was the regime's principal support. But since the proclamation of the Jamahiriya, Qadhafi has distrusted the Army.

Several times in the past, especially in 1980 and after the American raids on Tripoli and Benghazi, there were reports of a few uprisings in some of the barracks, such as in Tobruk. The Revolutionary Committees keep a close watch on senior officers in the Army, particularly the Berber speakers. The Revolutionary Committees also control access to the arsenals. Another sign of this distrust: during anniversary celebrations of the Jamahiriya in Sebha, in February 1987, Qadhafi called for the formation of people's defense committees. It is a matter of arming the population, he said, so that the military can rest. This reveals the tension between the Army and the political power.

At this meeting, the Libyan People's Committees, which are responsible for carrying out Qadhafi's philosophy, expressly adopted resolutions concerning Chad. These subversive Committees reaffirmed that Chad is a demographic and geographic extension of Libyan. What is still more significant is that Qadhafi has decided to continue to train and arm Chadians living in his country or in the occupation zone for a massive invasion of Chad. He has given himself full powers in directing new operations against Chad.

In point eight, it is considered that the war in Chad constitutes an opening for Islam in sub-Saharan Africa.

8. Consider that the war in Chad is a war of liberation and an opening for Islam in the direction of Africa.

Next, besides publicly admitting Libya's engagement in Chad, these resolutions also confirm the Tripoli regime's unlimited determination to finish off our country. Several paragraphs in the document attest to this determination: for example, Resolutions 12 and 32 recommend that the Libyan Government officially and legally take part



in the fighting in an intensive manner, while specifying that Libya's internal security will be left to the people's Committees.

- 12. Give official and legitimate support to the fighting in a strong manner, while leaving security on the domestic front to the People's Committees.
- 32. Form committees at the district level to unite the Chadians and establish a program of action for them.

Worse still, paragraph 17 of the text considers the 16th parallel the limit of the border between the Jamahiriya and N'Djaména.

In point 22, a state of emergency is decreed for this entire border. It will be noted that the resolution clearly mentions the border between the Jamahiriya and N'Djaména, something which, in other words, means that Tripoli denies that a Chadian state has the right to exist.

- 22. Decree a state of emergency along the entire Jamahiriya border.

This idea is supported by Resolution 30 which stipulates that Chad is the geographic and demographic extension, thus the natural extension, of the great Jamahiriya; this is to be understood as incorporating Chad into Libya.

- 30. The defense of the Chadian people is legitimate considering that Chad is the demographic and geographic extension of the Great Jamahiriya!

In addition, the loss of human lives in the Libyan Army, its demoralization and the lukewarm attitude of its soldiers during operations in northern Chad, which numerous recent desertions made known, did not escape the congress's attention. These are the reasons why it adopted several resolutions concerning the military.

Point 10 gives reservists who have not responded to the call to arms one last opportunity to do so as soon as possible under penalty of serious punishment.

- 10. Let us give one last opportunity to reservists who have not responded to the call to arms to do so and let us give them the necessary means of transportation.

On the other hand, the engagement is now such that Chadians are carefully left out. In fact, Resolution 24 states that Chadian troops are not to be relied upon for operations and that Libyan troops now have full responsibility for this.

- 24. No reliance is to be placed on armed Chadian movements for operations; entire responsibility is to be given to Libyan troops.

Even though the Libyan People's Congress, in other words Parliament, is merely an echo chamber for the Libyan regime, the resolutions it recently adopted are nevertheless not without considerable importance.

By giving full powers to Qadhafi, the supreme chief of the armies, to direct his war, as stipulated in Resolution 26, the Congress now admits the real dimensions of the conflict and, above all, makes the war between Chad and Libya official and legal.

- 26. Let us give full powers to Qadhafi, the supreme chief of the armies, to take the necessary measures to push back the aggression.

Qadhafi has thus succeeded in legitimizing his action in Chad, in Libyan eyes at least. Those who still doubt the real intentions of the madman of Syria should know that even for the Libyans, the Chad-Libya conflict is now an obvious fact.

Through its press agency Jana, the Libyan Government, specialist in disinformation, is always seeking to manipulate opinion on the Chad-Libya conflict. In less than three months, a French daily has reported four examples of this:

Last 6 January, the defense minister in a Paris communiqué said that a "helicopter from the French Epervier contingent crashed while on a very low-altitude surveillance mission" near the 16th parallel. The crew is safe and sound.

The next day, the official Libyan press agency picked up the incident, reporting that a PUMA military helicopter belonging to the French occupation forces stationed in Chad had been shot down the previous day.

On 17 February, Radio Tripoli announced that the FANT chief-of-staff, the celebrated warrior Idriss Deby, had joined the forces of the new GUNT after rebelling against President Hissein Habré's tribe. The information picked up the same day by AFP was firmly denied on 18 February by the French ambassador to N'Djaména, who said he had talked to Idriss Deby on the telephone that evening.

Last 9 March, Jana published the following communiqué: "Today a commando unit from GUNT's national liberation army special forces attacked a Transall transport plane south of the 16th parallel. The plane was loaded with provisions, medicines and fuel. The attackers destroyed the plane, which burned."

The Libyan communiqué was immediately picked up by the Associated Press in London. On 10 March, France-Inter's 7:30 a.m. newscast reported a French Transall shot down by Chadian rebels. The duty officer at the French Defense Ministry said that he could neither confirm nor deny the report. (This is normal. He knew nothing about it and first had to get information.) Most of the national and regional media reported the destruction of the Transall, often with a "reportedly". Radio Algiers, Radio Bardai, GUNT Radio and Cairo Radio repeated the Libyan communiqué.

"France is a democracy."

On 12 March, Radio Bardai, quoted by Jana, broadcast that the GUNT forces had that morning stopped "a FANT commando unit which was accompanied by a French mobile radar unit and had crossed the 16th parallel. The radar was destroyed and four French technicians and advisers killed." The Reuter press agency confirmed the information, specifying that the skirmish had taken place "near Mourdi, 130 kilometers from the Fada oasis in the northwest of the country."

Paris immediately denied Reuter's information, which had been reported on the telephone from Tripoli by Facho Balam, delegate of the GUNT for foreign affairs. This time, none of the French media picked up the Tripoli communiqué. "We are no longer at the time when soldiers were buried at night in the barracks" commented a defense ministry spokesman. "Nothing will be hidden in the event of loss of human lives and materiel. France is a democracy."

These four examples, which are contradicted by the facts, illustrate the political determination of the Libyan Government working through Jana to establish proof that French forces stationed in Chad were participants in the internal Chadian conflict. Clearly, Libya wants to accredit the theory according to which there is at least parity between Libya and France in behavior and responsibilities in Chad's affairs. Whereas France is present in Chad at the government's request only, and within the framework of a cooperation agreement.

The Libyans are very intransigent. For example, they have proposed that we sign a strategic alliance accord, proclaim Chad an "Islamic Republic" and a member of the

Arab League, and recognize their territorial claims. They had previously made the same proposal to their Chadian allies. Here is the text of this proposal, dated January 1981:

"Within the framework of the strategic alliance between the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and Chad, important meetings were held between the two countries, which resulted in the following agreements:

1. To work toward complete unity between the two countries, a mass unity in which power, wealth and arms will be in the people's hands and its instruments will be the People's Congress and Committees.

2. To reinforce the strategic and fated alliance of the two countries, to consider any aggression against one as aggression against the other, with each of the two countries being ready to fight alongside the other in case of aggression against one of them.

3. The parties have decided to continue their aid to the peoples struggling for their freedom and intensify their struggle against colonialism, Zionism and reaction in Africa, in Arab lands and everywhere else in the world.

4. The Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya asserts that it will unconditionally continue its aid to the sister Republic of Chad in such a way as to ensure the freedom and independence of its people and to destroy reactionary gangs, puppets and collaborators of colonialism at home and abroad.

5. Under the joint defense treaty concluded between the two countries on 2 Shaban 1389, which corresponds to 15 June 1980, and at the official request of the Chadian government, the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya will send military forces to help in maintaining security, in consolidating the peace which was reinstated following the civil war and in rebuilding the Chadian national army and security services.

6. The two parties strongly condemn imperialist, Zionist reactionary attempts—supported by colonialism in the region, especially by the collaborating regimes of Sudan and Egypt, which aim to attack the victories won by the Chadian people and to rekindle the fire of discord and war in Chad.

The activities undertaken by the Sudanese and Egyptian regimes, and the Sudanese president's statement, according to which war has only just begun in Chad, constitute the beginning of aggression against the Chadian people and concrete measures to start aggression against Chad. The schemes of the two regimes are a violation of the OAU Charter and the Laos accords. In this connection, the two parties warn the Sudanese Government of the consequences of any aggression mounted against Chad from Sudanese territory. The Sudanese Government will have to assume all the consequences of such an act, and the Chadian people will not sit on their hands in the face of anything that constitutes a threat to their security and integrity.

7. The Jamahiriya asserts that it will continue and increase its economic aid to the sister Republic of Chad to enable it to build itself up and to bring progress and prosperity to the brother Chadian people.

8. The two parties express their complete satisfaction concerning cooperation between the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and Chad, a cooperation which has effectively contributed to establishing peace and security in the sister Republic of Chad.

9. The two parties express their joy concerning the positive results of the latest Lagos Conference on the Chadian affair, emphasizing their commitment to the conference's resolutions, which undeniably prove the Africans' ability to solve their own

problems without an foreign colonialist intervention. On this subject, the two parties express their thanks and consideration for the praiseworthy efforts of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and its President AL Hadj Shehu Shagari to establish peace in Chad. They also express their consideration for the current present of the OAU, Siaka Stevens, president of the Republic of Sierra Leone.

10. The Chadian side expresses its high consideration for the Jamahiriya's aid to the Chadian people, thanks to which they have been able to stop the rebellion and establish peace and security in Chad.

11. The two parties have decided to open the borders between the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and the Republic of Chad to enable Libyans and Chadian to travel freely and unconditionally and to complete the merger between the two brother peoples.

12. The two parties emphasize the need to reinforce the legal government of Chad, considering it the only legitimate power in Chad, and urge African countries and the international community to support the government to enable it to rebuild Chad, to grant it assistance and to abstain completely from dealing with any authority outside the government.

13. The two parties promise to maintain security and stability in the area and to respect the political choices made by the countries in the region and wishes of their governments. They assert their attachment to the principle of non-interference in the domestic affairs of other countries.

The Chadian government expresses its desire to develop its relations with all countries, with those bordering Chad in particular, on condition that these countries respect its sovereignty and abstain from interfering in its domestic affairs.

Published on 30 Safar 1390 after the Prophet's death, which corresponds to 6 January 1981.

A few passages from the 15 June 1980 Treaty of Friendship and Alliance between the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Republic and the Republic of Chad merit clarification.

This treaty singularly limits Chad's independence and sovereignty, placing it in fact, if not legally, under a protectorate. The document, it is true, mentions reciprocal assistance in passing, in Article 2.

- Article 2: "The two parties have committed themselves to an exchange of military and internal/external security information and to providing the necessary support in the event that one of the parties, or both simultaneously, are exposed to direct or indirect danger." But anyone who can read between the lines must understand that taking into account the balance of forces—diplomatic, economic, defense—the party that would provide the so-called "support" would be Qadhafi's Libya. The party that would receive the support, hence protection, would be Chad.

- Article 3: Places the execution of said treaty under the joint responsibility of the 1 September Revolution and the Chadian Revolution led by FROLINAT in the following ways:
  - a. Reinforce cooperation between the two countries in the economic and military sectors.
  - b. Combat colonialism in all its forms on the African continent.
  - c. Repulse any foreign aggression against the African continent.
- Article 8: Written in Tripoli on 3 Shaban 1389 after the Prophet's death, which corresponds to 15 June 1980, in two copies, one in Arabic and one in French, both having the same legal value, this Treaty which "becomes effective on the date of signing" was ratified by:

Dr. Ali Abdelsalam Triki  
for the Socialist People's Libyan  
Arab Jamahiriya

Brahim Youssouf  
for the Republic of Chad

As a reminder, it should be recalled that similar statutes prevailed in all French West African and Equatorial African colonies during the so-called "community" between 1958 and 1960. Let us have the courage to call things by their names: this is known as a protectorate treaty.

The Chadian nation and the patriotic forces that have issued from it consider this pact null and void, and condemn without reservation those who, from near and far, conceived this treaty and facilitated its execution. It is neither more nor less than a document that tends to legalize Libyan aggression and puts an end to the existence of Chad. All countries in which peace, justice and freedom are cherished should denounce it as such.

## **APPENDICES**

LIBYAN SOLDIERS TAKE PRISONERS







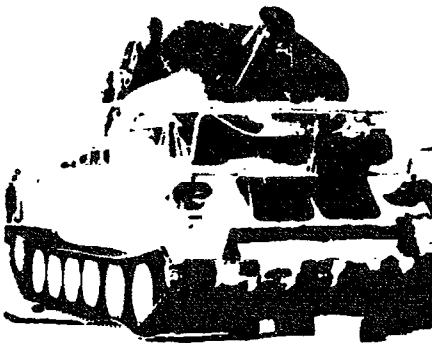
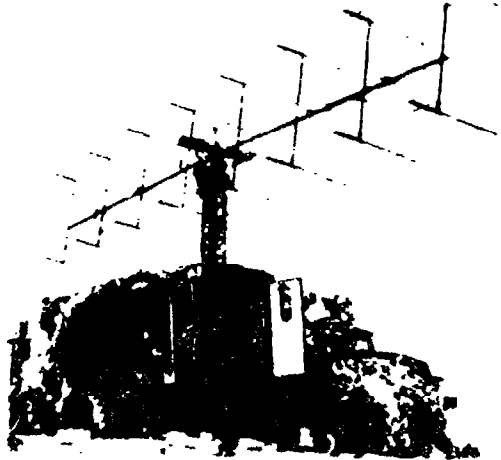
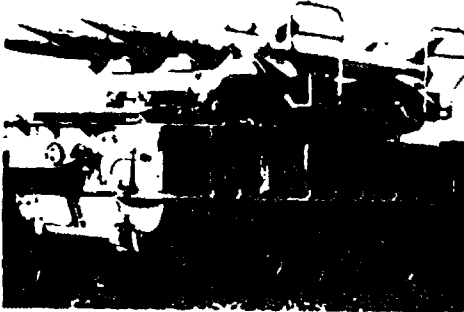




CAPTURED OR DESTROYED MATERIEL









**LIBYAN OFFICERS AND NCOs WHO LED COMPANIES IN THE  
BORKOU-ENNEDI-TIBESTI REGION**

**FADA**

Commandant Fatahala  
Sous-Lieutenant Abdelgader Ramadan  
Capitaine Mahamat Saleh Rigueygne  
Capitaine Mahamat Djeidane  
Sous-Lieutenant Ahamat Alhasse  
Capitaine Mahamat Awad  
Capitaine Matoug Mahamat  
Sous-Lieutenant Hussein Nichade  
Sous-Lieutenant Abdelgader Al-Magraki  
Lieutenant Hadi Hali  
Sous-Lieutenant Salim Zouh  
Capitaine Matongue Houmadi Barka  
Commandant Mufta Djouma  
Sous-Lieutenant Mahamat Nouradine  
Lieutenant Hadi Djoul  
Sergent Chef Salim Mahamat Alamri  
Adjudant Chef Abdelhamid Salam  
Commandant Boche  
Sous Lieutenant Nouh Mahamat  
Capitaine Younous Hassi  
Capitaine Ibrahim Abdelguassim Abdelatif  
Capitaine Mahamat Al Haram  
Commandant Abdelgader Mougouche  
Sergent Chef Aboubakar Saad  
Lieutenant Colonel Abdel Hamit  
Commandant Mahamat Outman  
Lieutenant Bechir Abdelguassim  
Lieutenant Abdemadi Djilkoum  
Sous Lieutenant Salim Bizama  
Lieutenant Mahamat Abdaliat  
Capitaine Abdel-Aziz Mahamat  
Lieutenant Brahim Mahamat  
Commandant Zia' Mahamat Ahmat  
Lieutenant Hussein Mahamat

**ZOUAR**

Capitaine Chaib  
Capitaine Senoussi  
Capitaine Hamali  
Capitaine Mufta Mezgui  
Commandant Abadallah Djabou  
Lieutenant Mahamat Salah  
Sergent Mufta Mahamat  
Sergent Mustapha Louafi  
Sergent Chef Ali Mustapha  
Commandant Senoussi  
Capitaine Hameli Mahamat  
Lieutenant Mahdi Sagar  
Lieutenant Colonel Abdelsalam Dafir  
Lieutenant Ahmad  
Lieutenant Colonel Abdeljadir

**FAYA**

Commandant Douki  
Capitaine Ali Mahamat Moutassil  
Mahamat Ibrahim Ali  
Colonel Djouma Zaid  
Capitaine Mahamat Djalgime

**CHICHA**

Capitaine Ali Zut  
Sous-Lieutenant Amar Moussa Souiemane

**OUMCHALOURA**

Capitaine Arhouma Ibrahim  
Capitaine Aboubakar Ali Mahamat  
Colonel Rifi Cherif

**IR-KORA - OUADI NAMOUSS -  
OUADI-DOUM - MOGORO-TEKRO**

Colonel Khalifa Aftar  
Lieutenant-Colonel Ahmat Hone  
Capitaine Djouma Rajeb  
Capitaine Khaled Haniche Djidaimi  
Lieutenant Moustapha Mohamed  
Commandant Zarouk mufia  
Commandant Chabani Ali  
Capitaine Ben Issa Saleh  
Lieutenant Bahloul  
Commandant Mahamoud Mohamed  
Capitaine Ahmat Masri  
Capitaine Salim Faraj  
Capitaine Ahmad Boronacha  
Capitaine Bechir  
Lieutenant Mohamed Mahamat  
Souleman Bouchnaf  
Commandant Ali Belgassem Zintani  
Commandant Mohamed Fourdjani  
Lieutenant-Colonel Abounawara

Lieutenant Amar Ahmat  
Capitaine Abdel Bassit Ali  
Capitaine Mahmoud  
Sous-Lieutenant Ali Mahmoud  
Lieutenant Abdel Razouz  
Lieutenant Ahmed Ali  
Lieutenant Moctar Sadawi  
Commandant Mohamed Ali Fardjani  
Capitaine Mousbah  
Lieutenant Bechir Mohamed  
Capitaine Abdelkader Awad Mousnari  
Lieutenant Colonel Ahmad Oun  
Lieutenant Mohamed Mousbah Djeli  
Capitaine Abdel-Aziz  
Capitaine Awada Abdelhamid  
Capitaine Khalid Mohamed Neche  
Capitaine Ahmad Boulanacha  
Lieutenant Guet  
Capitaine Abdallah





الإسم واللقب أبو عجل على مقدم

الصفة ..... حارس

تاريخ وكان الميلاد

المؤتمر الشعبي الأساسي

رقم عضوية المؤتمر الشعبي

الكتابة الثورية

رقم عضوية اللجنة الثورية

ABOU IDJELI ALI MOUGADAM, Soldier

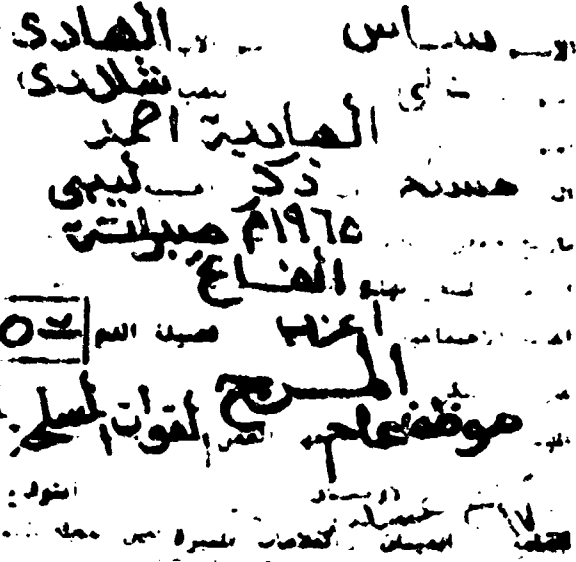


الجاهزية العربية الليبية الشعبية الاشتراكية

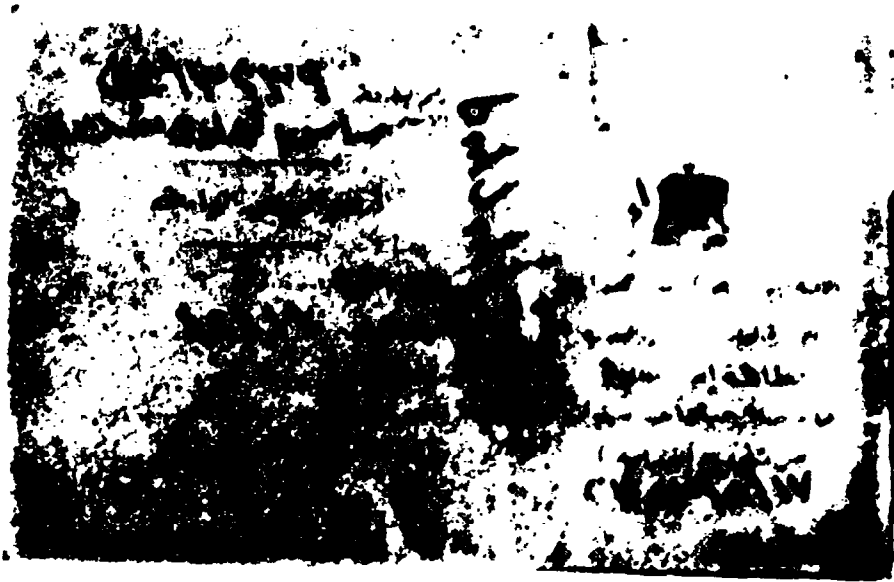
بطاقة عضوية الالجان الثورية

لا توري خارج الالجان الثورية

تمريض .. تمريض .. تمريض



ALHADI ALL, LIBYAN ARMED FORCES OFFICIAL



Amateurs - sans lien de dépendance et neutralité

Pour les

Groupes Opérationnels de Sud

avec l'idée de la

- nous en assigner -

Le 10/10 de 100 Septembre 1960.

Le 10/10 de 100 Septembre 1960.

Le 10/10 de 100 Septembre 1960. Les autres la 100 Septembre  
de 100.

et

Le 10/10 de 100 Septembre 1960.

Je tiens à vous informer que les Forces armées qui vous sont  
attachées, entreprennent une opération de minage avec diverses d'armes différents dans  
une zone déterminée. Les autres ont été informés de l'opération à des moments et  
des endroits.

Sur ce, nous vous annonçons de suspendre toute activité militaire  
et, jusqu'à ce que nous ayons une solution à ce problème. Ainsi, si s'avère que  
il y a des mines à éliminer et de renforcer nos défenses

avec attention la suite.

Amateurs - 100 Septembre Opérationnel de Sud

- 100 Septembre Opérationnel de Sud de la zone.

\* I wish to inform you that the Friendly Forces that are attached to you are carrying out mining operations in several different places without keeping us informed. This malicious action endangers the security of our men and materiel.

Having said this, we are announcing suspension of all military activity until we have found a solution to the problem. In addition, we must be vigilant and strengthen our troops.

We await your reply.

12  
بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم  
الحمد لله الذي هدانا لهذا  
ما كنا لنهتدي لولا أن هدانا الله  
والحمد لله رب العالمين

السلامة



الجمهورية العربية السورية  
الوزارة العامة  
القوات المسلحة

المستشار العام

مستشار

مستشار

مستشار

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم  
الحمد لله الذي هدانا لهذا  
ما كنا لنهتدي لولا أن هدانا الله  
والحمد لله رب العالمين  
أنا مستشار  
مستشار

مستشار

مستشار

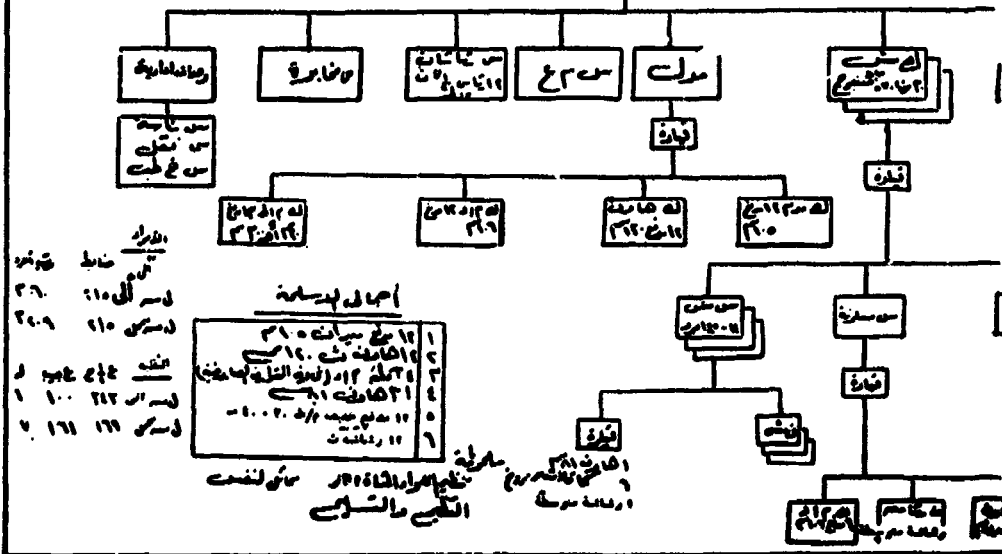
مستشار

مستشار

مستشار

مستشار

## قيامه الدعاء



### TYPICAL ORGANIZATIONAL CHART OF AN INFANTRY BRIGADE

مستوى للضابطة

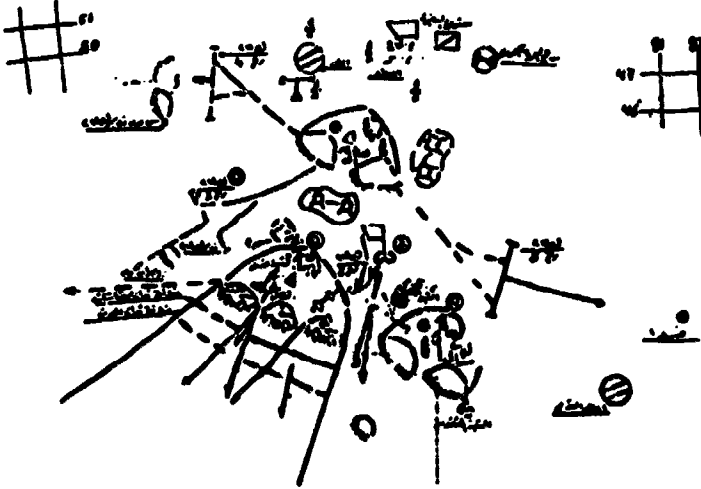
# خطة رقم ١٠ - قرار أسرار الكتيبة ١٣ دبابات في الدفاع

مرحلة قيادة الكتيبة في حالة حفر

نسخة الرسم ١/٠٠٠٠٠

تسديت  
أسرار الكتيبة في الدفاع  
مركز حراس الميناء

٧٢ ٧٣

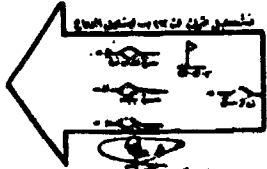


أشارات الأسلحة والعتاد

الرمز	الاسم	الرمز	الاسم
١	دبابة	١٠	دبابة
٢	دبابة	١١	دبابة
٣	دبابة	١٢	دبابة
٤	دبابة	١٣	دبابة
٥	دبابة	١٤	دبابة
٦	دبابة	١٥	دبابة
٧	دبابة	١٦	دبابة
٨	دبابة	١٧	دبابة
٩	دبابة	١٨	دبابة
١٠	دبابة	١٩	دبابة
١١	دبابة	٢٠	دبابة
١٢	دبابة	٢١	دبابة
١٣	دبابة	٢٢	دبابة
١٤	دبابة	٢٣	دبابة
١٥	دبابة	٢٤	دبابة
١٦	دبابة	٢٥	دبابة
١٧	دبابة	٢٦	دبابة
١٨	دبابة	٢٧	دبابة
١٩	دبابة	٢٨	دبابة
٢٠	دبابة	٢٩	دبابة
٢١	دبابة	٣٠	دبابة
٢٢	دبابة	٣١	دبابة
٢٣	دبابة	٣٢	دبابة
٢٤	دبابة	٣٣	دبابة
٢٥	دبابة	٣٤	دبابة
٢٦	دبابة	٣٥	دبابة
٢٧	دبابة	٣٦	دبابة
٢٨	دبابة	٣٧	دبابة
٢٩	دبابة	٣٨	دبابة
٣٠	دبابة	٣٩	دبابة
٣١	دبابة	٤٠	دبابة
٣٢	دبابة	٤١	دبابة
٣٣	دبابة	٤٢	دبابة
٣٤	دبابة	٤٣	دبابة
٣٥	دبابة	٤٤	دبابة
٣٦	دبابة	٤٥	دبابة
٣٧	دبابة	٤٦	دبابة
٣٨	دبابة	٤٧	دبابة
٣٩	دبابة	٤٨	دبابة
٤٠	دبابة	٤٩	دبابة
٤١	دبابة	٥٠	دبابة
٤٢	دبابة	٥١	دبابة
٤٣	دبابة	٥٢	دبابة
٤٤	دبابة	٥٣	دبابة
٤٥	دبابة	٥٤	دبابة
٤٦	دبابة	٥٥	دبابة
٤٧	دبابة	٥٦	دبابة
٤٨	دبابة	٥٧	دبابة
٤٩	دبابة	٥٨	دبابة
٥٠	دبابة	٥٩	دبابة
٥١	دبابة	٦٠	دبابة
٥٢	دبابة	٦١	دبابة
٥٣	دبابة	٦٢	دبابة
٥٤	دبابة	٦٣	دبابة
٥٥	دبابة	٦٤	دبابة
٥٦	دبابة	٦٥	دبابة
٥٧	دبابة	٦٦	دبابة
٥٨	دبابة	٦٧	دبابة
٥٩	دبابة	٦٨	دبابة
٦٠	دبابة	٦٩	دبابة
٦١	دبابة	٧٠	دبابة
٦٢	دبابة	٧١	دبابة
٦٣	دبابة	٧٢	دبابة
٦٤	دبابة	٧٣	دبابة
٦٥	دبابة	٧٤	دبابة
٦٦	دبابة	٧٥	دبابة
٦٧	دبابة	٧٦	دبابة
٦٨	دبابة	٧٧	دبابة
٦٩	دبابة	٧٨	دبابة
٧٠	دبابة	٧٩	دبابة
٧١	دبابة	٨٠	دبابة
٧٢	دبابة	٨١	دبابة
٧٣	دبابة	٨٢	دبابة
٧٤	دبابة	٨٣	دبابة
٧٥	دبابة	٨٤	دبابة
٧٦	دبابة	٨٥	دبابة
٧٧	دبابة	٨٦	دبابة
٧٨	دبابة	٨٧	دبابة
٧٩	دبابة	٨٨	دبابة
٨٠	دبابة	٨٩	دبابة
٨١	دبابة	٩٠	دبابة
٨٢	دبابة	٩١	دبابة
٨٣	دبابة	٩٢	دبابة
٨٤	دبابة	٩٣	دبابة
٨٥	دبابة	٩٤	دبابة
٨٦	دبابة	٩٥	دبابة
٨٧	دبابة	٩٦	دبابة
٨٨	دبابة	٩٧	دبابة
٨٩	دبابة	٩٨	دبابة
٩٠	دبابة	٩٩	دبابة
٩١	دبابة	١٠٠	دبابة

نسخة الرسم ١/٠٠٠٠٠

أشارات الأسلحة والعتاد

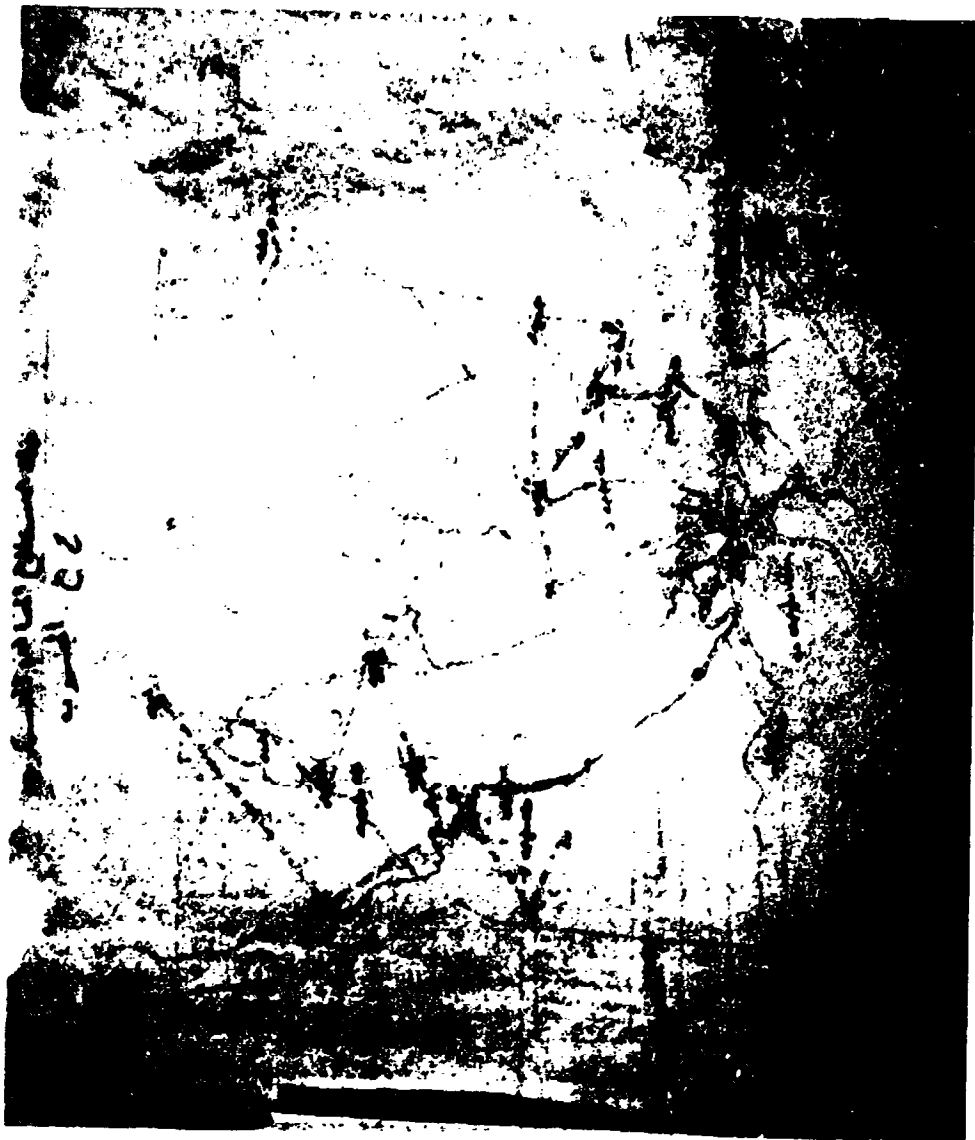


أسرار الكتيبة ١٣ دبابات  
تسديت  
مركز حراس الميناء

رئيس الكتيبة  
مؤسس الكتيبة

مستوى للضابطة

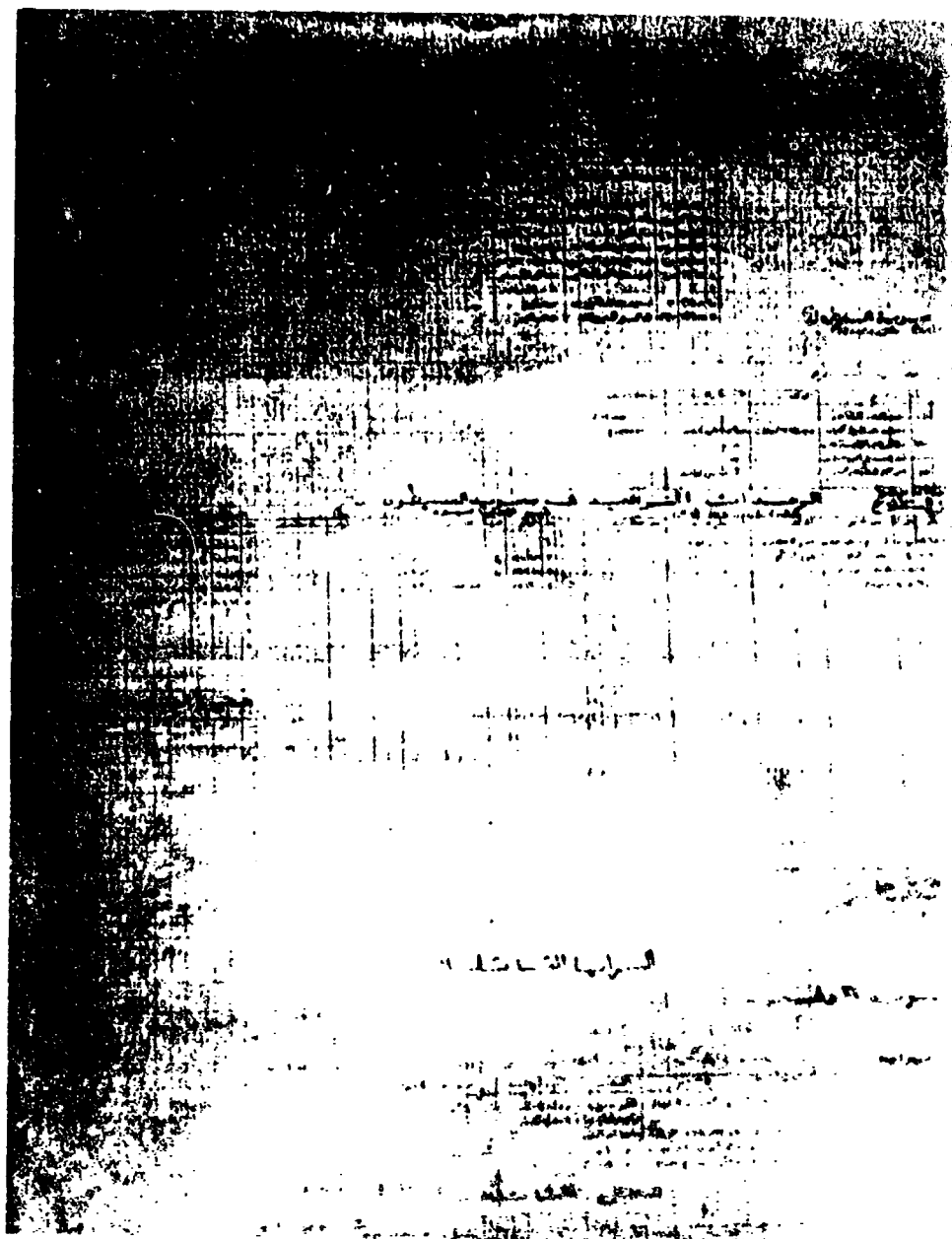




“...the fact that the *St. Louis* was not a ship of war, but a ship of commerce, was not a factor in the decision to fire on her.”









## STATEMENT FROM AFTER-ACTION REPORT BY THE FANT HIGH COMMAND

MATERIEL	CAPTURED	DESTROYED	TOTAL
<b>Interceptor, Fighter and Transport</b>			
-Antonov-26 .....		2	2
-Tupolov-22 .....		2	2
-L-39 bomber (Albatros) .....	11	4	15
-Marchetti bomber .....	9	8	17
-MIG-21 bomber .....		2	2
-MIG-23 bomber .....		1	1
-MIG-25 bomber .....		1	1
-MI-24 helicopter .....	3	8	11
<b>Totals:</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>51</b>
<b>Tanks and Armored Vehicles</b>			
-T-54 tank .....	3	4	7
-T-55 tank .....	113	183	296
-T-62 tank .....	12		12
-SU-23 tank .....			
-Tank transporter .....	10	18	28
-Cascavel armored car .....	8	17	25
-AML-90 .....	4		4
-BMP .....	146	134	280
-Stalin organ (BM-12) .....	39	20	59
-BRDM .....	10		10
-BTR .....	10		10
-SAM-16 battery .....	12	1	13
-SAM-13 battery .....	4		4
<b>Totals:</b>	<b>426</b>	<b>380</b>	<b>806</b>
<b>Heavy Weapons, Vehicles, Large Stocks of Fuel, Food Supplies, and Medicines</b>			
-81 mm mortar .....	1		1
-82 mm mortar .....	2		2
-120 mm mortar .....	1		1
-14.5 mm machine gun .....	50	24	74
-23 mm gun .....	16	22	38
-106 mm gun .....	60		60
-122 mm gun .....	22	12	34
-107 mm surface-to-surface missile .....	4	13	17

Materiel	Captured	Destroyed	Total
— 14.5 mm quad machine gun .....	4		4
— Toyota equipped with 14.5 mm machine gun .....	35	17	52
— Toyota equipped with radio .....	2	2	4
— Toyota equipped with air-to-air missile launcher .....	1		1
— Toyota troop carrier .....	194	40	234
— Toyota car .....		1	1
— Complete radar system .....	7		7
— Kinois vehicle loaded with BM-12 rockets .....	2		2
— Field kitchen .....	1		1
— Jeep equipped with 106 mm gun .....	30	13	43
— Command jeep .....	2		2
— Korean jeep .....	2	2	4
— Land rover .....	16	2	18
— Land rover with radio .....	8	1	9
— Mercedes repair van .....	12	12	12
— Mercedes heavy transporter .....	228	38	266
— Mercedes tank truck .....	43	32	75
— Unimoc ambulance .....	1		1
— Unimoc repair unit .....	1		1
— Berlier heavy transporter .....	2	2	4
— Military engineers' grader .....	2		2
— Generator .....	8		8
— Destroyed vehicle .....		7	7
— Transciever .....	5		5
— Light weapons .....	260		260
— Large stocks of military engineers equipment .....	Captured		
— Large stocks of ammunition of all calibers .....	Captured		
— Large stocks of fuel .....	Captured		
— Large stocks of medicines .....	Captured		
— Large stocks of food supplies .....	Captured		

## LIBYAN OFFICERS TAKEN PRISONER (continuation)

- 39. Lieutenant Colonel Saleh Mohammed Al Habony
- 40. Second Lieutenant Lacrimi Missri Ahmad
- 41. Captain Faradj Said Youssouf
- 42. Second Lieutenant Zaki Mohamed Djibrine
- 43. Second Lieutenant Ali Al-Hadi Al Gawy
- 44. Captain Sadik Al Hadi Azadi

- 45. First Lieutenant Tarik Issa Massaoud
- 46. Captain Abdel Azine mohamed Youssouf
- 47. Second Lieutenant Ataya Haroun Attie
- 48. Captain Al Habit Ibrahim
- 49. Captain Nasaldine Sadik Abdel Salam



39



40



41



42



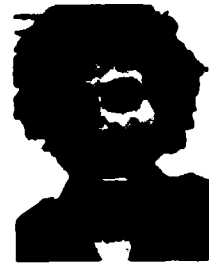
43



44



45



46



47



48



49

## **CHAPTER IV**

# **OTHER TERRORIST AND BARBARIC ACTIVITIES BY QADHAFI IN CHAD AND ELSEWHERE**

It was not until 1986, a year marked by a wave of dramatic and particularly bloody terrorist attacks, that the free world finally woke up: "Qadhafi's Libya. A Case of Aggression" is the title of a book recently published in the West. According to experts who have studied this plague of modern times, the Libyan chief of state has perpetrated 49 terrorist attacks, assassination and destabilization attempts. There is no corner on the planet to which the Libyan colonel has not tried to export his form of subversion, i.e., state terrorism.

Yet as early as the late seventies, the man who came to feel entrusted with a divine mission on earth soon after taking power, began weaving his terrorist network across the oceans and the continents, with the help of the Libyan oil windfall. His 1 September 1969 coup was a boon for rough-and-ready soldiers of fortune eager for heroic adventures. Barely a year after taking power, this windbag, a product of Libya's immense resources, was already fascinated with terrorism and subversion as a means of gaining publicity for himself... A manna of petrodollars was to be spent on it. To remake the world, Qadhafi bled the Libyan people white. Without there being any tangible returns today.

His most flagrant, as well as most unjust aggression, the one against Chad, dates back to 1973, three years after Qadhafi's putsch. Although permanent and pernicious, the desert horseman's machinations in Chad are only the tip of the iceberg.

While the Libyan chief of state gained notoriety on the African continent for his Homeric love affairs, his unification attempts are also legion. Defender of the weak and oppressed—a greatly usurped image, which he insists on wearing as proudly as he does his many outfits—he made and is still making promises to all and sundry, openly dreaming in return of seeing his "Islamic Republic of the Sahel" come into being somewhere.

Press representatives, experts who have met him and studied his case, know that each disappointment, each rejection of the "Guide's" advances turns into a rancor that can be healed only through vengeance. Who knows Qadhafi any other way in Africa? Long before he occupied Aozou in northern Chad, Qadhafi's regime had sent its army to the Ugandan jungle, far from the desert, two years earlier. There it became mired. To save "oppressed" dictator Idi Amin Dada

Has the Polisario Front been forgotten? Long before Algeria, Qadhafi was liberally flooding Saharaoui fighters with petrodollars. Until one fine morning, unionitis threw the Libyan leader into the arms of King Hassan II of Morocco. This produced the Arab-African Union, the AAU, an unnatural union dissolved when hardly a reality; and so, the inconsolable widower turned back to his first love, the Polisario Front. Long deprived of its dinar-making plate, the Saharaoui Movement was able to hold its head high again. Since mid-February 1987, fighting is again raging in the former Spanish colony. Africans are spilling the blood of other Africans.

For a long time, even after Haile Selassie's downfall, Qadhafi was the major provider of the Eritrean irredentists whose motivation was to put an end to the reign of the "King of Kings", another "imperialist agent" in Qadhafi's view. What was the Libyan colonel looking for? Simply put, Eritrea is an "Arab land", which means that Eritrean independence fighters would be trained and financed with Libyan wealth. Until the day when the "world opponent" signed a "strategic agreement" with Mengistu Haile Mariam. Good-bye to Eritrea the "Arab land" so briefly dear to the desert prophet's heart. War continued between Eritreans and the central Government. Qadhafi had left enough powder behind to feed the fire. He did it in all innocence!



South Sudan was ravaged by conflict. Civilian planes were downed by insurgents fighting against the sharia (Islamic law)—a word that should logically be worshipped by the Jamahiriya leader—with the help of arms provided Colonel John Garang by Qadhafi's Libya. For a long time Colonel Garang, a Christian, was assured of Muammar Qadhafi's assistance. He undoubtedly was dumbfounded however, when his union-chasing protector, during a stopover in Khartoum en route home from the latest Non Aligned Summit in Harare, must have proposed a Sudanese-Libyan Union to Prime Minister Sadek El-Mahdi, Sudan's new strongman. Was Qadhafi's assistance to Sudanese insurgents meaningful only insofar as it contributed to destabilizing the regime of former President Gaafar El-Nimeyri, an "agent of imperialism and zionism"?

Support to all kinds of dictators, assistance to revolutionaries, to the followers of any religion; Qadhafi is the only one who can sort out his own. Those who put him on the psychiatrist's couch know the subject well. The Libyan colonel supports liberation or so-called liberation movements, opposition, or serious or ludicrous protest groups, only as long as it takes to settle his accounts with the States they are fighting against. Many of those who believed in his mirages for a while fell into the trap, often with fatal results.

Crude trickery, cynicism, dreams of grandeur, Qadhafi is not as crazy as some too hastily termed him. All his moves are the results of Machiavellian calculations. Wanting an access into Chad, he claims Niger's Mangueni Plateau. When the heart of Africa is denied him from Chad, like De Gaulle from a Quebec balcony, he takes advantage of a visit to Rwanda or Burkina Faso, his new loves, to call the Zairian people to revolt.

To Burkina Faso, as to Benin or Ghana, where he perceived a whiff of ideological similarities, he promised castles in Spain. He promised them farms, banks and credit lines so that he could gain a foothold in the heart of Africa for his dirty operations. As soon as these countries were bold enough to say "your revolution is alright, but we prefer ours" the well ran dry.

Sahladine Bokassa? The former Central African monarch appearing this month (March) before the Bangui Criminal Court, was also a protégé of the master in Tripoli for the length of a visit. To take advantage of the oil bonanza the Libyan colonel was liberally dealing around, Central Africa's ex-emperor traded Jean-Bedel for Sahladine, which was a prerequisite of Qadhafi's. Upon returning to his country, Bokassa went back to his own name of Jean-Bedel, relating how Muammar Qadhafi had washed his feet to convert him to Islam.

From this perspective, the Green Book man's activism should only be a joking matter, were it not for the vengeance or crimes spawned by his actions. Hardly vexation or inclined toward a sense of measure, the man whom a chief of state called "cracked" or "loony" always drowns his illusions in blood. Even if it means that he has to blame it all on the boomerang effect (sic).

Colonel Qadhafi's destabilizing activities go beyond the African continent. The "world opponent" has woven his spider's web in Europe, Asia, South America, etc. To enhance his image, he organized an "International Revolutionary Forces Conference" in Tripoli in February 1986. Participants numbered more than 700, among whom were fundamentalist Moslem fighters from the Philippines, New-Caledonian independence fighters, radicals from French Guyana, Surinam, Haiti and other South American and Caribbean islands. An absurd initiative that cannot be justified either intellectually or

logically. Everywhere, Libyan "diplomats" are being used as relays, providing mercenaries with arms, explosives and dirty dinars.

Eager to make himself heard on the very doorstep of the US, which he considers his enemy number one, Colonel Qadhafi has tried and is still trying to get a foothold in South America. Even as we are finishing this document, a Libyan has just been expelled from Venezuela; he was in possession of subversive plans for South America and the Caribbean prepared by the Libyan chief of state; Qadhafi's operative also had documents attesting to the financing of radical groups in French Guyana, Surinam, Haiti, etc.

As early as 1969, Qadhafi used Nicaraguan Foreign Minister Tomas Borge. Through this avowed Stalinist, Libyan dinars were turned into arms for Central American guerrillas. One example among many: in April 1983, four Libyan planes on their way to Nicaragua stopped over in Brazil. "Medical supplies for Colombia", which had just been struck by a mammoth earthquake, declared the Libyan crew. Brazilian customs officers, finicky and intrigued by this Libyan show of altruism, stuck their noses into the aircraft holds. Surprise: (they found) 84 tons of parts for 2 combat planes, missile-launchers, cannons, rockets, etc., bound for Nicaragua. Because of their ideological affinity, the latter and Cuba share the dubious privilege of serving as a bridgehead for Libyan terrorism and destabilization activities in the region. Generally, in these far-away countries Qadhafi is helping in the military training of Salvadoran, Haitian and Peruvian oppositionists and supporting the Colombian "M-19" Movement.

On the European continent, there is irrefutable evidence of Colonel Qadhafi's assistance to the Italian Red Brigades, the Irish IRA, German terrorists and also Spanish rightist extremists. For a long time, one Colonel Meer de Ribera was the recipient of Libyan assistance to destabilize the Spanish democratic government. "The Call of Jesus Christ", a mysterious organization some of the members of which were arrested in April 1986 following a terrorist attack on Air France offices in Lisbon, has not been forgotten; other members were planning similar attacks on Bank of America offices in Madrid, with direct involvement by Libyan "diplomats" who had provided these operatives with arms.

In Japan, the Red Army has been receiving subsidies and explosives from Tripoli for a very long time.

Officials in the South Pacific are becoming seriously concerned with Libya's efforts to establish its presence in the area. Following New Zealand, Australia's prime minister expressed his deep concern in April of this year. Mr. Bob Hawke stated that the possibility of a link between Libya and New Caledonia was disturbing. "The Libyans have a colossal arsenal of terrorist tactics, and any country in the region who would venture to establish relations with them would be making a big mistake". As usual of course, Qadhafi's efforts to gain a foothold in the South Pacific region focus on promoting terrorism and destabilizing existing regimes.

The most absurd elements of the Libyan chief of state's behavior are his plots in the Arab world, which he dreams of making into one big nation, nonetheless. While his speeches on Arab unity are his most militant, his covert operations in the Near East are legion. As early as the seventies, Qadhafi attempted, through the use of millions of dollars, to gain some influence in the Arab world, in Lebanon specifically. Greatly frustrated, he withdrew into himself with a heavy heart—but not until he had armed all

the rival factions who went on killing each other, or the terrorist splinter groups in the region. Lebanese Shi'ite leader Imam Musa Sadr was assassinated during a visit to Libya. A plot for the assassination of Jordan's King Hussein failed in 1972, Libyan ambassador to Amman Colonel Aziz Shanib having let the cat out of the bag when he defected.

So many unpunished provocations, so much interference in other countries' internal affairs, so much innocent blood shed around the globe, lead to the reluctant conclusion that Qadhafi must have a secret (weapon), i.e., a conspiracy of silence. Especially in Africa where condemnation of Qadhafi's activities has never gone beyond words. Of course, the Libyan colonel knows better than to take on anybody stronger than he. Aware of his limitations, he chooses his victims among those less fortunate. Granted. But when murderers in Qadhafi's pay place bombs in the hold of an aircraft on an African airport to explode in N'Djaména, this is an utterly indiscriminate act. The victims could have been nationals of any country.

It is known beyond a doubt, on the testimony of Libyan prisoners of war captured in northern Chad, that Colonel Qadhafi's Libya provides many camps where nationals from most African and other countries are being given destabilization and terrorist training. There are Libyan commandos and individual agents of influence in Tunisia, Egypt, Ethiopia, Sudan, Zaire, Ivory Coast, Kenya, etc., to cite only a few African countries.

Africans do not hold anything against the fraternal people of Libya who would be only too happy to get rid of this common divider. The Islamic Legion, on which Colonel Qadhafi is counting to destabilize his neighbors, is a rabble of poor devils rather than a real army. Libyan reverses are a testimony to the uselessness of this "unwilling" army. Inside Libya, the only purpose of the few armed militiamen terrorizing Libyan civilians is to undermine the Libyan professional army; which explains the excessive number of mercenaries maintaining the Libyan arsenal.

## **CHAPTER V**

# **DAMAGE DONE TO THE ECONOMY AND TO ITS INFRASTRUCTURES**

## **DAMAGE DONE TO THE ECONOMY AND TO ITS INFRASTRUCTURES**

**Every war is universal.**

The war being waged by Qadhafi in Chad is, therefore, multifaceted, but it is more generally seen under its political aspect. In fact, there is no longer any shadow of a doubt as to Qadhafi's intent to dominate and annihilate, especially after the recent fighting that led to the brilliant victory of the valiant National Armed Forces against the Libyan army rabble at Fada, Ouadi-Doum, Faya, Zouar, etc. The massive and indiscriminate bombings, which followed in each case, as well as the impressive amount of materiel recovered or destroyed, and the definite and irrefutable evidence of Qadhafi's intention to occupy Chad are now known, proven, and undeniable.

But Qadhafi's obsessive ambition is not merely to create a geographical space, Africa, in which he can satisfy his diabolical ambitions, but above all, and as concerns Chad in particular, to weaken that country in every field, especially: to disrupt its social structure and therefore its national cohesion, by keeping continual conflicts alive under pretexts that are as false as they are anarchical, in order to keep the country in a state of constant unrest; prevent all economic development in Chad, a country of whose natural and human potential he is well aware;

—destroy the country's economic infrastructures in order to mortgage its future and make Chad more dependent economically;

—in a word, to invade, dominate, and subjugate the country.

A quick glance at Chad's potential is sufficient to understand this.

### **I—BASIC ECONOMIC PRESENTATION**

With all due respect to Qadhafi, within its 1,284,000 square kilometers, Chad has an economic potential that, even without petrodollars, could permit, in a peaceful climate, the beginnings of harmonious economic and social development.

1. **Chad is a young country**, not only in relation to independent nations, but also in its population, that is to say, in its human resources. As a matter of fact, of the approximately five million inhabitants living within its borders, that is, not including the millions living in neighboring countries and elsewhere:

thirty per cent of the population is less than ten years old;

school-age children, those between 6 and 15 years of age, number more than one million ;

17.5 percent of the population is between 20 and 29 years of age;

12.6percent of the population is between 30 and 39 years of age.

**This indicates that Chad does possess a potential in human resources whose youth, ingenuity and will to work cannot fail to arouse Qadhafi's covetousness, and drive him to destroy it in various ways, as we shall see later.**

**2. Animalbreeding**, which constitutes a large part of the lifeblood of the Chadian economy, is a precious asset that opens promising perspectives in all respects, e.g. the food and allied industries and the exportation of meat and livestock.

As of the end of 1986, the livestock population was as follows:

Cattle	3,886,000
Sheep and goats	4,193,000
Horses	182,000
Camels	487,500
Donkeys	229,500
Swine	11,300

This sector contributed twenty per cent of the gross domestic product in 1984 and employs forty per cent of the active population.

**3. Chadian land** needs only the means of development to be able to feed all of Africa. The marvelous geological phenomena of Lake Chad, Bar-Azoum, and Lake Fitri, to mention only a few, offer potentials that have been scarcely exploited to this day.

To this must be added Chad's 400 billion cubic meters of subterranean water, which Qadhafi wants to pump in order to create his man-made river, and its 47 billion cubic meters of ground water which need only be brought to the surface to transform Chad into a verdant garden.

Lastly, Chad has the greatest potential of irrigable land in the Sahel, i.e., 335,000 hectares, only seven thousand of which were under development as of the end of 1979.

**4. Mineral Resources.** In addition to the natural gas and oil resources, which have been discovered just about everywhere in Chad, the country contains in its depths, specifically in the BET for the most part, wolfram, tin, copper, zinc, lead, silver, graphite, gold, magnesium, uranium, tungsten, etc. It is easy to understand, therefore, why Qadhafi would like, at all costs, to see Chad on its knees economically, impoverished and dominated by him, even though he pretends not to know that the Chadian people will never give him that chance.

Chad's size, the richness of its fauna, and its wonderful parks and wildlife preserves offer tremendous tourism possibilities, especially in the BET, which contains beautiful frescoes painted on stone, natural hot springs and mountains of incomparable beauty, which are rare in Africa. Qadhafi knows that a peaceful Chad has no reason to envy Libya, in spite of the latter's petrodollars. Quite the contrary. The vital space that Qadhafi wants to create for himself in Chad is not merely politically significant, but economically important as well. This is indeed the reason why he is desperately trying to destroy the country's economic infrastructures. His significant intervention after 1977 resulted in enormous damage throughout the Chadian economy, for example:

- in human and material capital
- in communications
- in industries
- in animal husbandry and wildlife
- in finances and currency, etc.

It is impossible, while the aggression continues, to make an exhaustive assessment of the damage caused. But we can nevertheless show the extent of Qadhafi's evildeings by revealing the less obvious ulterior motives aimed at reducing our economy to its simplest form, starting with a few of the most significant examples.

## **II—DAMAGE: Its Various Aspects**

Although it is difficult to assess all the damage that has been suffered, one can get some idea, in order of importance, of the harm caused to Chad's economy by Qadhafi. It is considerable, and concerns the following:

- the production sector
- natural resources
- devalued, destroyed, or ineffective investments
- the financial cost of the Chadian people's war of resistance
- the disruptive effects of the general slackening of economic activity
- the cost of economic rehabilitation through further indebtedness.

### **1.—Production and Investment**

A comparison between the added value of the commercial sector in 1977, i.e., 30 billion CFA francs, and its 1984 level—3 billion CFA francs, shows the extent of the damages suffered by Chad, and the resultant substantial reductions in the salaries paid to the employees of this sector. In 1977, 21 billion CFA francs were paid out in salaries, including:

- 2.3 billion for the five largest firms, and
- 11.3 billion for public administration.

In 1984, the aggregate salaries paid declined to 15.7 billion. The public administration's share then amounted to 6.1 billion only, that is, it had been reduced by almost one-half.

During the same period, private investment declined by 50 percent, going from 8.7 billion in 1977 to 4.8 billion in 1984. The rate of investment, which represented 17 percent of the gross domestic product in 1977, fell to 12 percent in 1984, whereas an average yearly rate of 25 percent was needed.

As concerns the added value of the traditional sector, 52 billion CFA francs, this remained practically stationary at its face value. Because of the war, industrial production, with the exception of COTONTCHAD, went from 41.2 billion in 1977 to 29 billion in 1984, showing a drop of 12 billion or so CFA francs.

As in the case of private investment, the level of public investment has also suffered the effects of Qadhafi's dirty war. As a matter of fact, net public investments reached 16.5 billion CFA francs in 1977 (including 15.909 billion in subsidies), as against 17.5 billion in 1984 (including 16.7 billion in subsidies). In relative terms, it is not merely a matter of stagnation, when one knows that it is in large measure a question of rehabilitation.

The resulting loss of profit for the state, the unemployment which has ensued, and the deficit in our balance of trade are so many factors to be considered in assessing the damage suffered by Chad, for which it should be compensated by law. Chadian President Alhadj Hissein Habré's argument at Geneva II that his country needed funds amounting to 450 billions for reconstruction, which is the bare minimum needed for the partial rehabilitation of the infrastructures that have been destroyed, indicates the immense scope of the damage suffered by Chad because of Qadhafi's madness. Chad has not, to this day, totally achieved the social and economic levels which it enjoyed in 1977.

No sector has escaped the destruction imposed by the madman of Syrta.

—The state has seen its resources dwindle considerably in relation to its economic and social obligations;

—Tens of thousands of workers have been forced into unemployment, with all of the social problems that this entails, e.g., delinquency, abandonment of children, relaxation of moral standards, desertion of the cities because of the war, a general decline in the living standard, with its negative effects on health and diet, housing, etc. . .

Besides, what could be more logical, when we know that as of 31 December 1986, there were in Chad only 1,405 employers with approximately 20 employees each, as against 2,045 employers with similar numbers of employees in 1977, with a consequent loss of benefits, such as family allowances, and coverage for work-related accidents, and illness. When one knows that a worker in Chad, of whatever category, supports no fewer than ten "mouths" directly or indirectly, one can gauge all the harm that Qadhafi has caused Chad. And this is not among the least of the struggles of the government of the Third Republic, which requires complete African and international solidarity to meet the economic challenge.

## **2 Materiel Destruction**

Libya's expansionistic adventure has caused enormous material damage. Nothing has been spared: roads, telecommunications, airports, wells and watering places, oases, and town water supplies. Qadhafi programmed a policy of systematic destruction. The restoration of these assets is already very costly for Chad and will be even more so in the future.

### **a. Housing**

The massive destruction carried out by Qadhafi has affected the most varied sectors, such as housing and government buildings. Using N'Djaména as one example only, considerable damage was caused there by Qadhafi's armies in 1981, and is still partially visible:

Sixty-five percent of the government buildings in the city need major repairs (as evidenced by the rebuilding of Government House, which cost no less than 700 million);

Forty-five percent of the housing units are beyond repair, and since 7 June 1982, the Government has had to make great efforts to lodge the families made homeless by the war and accommodate the administrative services.

The reconstruction of Government House and the Administration Building cost no less than 650 million in each case. Many business firms do not plan to return to Chad because of the extremely high costs of restoring their places of business. Knowing that the rebuilding of a five-room house costs between twenty and fifty million CFA francs, which is approximately the cost of construction, is sufficient to give one an idea of the general costs. The capital is thus condemned for some time to come to this distressing spectacle, which is the tangible proof of Qadhafi's evil doing.

### **b. Water Resources**

Water is essential for life and sponsors have made great efforts to provide the Sabel region with wells that are capable of supplying water for human and animal consumption the year round.



Since 1983, the Urban and Rural Hydrological Service has succeeded in repairing only four hundred of the two thousand existing wells. By estimating a cost of 290,000 CFA francs per meter for a simple well averaging 45 meters in depth, the loss for each well destroyed or abandoned by people fleeing from the battle zones amounts to thirteen million CFA francs.

No less than 1.8 billion CFA francs have been included in the investment budget for the construction of new wells, seventy-eight million for thirty borings (2.6 million per boring), and 1.8 million for the repair of a basic well. The damage caused in Chad by the expansionist war that has been waged by Qadhafi for years has to be estimated in the hundreds of billions. The systematic poisoning of the watering places in the northern part of the country during the occupation placed the people and the livestock in tragically dangerous situations, in view of the fact that no help could be brought to them. Having decided to obliterate all traces of life as he passed through the country, Qadhafi used chemical weapons extensively, e.g., phosphorus bombs, napalm, and defoliants, destroying people, animals and vegetation.

The only choice left to the women and children was to flee under the Libyan bombs, along with their livestock, and take refuge in areas which had been liberated.

### c. Livestock and Wildlife

This picture would be incomplete however, if we failed to take into account the livestock that has perished for lack of water. Losses in livestock between 1973 and 1984 are roughly estimated at ten million head, and it would be erroneous to attribute these losses to the drought alone, when it is known that the livestock cannot find a well from which to drink and that the maintenance services cannot repair a single one because of the war.

The losses are exceedingly high in any case. For the above-mentioned period of time, and at an average export price of 75,000 CFA francs, the losses to the breeders and the state amounted to no less than seven hundred billion.

But the Libyan aggressor did not stop there, and a fact that is little-known outside the country, i.e., the pillage of livestock and wildlife, must be denounced here and now.

As a matter of fact, during the 1981 occupation, Qadhafi organized the systematic plundering of cattle and smaller livestock. Large-capacity trucks would return to Libya crammed full of steers, sheep, donkeys, horses, goats, and chickens. Nor were firewood and coal left behind in Chad.

And what is worse, Libyan soldiers organized helicopter parties to hunt cattle, machine-gunning for their own amusement herds whose shepherds did not escape the carnage. The shepherds who fled began to come back only after 7 June 1982, when peace returned to the seasonal grazing areas, where they could freely graze and look after their livestock, which had been saved from the plunder and massacre of the Libyan horde.

But Qadhafi's invading army did not limit itself to the plunder and massive destruction of livestock. The rare species of our wildlife did not escape this savage madness. Everything possible in the way of slaughter and theft was carried out. The Libyan Army rabbits engaged daily in a macabre game in which helicopters were used to capture and slaughter animals with submachine guns: neither zebras, nor lions, nor

giraffes nor oryxes were spared in the rush to adorn the sitting rooms and farms of people who care little about protecting nature or preserving animal species, some of which have disappeared from the area since the passage of Libya's barbarian invading troops.

As far as Qadhafi is concerned, anything which cannot be obtained peacefully must be taken forcibly, stolen or destroyed. He tolerates no resistance to his will, and this is what Africa and the World must understand.

The Libyan Air Force's systematic bombing of oases in the BET is part of Qadhafi's scorched earth policy. Contrary to all the rules of warfare, the Libyan Army rabble went so far as to release rodents among the date-palms and in the irrigated cultivated lands, with the aim of starving the population by destroying their food supply. All the while, the Libyan Army at Ouadi-Doum had extensive wheat fields which had been irrigated by the occupation force. One more proof, if there is need of one, that Qadhafi was not merely passing through Chad.

d. Communications are the nerve center of development, because they permit exchanges of men and goods. Although Chad's highway system was inadequate—its maximum potential being 7,000 kilometers of main roads at the time—the country has no roads today because of the war. It is sufficient, if one has to be convinced of this fact, to glance at the funds allocated for highway repair in the investment budget:

N'Djaména—Abéché—2.6 billion

Kanem roads—12.5 billion as part of overall development

Reconstruction of N'Djaména-Guelendeng-Sahr road—three billion

Highway maintenance—6.6 billion.

Damage and destruction at N'Djaména's airport were so extensive that 3.8 billion will be needed to repair it. No less than one billion will be needed as a first installment to save the airport at Abéché.

During 1977-78, Chad had started a modernization program for its telecommunications system. A ground station, which has since been destroyed, was built. Repairs and restoration now cost 1.25 billion. Roads, ferries and bridges have all felt the consequences of the Libyan war of invasion. And when one realizes the distance between Chad and the nearest ports, the deficiencies in our communications networks merely add to the other costs.

### **III—SOCIAL DAMAGE**

#### **e. Health**

The strength of a country is also measured by the state of its health; one cannot conceive of a strong economy with a people suffering from endemic diseases. This is why the Government of the Third Republic is endeavoring to repair all the damage to human health caused by the Libyan venture in Chad. Thanks to firm action by a few friendly donor countries, emergency prevention programs were implemented to protect the people by vaccination. The expanded vaccination program for example will cost as much as 1.5 billion dollars.

— Restoration of health and hospital networks: 1.7 billion.

— Support to public health and hospitals, 3.8 billion; with damage being so extensive and its after-effects not being immediately detectable, the list of short-term and medium-term actions to be taken or continued with billions of dollars is far from being comprehensive.

It is a well known fact that assessing damage done to human life is practically impossible. Qadhafi's crime against the Chadian people is therefore immeasurable in one respect: the physical and health damage that will emerge only in future generations.

- material damage caused by destruction of costly qualitative gains achieved over the years and compromised by Qadhafi's madness, and
- damage resulting from the new cost of rebuilding the population's health.

The enthusiasm for child vaccination evinced by mothers during the latest UNICEF-funded campaign organized under the chief of state's personal sponsorship showed that the need is being strongly felt by a population so long deprived of basic health care.

Diseases pronounced checked have reappeared and their eradication will again require extensive financial efforts.

How could one fail to understand that Qadhafi decided to weaken the health of a people he could not dominate militarily or bribe into espousing his cause and his woolly, utopian and "syncretistic" ideology.

f. **Youth-education:** As we showed earlier, the Chadian population is young and dynamic; Qadhafi knows this and had to turn to mercenary surrogates to fight his dirty war; in his own brand of logic, what can represent Chad's future, i.e., its youth and its education, must be destroyed.

Let us not forget that Qadhafi has been waging an all out war in Chad, with the annihilation of youth as one of his hidden but primary objectives. If no one were vigilant, schooling would regress after thirty years, and illiteracy would increase, with dire results, for example:

- in the lack of national cadres and aging of responsible classes in public life;
- in social conflict, and
- in unemployment, an urban sub-proletariat its their many problems.

It obviously is nothing less than a long-term social and economic war. Qadhafi, while entertaining Africa, was preparing an extensive program against Chad, for the regression of a people who had been resisting him for more than 20 years.

In this regard the damage is also enormous; it requires such major resources that there can never be too much assistance from friends and donor countries. We must preserve our human resources in order to ensure a smooth development in years to come.

g. **Finances:** A war must be fed, it costs a lot to the economy:

- human casualties;
- material losses;
- destruction of investments, and
- slowing down of production and growth.

In short, it brings stagnation in its wake, decline everywhere; this is indeed the fate Qadhafi had chosen for a people who had faced up to him heroically.

His obvious aim was:

- to prevent Chad from devoting its scant resources to the welfare of its population;
- to destroy production tools and infrastructures for which Chad had run up a heavy debt, and
- to paralyze any development effort by jeopardizing investments.

A few facts will tell all:

The national budget was hardly able to evolve; it even regressed in real terms.

- Revenue            1977 = 16.2 billion  
                         1984 = 14.4 billion
- Expenditures    1977 = 16.2 billion  
                         1984 = 16.5 billion

Of these national resources, annual military expenditures amount to 10 billion at least, which could have been devoted to the social sector, namely health, education, culture. To this enormous budgetary effort must be added bilateral aid from friendly countries, all transfers of resources that could also have been used for development rather than war. An assistance which reduced development aid by so much.

To this public effort must be added voluntary citizen contributions in various forms (estimated at 3 to 4 billion a year since 1983), which is an added sacrifice by citizens to protect their threatened security.

The direct result is the reduction of state services in other sectors:

- salaries cut by half;
- reduced social services;
- reduced administrative capability due to lower budget appropriations.

Since the state is the biggest employer, economic and social implications are staggering:

- lower consumption by civil service families;
- business slowdown with lower levels of sales;
- no possibility of amassing savings;
- early retirement and release in order to save money.

The secret objective of Qadhafi's aggression was indeed to bring about the country's economic paralysis and social destitution, which would lead to manipulation and social troubles, in short to the country's slow death.

The damage suffered by Chad is estimated in the hundreds of billions:

- depreciation of earnings is no less than 15 billion annually;
- loss of revenue by public employees is about 6 billion annually.

At the same time, the destruction of economic infrastructures had negative consequences, including:

- disruption of banking activity;
- deterioration of the country's balance of payments;
- increase of the national debt.

## **IV—DISRUPTION OF THE BANKING SYSTEM**

As a whole the banking system in April 1983 found itself with 21.2 billion of debts in arrears, which may not even be cleared in 1988. Resurgence of parapublic and private sector activities was therefore compromised.

- modern sector commercial companies were unable to resume all their activities for lack of resources to meet their banking commitments and rebuild their work tools;
- vital state companies were kept operative through austerity measures that were as damaging to the State, which had to give up tax collection, as to its employment policy, social services and consumption. COTONTCHAD's debt to the banking system is one telling example among others.

Government promoted economic resurgence is facing many constraints, therefore:

- the burden of the banking moratorium that limits the possibility of credit to clients;
- a very cautious credit policy due to low revenue levels that do not promote a normal consumption level;
- the closing of the Banque du Développement, which could have filled in for other banks in areas where they cannot operate, including long term credit to the agricultural or rural sectors;
- the unavailability of many organizations' resources, hindering their activities. In short, many factors that do not contribute much to the resurgence needed by the country, and whose delay will cost much more later. In this regard as in others the enormous damage suffered by the Chadian nation is being felt in daily life.

Chad's balance of payments deficit, which was 1.1 billion in 1977, reached 10.3 billion in 1985, although major capital transactions occurred between 1983 and 1985. This deterioration can be explained by the joint effects of:

- plummeting production and exports due to the destruction of part of the production machinery;
- decreased exports;
- increased imports necessitated by the rebuilding of destroyed public and private capital, plus imported inflation.

A lasting improvement in this situation can be foreseen only if Libya's aggression against Chad ceases, and sizable resources will be needed to restore the economic infrastructure that the madman of Syrta relentlessly set out to destroy.

## **V—PROFITLESS INDEBTEDNESS**

Some of the damage suffered by Chad because of Libyan aggression was very pernicious and generally escaped public attention. For years, Chad had to borrow in order to:

- buy equipment;
- build roads, schools, hospitals and clinics;
- house administrative services, and
- sponsor studies in various fields.

While it may be deemed relatively small compared to that of some countries, this debt is nevertheless a heavy burden for a country whose meager resources are being diverted for security purposes.

At the end of 1986:

- the external debt outstanding is 71.152 million CFA francs, with arrears amounting to 24.7 billion, or the state operating budget. The overall debt amounts to 26.3 percent of the GDP and debt servicing amounts to 15.2 percent of exports. Yet, in order to retain its credibility, Chad has to deal simultaneously with the following:
- payment of its debt, whose counterpart in investments has sometimes been destroyed and is therefore lost;
- the financial burden of its resistance to Qadhafi's colonial war, and
- normal operation of its administration and social services.

Some of the debts the country continues to repay today are being reimbursed at a loss since the objects for which they were incurred have been destroyed.

Concerning the studies, some did not lead to an investment and should be resumed today at high cost; these include studies on a cement plant, which is deemed too expensive today although it was viable in 1977. Studies on and the building of Lake Chad polders will probably cost more today than in 1979. Finally, as concerns N'djaména's water supply and the drainage of rain water, it will be back to square one. The longer the delay, the higher the cost, though the list is not comprehensive.

As in other areas, Qadhafi's unavowed objective is to strangle Chad financially. Capital influx would obviously stop if he managed to make the country insolvent.

Considering the thorny problem of Third World indebtedness, it seems that the success of Qadhafi's diabolical policy would surely inflict more damage to Chad, with incalculable consequences:

- lack of interest on the part of foreign investors;
- inclusion of Chad on the black list of insolvent countries, with an attendant loss of political credit internationally;
- external financial asphyxiation.

It is with full knowledge of the situation that Qadhafi has been waging this dirty war against our country, a war highly detrimental to our economy, a threat to the whole of Africa, and utterly destabilizing today as tomorrow.

Chad is a country with valuable assets, in a position to become economically strong; Qadhafi knows this and is trying desperately but without success to crush it.

The Government of the Third Republic is determined, however, to take up both challenges under President Habré's banner, namely:

- the challenge of Qadhafi's expansionism and
- the challenge of economic development, relying primarily on its own forces, which are:
  - its healthy, brave, determined and organized people;
  - its natural resources, and
  - its faith in the future.

**In order to achieve this, all Chad wants is total sovereignty within its 1,284,000 square kilometers; and it further hopes for African and international solidarity to stimulate its economy, and take care of the health and education of its sons.**

## **CONCLUSION**



Colonel Qadhafi proclaimed to anyone who would listen, that he did not recognize the borders inherited from the colonial era. Worse still, he believed he had been vested with a mission as a liberator, and as such, funded activists on every continent. But Chad was the place where he committed his own Army. On the strategic and psychological planes, the outcome of the Libyan Army's campaign in Chad was to be a determining factor in Colonel Qadhafi's subsequent subversive activities in Africa and throughout the world.

Early on, the Libyan Army blithely violated territories bordering on Chad. (Sudan recognized this fact as it concerned its own territory). If this Army were to succeed in taking control of Chad, Colonel Qadhafi's dreams would be strengthened, and he would have a well-placed springboard from which to embark on the conquest of other nations. He would respect the borders of none of the neighboring countries, and force of arms would then replace international law.

First of all to maintain peace in the region and, by extension, protect the preeminence of the law, it is urgent and essential to defeat Libyan expansionism where it first appeared, i.e., in Chad. The countries of this region first of all, and along with them all the countries that have respect for law and are attached to the idea of peace, have a wide range of legal means by which they can thwart Colonel Qadhafi's campaigns and prevent his expansionism from gaining a foothold. Beyond the service they would be rendering Chad, these countries would, by condemning Qadhafi's activities in every forum (the OAU, the UN, the Non-Aligned Movement, and the ICO), help to deter Colonel Qadhafi from his military ventures. At the very least, they would be guarding against a possible extension of the battlefield to their own lands. At any rate, the greatest error for them would be to believe that Qadhafi is a disaster for Chad and the Chadians alone.

TCHAD

- 124 -  
LIBYI

