

UNITED NATIONS



# SECURITY COUNCIL OFFICIAL RECORDS

THIRTY-EIGHTH YEAR

**2428<sup>th</sup>** MEETING: 31 MARCH 1983

NEW YORK

---

## CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2428) .....	1
Adoption of the agenda .....	1
Letter dated 16 March 1983 from the Permanent Representative of Chad to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15643) . . .	1

S/PV.2428

#### NOTE

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

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

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

## 2428th MEETING

Held in New York on Thursday, 31 March 1983, at 10.30 a.m.

*President:* Sir JOHN THOMSON (United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland).

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

### Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2428)

1. Adoption of the agenda
2. Letter dated 16 March 1983 from the Permanent Representative of Chad to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15643).

*The meeting was called to order at 11.25 a.m.*

### Adoption of the agenda

*The agenda was adopted.*

**Letter dated 16 March 1983 from the Permanent Representative of Chad to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15643)**

1. The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decisions taken at the 2419th meeting, I invite the representatives of Chad and the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya to take places at the Council table; I invite the representatives of Egypt, the Ivory Coast, Senegal and the Sudan, to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

*At the invitation of the President, Mr. Barma (Chad) and Mr. Treiki (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) took places at the Council table; Mr. Khalil (Egypt), Mr. Essy (Ivory Coast), Mr. Sarré (Senegal) and Mr. Abdalla (Sudan) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.*

2. The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Benin, Democratic Yemen, Ethiopia, Gabon, Guinea, the Islamic Republic of Iran, Niger, the Syrian Arab Republic and the United Republic of Cameroon in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in

the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

*At the invitation of the President, Mr. Soglo (Benin), Mr. Al-Alfi (Democratic Yemen), Mr. Ibrahim (Ethiopia), Mr. Boule (Gabon), Mr. Coumbassa (Guinea), Mr. Rajaie-Khorassani (Islamic Republic of Iran), Mr. Oumarou (Niger), Mr. El-Fattal (Syrian Arab Republic) and Mrs. Mairie (United Republic of Cameroon) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.*

3. The PRESIDENT: The members of the Council have before them document S/15649, which contains the text of a letter dated 21 March from the representative of Chad addressed to the President of the Council.

4. Mr. NGUAYILA MBELA KALANDA (Zaire) (*interpretation from French*): In my delegation's view, the case presented by Chad for the Council's consideration does not seem to be fundamentally different from a traditional border dispute.

5. Just as it is acknowledged that, in this type of conflict, *de facto* occupation, under whatever pretext, by a powerful neighbour of the contested area is illegal in itself, since it is based on a policy of force, contrary to the Charter of the United Nations and established international law, it is also acknowledged that such occupation is dangerous, as the reaction of the victim to such an escalation is to be feared.

6. Thus, the dispute under consideration boils down, in my delegation's view, to two aspects which members of the Council should bear in mind: the legal and the political.

7. Regarding the legal aspect, my delegation believes, along with a number of others which have preceded it in this debate, that the crux of the Chadian case relates to a problem concerning plotting the border between Chad and the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. Both on the ground and in the texts which have been cited, the parties have contested each other's rights over a segment of territory commonly known as the Aouzou Strip, as described by the delegation of Chad in its statement before the Council [2419th meeting]. Therefore, without going into the details of the matter, which is now well known to all, my delegation wonders whether, for this kind of dispute, which is so clear-cut, the Council really ought to transform itself into a court of law and indulge in an exercise

of interpreting texts—some of them, furthermore, denounced and others declared non-existent—or whether, on the contrary, it would not do better to call for the application of Article 96 of the Charter and refer the dispute to the International Court of Justice for an opinion.

8. The delegation of Zaire believes that both the parties and the Council's credibility would gain from the Council's acting in accordance with that option, that is, placing the matter before the Court, as suggested, moreover, by the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Co-operation of Chad in his statement, in order to help re-establish the rights inherited from the colonial régimes.

9. The inviolability of colonial frontiers is not a figment of the imagination; it is a principle of law and one which is dear to the African nations. Not only does that principle exist—and resolution AHG/Res.16 (I), adopted at Cairo on 21 July 1964 at the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), is proof of that—but it retains its full force thanks to another principle just as dear: that of peaceful coexistence between States, great and small, of differing political, economic and social systems.

10. Faithful to the ideals of the Charter of the United Nations, the Republic of Zaire has made the principle of peaceful coexistence a framework within which its relations of friendship and co-operation with its neighbours develop harmoniously, on the basis of mutual respect, non-interference in the internal affairs of others and the peaceful settlement of disputes. That is why we consider that it is in the best interests of the parties concerned for them to behave in such a way that the force of these principles, which are the very foundation of relations among States, will be preserved for ever.

11. Settlement at both the bilateral and the regional levels having failed, there is now no alternative but to have recourse to judicial settlement, and for this the International Court of Justice would appear to be the most appropriate body. That is our first conclusion.

12. Regarding the political aspect of the question, the Council will recall that, in its complaint, Chad referred to the actual occupation of the Aouzou Strip by Libyan troops for the past several months. Since that is so, my delegation believes that this is a case of an unfriendly act and a pointless provocation, because it obviously violates the Charter of the United Nations, as well as established international law, and departs from traditional morality, which is, after all, the bedrock of international relations.

13. Nothing in contemporary international law allows anyone, great or small, to take the law into his own hands, except, of course, in self-defence, either individual or collective, as provided in the Charter. That is not the case here. The presence of Libyan troops on Chadian territory is unjustified in all respects. As we see it, this is unquestionably a threat to peace and security in the region. It is pointless to tell us that the ruling authority in N'Djamena is illegal or that this Chadian is not as good

as that Chadian: all this is mere subterfuge, aimed at diverting our attention in this chamber from the essence of Chad's complaint.

14. Must the Council embark upon a procedure aimed at recognizing the legitimacy or the illegitimacy of the ruling authority in N'Djamena without at the same time interfering in the internal affairs of Chad? Just as another speaker said a few days ago, we in Zaire are not concerned with the colour or odour of Governments. What we are interested in is not what happens among the people of Chad within their national frontiers. What we are interested in is quite simple: it is the right to peace, the aspiration of Chad, this young nation in the heart of Africa, which has long been torn apart by a pitiless fratricidal war. It is high time for the international community to help Chad rebuild itself in peace, for the well-being of its people, who have suffered so much.

15. That is why we reached our second conclusion, to request the Council, as the primary body of the United Nations charged with the maintenance of international peace and security, to decide, first, that the Libyan occupation troops should immediately withdraw from the Aouzou Strip and from any other locality within Chadian territory, and secondly, that a neutral force should be sent to the Aouzou Strip in order to preserve peace and security in that region pending a substantive settlement of the dispute between the two countries.

16. I could not conclude my remarks without welcoming to New York Mr. Idriss Miskine, the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Co-operation of the sister Republic of Chad, a country with which my country, Zaire, has very close ties of sincere and fruitful friendship and co-operation.

17. Mr. MASHINGAIDZE (Zimbabwe): Sir, I wish, on behalf of the delegation of the Republic of Zimbabwe, to congratulate you most warmly on your assumption of the presidency for this very eventful month of March. We also wish to congratulate, through you, Mr. Troyanovsky, of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, who, as your predecessor, conducted the work of the Council with distinction during the month of February.

18. The present meeting of the Council has been occasioned by the request of the Government of Chad, which wants the Council to consider what has been referred to as "the extremely serious situation prevailing in Chad as a result of the occupation of a part of Chad territory by Libya and of repeated acts of aggression by that country against the people of Chad".

19. It is a matter both for regret and great concern that a dispute should exist between the two countries. We are concerned because, as was clear from the statements made by representatives of the two countries before the Council on 22 March [2419th meeting], the peoples of Libya and Chad are linked by history and geography. They therefore have a common destiny and nothing can change this reality. We are also concerned because both countries belong to the OAU and the Movement of Non-

Aligned Countries, two third-world organizations so dear to the peoples of Africa and the third world. These difficulties in the relations between the two OAU members come at a time when the OAU and the Non-Aligned Movement need the unity and co-operation of all their members in order to be able to resist and frustrate current efforts by the enemies of unity and solidarity among third-world countries to destroy the two organizations.

20. We must say, however, that as we listened to both parties to the dispute, we were greatly encouraged by their commitment and dedication to the principles of the OAU, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the Charter of the United Nations.

21. Finally, our delegation has carefully considered the statements of the two parties to the dispute and has been greatly impressed and struck by the complexity of the issues involved. We are, however, very much encouraged by the desire of the parties to seek a peaceful solution to the dispute and by their willingness to avail themselves of the regional mechanisms for the peaceful settlement of disputes.

22. Mr. LING Qing (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): We listened carefully to the statements made by the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Co-operation of Chad and the representative of Libya [*ibid.*].

23. The Chinese delegation has always maintained that differences and disputes among third-world countries should and can be settled peacefully and rationally through friendly consultations or negotiations, free from outside interference and in conformity with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, especially the principles of mutual respect for independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-interference in each other's internal affairs and mutual non-aggression. Both Chad and Libya belong to the third world and face the common task of developing their national economy, safeguarding sovereignty and consolidating independence. Their fundamental interests are identical. It is our hope that they will settle their differences and disputes through peaceful negotiations.

24. Over a period of time, the OAU has worked actively to mediate between Chad and Libya in the interest of maintaining solidarity among the African countries. We appreciate the efforts made by the OAU and sincerely hope it will continue to make contributions towards this end.

25. Mr. LOUET (France) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation has very carefully studied the statements made by the duly accredited and recognized representatives of the two parties, Mr. Idriss Miskine, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Co-operation of the Republic of Chad, Mr. Ali Treiki, the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya [*ibid.*].

26. Those statements have indisputably confirmed the existence of a border dispute between the two countries.

Each of the parties has, on behalf of its Government, claimed the vast territory commonly known as the Aouzou Strip.

27. It is also undeniable that this dispute, which has for the past 10 years poisoned relations between Chad and Libya, could at any time cause serious incidents and provoke a conflict because of the presence in the zone and in the neighbouring area of the armed forces of the two countries. An aggravation of the present situation would be a threat to the stability of the region.

28. It is only natural, then, that one of the parties to the dispute should come before the Council, which, under the Charter of the United Nations, has primary responsibility for international peace and security. This initiative was all the more legitimate because, in recent years, neither direct negotiations between Chad and Libya nor the good offices of the competent regional organization, the OAU, have led to any progress towards a settlement.

29. Essentially, the problem is the determination of the border between Chad and Libya and to which country the Aouzou Strip belongs. As the former administering Power, France is bound to make its position on this question known. Speaking strictly from a legal point of view, it must note the soundness of the theses presented to us by the representative of Chad.

30. What can the Council do in connection with this dispute? We are convinced that, in the present circumstances, it can play a constructive role by appealing to the two parties through the President, who would speak on behalf of all of us. On the basis of that appeal, the OAU could resume its mediation efforts with a view to a final settlement.

31. But this is essentially a legal dispute. It is clear that there will be no lasting peace between the two countries until this dispute is settled. That is why France earnestly hopes that the two parties will agree to submit their border dispute to the International Court of Justice.

32. Allow me in conclusion to express the hope that strife-torn Chad will finally live in peace within the borders that France bequeathed to it on its independence in 1960.

33. Mr. SCHELTEMA (Netherlands): The Council has been seized of a complaint from Chad contained in documents S/15643 and S/15644. The representative of Chad asserts, *inter alia*, that "the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya is perpetuating its occupation of the north of Chad" and is "intensifying its actions with the aim of imposing on Chad a new government beholden to it" [*see S/15644*]. In reply, the representative of Libya maintains that "the Aouzou Strip is an integral part of Libyan territory" [*see S/15645*]. He also points out that Mr. Goukouni Weddey heads the legitimate Government of Chad. Statements made by the two representatives during the debate on 22 March [2419th meeting] reflect the points made in the above-mentioned documents.

34. From what has been said and written, my delegation draws the conclusion that the dispute between Chad and Libya centres essentially around two questions, namely, a border dispute between two sovereign States, and the legitimacy of one or the other of two contesting governments. Although events during the last years have demonstrated that the two aspects are interwoven, we think that the Council cannot but draw a distinction between them. The Council, acting under Chapter VI of the Charter of the United Nations, can call on States Members to settle their disputes by peaceful means. The choice of government is, however, the sole prerogative of the people of the country.
35. After years of civil strife and suffering, Chad once again looks forward to directing its efforts towards internal consolidation and economic development under the leadership of President Habré. For Chad to overcome its problems, we think it essential that all foreign intervention in that country cease and that economic assistance be provided by countries in a position to do so.
36. I wish now for a moment to turn to the subject-matter of the Chadian complaint—the occupation by the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya of a territory known as the Aouzou Strip. We have studied with care the document, dated 21 March, submitted by the Government of Chad and entitled “Memorandum concerning the occupation of Tibesti by Libya” [S/15649].
37. My first comment would be that, according to our information also, the French-Italian treaty of 1935 [*ibid.*, annex VII], by which the Aouzou Strip was ceded to Italy, is devoid of legal force because an exchange of the instruments of ratification never took place. On the other hand, we understand that the parties are linked by the 1955 treaty between Libya and France [*ibid.*, annex X]. This treaty became operative on 26 December 1956. It addresses itself specifically to the territorial dispute with regard to the Aouzou Strip. That is how we understand the legal position.
38. Subsequently, the dispute was discussed by the parties both in bilateral negotiations and within the framework of the OAU, which seemed the most appropriate forum to settle this question. The Libyan side throughout maintained its point of view that the disputed area is Libyan territory, thereby relying on commitments made by previous Chadian Governments.
39. Since the matter has been brought to the attention of the Security Council and since both parties have therefore agreed to co-operate with the Council in the search for a solution, the Governments of Chad and Libya have thereby agreed to settle their dispute by peaceful means. The Charter and the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations<sup>1</sup> stipulate that it is the duty of all States to seek early and just solutions to international disputes, including problems concerning frontiers of States, through negotiations or other peaceful means of their choice, such as mediation or resort to regional agencies. It should be left to the Governments of Chad and Libya, of course, to decide on the means best suited to the attainment of this objective.
40. However, considering the legal nature of the problem that has been presented to the Council, my delegation's preference would be that any procedures or methods the Council may deem it appropriate to recommend aimed at reaching a peaceful settlement include a recommendation that Chad and Libya agree to submit their territorial dispute to the jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice, as provided for in the Charter. This has been suggested by other delegations, and I hereby join them on this point. But irrespective of the means or the mechanisms to be adopted by the parties to the conflict, the Council's first priority must be to prevent the situation from worsening and from developing into a threat to the stability of the entire region. My Government therefore appeals strongly to both parties to refrain from any action that may aggravate the situation and to show strict respect for each other's territorial integrity and political independence, in observance of the principles of the Charter, pending the peaceful settlement of their dispute.
41. In so doing, we are prompted by our wish to see peace prevail in an area that needs all its available resources for the arduous task of overcoming the challenges with which it is confronted.
42. Mr. GAUCI (Malta): The question currently before the Council once again, for the second time in less than two weeks, unfortunately confronts us with another issue that is very near to Malta's doorstep. In fact, it involves a close neighbour in Africa, a continent whose past influence on Malta's national heritage and whose future importance for our international relations make it of primary importance to us.
43. It was against this background that we listened most attentively to the detailed statements made both by the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Co-operation of Chad and by the representative of Libya [2419th meeting]. Other countries directly or indirectly involved or with a contribution to make have already made statements and shed further light on the matter at issue. Much of the attention has concentrated on the origin of and prevailing situation in the area known as the Aouzou Strip.
44. My country would, in the first place, like briefly to emphasize how concerned and preoccupied we are at the persistence of a controversy between Chad and Libya. We have two main reasons: first, because of geographic proximity and the nature of the friendly relations that exist between Malta, on the one hand, and the two countries involved, on the other; and secondly, because of the heavy but unavoidable responsibility that we have to take an objective position in the Council in the face of a strongly held difference of opinion between two friendly countries, both of which are members of the Group of African States and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

45. It is in the light of those considerations and that responsibility that we wish briefly to put forward our objectively honest views, in the modest hope that this might influence future events in a positive direction.

46. The facts and the events which have been placed before the Council strengthen our intuitive feeling that the best way for the Council to assist both countries and to promote, without unreasonable delay, an amicable solution to any differences is, as a first step, to encourage and give new momentum to the dialogue that has already started at the regional level.

47. We have been reminded by both countries concerned, as well as by representatives of other African countries, that this issue is still open for discussion before the OAU. We have also been made to understand that the Chad-Libya dispute is one of the items on the agenda of the forthcoming Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU, to be held shortly—next June, in fact—at Addis Ababa. Obviously, much thought and effort have already been expended on this issue by the organization primarily concerned.

48. That therefore confirms our understanding that efforts are still being made to resolve the issue in the regional context. It is thus all the more appropriate that, at least until these efforts are concluded, the Council should at this stage refrain from taking a definite stand on the issue. Instead, in accordance with Article 33, paragraphs 1 and 2, of the Charter of the United Nations, it should encourage the countries concerned, as well as the OAU and other interested regional bodies, to seek a mutual and amicable solution in the shortest possible time.

49. We can readily understand the chafing of any country at undue delay in the resolution of a problem on which it feels it has a convincing position, and we therefore feel that a declaration by the President of the Council should be designed to give impetus, momentum and encouragement both to the countries concerned, in the first place, and to the regional organization concerned, in the second place, in order that an amicable solution may be found without undue delay.

50. In this regard, while not diminishing in any way the role and the final responsibility which reside in the Council to bring *rapprochement* in potentially dangerous situations between contending countries, my own country cannot but emphasize the great responsibility which, in a smaller regional context, other neighbours of Chad and Libya and, in a larger regional context, all the member countries of the OAU have to contribute their imaginative efforts to bringing this long-drawn-out issue to an early, successful and amicable solution under any one of the many options provided for in accordance with Article 33 of the Charter of the United Nations.

51. In our prior statements before the Council, whenever we were discussing other unfortunate conflicts, my country has consistently stressed, without any ambiguity,

the concept that it is the regional States themselves which bear the first and primary responsibility for safeguarding the peace and security of their own region.

52. Today we would like to reiterate this fundamental concept. We are convinced that this precept is invaluable for the African continent as it seeks to overcome the difficulties inherited from the colonial era and to secure the dignity, progress and freedom which every single nation seeks and strives for.

53. For its own modest part, Malta has given its full support to the political, economic and social development of the peoples of Africa in the past and will continue to do so in future. At this point in time, and on this particular issue, we would like earnestly to appeal to both parties to take the invaluable hand of assistance which the OAU has already extended. The opportunity which the OAU is offering to resolve, in a spirit of friendship and reconciliation, the differences that exist should be grasped immediately and without hesitation. It is, after all, as both Chad and Libya have themselves pointed out, in their common interest to do so, since the people of the two countries have every reason to cooperate and to prosper in peace and good-neighbourly relations.

54. As for those other African countries which are indirectly involved, we appeal to them to give generously all their friendly assistance in order to solve this and other issues for the prosperity of their region in particular. Extraneous considerations should not be allowed to impede progress.

55. We firmly support the right of any country at any time to bring its concerns before the Council. Once these are made known and both sides heard, a pronouncement by the Council would serve as an impetus to progress. After studying the declarations made by both sides, my delegation feels that there is much common ground on which to build a preliminary consensus. As a concerned but disinterested party, in common allegiance with other countries to the principles of non-alignment, and as a contribution to the work of the Council, we have worked privately and persistently to put forward on paper what we feel to be a constructive prescription for progress. We hope that, once agreed on and pronounced, its substantive objectives will be assiduously pursued by the parties concerned so that very soon the Council will be informed, as it has been in some other instances, that its wise counsel has produced the desired results, from which none would benefit more than the friendly countries of Chad and Libya.

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

57. Mr. SOGLO (Benin) (*interpretation from French*): On behalf of my delegation, I should first of all like to extend our congratulations to you, Sir, on your accession to the presidency for the month of March. We are particularly pleased to see you presiding over the Council,

since you represent a great country, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, with which the People's Republic of Benin enjoys the most cordial relations. With your eminent qualities as a seasoned diplomat, your great experience and your wisdom, you have been able to conduct the work of the Council during this month to the satisfaction of all.

58. I take this opportunity to express to Mr. Troyanovsky, the representative of the Soviet Union, our whole-hearted appreciation for the noteworthy way in which he presided over the Council last month.

59. A dispute between two African countries, both members of a regional organization, the OAU, a border dispute, the origins of which go back to the murky colonial past, has been brought before the Council, whose main purpose is to find effective solutions to problems and situations which endanger international peace and security.

60. Since Chad acceded to national sovereignty, it has never known civil peace. A number of factions—no fewer than 11 officially identified—are disputing for power. Many decades of fratricidal struggle have accentuated these rivalries and devastated the country. The ostensible calm which hovers over—or, rather, should I say weighs upon—N'Djamena does not extend beyond the capital of Chad. The fact that one of these factions is now in power has not ushered in the peace for which the Chadians have been aspiring for 20 years now. It has, indeed, not brought reconciliation between the sons of this country nor settled what is the most urgent matter in the eyes of the international community, namely, the elimination of famine, deprivation, poverty and the suffering of a people who threw off the shackles of colonialism only to fall into the hideous nightmare of a civil war fomented by international imperialism.

61. In these circumstances, my delegation cannot remain indifferent. We intend, with our characteristic impartiality and objectivity, to make the following comments. The first question which arises is precisely whether this is the right time or place for the dispute between Chad and Libya to be discussed.

62. Obviously it is not the most appropriate time. Urgent tasks await us. What the people of Chad are waiting for from its leaders is, first of all, a solution of its most elementary needs, and, secondly, the definition and implementation of a genuinely national policy which can win over all factions, all strata of the population, whether they be in the north, the centre or the south, a policy of national reconciliation, which is the only one able to promote the economic, social and cultural development to which they aspire. Nothing great can be done in an atmosphere of disunity and, *a fortiori*, when the intention is to wage a national struggle and to mobilize all energies and when the determination of each and every one is the best possible weapon.

63. The correct place to deal with this matter is not here, it would appear. It is not my intention to deny the

Council's right to pass judgement on a question that affects the peaceful settlement of a dispute between States. However, it should be done in the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations, which stipulates, in Article 33, that:

"1. The parties to any dispute, the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, shall, first of all,"—and I should like to stress the words "first of all"—"seek a solution by negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements, or other peaceful means of their own choice.

"2. The Security Council shall, when it deems necessary, call upon the parties to settle their dispute by such means."

64. Before the matter was brought before the Council, had all possible means of negotiation been exhausted? True, before the Council was called upon for arbitration, the good offices of a third party, namely, the OAU, were indeed sought. But, before referring the issue to the Council did one wait for the conclusions of the *Ad Hoc* Committee that was set up by the OAU?<sup>2</sup> What body, if not the OAU, is in the best position to know about the question of Chad? Is there a body more appropriate than the OAU, a regional organization to which both Libya and Chad belong, in which to discuss, mull over and, in a purely African way, seek an African solution to a dispute between two African brothers?

65. As far as I know, the OAU has not been relieved of, nor has it set aside, the issue of Chad, which has always occupied a prominent place on its agenda. The frontier dispute between Chad and Libya is not something that sprang up just yesterday: it goes back to the murky colonial past. Those who, in 1885, in Berlin, divided up Africa did not split it up into exact portions. They squabbled like children around a cake and bequeathed us problems which they were unable to settle among themselves. The Franco-British Convention of 14 June 1898, the Additional Declaration of 21 March, 1899, the Franco-Italian Agreements of 1 November 1902 and the Treaty of Friendship and Good-Neighbourliness between the French Republic and the United Kingdom of Libya of 10 August 1955, as well as the Laval-Mussolini treaty (Treaty of Rome) of 7 January 1935 [*S/15649, annexes I, II, III, X and VII, respectively*], while not all necessarily leonine or unequal treaties, at least demonstrate the difficulties involved in reaching agreement on the precise contours of a frontier.

66. Border disputes in Africa and other parts of the world are abundant, and it is heartening indeed that they have not all been brought before the Council and that other means recognized and recommended by the Charter of the United Nations have been used, namely, conciliation, negotiation, good offices, arbitration and mediation. Therefore, if this is neither the time nor the place to bring up a problem the settlement of which depends, first and foremost, on agreement between the

two parties, how are we then to understand and construe the act of Chad?

67. We believe the Council has been seized of this problem in an attempt by the present leaders in N'Djamena to legitimize their authority and as a result of the manoeuvres of international imperialism.

68. First and foremost, there has been an effort to disguise the real nature of the problem of Chad as it really stands today, both domestically and in the diplomatic context. The power at present enthroned in N'Djamena sorely needs legitimacy. It has been challenged and even fought domestically by the leaders of the Transitional Government of National Unity, who themselves proclaimed the legitimacy that was conferred upon them by the OAU through the Lagos Accord [S/14378, annex I]; it has not been recognized diplomatically by a large number of States which charge it with having infringed the agreements to which its leaders had subscribed. It is not my intention to discuss here the legality or legitimacy of the power at present ruling in N'Djamena. The heads of African States, eager as they are to preserve peace and concord, at a given time in history gave Chad a government, the Transitional Government of National Unity, and it will be for them to decide what has become of it in the present circumstances. If that is not done, it will be difficult for the People's Republic of Benin to follow in the path of those who, on the basis of *de facto* power, have recognized the present régime in N'Djamena and sought to drag others along with them when, for the most part, and paradoxically, they are the self-same ones who recognize the leaders who were placed in Phnom Penh, the Pol Pot clique, who were ousted from power for having committed the most monstrous crimes of history.

69. Secondly, this debate is far too convenient not to be involved in this campaign of hostility that international imperialism, hanging on the coat-tails of progressive and revolutionary countries, is waging against Libya and its revolution. As a popular saying goes, "when you want to drown your dog, you say it has rabies". Translated into diplomatic language, this means that, in the eyes of the international community, it is easier to raise one's voice against an outlaw than against an honest person.

70. The People's Republic of Benin refuses to be involved in this campaign. It does not intend to acquiesce in it. We deplore it and condemn it.

71. Africans have already given the world numerous examples of the way in which they resolve their quarrels. This often includes high feelings, verbal excesses and sometimes, unfortunately, even military confrontations; but in the end wisdom and dialogue triumph. It is this dialogue which the People's Republic of Benin invites Chad and the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya to undertake. They will be given an opportunity to do this next June at Addis Ababa at the session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU, which will bring together this great African family.

72. Ready for revolution. The struggle continues.

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

74. Mr. AL-ALFI (Democratic Yemen) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Mr. President, at the outset I should like to express our appreciation for the manner in which you are conducting the work of the Council during the month of March.

75. Last month, the Council was convened to consider United States provocations against the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. Numerous delegations, including my own, participated in that debate [2416th meeting]. The majority of the delegations which spoke then were unanimous in their strong condemnation of United States provocation against the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. They affirmed their solidarity with and support for the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya in confronting the terrorist, aggressive policy pursued by United States imperialism against the people of the Jamahiriya, who have opted for an independent approach to socio-economic development and resistance to United States imperialism in the Arab region.

76. It is regrettable that the Council is meeting today to debate a groundless complaint against the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, which has been accused of committing aggression, when a month ago the international community represented in the Council acknowledged that Libya was the victim of aggression and threat.

77. The linkage of these two occasions affirms that the United States Administration, having failed by all means of force, terrorism and pressure to intimidate the Libyan people and make it abandon its principle of resisting United States imperialism and the United States policy of aggression in the Arab region, and having unmasked its schemes to impose its hegemony on the peoples of the region and plunder their riches and wealth, has resorted to maligning the Jamahiriya and its leadership by prompting its lackeys in the region to make groundless charges that it promotes in the United States mass media in a deliberate attempt to divert the attention of the international community from the main source of tension, instability and destabilization in the entire world, that is, the imperialist forces, headed by United States imperialism, which jeopardize the security and stability of all peoples yearning for liberty and independence, as well as the liberated States, including the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, struggling to consolidate their independence.

78. The other day we listened very carefully to the statement of the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya on the issue before the Council [2419th meeting]. We have also studied the letter from the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya to the President of the Council, dated 17 March [S/15645].

79. We draw the following conclusions. First, the issue under discussion is a case of interference in the internal

affairs of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, especially because the Aouzou Strip, as affirmed by the representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, is an integral part of Libyan territory. Secondly, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya has categorically rejected allegations that it is occupying any part of Chadian territory and has stated that it has no ambitions whatsoever regarding the territory of other States. Thirdly, the Jamahiriya has striven to maintain the fraternal and good-neighbourly relations which link the Libyan and Chadian peoples, and it has consistently sought to preserve the unity, security and stability of the people of Chad and has endeavoured to put an end to the tragedy which has been afflicting that people since the early 1960s. Fourthly, the problem of Chad is among the issues which are being dealt with by the OAU, to which end that organization has established an *ad hoc* committee,<sup>2</sup> on the level of heads of State. Fifthly, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya has stated its readiness to discuss bilateral relations between the two countries within the framework of the Good Offices Committee between Libya and Chad established by the OAU at the fourteenth session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government, held at Libreville in July 1977.

80. Democratic Yemen, reaffirming its solidarity with the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya in confronting United States military provocation, calls upon the international community to stand by the Jamahiriya as it confronts all the imperialist designs aimed at undermining its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and at interfering in its internal affairs. Democratic Yemen, further, condemns all United States attempts, either direct or through its lackeys in the region, to commit acts of aggression against Libyan territory. At the same time, Democratic Yemen reaffirms its confidence in the ability of the fraternal people of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya to stand up to imperialist provocations of the United States designed to compromise Libya's freedom, independence and sovereignty.

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

82. Mr. COUMBASSA (Guinea) (*interpretation from French*): Sir, my very first words will be to congratulate you warmly, on behalf of my country, the Revolutionary People's Republic of Guinea, on your assumption of the presidency of this important organ and on the remarkable way in which you have conducted the Council's debates on problems whose importance will elude no one.

83. Your country, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, maintains relations of fruitful and friendly co-operation with my country. I am convinced that your talent as an experienced diplomat and your great experience in international affairs, combined with your profound devotion to just causes, will serve as an invaluable guarantee in the search for a peaceful solution to the disturbing problem which has been placed before the Council. That is why we are so happy to see you at the head of this organ, to which falls the awesome

but exalting role of maintaining peace and security in the world.

84. We wish to take this opportunity also to present our compliments and to express all our appreciation to your predecessor, Mr. Troyanovsky, the representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, for the distinguished and honourable way in which he conducted the Council's discussions in February.

85. Mr. President, I should like finally to express to you personally and, through you, to the members of the Council, my country's gratitude for the honour you have done it by inviting its representative to participate in the debate in the Council on the dispute between two fraternal countries of the Muslim world, Chad and Libya, both of them members of the OAU.

86. My delegation has listened with the greatest interest to the statements of the two parties, Chad and Libya [2419th meeting], as well as to those of the representatives who have spoken before us. The Minister for Foreign Affairs and Co-operation of Chad, Mr. Idriss Miskine, in his statement of 22 March, set out before members of the Council incontestable historical facts which have such an obvious legal foundation that it would be difficult to attempt to ignore the great light shed on the border dispute between his country and Libya.

87. Like most of those who have spoken before it, the delegation of the Revolutionary People's Republic of Guinea believes that a border dispute between two States is not to be confused with the question of the legitimacy of the representatives of either of those States. It is for the people and the people alone, as supreme arbiter of all legality, to judge the legitimacy of its representatives. The question of Chad remains one of the priority concerns of the OAU. This is borne out by the many resolutions adopted unanimously at both regular and special sessions and by the establishment of an *ad hoc* committee with the responsibility of achieving a peaceful settlement of the dispute between Chad and Libya, thus testifying to Africa's determination to promote a policy of good-neighbourliness among its States.

88. President Ahmed Sékou Touré, one of the founding fathers of the OAU, during an interview in August 1982, in reply to a question by a reporter concerning the role the OAU should play in Chad, stated:

"The OAU has an important role to play in Chad. Our brother, Hisssein Habré, finally won a victory. He immediately agreed that, under the aegis of the OAU, a political reconciliation should take place. Thus, brother Hisssein Habré is acting within the OAU framework, because his initiative aimed at national reconciliation is in keeping with the Lagos Accord [S/14378, annex I]. The OAU must lend all its support to brother Hisssein Habré, and thus to the people of Chad, who will be the beneficiaries of a political reconciliation between the two sides, because the problem of Chad has never been a military problem. It is a political problem. Therefore, if it is settled politi-

cally the peace and security needed for the well-being of the people of Chad will become a reality; that would be to the credit of the OAU and of all Africa."

89. Thus, we believe that the question under discussion is not that of the representativity or non-representativity of a State, but rather that of respect for the inviolability of the borders inherited from the colonial era. In the case before the Council, it must be recalled that at the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU, held at Cairo in July 1964, with the participation of what was then the United Kingdom of Libya and Chad, resolution AHG/Res.16 (I) was adopted [S/15649, annex XII], which stated, in paragraph 2, that: "all member States pledge themselves to respect the borders existing on their achievement of national independence".

90. The letters that have been addressed to you, Sir, both by Chad and the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya through their respective representatives, undeniably indicate that there exists, under Article 33 of the Charter of the United Nations, a dispute which, if it continues, will threaten peace in Africa and international security. For that reason, we call upon our Chadian and Libyan brothers to help the OAU exercise its good offices. We also call on the Council to exercise its full authority, in keeping with Article 52 of the Charter, to restore peace between two fraternal countries, Chad and Libya.

91. I shall conclude by reaffirming the position of my country as set forth by President Ahmed Sékou Touré, when he stated, on 25 February 1982:

"The position of the Revolutionary People's Republic of Guinea is that we must consider exclusively the interest of the people of Chad and serve the cause of that people to help them speedily regain peace, which is the basic condition for the preservation of the life of its citizens and for the safeguarding of its material goods."

92. We thus make an urgent appeal to the international community, and in particular to Africa, to monitor the development of the situation in Chad and to adopt a responsible attitude, with a view to fulfilling the legitimate hopes of the people of Chad—through the effectiveness of the specific action to be undertaken for their benefit—for scrupulous respect for that country's sovereignty and territorial integrity.

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

94. Mr. OUMAROU (Niger) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, we should like sincerely to congratulate you on what you have accomplished during this month which you have undoubtedly found a little long, in view of the amount of effort, talent, far-sightedness and concentration which you have had to display in order to conduct the lengthy and delicate consultations that you have presided over almost every day.

95. This is something that deserves and justifies all the praise unanimously lavished upon you and that illustrates the durability of the good values and traditions of which your great country, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, has been the cradle throughout its prestigious history. My delegation would like to associate itself with that praise and say also how grateful we are that you have given us permission to take part in this discussion on the question concerning Libya and Chad which is before the Council today.

96. I should like to congratulate Mr. Oleg Troyanovsky, the representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, for the admirable way in which he presided over the Council in February.

97. As you may surmise, Sir, Niger is not taking part in this debate to play at being a judge or to stir up animosities: Libya and Chad are two fraternal countries, both equally dear to us and with which we share such constant fundamentals as geographical proximity and the fact of belonging to the same particularly harsh continental area which has resulted in a mingling of our peoples that can be seen in many facets of our life. We are fighting with them on the same front and for the same aims, within the OAU, the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, groupings whose charters, as the Council is aware, advocate peace, lateral co-operation and the collective struggle for the freedom, dignity and rehabilitation of our peoples.

98. This indicates the concern with which we have followed and continue to follow the tumultuous development of relations between these two countries; how much we deplore the insecurity and the politico-military tension that at present afflicts their hard-working peoples; and how much we thus regret that today they have had to cross swords verbally in this chamber where, in the past, we have seen them fight side by side to defend the principles governing coexistence among nations.

99. Therefore, in this dilemma, which is rather reminiscent of Corneille, what drop of truth can we distill? Between Chad, which forcefully affirms, and Libya, which unaffectedly denies, how much latitude does the Council have?

100. I may hazard a reply later to these delicate questions. But let us first, without any pleasure, observe that it appears rather too often that, in spite of the pertinent provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and in spite of the many agreements, treaties and conventions, frontiers and the fact of being neighbours are still today both the best and the worst of things. When they work, everything works and States can calmly attend to their vital business. But when they go wrong, then there is a serious fear for the peace and security of all. Unfortunately, there is a long list in the Council's annals that can bear out these disturbing assertions. And, Sir, have you not just closed a very long and wearisome debate on a burning problem in Latin America, where similarities are not lacking, but which, all things considered, again boils down to an unfortunate question of frontiers? This

means that it is high time in this case, for the prestige of the relevant texts and for the authority of this institution, for the Council to give serious thought to setting up preventive measures the better to ensure the tranquillity of our States.

101. This being so, it is easy to see how swift agreement could possibly be reached on a new series of provisions, including the principle of the inviolability of the territorial integrity of States, to be reaffirmed and strengthened by a complementary formulation that would, for example, solemnly state that such integrity was irrevocably and solely based on the frontiers laid down by agreements, treaties or conventions, unless those frontiers had been defined and passed down, during accession to independence, by the previous administering Power.

102. Such a provision, or at least a variant of it, appears in the Charter of the Organization of African Unity, where, unfortunately, it is gathering dust since there is no adequate arbitration to underpin it. On the other hand, it could be fully operative in the United Nations, provided that the Council did its job and requested that, as a working basis, the Organization should once and for all finally get down to something it sorely needs—a meticulous surveying and patient authentication of State frontiers, as defined in the pertinent juridical texts, in order to produce a map of the world, a sort of illustrated chart, that would be a universal reference document that was indisputable and unchallengeable. For its prestige and for its authority, the United Nations needs more than maps found in atlases and in universities. This is no doubt a gigantic and delicate task, but it is perfectly feasible and in keeping with the calling of the United Nations: the maintenance of world harmony and the protection of peace.

103. As to the actual point at issue, we call upon the parties involved to observe moderation, and, at the same time, we encourage them strictly to respect the rules of good-neighbourliness and to observe certain precepts of peace. These are: faithful respect for frontiers inherited from colonization; non-resort to the threat or use of force in order unilaterally to settle a dispute; non-intervention in each other's internal affairs; cessation of politico-military tension in the disputed area; and embarking in good faith on talks and negotiations in order to remove obstacles and misunderstandings by resorting to arbitration, offered as a matter of goodwill by regional organizations, and to the good offices of the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

104. Perhaps because we are a small country and perhaps because, by temperament, we have neither military ambition nor expansionist urges, we believe that the countries of the world would find it easy to get along with one another if each were content with its own internationally recognized territorial patrimony and were to develop it for the well-being of all, in the spirit of mutual assistance and co-operation.

105. Chad, a poor country with very rugged conditions, a country that has just emerged from a long fratricidal

and destructive war, and Libya, a country whose conditions are no less difficult but which nature has endowed with considerable resources, undoubtedly have other things to exchange than death-dealing devices, other forms of neighbourliness than exhausting, repeated political discord and the escalation of dangerous, uncontrollable tensions on their frontier. We would encourage them to embark upon efforts quickly to gain peace, put an end to bitterness and bring about a more fruitful coexistence conducive to détente and tranquillity in our region. We are grateful that they have expressed their will to resort to dialogue, which bears witness to their concern, and we exhort them to do so unconditionally and without delay.

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

107. Mr. BOULE (Gabon) (*interpretation from French*): At the outset, Sir, allow me to extend to you the congratulations of the delegation of Gabon on your assumption of the presidency for the month of March. We are familiar with your talents as a skilful and experienced diplomat. For that reason we are sure that under your enlightened leadership our debate will be one of real substance and will, we hope, be crowned with success.

108. I would like to take this opportunity to extend the congratulations of my delegation to your predecessor, Mr. Troyanovsky, the representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, for the dignified and effective manner in which he conducted the proceedings of the Council during the month of February.

109. Finally, I should like to thank all the members of the Council for allowing the delegation of Gabon to take part in the debate on the border dispute between Chad and the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya.

110. As certain delegations have already mentioned in the course of the debate, this is not the first time that Gabon has considered this delicate matter. My country has always wanted to promote a climate of peace and concord in Africa in general, and in central Africa in particular, for that is where our country is situated.

111. For that reason, on the initiative of the President of Gabon, Mr. Omar Bongo, then the Acting Chairman of the OAU, an *ad hoc* committee was created<sup>2</sup> to seek ways and means of resolving the dispute that is the subject of this debate. That committee was made up of Algeria, Gabon, Mozambique, Nigeria, Senegal and the United Republic of Cameroon. At its meetings held at Libreville from 10 to 12 August 1977, the committee adopted a recommendation, the operative paragraph of which recalled paragraph 1 of OAU resolution AHG/Res. 16(I), adopted at Cairo on 21 July 1964 [*ibid.*]. Paragraph 2 of that resolution states that: "all member States pledge themselves to respect the borders existing on their achievement of national independence".

112. The Charter of the Organization of African Unity, to which both parties belong, stresses the inviolability of

the borders inherited from the colonial period. Furthermore, in the consideration of border disputes between African countries, it is customary to refer to the Powers that administered the territories during the colonial period—in this case, France and Italy.

113. There exists a rather wide range of international agreements on the subject of Libya and Chad that were concluded during the colonial period. Many of the delegations here present have in their statements mentioned, *inter alia*, the Franco-British Convention of 14 June 1898; the Franco-Italian Agreements of 1 November 1902 and the Treaty of Friendship and Good-Neighbourliness between the French Republic and the United Kingdom of Libya of 10 August 1955 [S/15649, annexes I, III and X, respectively].

114. But the treaty that is of interest here is the Treaty of Rome on the settlement of the interests of Italy and France in Africa, better known as the Laval-Mussolini treaty [*ibid.*, annex VII]. That treaty, which was signed on 7 January 1935, was to give Italy the territory we are now discussing. Now, while that treaty was signed—and this is readily recognized by Chad—it was never the subject of an exchange of instruments of ratification between France and Italy, which means that it has no legal status. Moreover, as far as my delegation knows, neither France nor Italy has ever recognized it.

115. Libya's occupation of the Aouzou Strip not only flagrantly violates the principles of the Charter of the Organization of African Unity, which proclaims the inviolability of the borders bequeathed by the colonial administration, but also calls into question the conventions signed by the former administering Powers. This occupation is, finally, a violation of the Charter of the United Nations, which calls for the settlement of disputes among Member States by peaceful means.

116. Gabon objects to any flouting of these principles and supports Chad's just cause. Chad requires nothing more than respect for its borders and its territory.

117. My delegation is very concerned about the situation in the Aouzou Strip. We fear that its continuation will only cause further border disputes of a similar nature elsewhere in Africa, and in its wisdom the OAU has tried to prevent that. Africa, which has had its fill of conflicts, hardly needs any further strife.

118. In addition, it must be realized that even minor local disputes today have a tendency to acquire international dimensions. Hence, we may consider that this situation, though at present only local, poses an inherent threat to international peace and security.

119. My delegation therefore appeals to Libya to take a reasonable stand and to withdraw its troops from the Aouzou Strip, thereby enabling Chad once again to extend its sovereignty over its entire territory. The Chadian people who have suffered the hardships of a fratricidal war, now need to mobilize their remaining energies

and resources in a more constructive cause, that of development. And in order to do that, they have need of that condition that is indispensable to harmonious development, namely, peace.

120. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of the United Republic of Cameroon. I invite her to take a place at the Council table and to make her statement.

121. Mrs. MAIRIE (United Republic of Cameroon) (*interpretation from French*): May I first convey to you, Sir, my warm congratulations on your accession to the presidency for the month of March and for the very talented, subtle and dynamic manner in which you have guided the extremely delicate deliberations in which the Council is now engaged. Thanks to your wealth of experience and your profound knowledge of international affairs, the Council will, I am certain, be able to arrive at effective solutions that will meet the expectations of the international community.

122. I should also like to congratulate Mr. Oleg Troyanovsky, the representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, for the qualities he displayed last month when presiding over the Council.

123. Finally, may I express my gratitude to all the Council members for having done me the honour of inviting me to speak for the first time in this prestigious international body during a debate that is of considerable interest to my Government since it pits against each other two fraternal countries with which Cameroon has the best possible relations of friendship and co-operation.

124. We are taking part in this debate not to stir up any sterile controversy but out of a genuine desire to encourage both parties sincerely to seek a peaceful solution to their dispute in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of the Charter of the Organization of African Unity, principles to which both parties have subscribed in the context of our great family of non-aligned nations.

125. Above all, however, it must be made clear that, as we see it, the problem now before the Council was very clearly described by the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Co-operation of Chad, Mr. Idriss Miskine, in his statement on 22 March [2419th meeting]. What Chad wishes to do is to recover a part of its territory that has been occupied by military force. The problem thus has no connection whatever with the legitimacy of the Government at present in power in N'Djamena. The choice of the Chadian Government is the exclusive province of the people of Chad.

126. Cameroon, which recognizes only States, enjoys the best possible relations of co-operation and friendship with the Government of President Hissein Habré, which is making praiseworthy efforts to restore the national unity and peace Chad so grievously needs. Indeed, since we have to a large extent shared the sufferings of the

fraternal people of Chad, we Cameroonians can bear witness to the cruel tragedy that has nearly compromised Chad's very existence as a State.

127. We are convinced that the international community, which has been standing impotently by as a witness to this indescribable tragedy, will now be able to appreciate the need to make an effective contribution to restoring peace in this part of Africa and enabling the heroic people of Chad finally to devote all their resources to development and to controlling their future free from any external interference.

128. This means that we must do everything we can to induce the Governments of Chad and Libya to come back to the negotiating table, as they have attempted to do on a number of occasions in the past.

129. Such a negotiation should, as we see it, be facilitated by the existence of principles that have been laid down by the OAU, particularly the principle of the inviolability of the frontiers inherited from the colonial period, in accordance with resolution AHG/Res.16 (I), adopted at Cairo on 21 July 1964 [*S/15649, annex XII*], in paragraph 2 of which "all Member States pledge themselves to respect the borders existing on their achievement of national independence."

130. The application of that principle in this particular case should, in turn, be facilitated by the abundance of

legal texts, conventions and treaties, signed either between the former colonial Powers or between independent Libya and France, which was at that time the administering Power of Chad. I would mention only the Treaty of Friendship and Good-Neighbourliness between the French Republic and the United Kingdom of Libya of 10 August 1955 [*ibid., annex X*].

131. My Government is a firm supporter of the principle of the settlement of disputes by dialogue and negotiation. We know that the two fraternal countries concerned in this debate, both of which are members of the OAU and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, are equally attached to that principle. They are also aware of the need to safeguard peace in our region by practising scrupulous respect for the sovereignty of neighbouring States, as well as for their territorial integrity. We therefore have every confidence that the Council will help them to re-establish relations of good-neighbourliness and fruitful mutual co-operation that will be to the advantage of both their peoples and of peace and unity in Africa.

*The meeting rose at 1 p.m.*

---

NOTES

<sup>1</sup> General Assembly resolution 2625 (XXV), annex.

<sup>2</sup> See A/32/310, annex II, decision AHG/Dec.108 (XIV).