



Security Council

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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWO THOUSAND
SEVEN HUNDRED AND TWENTY-FIRST MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Tuesday, 18 November 1986, at 3 p.m.

President: Sir John THOMSON

(United Kingdom of Great Britain
and Northern Ireland)

Members: Australia
Bulgaria
China
Congo
Denmark
France
Ghana
Madagascar
Thailand
Trinidad and Tobago
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
United Arab Emirates
United States of America
Venezuela

Mr. HOGUE
Mr. TSVETKOV
Mr. LIANG Yufan
Mr. ADOUKI
Mr. BIERRING
Mr. de KEMOULARIA
Mr. GBEHO
Mr. RABETAPIKA
Mrs. LAOHAPHAN
Mr. MOHAMMED
Mr. BELONOGOV
Mr. AL-SHAALI
Mr. OKUN
Mr. AGUILAR

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* Reissued for technical reasons.

The meeting was called to order at 3.40 p.m.

EXPRESSION OF THANKS TO THE RETIRING PRESIDENT

The PRESIDENT: The whole Council owes a debt to my predecessor, Mr. Mohammed Hussain Al-Shaali, Permanent Representative of the United Arab Emirates to the United Nations, for the balanced and good-humoured way in which he presided over the Council for the month of October. I know I speak for all members in thanking him for doing an excellent job.

The whole Council could put itself in my debt by omitting, or at any rate abbreviating, congratulations to the President for this month.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

LETTER DATED 13 NOVEMBER 1986 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF CHAD TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/18456)

The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Chad and Zaire in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Adoum (Chad) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Bagheni Adeito Nzengeya (Zaire) took the place reserved for him at the side of the Council Chamber.

The PRESIDENT: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The Council is meeting today in response to the request contained in the letter (S/18456) dated 13 November 1986 from the Permanent Representative of Chad to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council.

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

Mr. ADOUM (Chad) (interpretation from French): Chad, my country, is the African country neighbouring Libya that has suffered most and is still suffering from all the subversive, destabilizing machinations, acts of aggression and expansionist designs of the terrorist Colonel Qaddafi.

In flagrant violation of law and international custom, Qaddafi's terrorist régime has been frantically working to keep almost a generation of the people of Chad at war. With fierce determination, the Chadian patriots - under the enlightened leadership of President El-Haj Hissein Habre - are struggling heroically to defend their homeland and safeguard their freedom and dignity.

Today my Government finds itself obliged once again to seize the Security Council of the extremely serious situation resulting from the occupation of a large part of our national territory by the Libya of Qaddafi, whose army is committing indescribable atrocities. It is therefore all the more indispensable to seize the Council of this matter, since what is at stake is the survival of a segment of our population, our national heritage, and Chad's sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity. Indeed, the Libyan attack on Chad has become even more frenetic than ever before.

(Mr. Adoum, Chad)

There has been fresh bloodshed in the region of Fada, a town in the occupied north, and the surrounding area. Hundreds of our compatriots in the occupied zone are falling under the criminal bullets of the occupiers. For several weeks the civilian population of Borkou-Ennedi-Tibesti have been the innocent targets of Qaddafi's terrorist régime. What was the reason? It was the refusal of the people in the occupied zone, in a burst of nationalist fervour, to submit and to allow themselves to be Libyanized by the aggressor. This awareness of the danger posed by Libya, this energetic awakening of the civilian population in the occupied zone, which is trying to join the rest of the people of Chad in confronting the common enemy, has exacerbated Qaddafi's destructive madness. In his schizophrenia and following his gruesome and diabolical plans, he has, with the help of his army and his mercenaries of the Islamic Legion, embarked upon the systematic massacre, the veritable genocide of the population of the occupied zone.

Attacking on land and from the air, the occupation forces have been indiscriminately destroying, by intensive bombardments, towns, villages and palm plantations, as well as poisoning water holes. The localities of Gouro, Ounianga and Gourma, with tens of thousands of inhabitants, were destroyed by bombing on 8, 9 and 10 November by Tupolev-22 and Sukhoi 22 aircraft of the Libyan army. Women, children and old people died in the flames. On 11 and 12 November the mountain area of Mourdia, seven kilometres from Fada, and the Kouba and Worri sectors were the target of a combined air and land attack carried out by Tupolev-22 and Sukhoi 22 aircraft and the heavy artillery of Qaddafi's savage hordes.

Imagine the horrifying, pitiable fate of the defenceless populations. Is not the massacre of women, children and old people an abominable crime to be condemned? Is it not an act of cowardice? Yes, they are indeed abominable acts to

(Mr. Adoum, Chad)

be condemned, acts of cowardice committed by a Qadaffi at bay, a Qadaffi who is desperately trying to become the absolute master of Chad.

Taken by surprise, the defenceless civilian population became easy prey to the packs of Libyan soldiers and their mercenaries. Threatened with death, facing the soldiers of the Libyan executioner and the desert, men, women and children chose to take refuge in the mountains or, without food or water, to face the hazards and rigours of the desert, preferring to find death at the hands of God.

The rigours of the desert carry the risk of certain death, the waterholes being poisoned and the tracks being mined. Of the people who chose the mountains, those who manage to escape the destructive fire of the Libyan criminals in the townships are hounded down like game animals by helicopters and land patrols in order to prevent them from joining the Government ranks, in which they are determined to fight, for the liberation struggle is today more important than ever. In addition, in the occupied territory and in Libya itself Chadian nationals are arbitrarily arrested, ill-treated, persecuted and sent to concentration camps to be forcibly recruited into the unhappily named Islamic Legion, Qaddafi's destabilization force.

I have briefly described the sad reality of life for our people in Borkou-Ennedi-Tibesti today. The acts of genocide carried out cry out to the human conscience and call for an energetic response by the international community to put an immediate end to barbarous acts belonging to a time we thought had passed for ever. Faced with the situation thus created, my country - considering that universal principles must be respected - appeals to all peace-loving, justice-loving and freedom-loving countries to help it take up the challenge, constantly renewed, of the terrorist and expansionist Tripoli régime.

It is certainly a challenge. Indeed it even constitutes contempt for the principles and norms of international law, for this is the fourth time the

(Mr. Adoum, Chad)

Government of the Republic of Chad has had to bring such a situation before the Security Council, despite the appeal of the President of the Council on 6 April 1983, in which he called upon the two parties, Libya and Chad, to settle their dispute without undue delay and by peaceful means. Moreover, even within the Organization of African Unity (OAU), its ad hoc committee on the Chad-Libya dispute has been deliberately obstructed, since it was set up in 1977, by the refusal of the Tripoli régime to co-operate in its work. The Government of Chad reaffirms its absolute readiness to co-operate openly and honestly with that Committee to enable it to carry out the mandate given it by the OAU at its twenty-second Summit Meeting.

Despite the continued occupation of more than half its territory by terrorist, expansionist Libya, Chad still puts its trust in action by the United Nations to find a just solution to this long-lasting situation, in conformity with the sacred principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the Charter of the Organization of African Unity.

That trust is strengthened by the fact that the international community today understands better the bellicose, expansionist nature of the tyrannical Tripoli régime, now that it is clearly established that Qaddafi's terrorist, expansionist Libya is carrying out aggression against Chad, occupies more than half its territory and intends to continue until it has annexed all our national territory, and more. Moreover, the ultimate objective of the sordid operation of the past few days is to eliminate everything Chadian in order to strengthen Libya's stranglehold on Borkou-Ennedi-Tibesti. This essential fact shows that Qaddafi has entered upon the active phase of his new plan, which is to become the absolute master of the occupied zone, by eliminating all resistance and opposition, in order to conquer all the rest of Chad unhindered.

Having been unable to bring about the subordination of the Chadians in the occupied zone through trickery, money and intimidation, the criminals in the pay of

(Mr. Adoum, Chad)

the terrorist Qaddafi, more and more outraged at having their annexationist ambitions thwarted, are resorting to genocide to achieve their goal, sparing only those who swear allegiance to them. But not only will our brothers in the occupied zone not allow themselves to be Libyanized, but they are turning the occupier's weapons against him.

In requesting a meeting of the Council today, Chad wished to inform the international community of the gravity of the situation and of the escalation of crimes committed in the occupied zone by Qaddafi's Libya.

The 5 million Chadians are capable of getting along with each other and living in peace within internationally recognized frontiers if Qaddafi ceases his machiavellian scheme to dominate Chad. The manifold results of the policy of reconciliation of the Chadian Government - a reconciliation that has been fully achieved - are irrefutable proof of the willingness and desire of the people of Chad to reintegrate themselves within the Chadian community and together to rebuild their fatherland, which has suffered so many years of destabilization, aggression, war and natural calamities. Present events in the occupied zone are also incontrovertible proof of the rejection of foreign domination, which I have described as Libyan hegemonism.

Therefore, in its desire not to aggravate this serious situation that already threatens to result in the extermination of the defenceless Chadian population in the occupied zone, Chad appeals to the Security Council to do everything possible to bring about the immediate withdrawal of the Libyan occupation troops and their mercenaries of the Islamic Legion from the north of my country and to ensure that the terrorist Tripoli régime ends the genocide it has been carrying out for several weeks.

Finally, my Government reserves the right to return to the Council if this serious situation persists.

Mr. ADOUKI (Congo) (interpretation from French): Speaking for the first time under your presidency of the Security Council for the month of November, Sir, I should like to express my personal satisfaction at your assumption of that eminent post. Your remarkable personality, forged by the best British traditions, in particular the tradition of fair play, is in itself a guarantee of the success of the Council's work, particularly at a time when we are called upon to focus on extremely sensitive problems affecting international peace and security.

I should like also to extend my delegation's whole-hearted gratitude to your predecessor, the Permanent Representative of the United Arab Emirates, to which we are bound, particularly in the context of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, by many common interests, which he was able to defend so admirably during his term of office, earning the support and admiration of all the members of the Security Council.

The question of Chad constitutes a problem involving a complex African reality that is often brutal and subject to abrupt changes.

As a brother and neighbour country of Chad, the People's Republic of Congo is aware, as are all other African States, of the manifold and, above all, tragic dimensions of this problem. Indeed in the series of meetings, some successful and some abortive, held by or under the auspices of the Organization of African Unity, African authorities have been deliberating for a number of years on the persistent, alarming situation in Chad, and it continues to receive their constant attention.

It is reassuring that, despite the exceptional circumstances, within the OAU, there exists in respect of the question of Chad, a foremost institutional body competent to deal with this issue, a broad consensus. An analysis of the work of the twenty-second summit meeting of Heads of State and Government, held last July in Addis Ababa, bears this out, and the wise decisions of the African Organization sanctioning work on this issue are also promising.

(Mr. Adouki, Congo)

This is the time and place to reaffirm that the OAU charter, to which the two protagonists, Chad and the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, fully adhere, advocates respect for the principles concerning the peaceful settlement of disputes among member States. Indeed, the African charter prescribes, in harmony with respect for universal law, recourse in cases of conflict to negotiation, mediation, conciliation or arbitration. In this spirit the twenty-second summit of the Organization of African Unity urged most opportunely the continuance of, among other things, efforts aimed at reactivating the ad hoc mediation committee on the Libyan-Chad conflict so as to assist those two brother States in settling the dispute that has brought them into confrontation.

I note with satisfaction that the Eighth Conference of non-aligned countries, held in Harare, expressed its full support for the efforts of the OAU and certain African countries - such as the People's Republic of the Congo - to bring about national reconciliation and establish, without foreign interference, lasting peace and respect for Chad's territorial integrity and independence.

As far as my country is concerned, its readiness to assist and co-operate on the basis of law and the highest moral values remain unchanged. The Congo, both individually and collectively within the Organization of African Unity, will continue actively to support all African efforts aimed at finding new avenues in the search for peace, understanding and co-operation in Chad.

It is now urgently necessary, particularly after the statement that we have just heard, for the ad hoc committee of the Organization of African Unity to overcome without delay the difficulties that stand in the way of the fulfilment of its mandate and embark upon a decisively constructive course.

The settlement of the question of Chad lends itself exceptionally well to a regional initiative within the framework of the Organization of African Unity,

(Mr. Adouki, Congo)

whose activities are undoubtedly consonant with the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Therefore the Security Council, in complete conformity with the relevant provisions of the United Nations Charter, should take due account of this and, to the extent possible, resolutely encourage the Organization of African Unity in its initiatives and efforts aimed at national reconciliation so that, as the President of the Congo, Mr. Denis Sassou-Nguesso, has said, free from any foreign interference, Chad may regain peace, national unity and territorial integrity.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of the Congo for the kind words he addressed to me.

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

Mr. BAGBENI ADEITO NZENGEYA (Zaire) (interpretation from French): The delegation of Zaire is happy to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of November and to wish you every success in your work. Your intellectual and moral qualities, together with your long diplomatic experience, are a sure guarantee of the success of the Council's discussions this month. My country, Zaire, welcomes the fact that it enjoys excellent relations with your country, which has played a historic role in the world.

(Mr. Bagheni Adeito Nzengeya,
Zaire)

My delegation further wishes to express its appreciation to the Permanent Representative of the United Arab Emirates for the dedication that he has shown in carrying out the functions of President of the Security Council during the month of October 1986.

The delegation of Zaire would like to explain to the Security Council the position of its Executive Council on the serious situation that has been going on for several years now in the northern part of Chad.

Zaire is situated at the very centre of the continent of Africa and, with nine African countries as neighbours, it cannot remain indifferent to anything that is happening either in Central Africa or indeed anywhere in Africa. It must also objectively review all the problems that arise around the world that threaten international peace and security.

In Central Africa, in Chad, the international community witnessed in 1973, and was still witnessing 10 years later, in 1983, a dramatic attack on the principles of international law, and the principles set forth in the United Nations Charter and in the Charter of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), in particular those relating to sovereignty, political independence, territorial integrity, non-intervention in the internal affairs of States, non-use of force in relations among States and the peaceful settlement of disputes.

Article 3 of the OAU Charter solemnly affirms those principles, and Article 2 of the United Nations Charter specifies that the Organization is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its Members, and states that:

"All Members shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered."

(Mr. Bagheni Adeito Nzengeya,
Zaire)

The tragic situation in Chad is therefore indeed a serious threat to peace, to stability and to security in Central Africa but, above all, a serious threat to the maintenance of the necessary balances in the African continent as a whole.

The present problem of Chad is neither more nor less than a challenge to the rule of law, to the Charter of the United Nations, and to the Charter of the OAU. No country, regardless of its military power, regardless of its financial or material resources, has the right to threaten the sovereignty and territorial integrity of another State, according to the provisions of either the Charter of the United Nations or of that of the Organization of African Unity.

Article 51 of the United Nations Charter clearly specifies that:

"Nothing in the present Charter shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defence if an armed attack occurs against a Member of the United Nations, until the Security Council has taken measures necessary to maintain international peace and security. Measures taken by Members in the exercise of this right of self-defence shall be immediately reported to the Security Council and shall not in any way affect the authority and responsibility of the Security Council ... to take at any time such action as it deems necessary in order to maintain or restore international peace and security."

Chad inherited from the period of French colonialism internationally recognized frontiers, which were violated in 1973 by the occupation of the area known as "Aozou", in other words, a surface area of some 114,000 square kilometres and, 10 years later, in 1983, by the invasion of the prefecture known as "Borkou-Ennedi-Tibesti" which covers roughly half the territory of Chad, in other words, a surface area of some 550,000 square kilometres.

(Mr. Bagheni Adeito Nzengeya,
Zaire)

In a peaceful reaction to this illegal occupation of half of the national territory by foreign forces, the President of the Republic of Chad, Mr. Hisssein Habre, issued an appeal to all nations, on behalf of the State and of the people of Chad, from Vittel in France, where he was attending a conference, for help to Chad in preserving its territorial integrity, sovereignty and national unity.

The Chadian Head of State expressed his absolute willingness to create conditions that would allow Chad, with the help of all its people, to begin establishing peace and reconciliation in order to ensure its development.

Faithful to its commitments, Zaire did not hesitate to assist the rightful Government of Chad by sending troops to deal with the situation created by the presence of uninvited foreign troops which had intervened illegally, thus threatening the security, territorial integrity and sovereignty of Chad.

This gesture by Zaire must be seen as tangible evidence of its desire to see throughout Africa as a whole the preservation of the territorial integrity of each African State in accordance with Article 3 of the Charter of the OAU.

This position adopted by Zaire was confirmed at the twenty-second session of the Conference of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity held in Addis Ababa from 28 to 30 July 1986, at which the OAU reaffirmed the territorial integrity of Chad and the inviolability of its national frontiers, in accordance with resolution ARG/Res.16/I of the OAU adopted by the first Cairo summit meeting in 1964, and called upon both parties to the conflict to co-operate sincerely with the Ad Hoc Committee in order to enable it to carry out its terms of reference.

The mediation efforts and the good offices offered by the President of the Republic of Gabon and by the current President of the OAU, Mr. Denis Sassou Nguessou, were encouraged by the Heads of State of the OAU at the

(Mr. Bagheni Adeito Nzengeya,
Zaire)

last summit meeting and will be followed up with a view to reactivating the Ad Hoc Committee on mediation that has been asked to assist the two brother States of Chad and Libya to resolve their differences.

My delegation would like to pay a tribute to all the countries that love peace and justice that have thus far given help to the legitimate Government of Chad in resisting aggression against it and ending the fighting in order to open up new prospects for a peaceful settlement to the dispute and for the restoration to Chad of all its rights.

The foreign forces occupying the northern part of Chad are carrying out actions such as the systematic and collective massacres of innocent civilian populations in the occupied zone; the deportation of the population; the burning of palm plantations; the slaughter of livestock; the forcible recruitment of able-bodied men into the so-called Islamic legion; the imposition of the Arab language in the occupied areas against the will of the inhabitants, who prefer to use French, and the destruction of all Chadian identity and authenticity in order to impose a political philosophy close to that of the occupying forces. All these forces, I say, should be withdrawn from Chad in conformity with the many appeals and resolutions of the Member States of the United Nations and of the OAU, in order to enable the people of Chad to regain their territorial integrity, their national unity and their dignity.

This is the appeal that the delegation of Zaire makes to the occupying troops in Chad.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Zaire for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. de REMOULARIA (France) (interpretation from French): Mr. President, I will abide with custom, and do so with great satisfaction in telling you the extent to which my delegation appreciates the intellectual rigour marked by diplomatic finesse you have always demonstrated during your assumption of the presidency. The diplomatic tradition of your country and your exceptional personal experience augur very well for our work.

For his part, the authority shown by our colleague, Ambassador Mohammad Hussain Al-Shaali during his presidency last month, deserves special mention, since the positive results we achieved during our deliberations were, as he knows and as we know, largely the result of his personal activity, for which we owe him a debt of thanks.

We have carefully listened to the representative of Chad. He has just described for us the situation prevailing today in the north of his country, which is still occupied by Libya. The civilian population of Chad is again suffering from that external intervention, this time even more dramatically.

What has been going on in northern Chad for several weeks is not a fight among Chadians. The truth is very different. It is a fight between the forces of occupation and Chadian elements on which those forces had felt they could rely in an attempt to legitimize their intervention.

We have thus learned that non-combatants have been the target of attacks, and in particular that the village of Gourma, located 70 kilometres north-west of Faya, has been destroyed. Civilians are reported to have been killed on that occasion. We have also learned that the village of Monou, in which there were refugees and civilians, is reported to have been machine-gunned. These recent acts must be added to those that were reported to the members of the Security Council on 6 and

(Mr. de Kemoularia, France)

13 November 1985 by the delegation of Chad. We share the concern of its Government, faced with this extremely grave situation.

The people of Chad has suffered unduly from war. It desires peace; it desires the restoration of its territorial integrity. Lastly, it desires, to be able to devote itself fully to its development.

Those are the objectives pursued by President Hissain Habre. France wishes here, before the Security Council, to pay tribute to the efforts of the Head of State of Chad to promote national reconstruction. It deplores the fact that, obstacles to the priority drive towards unity are still being erected from outside the country.

Moreover, it is to put an end to threats and to thwart the offensive from outside the country that France has, at the request of the Government of Chad, and in conformity with Article 51 of the Charter, set up a military assistance unit that has demonstrated its deterrent capability.

Peace in Chad can also be brought about through development. That is why France has increased its civilian assistance. It will continue to do so, just as it will maintain its efforts to enable Chad, by restoring its unity, to bring about a lasting solution to its problem.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of France for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. OKUN (United States of America): It has been said that brevity is the soul of wit. Taking your advice, Sir, our expression of pleasure at seeing you in the President's chair will therefore be brief - brief but none the less strong. Your own qualities, so well known to all members of this Council, as well as the traditions of your country, assure us all here that our joint work will be guided by a steady, firm and impartial hand.

(Mr. Okun, United States)

The presidency of your distinguished predecessor, Ambassador Al-Shaali of the United Arab Emirates, was characterized by fairness, good humour and unfailing sensitivity. It was, in the view of my delegation, entirely praiseworthy in the highest traditions of this Council, and we are happy to acknowledge it today.

The United States delegation believes that the Government of the Third Republic of Chad has, since it came to power in 1982, vigorously worked to achieve national reconciliation. It has attempted to heal the wounds caused by the long civil war in that country. It has met with great success. The Chadian Government has welcomed back thousands of former opponents and helped them to resume their place in Chad's national life.

As the Permanent Representative of Chad has just pointed out, Chad's domestic progress has been disrupted by external military aggression directed against it. In 1983, in clear violation not only of the Charter of the United Nations but also that of the Organization of African Unity, Libya invaded and seized nearly half of the territory of the Republic of Chad. This Libyan occupation of Chad's northern provinces continues today.

Libya's occupation of northern Chad is maintained only through harsh military rule. Several thousand Libyan troops have constructed and occupy a number of military bases and airfields on Chadian soil. Many Chadian civilians have been forced to flee from their ancestral homes in the north and to seek refuge south of the 16th Parallel, in the territory controlled by the Government of Chad. This massive flow of refugees is clear evidence of aggression against the Government and people of Chad.

(Mr. Okun, United States)

A Member of this Organization, one that claims to uphold the Charter, is responsible for this aggression. Libya's attack on Chad threatens not only its smaller neighbour but the peace and stability of other nations in the region as well. Let us review briefly what has happened since the Council last met on this subject in January 1985.

In February and March 1986, Libyan-controlled military forces, operating from the territory they had previously occupied in northern Chad, launched heavy attacks against Chadian Government posts along and south of the 16th Parallel. As we recall, in February of this year the Permanent Representative of the Republic of Chad again reminded the Security Council of continued Libyan military aggression against his country in flagrant violation of resolutions of the United Nations and of the Organization of African Unity. He also informed this body that his Government had requested, under Article 51 of the United Nations Charter, assistance from the Government of France in order to resist this aggression.

In intense fighting Chadian Government troops repulsed all these attacks, inflicting heavy casualties on the attackers and taking hundreds of prisoners, including a number of Libyan soldiers. The Libyan response was to send a military aircraft to bomb N'Djamena airport on 17 February.

(Mr. Okun, United States)

The international community has just learned of new Libyan repression in northern Chad. We understand that the latest Libyan actions are not just directed against Chadian military units but also involve open warfare against the civilian population of northern Chad. Libya is bombing villages, indiscriminately killing Chadian civilians and conducting a scorched-earth policy by burning plantations and killing cattle. In his persuasive memorandum of 13 November 1986, distributed as a document of this Council, the Permanent Representative of Chad has referred to these Libyan actions as genocide.

Libya has attempted to justify its invasion, seizure and occupation of northern Chad as support for a former Chadian régime, the Transitional Government of National Unity. The falsity of that claim has now been demonstrated by the Libyans themselves. Libya acknowledges that the Transitional Government has collapsed. Most former members have rallied to the Government of Chad and are now fighting against the Libyan invader. In Tripoli, the Libyans themselves shot and wounded the Transitional Government leader, Goukouni Oueddei, when they attempted to arrest him.

Chad is not a colony of Libya. Chad is an independent, non-aligned Member of the United Nations. It threatens no other nation, least of all Libya. The Chadian people do not want Libyan soldiers in their country. Chad is a very poor country. It wants to devote its energies to rebuilding and recovering from civil war and natural disaster. Its efforts in the field of economic development are greatly inhibited by the efforts it must make to resist Libyan military aggression.

In its struggle against that outside aggression Chad deserves the support of us all. By its aggression against Chad, Libya merits the condemnation of the international community. All Members of this Organization, if they believe in the

(Mr. Okun, United States)

Charter, should demand that Libya withdraw its military forces from Chad and cease its aggression against a Member of this Organization.

The United States strongly supports the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Chad. We join with Chad in calling for an immediate end to the brutal Libyan actions against the people of Chad. We join with those other Members of the United Nations who call for the prompt withdrawal of Libyan military forces from Chad and an early end to Libyan aggression against Chad.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of the United States for the kind words he addressed to me.

I should like to inform members of the Council that I have just received letters from the representatives of Egypt and the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Badawi (Egypt) and Mr. Treiki (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. TREIKI (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (interpretation from Arabic): At the outset I must congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of November. It is my hope that the work of the Council will be successful.

(Mr. Treiki, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)

I cannot fail to express our great appreciation and respect to your predecessor, our brother Ambassador Mohammad Al-Shaali, representative of the United Arab Emirates, for the excellent way in which he guided the Council's work last month.

The Security Council is meeting today in circumstances that are lacking in objectivity and for reasons that are groundless. Today's meeting was instigated by those that wish to sow discord and confusion in Africa; those that are keenly interested in perpetuating their colonial, imperialist presence in that continent; those that support the continued shedding of African blood in southern Africa and other parts of the continent; those whose monopolies continue to plunder Africa's wealth; those for whom various parts of Africa remain a parade ground for their soldiers and a site for their military bases.

Everyone knows that there is no justification for this meeting and no objective basis for this debate. Their purpose is to divert the attention of Africa and the rest of the world away from an act of aggression which Africa has called upon the United Nations to consider at the highest level and to condemn: the United States aggression against Libya, which is to be considered by the General Assembly tomorrow.

Although we are convinced of the pointlessness and futility of today's meeting, we wish to make the following points clear, out of respect for the role of the United Nations and its organs.

First, the problem of Chad is an internal problem resulting from the remnants of French colonialism. The case is similar in numerous parts of the African continent. This question is before the Organization of African Unity (OAU), which has entrusted the President of the People's Republic of the Congo with the task of

(Mr. Treiki, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)

seeking national reconciliation among the contending parties in Chad, representing 11 factions.

The volatile situation and the civil war in Chad did not come about overnight. That situation has obtained since the first years of independence, in the early 1960s, when France installed a minority régime in N'Djamena, and when the opposition movement was established in Nyala, in the Sudan, in 1963. In 1965 civil war broke out, and it still rages. The reasons for that war have their roots in tribal, ethnic and religious strife, in ideological and personal ambition and in the remnants of colonialism in all areas. That destructive war has had adverse effects not only on Chad, but also on neighbouring States, which has prompted them to undertake numerous initiatives to find a solution to the problem.

Several conferences have been held with the aim of bringing about national reconciliation. Among them I would mention the conference held at Sebha-Benghazi, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, in 1978. The purpose of that conference was to overcome the psychological barrier that existed at the time between the National Liberation Front of Chad and the Chad Government of the time. On 27 March 1978 the Sebha-Benghazi conference led to mutual recognition by the two sides. That conference was attended by representatives of States neighbours of Chad - the Sudan, Niger and Libya - and of the Government of President Malloum and of the National Liberation Front of Chad.

(Mr. Treiki, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)

Then came the conferences held at Khartoum, Kano and Lagos in 1978 and 1979.

At the second Lagos Conference, held on 18 August 1979, an Accord on National Reconciliation in Chad was drawn up and signed by 11 groups whereby a Transitional Government of National Unity was established on 10 November 1979 under the leadership of Goukouni Oueddei and including the contending groups in Chad. That Government was recognized by the Organization of African Unity (OAU). At that time, Hisssein Habre attempted to set up an alternative government and went to Monrovia, Liberia, for that purpose. However, the OAU refused to recognize him.

During the course of all those efforts and endeavours, Hisssein Habre, leader of the northern army in Chad, was the only one who refused to accept the Accord and continued to rebel against the legitimate Government. In this, he had the assistance of the Government of President Felix Malloum, with whom he had reached an agreement at Khartoum. Although he held the post of Prime Minister in August 1978, Habre broke the Kano Agreement signed on 16 March 1979 and attempted to seize power. Finally, he violated the Lagos Accord of August 1979 by leading a revolt against the legitimate Transitional Government of National Unity, in which he occupied the post of Defence Minister.

Nor did Habre co-operate with the OAU. He absented himself from most of the conferences of reconciliation convened by the Presidents of Ethiopia and the Congo at the request of the OAU because of his insistence on being recognized as President, although at the first and second Kano conferences, the first of which I attended as Libyan Foreign Minister, Habre had insisted that President Felix Malloum not be treated as head of State but, rather, merely as head of the Chadian armed forces.

The scenario we are examining is, as I have already stated, designed to divert attention from the question of the American aggression against Libya. That is an open secret. It is also designed to discredit the Jamahiriya and to obtain further

(Mr. Treiki, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)

support for Hissein Habre and legitimize his régime, which does not control Chad, which is not recognized by the people of Chad and which relies primarily on mercenary and colonialist forces.

Those who today claim such a keen interest in Chad did not display such an interest when Chad was in the throes of civil war. Even though Chad is one of the poorest countries in the world, those who are so interested in it today have not furnished Chad any support other than means of destruction, while Libya has stood by the people of Chad in their plight and has concluded agreements with its Governments through which it has provided support and assistance because of the spiritual, cultural, geographic, ethnic and historical ties between the two peoples, who share a common history. Libyans and Chadians fought together against French colonialism just as they had fought together against Italian fascist colonialism.

I affirm here Libya's full respect for the people of Chad and for the integrity of their territory. Libya affirms that it has no wish to interfere in the internal affairs of Chad. We withdrew all our forces from Chad within the space of a few days when requested to do so by the legitimate Government of that country, but we also returned to assist that legitimate Government, which is recognized by the OAU, when that Government requested it. We call upon other States, and especially the colonial Powers that are intervening in the affairs of Chad, to put an end to their intervention. The continued tribal strife in Chad and the continued presence of colonial and mercenary forces in that country, along with the intervention of French and American colonial Powers in Chad, can only complicate the problem, for that presence has adverse effects on neighbouring countries, including my own.

At the Lagos Conference, the people of Chad, including Hissein Habre himself as representative of the army of Chad, stated:

(Mr. Treiki, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)

"The Chadian Parties unanimously recognized that the continued presence of French Troops in Chad is an impediment to finding a peaceful reconciliation and solution to the Chadian problem. The Chadians therefore agreed that the Transitional National Union Government when formed shall effect the withdrawal of the French Troops." (S/14378, annex I, para. 7)

And that was indeed done by the Transitional National Union Government and it thereby provoked the anger of France, which was seeking to return and which did return.

Last July the OAU requested the President of the Congo to undertake new endeavours. The Congolese President did actually attempt to do so. Contact was established between us and the President of Congo last week, along with other contacts initiated by Nigeria when that country's Foreign Minister was visiting Tripoli, in an attempt to bring the Chadians together to solve the country's problems.

The American representative mentioned the OAU. He knows full well the OAU position towards the United States of America. The OAU has at its highest summit-meeting level consistently condemned the American Administration for its intervention in Angola and for abetting and encouraging the terrorist Savimbi. Last July the OAU clearly condemned the United States for refusing to implement Security Council resolutions calling for an economic boycott against South Africa. The OAU also condemned the United States of America for its aggression against Libya, and the subject the General Assembly will begin to consider tomorrow was included in the agenda at the request of the OAU. I wonder which OAU the United States representative can be referring to.

The United States representative speaks of peace and security, and today the General Assembly is considering the situation in Central America and the American intervention in the internal affairs of Nicaragua. He speaks of peace and security,

(Mr. Treiki, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)

while day after day lethal American weapons are slaughtering the Palestinian people and while American funds are used to establish settlements in the Gaza Strip and on the West Bank, in spite of numerous United Nations resolutions. He speaks of peace, but who invaded Grenada? I do not think anyone believes that Libyan forces invaded Grenada. He speaks of Chad's need for peace. We agree. We respect the territorial integrity of Chad. We want to achieve Chad's national reconciliation; we are ready to discuss the establishment of a government of national reconciliation in that country and to discuss with it any matter it desires to discuss.

(Mr. Traiki, Libyan Arab
Jamahiriya)

I would cite this Arab proverb: "Tell me who your friends are and I will tell you who you are".

Who are Habre's friends? The United States of America, this advocate of peace and freedom, which it is defending in Nicaragua, Grenada, South Africa and occupied Palestine; and that other peace-loving State, France. I do not believe that France, burdened as it is with a legacy of colonialism and exploitation, and which still has bases and monopolies in Africa, is interested in Chad. France has involved Chad in a civil war that has been going on for seven years now. I do not believe that my friend the representative of France would deny that many French soldiers died in Tibesti - and I do not believe that they died defending Chad's freedom. I shall not mention the other puppets, because they do not deserve to be mentioned.

But I do wish to say that we respect Chad, we respect the freedom of the Chadian people, we are willing to assist Chad in solving its problems and we shall co-operate with the Chairman of the Organization of African Unity (OAU).

The intervention by the United States and France can only impede the activities of the OAU. The encouragement given the Habre group to stage this show was designed only to hamper the endeavours of the OAU.

With all due respect, I would say that we have made known our views here only out of our keen interest in the implementation of the Charter and in the settlement of problems through regional organizations, as well as our desire to assist the Chairman of the OAU, the President of Congo. We shall not, however, participate in any further discussion of this item, designed only to divert attention from what is going on in the General Assembly - that is, consideration of United States acts of aggression against Libya and Nicaragua.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya for his congratulations.

The representative of Chad has asked to speak in exercise of the right of reply, and I now call on him.

Mr. ADOUM (Chad) (interpretation from French): I shall not reply to all the fallacious, irresponsible, untrue allegations made by the representative of Libya. I would only say, in response to the usual language of lies spoken by the representative of the terrorist, expansionist Libyan régime, that circumstances led Chad to seize the Security Council of this question again.

The historical review that the representative of Libya has just engaged in is not, in my view, in keeping with the aim of the present meeting. The representative of Libya seemed to think that he was more familiar with Chad's history than we are. That is totally false. We know our own history better than anyone else does. It was not just for the pleasure of having the Council meet that we seized it of this matter.

Indeed, we have seized the Council of this matter - for the fourth time - because Libya has never ceased its destabilizing activities in Chad. Even worse, the terrorist Qaddafi régime, out of its macabre designs to subjugate the Chadian people, has just added a new dimension to its aggression by systematically massacring civilians in Borkou-Ennedi-Tibesti.

What a crime it is to massacre defenceless civilians. As I said in my earlier statement, we call that an act of genocide, for the ultimate aim of the Libyan régime is, by massacring these people, to wipe out all resistance and hence all Chadian identity.

As I said earlier, is not this belligerent attitude an insult to the international community? Does it not demonstrate contempt for the rules of

(Mr. Adoum, Chad)

international law to occupy the territory of an independent, sovereign State, and massacre civilians in an attempt to subjugate it?

Who does not know today that Libyan troops are occupying the northern part of my country? The massive presence of Libyan soldiers cannot be denied. In these conditions, would the Libyan representative want Chad to ask for a United Nations mission to verify what is happening on the spot? In my view, the representative of Libya would do better to admit all the harm that his Government has caused not only to Chad but to the entire international community by trampling under foot all ethical and moral norms. Indeed, the acts of genocide and terrorism committed by Tripoli completely contradict common sense and morality.

There is no longer anyone who can be taken in by the shameless lies of the representatives of the terrorist, expansionist Tripoli régime. If Libya is not engaging in any action in Chad, perhaps the Libyan representative can tell us to whom the heavy artillery belongs, to whom all these aircraft which daily, since 6 November, have been dropping tons and tons of bombs on places in occupied Borkou-Ennedi-Tibesti belong. Perhaps he can tell us to whom the helicopters and the tanks belong. Does the representative of Libya think that the members of the Security Council are fools?

We maintain not only that Libya is occupying 550,000 square kilometres of our territory by force, and has been doing so since 1983, but that this occupation began in 1972 with what is now called the "Aouzou Strip" and that at present these packs of Libyan soldiery and their mercenaries are committing acts of genocide against defenceless civilians in occupied Borkou-Ennedi-Tibesti.

Those are the reasons why my delegation felt it necessary to inform the Security Council of the latest developments. Libya's attitude, which is to lie shamelessly in order to avoid any discussion of the dispute between Chad and Libya,

(Mr. Adoum, Chad)

testifies very eloquently to the fact that the terrorist régime in Libya cares nothing about morality, about human beings or about the rules and principles of international law. Such a régime should be condemned by the international community, because it is a serious threat to international peace and security and to mankind.

I heard the representative of Libya say just now that his régime had respect for the people of Chad, that it had respect for the national integrity of Chad. If that is so, I invite him to give concrete form to the words he has just spoken before the Council.

The PRESIDENT: The representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has asked to speak. I now call on him.

Mr. BELONOGOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): I wish to begin by saying that the Members of the United Nations, and particularly of the Security Council, are very familiar, Sir, with your vast diplomatic experience and your authority, and we are all very well aware that you are presiding over the Council not for the first, second or even the third time, and therefore we have no doubt that, as usual, you will discharge your responsible duties successfully and expedite the Council's very serious business.

I wish also to take this opportunity to express our gratitude to the Ambassador of the United Arab Emirates, Mr. Al-Shaali, for his masterly and extremely successful leadership of the Council in October.

The Soviet delegation finds it necessary to state its position on the item on the agenda. As is clear from the statements we have just heard in our consideration of the problem, two approaches have emerged. One is that of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) aimed at the continuation of its efforts to achieve national reconciliation of the various groups in Chad, without any outside interference. We support that approach. The other consists of using the question of Chad for specific political purposes that are very far from the tasks involved in genuine national reconciliation in Chad. That second approach consists of trying to make the Council's meeting an anti-Libya meeting.

Why has the Council been convened in an emergency meeting? The answer is very clear. It is that tomorrow the General Assembly is to consider an extremely serious item, concerning the violation of international peace and security resulting from the armed attack on Libya by the United States. The only reason for

(Mr. Belonogov, USSR)

calling this meeting of the Council is to try to divert the attention of the United Nations and of the world community from the aggression against Libya.

The clamorous but groundless and unjustified harangues against Libya that we have heard in some of the statements today cannot conceal the genuine motives of those who are behind the initiative to bring the Council to consider the question of Chad. The plan of those who are behind the calling of this meeting is only one link in the anti-Libya campaign, which has been waged for a long time already by the United States and some of its allies. But in this instance, as in the past, the disinformation boomerang will come back to hit the thrower.

It is common knowledge that certain quarters seek, following an anti-Libya policy, to exacerbate the situation in and around Chad, to impede national reconciliation in the country and to maintain a conflict situation on the African continent. We must state clearly that the situation that has arisen in and around Chad is the result of the interference of Western Powers, primarily the United States and France, which are trying to increase tensions on the Libyan border. It is self-evident that there is an attempt to use the internal conflict in this African country to effect far-reaching political policies and designs aimed against another African country. We can say that it is directed against free Africa as a whole. That is why there is extremely cynical disregard for the position taken by the OAU on the question of the situation in and around Chad.

An attempt is being made to confuse the increased imperialist interference in the affairs of Chad with a noisy campaign against Libya, but if we are to call a spade a spade it is important to note that the military involvement of many Western States in the affairs of Chad, the transfer of new weaponry there and the armed aggression by the United States against Libya create a genuine - not a fabricated - threat to peace and security in that part of the African continent.

(Mr. Belonogov, USSR)

The Soviet Union strongly condemns the escalation of imperialist interference in the internal affairs of African countries, illegal acts that threaten destabilization of the international environment. It supports the efforts of the Organization of African Unity to reach a peaceful settlement of the situation in Chad. We continue to favour resolution of the problem of Chad by Chad itself, without any foreign interference, particularly by Powers that are hundreds, if not thousands, of kilometres distant from that country.

The Soviet Union shares the view of the African States that consideration of the question in the Security Council does not promote a settlement, but can only complicate the OAU efforts.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of the Soviet Union for his kind words addressed to me.

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

Mr. de KEMOULARIA (France) (interpretation from French): I listened to the representative of Libya with the attention he is due. I think I can divide his statement, which was not without humour, into three parts. The first was a rather imaginative historical background, somewhat primitive at times: past events, colonialism, plundering by monopolies, imperialism - all notions that should have made him cautious when he accuses others of a lack of objectivity. Next, he tried other terrain and went from Angola to Palestine and - so as not to make my statement too long - wherever he wanted in his overview. Then there was some apparent lack of conviction when he talked about the purity of the intentions of his country vis-à-vis Chad.

I would simply remind him that we have concluded an agreement with his country, and it was understood that there would be simultaneous withdrawal. Indeed, France withdrew; it abided by the agreement. Libya did not do so; Libya is still present in part of Chad's territory - territory that does not belong to Libya.

Hence I should like to point out to my good friend the representative of Libya that it would be easy to settle the problem: Let Libya evacuate the part of Chad it is occupying; let it respect Chad's territory within Chad's recognized frontiers. Then, I am sure, the Government of Chad would have no need to appeal for military assistance and solidarity from its ally, France. He can rest assured that, Chad having thus recovered its territorial integrity, our soldiers would be pleased to return to their homeland.

Mr. OKUN (United States of America): The Council has grown used to hearing representatives of Libya explode in all directions against my country. Today it once again endured remarks that addressed everything but the issue which is really before us. However, I must thank the representative of Libya for mentioning one thing, namely, tomorrow's debate in the General Assembly. I hope

(Mr. Okun, United States)

that debate will be well attended because my delegation will spell out in circumstantial detail Libya's role as practitioner and paymaster of international terrorism. We look forward to that debate.

The PRESIDENT: The representative of Chad has asked to be allowed to speak in exercise of the right of reply, and I call on him.

Mr. ADOUM (Chad) (interpretation from French): I wish simply to note for the benefit of the representative of the USSR that there is no connection whatsoever between our meeting today and agenda item 142 of the forty-first session of the General Assembly.

Indeed, the Government of the Republic of Chad requested a meeting of the Security Council to consider the extremely grave situation now prevailing in the occupied northern part of its territory. We can never repeat that too often since, as we said earlier in our statement, it involves the fate of the civilian population which is being bombarded and attacked daily. As we have said, the atrocities perpetrated by the Libyan Army in the occupied northern part of Chad are indescribably inhuman. I therefore appeal to the representative of the USSR to transcend the partisan position he has just taken so as to understand the genuine concerns we have now described to the Security Council.

The PRESIDENT: There are no more names inscribed on the list of speakers for this meeting.

The meeting rose at 5.15 p.m.

