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Confidential filing

Internal Situation

CHAD

NOVEMBER 1981

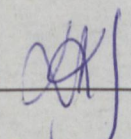
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23.11.81							
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30.9.87							
26.10.87							
28.10.87		PART		CLOSED			

TO BE RETAINED AS TOP ENCLOSURE

Cabinet / Cabinet Committee Documents

Reference	Date
CC(81)36 th meeting, item 3	12/11/1981
CC(81) 38 th meeting, item 2	26/11/1981
CC(84) 31 st meeting, item 1	20/09/1984
CC(86) 7 th meeting, item 2	20/02/1986

The documents listed above, which were enclosed on this file, have been removed and destroyed. Such documents are the responsibility of the Cabinet Office. When released they are available in the appropriate CAB (CABINET OFFICE) CLASSES

Signed 

Date 16/01/2015

PREM Records Team

SERIES CLOSED

**END OF
CONSERVATIVE
ADMINISTRATION**

1 MAY 1997

OUT TELEGRAM

SUBJECT cc MASTER OPS

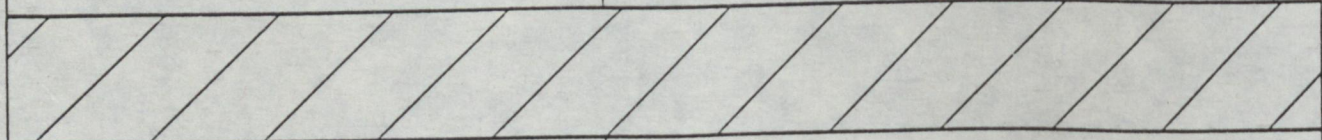
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1 ZCZC
2 UNCLASSIFIED
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4 FM FCO
5 TELNO PRESIREP 5307KD
6 TELNO
7 281530Z OCTOBER 87
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PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL MESSAGE
SERIAL No. T192a/87

10 DESTINATION: HE MONSIEUR HISSEIN HABRE, PRESIDENT OF THE
11 REPUBLIC OF CHAD, N'DJAMENA
12 1. Thank you for your telegram of 25 September about discussion
13 of Chad at the Un General Assembly. I am glad that we have
14 been able to be of help. The United Kingdom supports Chad's
15 right to defend itself against aggression, and we shall
16 continue to support efforts, at the UN and elsewhere, to
17 restore her territorial integrity.
18 With best regards
19 Margaret Thatcher
20 London, 28 October 1987.
21
22 HOWE
23
24
25 YYYY
/// 26 MAIN
// 27 NO DISTRIBUTION
/ 28 WAD
29



YYYY
MAIN
ADDITIONAL
NNNN

Catchword:	
File number	Dept WAD
Drafted by (Block capitals) J A TUCKNOTT	Telephone no 2517
Authorised for despatch by:	Initials Date/time <i>[Signature]</i> 28/10/87
For COD use only	Comcen reference
Telegram number	Processed by



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epk

10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

26 October 1987

From the Private Secretary

CHAD

Thank you for your letter of 13 October proposing a reply from the Prime Minister to the recent message from President Habré of Chad. The Prime Minister takes the view that the OAU are unlikely to be able to make any useful contribution in the matter of Libya's aggression against Chad. The last sentence of the draft message should therefore be omitted. On that basis, it can be despatched.

Charles Powell

Lyn Parker, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

ea

CSP or.

c/c 1/1



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

13 October 1987

D.A. U will

be unless.

~~CSP~~

Suggest in fine clear

2. Prime Minister

support to Chad

Content with the proposed reply?

Dear Charles,

mt

Chad

has

13/10

Thank you for your letter of 30 September enclosing a telegram to the Prime Minister from President Habre of Chad. You asked for a draft reply.

Habre's message (of which I enclose a translation for your records) seeks our support for the inscription on the UNGA agreement of the item on Libyan aggression proposed by Chad. Given our interest in focusing attention on Libyan behaviour towards Chad, our delegation so far has been supporting this item. There is, however, concern in African ranks that inscription could cut across current mediation efforts by the OAU, in which President Kaunda is personally involved. We would not want to commit ourselves to supporting an item which turned out to be divisive in OAU terms and which Kaunda might see as hostile to his own efforts. Thus the draft reply, while reiterating our support for Chad in general terms, avoids any specific commitments.

We see no need for the reply to be translated into French. We would send it by commercial means to N'Djamena since we have no resident mission there.

Yours ever,
L Parker

(L Parker)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
PS/10 Downing Street

TELEGRAM FROM THE PRIME MINISTER TO:

HIS EXCELLENCY MONSIEUR HISSENE HABRE
PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF CHAD
N'DJAMENA

THANK YOU FOR YOUR TELEGRAM OF 25 SEPTEMBER ABOUT
DISCUSSION OF CHAD AT THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY. I AM
GLAD THAT WE HAVE BEEN ABLE TO BE OF HELP. THE UNITED KINGDOM
SUPPORTS CHAD'S RIGHT TO DEFEND ITSELF AGAINST AGGRESSION,
AND WE SHALL CONTINUE TO SUPPORT EFFORTS, AT THE UN AND
ELSEWHERE, TO RESTORE HER TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY. WE HOPE
THAT THE CURRENT INITIATIVE BY THE ORGANISATION OF AFRICAN
UNITY WILL PROVE FRUITFUL.

WITH BEST REGARDS

MARGARET THATCHER



30
17

To: Her Excellency Mrs Margaret Thatcher, Prime Minister of the
United Kingdom

L O N D O N

TLX No 097/PR/CAB/87

JWD 020 1	
RECEIVED IN RE...	
1-OCT 1987	
DESK OFFICER	PA
INDEX	PA
	PA

Dear Prime Minister

It was with great satisfaction and a genuine feeling of reassurance that I learned of the very considerable assistance given by your friendly country to Chad on 16 September 1987 with its vote within the General Committee of the 42nd Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, when the item put forward by Chad was included on the agenda. This item related to the armed conflict between my country and Libya and was entitled "Aggression against and occupation of Chad by Libya". And so it is my pleasant duty to express to you on behalf of the Chadian people, their Government and myself our thanks and our deep gratitude for the active contribution made by your Permanent Mission to the United Nations.

Indeed, the reason for the request by my country for inclusion of an item on the agenda was the concern of the Chadian Government to seek the ways and means to achieve a peaceful settlement of the conflict - a conflict which, after all, is threatening peace in the whole region. That is why we felt that the question had to be brought before the United Nations so that it could be resolved in accordance with the relevant principles and objectives of the Charter of the United Nations. We, for our part, are convinced that the United Nations can make a useful contribution towards progress on the settlement of the dispute by causing the two parties to become involved in such a process. Similarly, we believe that consideration of the dossier by the United Nations will serve to complement the actions being undertaken at the level of other regional bodies.

In the next few days the Plenary Meeting of the General Assembly will be called upon to consider once again the item put forward by Chad. And so I should like respectfully to ask for your support and that of your country in order that the 42nd Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations might definitively accept on its agenda the item included by its General Committee.

In this connection, I am convinced that Chad will once again be able to count on your country's support for the item put forward by Chad to remain before 42nd Session of the General Assembly, thus giving a new boost to the efforts to achieve a settlement of the armed conflict between Chad and Libya. And so, Prime Minister, I should be grateful for any instructions you might give to your Permanent Mission to the United Nations. Expressing my sincere thanks once again, I remain etc.

Hissène Habré
President of the Republic of Chad
N'DJAMENA

N'Djamena, 25 September 1987

CHAD Int. Sur Nou 81.





Line

10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

30 September 1987

From the Private Secretary

CHAD

I enclose a copy of a telex dated 25 September containing a message from President Hissein Habre to the Prime Minister. It appears to have reached us via Wilton Park.

I should be grateful for a draft reply.

Charles Powell

Lyn Parker Esq
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

ca

SUBJECT cc OPS
MASTER

DESTINATAIRE : S.E. MADAME MARGARET THATCHER, PREMIER MINISTRE DU
ROYAUME - UNI

L O N D R E S

TLX NO 097/FR/CAB/87

MADAME LE PREMIER MINISTRE,

PRIME MINISTER'S

PERSONAL MESSAGE

SERIAL No. T 177^A/67

C'EST AVEC UNE GRANDE SATISFACTION ET UN REEL RECONFORT QUE J'AI APPRIS LE CONCOURS TRES APPRECIABLE QUE VOTRE PAYS AMI PAR SON VOTE, A APORTE AU TCHAD, LE 16 SEPTEMBRE 1987, AU SEIN DU BUREAU DE LA 42E SESSION DE L'ASSEMBLEE GENERALE DES NATIONS UNIES LORS DE L'INSCRIPTION A SON ORDRE DU JOUR DU POINT PROPOSE PAR LE TCHAD STOP POINT RELATIF AU CONFLIT ARME OPPOSANT MON PAYS A LA LIBYE ET DONT L'INTITULE EST : "AGRESION ET OCCUPATION DU TCHAD PAR LA LIBYE" STOP AUSSI ME FAIS L'AGREABLE DEVOIR DE VOUS EXPRIMER AU NOM DU PEUPLE TCHADIEU, DE SON GOUVERNEMENT ET EN MON NOM PROPRE NOS REMERCIEMENTS ET NOTRE PROFONDE GRATITUDE POUR LA CONTRIBUTION ACTIVE QUE VOTRE MISSION PERMANENTE AUPRES DES NATIONS UNIES.

EN EFFET, LA DEMANDE D'INSCRIPTION A L'ORDRE DU JOUR PRESENTEE PAR MON PAYS EST MOTIVEE PAR LE SOUCI DU GOUVERNEMENT TCHADIEU DE RECHERCHER LES VOIES ET MOYENS DE PARVENIR A UN REGLEMENT PACIFIQUE DU CONFLIT, UN CONFLIT QUI AU DEMEURANT MENACE LA PAIX DANS TOUTE LA REGION STOP C'EST POURQUOI NOUS AVONS CRU DEVOIR PORTER LA QUESTION DEVANT L'ORGANISATION DES NATIONS UNIES POUR SA RESOLUTION CONFORMEMENT AUX PRINCIPES ET OBJECTIFS PERTINENTS DE LA CHARTE DES NATIONS-UNIES STOP NOUS SOMMES POUR NOTRE PART PERSUADES QUE L'ORGANISATION DES NATIONS-UNIES PEUT UTILEMENT CONTRIBUER A FAIRE EVOLUER LE REGLEMENT DU DIFFEREND EN AMENANT LES DEUX PARTIES A S'ENGAGER DANS UN TEL PROCESSUS STOP DE MEME NOUS CROYONS QU'UN EXAMEN DU DOSSIER PAR L'ORGANISATION DES NATIONS UNIES AURA POUR EFFET DE COMPLETER LES ACTIONS MENEES AU NIVEAU D'AUTRES INSTANCES REGIONALES.

DANS LES PROCHAINS JOURS, L'ASSEMBLEE GENERALE EN SEANCE PLENIERE, AURA A EXAMINER A NOUVEAU LE POINT PRESENTE PAR LE TCHAD STOP AUSSI IL ME PLAIT DE SOLLICITER VOTRE HAUTE ATTENTION ET CELLE DE VOTRE PAYS AMI AFIN QUE LA 42E SESSION DE L'ASSEMBLEE GENERALE DES NATIONS-UNIES PUISSE RETENIR DEFINITIVEMENT A SON ORDRE DU JOUR LA QUESTION INSCRITE PAR SON BUREAU STOP

A CET EGARD, JE SUIS CONVAINCU QUE LE TCHAD POURRA UNE NOUVELLE FOIS COMPTER SUR LE SOUTIEN DE VOTRE PAYS POUR QUE LA 42E SESSION DE L'ASSEMBLEE GENERALE RESTE SAISIE DU POINT PROPOSE PAR LE TCHAD ET DONNER AINSI UNE IMPULSION NOUVELLE AUX EFFORTS VISANT A PARYENIR AU REGLEMENT DU CONFLIT ARME ENTRE LE TCHAD ET LA LIBYE STOP AUSSI, MADAME LE PREMIER MINISTRE JE VOUS SAURAI GRE DES INSTRUCTIONS QU'IL VOUS PLAIRA DE DONNER A VOTRE REPRESENTATION PERMANENTE AUX NATIONS-UNIES STOP TOUT EN VOUS RENOUVELANT MES SINCERES REMERCIEMENTS, JE VOUS PRIE D'ACCEPTER, MADAME LE PREMIER MINISTRE, LES ASSURANCES DE MA TRES HAUTE CONSIDERATION STOP ET FIN./-

HISSEIN HABRE
PRESIDENT DE LA REPUBLIQUE DU TCHAD

LW 'R J A M E N A

N'DJAMENA, LE 25 SEPTEMBRE 1987

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WELL RECEIVED PLSE??

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File

HL

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

7 September 1983

Chad

With your letter of 31 August you enclosed a draft reply for the Prime Minister to send to President Mitterrand in response to the President's message about Chad contained in Monsieur Cheysson's letter of 24 August.

The Prime Minister was not entirely content with the draft proposed. I now enclose a letter which she has signed and should be grateful if you could arrange for its delivery to President Mitterrand.

BF

John Holmes, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

RESTRICTED

cc OPS
Master

WFO

c. FLO

SUBJECT

10 DOWNING STREET

THE PRIME MINISTER

7 September 1983

PRIME MINISTER'S

PERSONAL MESSAGE

SERIAL No. T.127/83

My dear Mr President,

Thank you for your message about the situation in Chad, which I received last week through your Foreign Minister.

I have been following events in Chad with close attention. I well understand the points you make about the military intervention of Libya and the counter-measures which France is taking.

Nothing can excuse Libya's aggression against its neighbour. It must not be allowed to succeed. I know that France has contractual obligations to the legitimate government in Ndjamena and that by fulfilling these she is helping to prevent the destabilisation of the region. I welcome these efforts. I was glad to be able to approve the sale to France of ground-to-air missiles for use in Chad if needed.

We share your commitment to the principles of self-determination and the peaceful resolution of disputes. We attach importance to the inviolability of established frontiers. I agree with you that the OAU has a role to play in bringing peace to Chad. The support of the UN may also be needed. We have therefore instructed our representative at the United Nations to give full support to any initiative which could help solve the problem.

/I share your

CONFIDENTIAL

- 2 -

I share your view that the internal disputes of the Republic of Chad are a matter for the people of that country themselves to settle.

I was most grateful for your helpful explanation of the French position and wish you well in your efforts to bring peace to this troubled country.

Yours sincerely

Raymond D. [unclear]

His Excellency Monsieur Francois Mitterrand.

CONFIDENTIAL



10 DOWNING STREET

THE PRIME MINISTER

Mr. Coler - o.v.

The PM felt that the drafting of this was stilted and clumsy. In addition to the passages which she has marked, I have indicated other passages which she did not like.

Could you please see if something more suitable can be produced.

FERB
3.9.

Dear Mr. President:

Thank you for your message about the situation in Chad, which I received last week through your Foreign Minister.

I have, of course, been following events in that country with close attention. I understand very well the points you make about the military intervention of Libya and about the counter-measures which France is taking.

As I see it, there are two problems facing the Chadian Government: first, the massive invasion of their country by Libyan forces; secondly, the question of internal reconciliation.

As to the first, nothing can excuse Libya's aggression against its neighbour. It must not be allowed to succeed. I know that France has contractual obligations to the legitimate government in Ndjamen and that by fulfilling these she is helping to prevent the destabilisation of the region. I was glad to be able to approve the sale to France of ground-to-air missiles for use in Chad if needed.

We share your commitment to like you, we in Great Britain believe in the principles of self-determination and non-use of force to settle disputes. In Africa, as elsewhere, we attach importance to the inviolability of established frontiers. The OAU obviously has a role to play in settling disputes, although the support of the UN may also be needed to help bring peace to Chad. We have instructed our representative at the United Nations to give full support to any initiative which

I agree with you that

/could

could help solve the problem. I am glad that we ~~have been~~^{our two countries}
~~able to work together in New York, even though so far action~~
~~in the Security Council has come to nothing.~~

I understand that you have had ~~some contacts~~ with the Libyans, and I will gladly consider whether there is any way in which ~~we can usefully support you in this as well.~~

As to the second question, that of internal reconciliation, it goes without saying that this is something for the people of Chad to settle among themselves.

I hope you will not hesitate to make direct contact with me again on this or any subject if you think it would be useful.

I share your view that the internal ~~disagreements~~
disputes of the Republic of Chad are a matter for the
people of that country themselves to settle.

I was most grateful to your helpful explanation of
the French position and will do well in your efforts to
bring peace to ~~the troubled country~~ the troubled country.

His Excellency Monsieur Francois Mitterrand

CONFIDENTIAL



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

31 August, 1983

Dear Tim,

Chad

M. Cheysson has sent a letter to Sir Geoffrey Howe enclosing an unsigned message to the Prime Minister from President Mitterrand in which he expresses his concern at the crisis in Chad and seeks the Prime Minister's views as to how peaceful progress could be made. I enclose the message and an unofficial translation. Although President Mitterrand's message is obviously by way of being a circular, Sir G Howe recommends that the Prime Minister should send a personal reply. A draft is attached.

Direct British interests in Chad are slight but we are concerned about the general threat posed by Libyan adventurism to friendly African regimes. Our views - if not our direct interests - coincide very closely with those of President Mitterrand. A personal message from the Prime Minister to him would be the best way of indicating our support.

Following the fall of Faya Largeau to Libyan/Goukouni troops on 10 August, French involvement has been stepped up steadily. 6 Jaguars and 4 Mirages have been flown to Ndjamená; and there are now at least 1,000 highly-armed French troops in Chad, mainly in Ndjamená, but with forward positions with Habre's troops on a line roughly half way across the country. French reinforcements are readily available from nearby countries. There are also 2,500 Zairian troops in Chad. Chad is now de facto temporarily partitioned. The military situation has reached a stalemate: Habre's appeals to French troops to counter-attack have fallen on deaf ears, but President Mitterrand has warned that if the Libyan/Goukouni forces advance, French troops will react. The US have kept a low profile since France sent troops and have withdrawn their surveillance aircraft from Khartoum, though making it clear they will return if needed. Franco-American relations, after a difficult period, are now on the mend.

/Attempts

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Attempts to reach a diplomatic solution seem stalled. Qadhafi continues to deny any Libyan involvement. A French Presidential adviser visited Tripoli but does not appear to have reached any agreement. The OAU has proved unable to take any effective action and the Security Council debate has so far come to nothing. However there is now a greater prospect for OAU action, with a visit by an OAU mission to Paris on 31 August.

Yours ever

J E Holmes

(J E Holmes)
Private Secretary

T Flesher Esq
10 Downing Street

CONFIDENTIAL

DSR 11 (Revised)

Message

DRAFT: ~~minute/letter/teletype/dispatch/note~~

TYPE: Draft/Final 1+

FROM:

Reference

DEPARTMENT:

TEL. NO:

SECURITY CLASSIFICATION

TO:

Your Reference

Top Secret

President Mitterrand

Secret

Copies to:

Confidential

Restricted

Unclassified

PRIVACY MARKING

SUBJECT:

.....In Confidence

CAVEAT.....

Thank you for your message about the situation in Chad, which I received last week through your Foreign Minister.

I have of course been following events in that country with close attention. I understand very well the points you make about the military intervention of Libya and about the counter-measures which France is taking.

As I see it, there are two problems facing the Chadian Government: first, the massive invasion of their country by Libyan forces; secondly, the question of internal reconciliation.

As to the first, nothing can excuse Libya's aggression against its neighbour. It must not be allowed to succeed. I know that France has contractual obligations to the legitimate government in Ndjamena and that by fulfilling these she is helping to prevent the destabilisation of the region. I was glad to be able to approve the sale to France of ground-to-air missiles for use in Chad if needed.

Enclosures—flag(s).....

/Like you

CONFIDENTIAL

Like you, we in Great Britain believe in the principles of self-determination and non-use of force to settle disputes. In Africa, as elsewhere, we attach importance to the inviolability of established frontiers. The OAU obviously has a role to play in settling disputes, although the support of the UN may also be needed to help bring peace to Chad. We have instructed our representative at the United Nations to give full support to any initiative which could help solve the problem. I am glad that we have been able to work together in New York, even though so far action in the Security Council has come to nothing.

I understand that you have had some contacts with the Libyans, and I will gladly consider whether there is any way in which we can usefully support you in this as well.

As to the second question, that of internal reconciliation, it goes without saying that this is something for the people of Chad to settle among themselves.

I hope you will not hesitate to make direct contact with me again on this or any subject if you think it would be useful.

MESSAGE FROM M. CLAUDE CHEYSSON
MINISTER FOR EXTERNAL RELATIONS
TO RT. HON. SIR GEOFFREY HOWE

Paris, 24 August 1983

My Dear Friend

The recent developments in the Chadian crisis, the massive intervention by Libyan forces, the various comments which have been made in the last few days, have caused my President to address himself directly and in a friendly manner to your Prime Minister to describe the situation such as he sees it, to remind her of the French objectives in the matter and to discover her views as to how peaceful progress could be made in this matter. I should be very grateful if you could kindly convey this message, and assure you of my most friendly consideration.

Claude

1. In the last 17 years the Republic of Chad has often suffered from civil war. France, who helps defend the sovereignty of this friendly state, has always supported the government in N'Djamena, accepted and recognised by the Organisation of African Unity.
2. France and Chad are bound by military cooperation agreements signed in 1976: these provide essentially for the supply of equipment to the Chadian armed forces and for their training by French instructors.
3. The military situation is now different. The Government of Chad is confronted by direct foreign military intervention: repeated bombing by the Libyan air force, the presence and massive use of Libyan heavy artillery, Libyan armoured cars and Libyan tanks. This intervention has been established objectively and indisputably.
4. The French government was therefore forced, at the express and insistent request of the Chadian government, to increase significantly the despatch of military instructors and equipment. But the extent of its action must and will depend on the extent of Libyan action. Tripoli has been told so.
5. The continuation of aggressive acts of war by Libyan forces or with the support of Libyan forces would inevitably provoke a direct confrontation with the French forces, which would, of course, use all appropriate means to defend themselves. Again, Tripoli has been told so.
6. I thought it wise to inform you personally of this situation, which I have brought to the attention of the President of the OAU, the President of the Non-Aligned Movement and several interested Heads of State in the Third World and in Europe.
7. France, for her part, has no ambitions in Chad. She is not, of course, participating in any action against the Libyan Jamahirya, whose sovereignty and independence she duly respects.

/But

But she also expects that the integrity, the sovereignty and the independence of Chad will also be respected.

France wishes to avoid an international crisis with unforeseeable consequences. She does not want the tension which exists elsewhere between the East and the West to spread to Central Africa. A number of countries in Black Africa with whom France has contractual obligations have already expressed their anxiety and asked her to help.

8. We welcome any international initiative likely to bring about a return to peace and allow reconciliation. An initiative by the OAU would be particularly useful and appropriate; I have informed the OAU President of this through various channels. It must be possible to resolve the conflict between Chad and Libya by peaceful means; and it is to be hoped that the dispute between Chadians should also be settled by the Africans themselves.

MESSAGE DE M. CLAUDE CHEYSSON
MINISTER FOR EXTERNAL RELATIONS

TO

THE RT. HON. SIR GEOFFREY HOWE, QC, MP
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH AFFAIRS

Paris, le 24 août 1983

"Mon Cher Ami,

Les récents développements de la crise tchadienne, l'intervention massive de forces libyennes, les commentaires divers qui ont marqué les derniers jours incitent mon Président à s'adresser de manière directe et amicale à votre Premier Ministre pour décrire la situation telle qu'il la voit, rappeler les objectifs français en la matière et pour connaître son avis sur les suites pacifiques à donner à cette affaire. Je vous serais reconnaissant de bien vouloir remettre ce message et vous assure de mes sentiments amicaux.

signé : Claude"./. .

"1. Depuis dix-sept ans, la République du Tchad a maintes fois connu la guerre civile. La France, qui contribue à la défense de la souveraineté de cet état ami, n'a pas cessé de soutenir le gouvernement de N'Djamena, admis et reconnu par l'Organisation de l'Unité Africaine.

2. La France et le Tchad sont liés par des accords de coopération militaire signés en 1976 : ceux-ci prévoient notamment une aide en matériel aux forces armées tchadiennes ainsi que la formation de son personnel par des instructeurs français.

3. La situation militaire est aujourd'hui différente. Le gouvernement du Tchad doit faire face à une intervention militaire étrangère directe : bombardements répétés de l'aviation libyenne, présence et action massives d'artillerie, de véhicules blindés et de chars lourds libyens. Cette intervention a été constatée de manière objective incontestable.

4. Le gouvernement français a ainsi été amené, à la demande expresse et insistante du gouvernement du Tchad, à accroître de manière significative ses envois d'instructeurs militaires et de matériel. Mais son action doit être et sera mesurée à la dimension de l'action libyenne. Tripoli en a été averti.

.../...

5. La poursuite d'actes agressifs de guerre par les forces libyennes ou avec l'appui des forces libyennes ne manquerait pas, dès lors, de provoquer une confrontation directe avec les forces françaises, qui utiliseraient évidemment, pour se défendre, tous les moyens appropriés. Tripoli en a été également averti.

6. J'ai cru bon de vous informer personnellement de cette situation, dont j'ai également saisi le Président de l'O.U.A, la Présidente du mouvement des non-alignés et plusieurs Chefs d'Etat intéressés dans le Tiers Monde et en Europe.

7. La France, pour sa part, n'a aucune ambition au Tchad. Elle ne participe évidemment à aucune action contre la Jamahirya Libyenne dont elle respecte, comme il se doit, la souveraineté et l'indépendance. Mais elle entend aussi que soient respectées l'intégrité, la souveraineté, l'indépendance du Tchad.

Elle souhaite éviter une crise internationale aux conséquences imprévisibles. Elle ne voudrait pas que la tension qui existe ailleurs entre l'Est et l'Ouest pût s'étendre à l'Afrique Centrale. Déjà les inquiétudes et les demandes d'aide s'étendent à de nombreux pays d'Afrique noire avec lesquels la France a souscrit des obligations d'ordre contractuel.

8. Nous sommes favorables à toute initiative internationale susceptible de ramener la paix et de per-

.../...

mettre la conciliation. Celle de l'O.U.A serait particulièrement utile et appropriée. Je l'ai indiqué au Président de l'Organisation par diverses voies. Le conflit entre le Tchad et la Libye doit pouvoir être réglé par des voies pacifiques, le différend entre tchadiens faisant également l'objet des efforts souhaitables des africains eux-mêmes./.

Chad

(2)

~~Prime Minister~~

180/330 1

Mr 7/12

CONFIDENTIAL



Mr 8/12
h-a.

Treasury Chambers, Parliament Street, SW1P 3AG
01-233 3000

4 December 1981

J.D.S. Dawson, Esq.,
Private Secretary,
Ministry of Defence

mf

Dear Jonathan,
CHAD

Thank you for sending me a copy of your letter of 30 November to Roderic Lyne, FCO.

The Chancellor has noted Mr. Nott's assessment of this case and would not wish to object to the proposal that exceptionally the normal full cost charging rule should be waived in favour of extra cost charges for the flights concerned.

I am sending copies of this letter to those who received yours.

Yours,
Peter

P.S. JENKINS

Chad



MINISTRY OF DEFENCE
MAIN BUILDING WHITEHALL LONDON SW1
Telephone 01-~~930-7622~~ 218 2111/3

MO 11/10/21

mb

30th November 1981

John Rodric

Prime Minister

(2)

And 1/41

CHAD

My Secretary of State has seen Lord Carrington's minute of 20th November and is content to agree to the use of defence resources as he describes. Cabinet, you will recall, discussed this last Thursday.

Mr Nott has also considered the basis on which the FCO should be charged for this assistance. He has noted that Treasury rules would normally require this to be at full cost. He has also taken into account, however, the training value to the RAF of such a deployment, the defence interest in Nigeria and the broader national interest in ensuring that we do something to assist the OAU force. Therefore provided the Chancellor of the Exchequer is content, Mr Nott would agree (as he indicated at Cabinet) that, exceptionally in this case, only the extra costs of the operation should be recovered from the FCO.

I am copying this letter to Michael Alexander (No 10), to the Private Secretaries to the other members of OD, and to David Wright (Cabinet Office).

*Yours sincerely
Jonathan Dawson*

(J D S DAWSON)

R M J Lyne Esq

CONFIDENTIAL



Treasury Chambers, Parliament Street, SW1P 3AG

01-233 3000

26 November 1981

The Rt. Hon. Lord Carrington PC KCMG MC
Secretary of State for Foreign and
Commonwealth Affairs

Pete

mt

Prime Minister
+ for.

(4)

Paul

CHAD

I have seen your minute of 20 November seeking agreement to an allocation of £434,000 from the Contingency Reserve to pay for Hercules Aircraft to transport OAU troops to Chad.

I do not dispute that there may be powerful reasons for providing this assistance, as you argue. But the cost involved represents less than 0.1 per cent of the total of the programmes for which you are responsible - leaving aside the Aid Programme. There are still over four months of the current financial year to run which must surely mean that there is a possibility of finding offsetting savings to cover this expenditure - thus avoiding the need for any call on the Contingency Reserve. I hope that you will agree to examine the scope for offsetting savings.

Copies of this letter go to the other recipients of yours.

[Handwritten signature]

GEOFFREY HOWE

Subject

10 Downing St

RESTRICTED

38667 - 1
PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL MESSAGE
SERIAL No. T 167 A/81

GRS 204
RESTRICTED
DESKBY 270900Z NOV 81
FM FCO 261700Z NOV 81
TO IMMEDIATE NAIROBI
TELEGRAM NUMBER 380 OF 26 NOVEMBER
INFO IMMEDIATE LAGOS, PARIS, WASHINGTON, KINSHASA
INFO ROUTINE BONN, ACCRA, DAKAR, TRIPOLI, ROME, KHARTOUM,
UKMIS NEW YORK, YAOUNDE.
INFO SAVING LIBREVILLE, MONROVIA, BANJUL, FREETOWN, ADDIS ABABA,
AND ABIDJAN.
MIPT: CHAD

1. FOWLLOING IS TEXT OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S REPLY TO
PRESIDENT MOI'S LETTER OF 23 NOVEMBER.

BEGINS: DEAR PRESIDENT MOI,

THANK YOU FOR YOUR LETTER ABOUT THE PAN AFRICAN PEACEKEEPING
FORCE. I AM DELIGHTED TO HEAR THAT THE ORGANISATION OF
AFRICAN UNITY, UNDER YOUR LEADERSHIP, IS MAKING SUCH
POSITIVE AND TIMELY EFFORTS TO HELP RESTORE PEACE AND
STABILITY IN CHAD. WE APPLAUD THIS DEVELOPMENT AND WISH YOU
AND THE ORGANISATION WELL IN YOUR ENDEAVOURS.

WHEN I RECEIVED YOUR MESSAGE, WE WERE ALREADY CONSIDERING A
REQUEST PUT TO US BY THE NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT FOR HELP OVER
PUTTING THEIR CONTINGENT OF THE PEACEKEEPING FORCE INTO
CHAD. WE HAVE NOW TOLD THE NIGERIANS THAT WE WOULD LIKE TO
OFFER SOME PRACTICAL ASSISTANCE AND WE SHALL BE DISCUSSING
THE DETAILS FURTHER WITH THEM. WE SHALL BE THINKING IF THERE
ARE ANY OTHER WAYS IN WHICH WE CAN HELP.

YOURS SINCERELY

MARGARETH THATCHER

ENDS

CARRINGTON
DISTRIBUTION

LIMITED

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OAD'S

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FINANCE D

DEFENCE D

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PS

PS/LPS

PS/MR HURD

PS/MR LUCE

PS/LORD TREFGARNE

PS/PUS

MR DAY

MR BULLARD

SIR L ALLINSON

MR FERGUSSON

CABINET OFFICE

RESTRICTED

RESTRICTED



allowance we give equipment only? not (4) add to bank

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

FA

26 November 1981

Prime Minister

Because of the shortage of time, I append the text of a message from you to President Sanyal during the Council session. It contains nothing controversial.

Dear Michael,

Chad

RMJ 26/11/81

The Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary raised the question of assistance to the OAU peace keeping force for Chad in Cabinet this morning. An interdepartmental meeting has subsequently been held to determine the terms on which assistance could be made available. We are now in a position to inform the Nigerian Government that we can provide logistic help for their contingent of the peace keeping force, and are instructing the British High Commissioner at Lagos to discuss the question with the Nigerian Foreign Minister.

//
/ The Kenyan President, who is the Chairman in office of the OAU, has sent a message to the Prime Minister (and also to the American and French Presidents) seeking help for the peace keeping force. I enclose self-explanatory telegrams from Nairobi (numbers 622 and 623). As I told you on the telephone to Lancaster House this afternoon, we would like to send a rapid reply to President Moi, to reach Nairobi before a meeting of African Presidents which is to be held there on 27 November to finalise arrangements for the force. I enclose the text of our reply to President Moi, which you agreed could issue.

*yours ever
Roderic Lyne*

(R M J Lyne)
Private Secretary

M O'D B Alexander Esq
10 Downing Street

RESTRICTED

Subject

PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL MESSAGE
SERIAL No. T 161 C / 81

to pa please

(421)

TOP COPY

RESTRICTED

GRS 187

RESTRICTED

FM NAIROBI 240703Z NOV 81

TO IMMEDIATE F C O

TELEGRAM NUMBER 623 OF 24 NOVEMBER 81

INFO LAGOS, KINSHASA, PARIS, WASHINGTON, BONN, UKMIS, NEW YORK

JWD azoh
24 NOV 1981
RC 25/11
ole

(4-20)

M I P T : CHAD

1. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF PRESIDENT MOI'S LETTER TO THE PRIME MINISTER DATED 23 NOVEMBER.

BEGINS

DEAR MRS THATCHER,

AS YOU MAY BE ALREADY AWARE, THE ORGANISATION OF AFRICAN UNITY, HAS MADE TREMENDOUS PROGRESS IN ITS ATTEMPT TO RESTORE PEACE AND STABILITY IN CHAD. THE LIBYAN FORCES HAVE LEFT CHAD AND ARE BEING REPLACED BY THE PAN-AFRICAN PEACE-KEEPING FORCE.

A NUMBER OF TROOPS FROM THE TROOP-CONTRIBUTING COUNTRIES ARE ALREADY IN N'DJAMENA. IN ORDER TO MAKE THE PAN-AFRICAN PEACE-KEEPING FORCE VERY EFFECTIVE, WE ARE APPEALING TO ALL FRIENDLY AND PEACE-LOVING NATIONS TO HELP US IN THIS DIFFICULT TASK. IT IS FOR THIS REASON, THAT I HAVE DECIDED TO WRITE TO YOU OFFICIALLY TO REQUEST YOU FOR WHATEVER HELP YOUR GOVERNMENT MIGHT WISH TO GIVE BY WAY OF FINANCE, FOOD AND OTHER NECESSITIES FOR THE PAN-AFRICAN PEACE-KEEPING FORCE AND THE PEOPLE OF CHAD.

YOUR ASSISTANCE AT THIS TIME OF NEED WILL BE GREATLY APPRECIATED

YOURS SINCERELY

ENDS D T ARAP MOI

WILLIAMS

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OADS

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PUSD

PS

PS/LPS

PS/MR LUCE

PS/PUS

MR DAY

SIR L ALLINSON

CABINET OFFICE

RESTRICTED

JWD 0201.

TOP COPY
24 NOV 81

CONFIDENTIAL

No Rc 25/11 CR

GRS 230

CONFIDENTIAL

FM NAIROBI 240700Z NOV 81

TO IMMEDIATE F C O

TELEGRAM NUMBER 622 OF 24 NOVEMBER 81

INFO LAGOS, KINSHASA, PARIS, WASHINGTON, BONN, UKMIS NEW YORK

CHAD

1. PRESIDENT MOI SUMMONED THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR, THE US CHARGE AND MYSELF YESTERDAY AFTERNOON AND MADE AN APPEAL FOR THE HELP OF OUR GOVERNMENTS FOR BOTH THE OAU PEACEKEEPING OPERATION AND FOR RELIEF AND REHABILITATION WITHIN THE COUNTRY ONCE PEACE WAS RESTORED. HE GAVE US LETTERS WRITTEN IN HIS CAPACITY AS CHAIRMAN OF THE OAU FOR TRANSMISSION TO MRS THATCHER, PRESIDENT REAGAN AND PRESIDENT MITTERAND (TEXT IN MIFT). I SAID THAT AS MOI WOULD BE AWARE WE WERE ALREADY CONDUCTING DISCUSSIONS WITH THE NIGERIANS ABOUT THEIR REQUEST FOR AID WHICH HAD BEEN A VERY SUBSTANTIAL ONE. DUZER (FRANCE) EXPLAINED WHAT HIS COUNTRY WAS ALREADY DOING TO HELP OVER LOGISTICS AND EQUIPMENT. HE SAID THAT THE COST OF THE OPERATION IN CHAD WAS GOING TO MOUNT UP RAPIDLY AND HE SUGGESTED THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY SHOULD BE INVOLVED THROUGH THE UN. JANOWSKI (US) STRONGLY SUPPORTED THIS POINT AND MOI SAID THAT HE WOULD WRITE TO WALDHEIM.

2. MOI SAID THAT HE HAD PROPOSED TO MOBUTU THAT THE SUMMIT MEETING ON CHAD SHOULD BE HELD IN KINSHASA ON 27 NOVEMBER (IE AFTER THE ARAB SUMMIT IN FEZ WHERE MOI INTENDS TO PRESS FOR ARAB FINANCIAL SUPPORT FOR THE CHAD OPERATION). THIS STATE WAS NOT HOWEVER CONVENIENT TO MOBUTU AND IT NOW SEEMED LIKELY THAT THE SUMMIT WOULD BE HELD IN NAIROBI ON THAT DATE WITH MOBUTU REPRESENTED.

WILLIAMS

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PS/MR LUCE

PS/PUS

MR DAY

SIR L ALLINSON

CABINET OFFICE

CONFIDENTIAL

OUT TELEGRAM

Classification and Caveats

RESTRICTED

Precedence/Deskby

IMMEDIATE 270900Z

PRIME MINISTER'S
PERSONAL MESSAGE
SERIAL No. T 167/AB1

ZCZC 1
GRS 2
CLASS 3
CAVEATS 4
DESKBY 5
FM FCO 6
PRE/ADD 7
TEL NO. 8
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ZCZC
GRS
RESTRICTED
270900Z NOV 81
FM FCO 261700Z NOV 81
TO IMMEDIATE NAIROBI
TELEGRAM NUMBER
INFO IMMEDIATE LAGOS, PARIS, WASHINGTON, KINSHASA AND INFO
ROUTINE BONN, ACCRA, DAKAR, ABIDJAN, TRIPOLI, ROME, KHARTOUM,
UKMIS NEW YOR, YAOUNDE, ADDIS ABABA
INFO SAVING LIBREVILLE, MONROVIA, BANJUL, FREETOWN
MIPT: CHAD
1. Fowlloing is text of the Prime Minister's reply to
President Moi's letter of 23 November.
Begins: Dear President Moi,
Thank you for your letter about the Pan African peacekeeping
force. I am delighted to hear that the Organisation of
African Unity, under your Leadership, is making such
positive and timely efforts to help restore peace and
stability in Chad. We applaud this development and wish you
and the Organisation well in your endeavours.
When I received your message, we were already considering a
request put to us by the Nigerian Government for help over
putting their contingent of the peacekeeping force into

NNNN ends telegram	BLANK	Catchword Chad
File number	Dept	Distribution as in MIPT
Drafted by (Block capitals) R M J Lyne		
Telephone number 233 4041		
Authorised for despatch RMJL 29/xi		
Comcen reference	Time of despatch	

OUT TELEGRAM (CONT)

Classification and Caveats

RESTRICTED

Page

2

1 <<<<

2 Chad. We have now told the Nigerians that we would like to
3 offer some practical assistance and we shall be discussing
4 the details further with them. We shall be thinking if there
5 are any other ways in which we can help.

6 Yours sincerely
7 Margareth Thatcher

8 Ends

9

10 CARRINGTON

11 NNNN

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NNNN ends
telegram

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Catchword



20
Chad

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

23 November, 1981.

Chad

The Prime Minister has seen the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary's minute of 20 November to the Chancellor of the Exchequer on this subject. The Prime Minister has not taken a position on the question as to how any help that might be provided should be paid for. But she is clear that we should try to respond to the Nigerian Government.

I am sending copies of this letter to the Private Secretaries to the other members of OD and to David Wright (Cabinet Office).

M. O. B. ALEXANDER

R.M.J. Lyne, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

RECEIVED
23 NOV 1981

20



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Prime Minister

FCS/81/131

CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER

You will wish to be aware of this. I imagine the Treasury will want use of the Contingency Reserve. Perhaps you should limit yourself at this stage to saying you would like to see the operation undertaken without expressing a view as to who should pay. Agree?
 attached

Yes

Chad

Print 2/2/41

1. In Cabinet on 12 November, I said that I might have to discuss with you and John Nott Nigeria's request that we should provide help for their contingent in the OAU peace-keeping force in Chad.

2. On 6 November, the Nigerian Foreign Minister gave our High Commissioner in Lagos a paper outlining the likely structure of the Nigerian contribution to an OAU force, together with a list of requirements. He expressed the hope that we could offer some assistance. The USA, France and West Germany have also been approached. All are apparently prepared to help put the Nigerian or other OAU contingent into Chad (French support will go mainly to the Senegalese and Togolese; the Americans have in mind a package of up to \$12 million for foodstuffs, tents and possibly air transport; and the Germans are expected to give about 5 million DM, though probably not to Nigeria). We are keeping in close touch with our allies, with the OAU and Nigeria, to discuss exactly their requirements and avoid duplication.

3. From FCO funds we can set aside £50,000 in the current year for the provision of essential equipment such as tents or medical supplies. But this is the most the Departmental Vote can spare. I should like to make more than this very token gesture. There are very strong political and commercial arguments for keeping our /relations



relations with Nigeria in good repair, as you and OD colleagues will be aware. An export market of the order of one and a half billion pounds is worth nurturing. And a forthcoming response to the OAU in this context could pay dividends in our future dealings with Nigeria and other OAU members over Southern Africa. It seems important to the stability of most of Africa north of the Equator that the vacuum left in Chad by the withdrawal of Libyan troops is filled by the OAU force without delay. Otherwise, there is the very real danger of the renewal of civil war in Chad and of Libya being invited back to restore peace. If he were ever legitimately invited back, Qadhafi would be almost impossible to dislodge a second time. A united Libya/Chad - and he has a passion for uniting - would have destabilising effects on Sudan, Nigeria, Cameroon and many other neighbouring countries. The USSR and its allies could be the main beneficiaries.

4. Unfortunately, the OAU are unlikely to be able to put their peace-keeping force into Chad on their own. We have consulted our Western colleagues on their intentions; and I should now like to be able to offer the Nigerians the use of an RAF Hercules aircraft, which is to be in Lagos shortly on other business, supplemented by another specially-tasked Hercules from the UK, to fly out the tents or other essential equipment which we can provide, and then to run up to a dozen shuttle flights from Lagos to Ndjamena, to help transport part of the Nigerian contingent or their equipment to Chad. Whether or not such an offer is taken up, the gesture will certainly pay dividends with Nigeria.

5. Each aircraft could take about 60 Nigerian soldiers per flight. If we can offer a dozen round trips,

/we

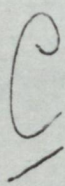


we could transport about one-third of the Nigerian contingent to Chad. The aircraft would of course then be recalled. The cost would be only about £175,000 at extra costs (or £434,000 were this to be accounted on a full costs basis).

6. The MOD have indicated at official level that this proposal is acceptable to them, subject to John Nott's views and appropriate arrangements for payment. I appreciate that in present circumstances any request for additional expenditure presents difficulties. Nevertheless I hope you and the Prime Minister will agree that this would represent a sound investment, and that funding can accordingly be provided. I should like your agreement that funding can be agreed from the Central Contingencies Reserve.

7. The OAU are trying to move ahead rapidly with the installation of their peacekeeping force: and a very early decision is needed if the first Hercules mentioned above is to be tasked as suggested. I should therefore be grateful for your response as soon as possible.

8. I am copying this minute to the Prime Minister, John Nott and to the other members of OD.


(CARRINGTON)

Grey Scale #13



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Inches 1 2 3

Centimetres 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

Colour Chart #13

Blue

Cyan

Green

Yellow

