

Translations on Near East & N. Africa  
NO. 1550

LIBYA

AL-QADHDHAFI INTERVIEWED ON TERRORISM

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 26 Jul 76 pp 77-78

[Text] DER SPIEGEL: Mr President, a short time ago you told the Kuwaiti paper AL-RAI AL-AMM that you consider it your duty to support justice and freedom in every corner of this world. Does this mean support for each and every liberation movement?

Al-Qadhdhafi: What are the liberation movements? Fighters for freedom and justice and against suppression and barbarism. The emancipation of man from suppression is a just cause, and it is therefore the duty of all men to support it.

DER SPIEGEL: Where does one draw the line? The SWAPO in Southwest Africa, for example, is an internationally accepted liberation movement. But also small groups, like the ETA in the Basque region of Spain, consider themselves liberation movements. Do you share this view?

Al-Qadhdhafi: Definitely. It must be stated here that the fighters of a liberation movement alone bear the responsibility for their emancipation coming about. We have no right to make a judgment about it. We know exactly what a liberation movement is. It is any movement which resists racism and colonialism, such as Namibia against South Africa. The whole world must assist and support it.

DER SPIEGEL: Once more: Where does one draw the line? Are the German Baader-Meinhof Group and the Japanese Red Army liberation movements?

Al-Qadhdhafi: We do not know these groups or movements, and we have no ties with them. We support them neither morally nor materially.

DER SPIEGEL: When do you give direct support to a liberation movement? In other words, who receives something?

Al-Qadhdhafi: Sometimes we lend direct assistance. But there are situations where we find it difficult or impossible to lend direct assistance,

although we would like to and should. Then all that remains is for us at least to lend moral assistance. For instance, if Namibia and South Africa were neighbors of Libya, we would long since have fought with our armed forces on the side of the liberation movements of these countries against the racists and colonialists. There are, however, many obstacles and difficulties standing in the way.

DER SPIEGEL: Under what circumstances do you consider the use of force justified?

Al-Qadhdhafi: I consider the use of force justified when a colonized and suppressed people demands its liberation and the colonialist or suppressor does not want to give up. Then there is only one thing left for the people to do: to seize arms in order to expel the usurper from the country--in other words, to apply revolutionary force.

DER SPIEGEL: The Palestinian resistance regards guerrilla operations in Israel as military actions. Do you also consider the use of force against Israeli installations outside Palestine to be justified?

Al-Qadhdhafi: The responsibility and consequences for this must be borne by those who undertake it and justify it. We cannot decide what is right for them and what is wrong for them. Personally I believe that all Palestinian forces must be employed for the liberation of occupied Palestine.

DER SPIEGEL: How about a German Lufthansa plane flying to Tel Aviv. Can it, must it be hijacked?

Al-Qadhdhafi: Hijacking planes or blowing up civilian planes as well as terrorizing civilians, we regard as acts of terror and crimes. Libyan law punishes such culprits very severely. We do not regard such acts as "acts of liberation"; we oppose such fighting methods. They have nothing, nothing at all, to do with actions of liberation.

DER SPIEGEL: In your opinion, was the attack against the Israeli Olympic team in Munich justified?

Al-Qadhdhafi: As I have said, I do not dispose over and do not decide about such culprits. And I cannot decide what they want to do or do not want to do. That is their business; they must bear the responsibility. I do not know their motives and justifications.

DER SPIEGEL: How do you then explain the fact that those taking hostages in all kinds of hijackings time and again choose your country, Libya, as their final destination? For example, a year ago the Japanese of the Red Army, and later the group headed by Carlos which abducted the OPEC ministers in Vienna?

Al-Qadhdhafi: First, the abductors of the Arab OPEC ministers did not get off or remain in Libya but in Tunisia and Algeria, i.e., in another country.

Secondly, Libya's share in landings of hijacked planes is no greater than the share of many countries of this world which have been forced to permit the landing of hijacked planes. As for the hijacked Japanese plane, we took a humanitarian action for which the world ought to thank us: if we had not permitted it to land in our country, it would have crashed with everyone aboard. The hijackers had threatened to blow up the plane.

DER SPIEGEL: What happened to the Japanese?

Al-Qadhdhafi: They were taken to court.

DER SPIEGEL: And the Carlos group?

Al-Qadhdhafi: What has Libya got to do with Carlos? He did not get off in my country--neither he nor his group. I had not heard of his name until he committed his act of piracy. I do not know him; I do not even know what country he is from. Incidentally, why do you not ask President Sadat about it? (He laughs) For it was he who made the charge that Carlos was with me. He made that pronouncement; therefore he must know him well. He knows who Carlos is, where he is from, all he can do, and his whereabouts. You can confidently put all these questions to Sadat, and he will be able to answer them all.

DER SPIEGEL: The Air France plane with Israeli passengers which recently was hijacked to Entebbe was allowed to refuel in Libya. Why did you not permit the exchange of hostages against imprisoned liberation fighters in your country?

Al-Qadhdhafi: The hijackers of that plane did not ask anything from us. They landed in our country, and we thought they wanted to leave us some hostages. But they did not do so. They demanded that we refuel their plane. They threatened to blow up the plane together with all the passengers. To prevent the plane from being blown up, we decided to let the plane refuel. There was a very sick woman on board. We admitted her to one of our hospitals and extended medical care to her. The plane flew on without our knowing where, and without our knowing for what reason it had been hijacked. The hijackers did not talk to us about it. But they stated very clearly: Fuel, or we blow up the plane.

DER SPIEGEL: The Western countries are demanding that no country any longer admit people taking hostages and hijackers, this being the only effective means of combating terrorism. What do you think of this demand?

Al-Qadhdhafi: It means that every hijacked plane will crash or explode in midair and that, as a result, many innocent victims will die. I am against terrorism and hijacking. I am for extirpating terrorism and for extirpating hijackings. As I have said, hijackings are crimes and acts of piracy. But the idea being proposed cannot be implemented. Just imagine

what would happen if all at once all airports of the world were to be closed down. To fight terrorism, its causes must be eliminated.

DER SPIEGEL: This leads us to the question: What is terrorism?

Al-Qadhdhafi: Terrorism is the perpetration of an action intended to terrorize civilians. Thus, there exists a lot of individual terrorism in the United States. A madman, psychopath or criminal, adventurer or robber, takes one or more hostages to obtain ransom, say, a million dollars. I consider that a terrorist act. It is not acceptable to anyone in this world. The struggle for freedom and emancipation, however, cannot be regarded as terrorism. If it could, half of today's heads of state would be terrorists.

DER SPIEGEL: Perhaps that is the case. Do you regard resistance against an occupying power as terrorism?

Al-Qadhdhafi: Resistance against an occupying power is not terrorism. The French resistance against the Nazi occupation was not terrorism. After all, there were also German groups fighting the Nazi rule in Germany. Were those people terrorists? Certainly not. Today the United States is commemorating the anniversary of its liberation from the English suppressors. During the liberation the Americans destroyed English ships and installations. Today they are celebrating the victory of their act of force which enabled America to gain independence from the English.

DER SPIEGEL: Of course, there are justifications for using force.

Al-Qadhdhafi: If President Ford and Queen Elizabeth of England today appeal to the Angolan president to pardon the condemned white mercenaries, both Ford and Elizabeth, are nothing else than protectors and promoters of terrorists. For any person knows, after all, that mercenaries are professional killers.

DER SPIEGEL: There is never any such thing as mercy for mercenaries?

Al-Qadhdhafi: Never. Incidentally, why is it not terrorism when the European or the Western countries use force? Why only when the peoples of the Third World use force? The appeal by Ford and Elizabeth is a reprehensible act. The world should condemn it. I cannot imagine how a state with a smidgen of morality or shame can demand a pardon for mercenaries and terrorists.

DER SPIEGEL: We thank you for this interview, Mr President.

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N O R T H A F R I C A

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ALGERIA

COMMENTARY RAPS MOROCCO-MAURITANIA DEFENSE PACT

Algiers Domestic Service in French 1300 GMT 24 Jul 76 LD

[Excerpts] The Moroccan-Mauritanian military pact which resulted from the talks between King Hassan II and President Ould Daddah constitutes a further escalation of tension in the Maghreb and an admission by the two regimes of their inability to finish off the Saharan fighters for the liberation of their country. Mentioning a comment by the Moroccan foreign minister on the talks which took place in the Moroccan capital, APS considers that the statements by the Moroccan minister show the wish of the Moroccan and the Mauritanian authorities to considerably exacerbate the threatening escalation of recent months directed against Algeria.

The Moroccan statement is in itself an admission, the agency adds. It recalls that the military situation is by no means peaceful for the 30,000 Rabat soldiers and the Nouakchott contingents, who are continually harassed by the Saharan fighters.

The Algerian agency adds that Mr Laraki's words fit in with the (?forward) policy practiced by the Moroccan monarchy ever since it discovered that the Saharan issue is not closed. No doubt it should also be mentioned that this military pact is in fact an act of aggression, not only against the Saharan people, but also against revolutionary Algeria; this pact sanctions a de facto situation. Even before the scandalous Madrid agreement, a deal to which Moktar Ould Daddah acceded and whose final aim is to sell out Mauritanian sovereignty, the guidelines for the policy of the Nouakchott rulers were being drawn by the strategists of the court. They were all leading towards the realization of the dream of an anachronistic monarchy, interested in creating an expanded Morocco.

The APS commentary stresses that the declaration by the Moroccan foreign minister comes at a time when certain international press organs are highlighting the desire of Moroccan military men to use the right of pursuit against the Saharan fighters. This right of pursuit to them means penetrating into Algerian territory, in particular into the Tindouf region; it entails finding Saharan fighters there whom they cannot catch in Saharan territory, where they carry out their operations against the occupying forces.

LIBYA

AL-QADHDHAFI OUTLINES OPINION ON TERRORISM

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 26 Jul 76 pp 77-78 DW

[Interview with Col Mu'ammarr al-Qadhafi, chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council of Libya, by reporter Adel Elias in Tripoli--date not given]

[Text] SPIEGEL: Mr President, you declared recently in the Kuwaiti paper AR-RA'Y AL-'AMM that you consider it your duty to act in every corner of this world for justice and freedom. Does this mean support for all liberation movements?

Al-Qadhafi: What are the liberation movements doing? They are fighting for freedom and justice and against oppression and barbarism. Emancipation of man from oppression is a just cause, and it is, therefore, the duty of all people to support it.

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SPIEGEL: Where is the limit? SWAPO of South-West Africa, for instance, is an internationally accepted liberation movement. But smaller groups, too, such as ETA in the Spanish Basque country consider themselves liberation movements. Do you share this opinion?

Al-Qadhdhafi: In any case, it must be said here that the fighters of a liberation movement are bearing the sole responsibility for the coming about of their emancipation. We do not have the right to judge it. It is absolutely clear to us what constitutes a liberation movement, one which is acting against racism and colonialism, such as Namibia against South Africa. The whole world must help and support it.

SPIEGEL: Once again: Where is the limit? Are the German Baader-Meinhof group and the Japanese Red Army liberation movements?

Al-Qadhdhafi: We do not know these groups or movements, and we have no connection with them. We are supporting them neither morally nor materially.

SPIEGEL: When are you supporting a liberation movement directly? In other words: Who gets something?

Al-Qadhdhafi: Sometimes we help directly. But there are situations where it is difficult or impossible for us to help directly, although we want to and should help directly. All we can do then is give at least moral help. For instance: If Namibia and South Africa had been neighbors of Libya, we would have fought long ago with our armed forces at the side of the liberation movement against racists and colonialists. But there are many obstacles and difficulties in the way.

SPIEGEL: Under what preconditions do you consider the use of force to be justified?

Al-Qadhdhafi: I think that using force is justified if a colonialized and oppressed people is demanding its liberation, and if the colonialist or oppressor does not want to give up. Then the people can do only one thing: take up arms in order to expel the usurper from the country. In other words: apply revolutionary force.

SPIEGEL: Guerrilla operations in Israel are considered by the Palestine resistance as military actions. Do you think that applying force against Israeli installations outside Palestine is justified?

Al-Qadhdhafi: Responsibility and the consequences must be borne by those who are undertaking and justifying it. We cannot decide what is right or wrong for them. I am of the opinion that all Palestinian forces must be used for liberating occupied Palestine.

SPIEGEL: How about a German Lufthansa plane flying to Tel Aviv? Can it be hijacked?

Al-Qadhdhafi: Hijacking planes or blowing up civilian planes as well as terrorizing civilians are crimes and acts of robbery to us. Libyan law punishes such criminals most severely. We do not consider such deeds as a "liberation act" and we are against such methods of fighting. They have nothing, nothing at all to do with liberation actions.

SPIEGEL: Do you think that the assassination of the Israeli team at the Munich Olympics was justified?

Al-Qadhdhafi: I said I do not have command or control over such perpetrators. I cannot decide what they must do and what they must not do. This is up to the perpetrators. They must bear the responsibility. I do not know their motives or justifications.

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SPIEGEL: How do you explain the fact that the people taking hostages in the hijacking of planes always name your country, Libya, as the place of destination? One year ago, for instance, it was the Japanese of the Red Army, and later on it was the Carlos group which kidnapped the OPEC ministers in Vienna.

Al-Qadhdhafi: First, the kidnapers of the Arab OPEC ministers did not get out or stay in Libya, but in Tunis and Algiers, which are in other countries. Second, the share of Libya in regard to hijacked planes is not higher than the shares of many other countries of this world which have been forced to agree to the landing of hijacked planes. As regards the hijacked Japanese plane, we performed a humanitarian deed for which the world should be grateful to us: Had we not permitted the landing, the plane would have crashed with all passengers. The kidnapers threatened to blow the plane up.

SPIEGEL: What happened to the Japanese?

Al-Qadhdhafi: They had to go to court.

SPIEGEL: And the Carlos group?

Al-Qadhdhafi: What has Libya to do with Carlos? He did not get out here, neither he nor his group. I have heard his name only when he committed the act of piracy. I do not know him, I do not even know from which country he comes. By the way, why don't you ask President as-Sadat (laughing)? He said that Carlos was with me. He told it to all the world, so he must know him well. He knows who Carlos is, where he comes from, what he can do and when he is coming or going. So you can very well ask as-Sadat all these questions? He will be able to answer all of them.

SPIEGEL: The Air France plane which was recently hijacked to Entebbe was permitted to refuel in Libya. Why did you not permit the exchange of hostages for arrested freedom fighters in your country?

Al-Qadhdhafi: The hijackers of this plane did not demand anything from us. They landed in our country and we thought they would leave some hostages with us. But they did not do it. They demanded that we refuel their plane. They threatened otherwise to blow up the plane with all passengers. In order to avoid the blowing up of the plane, we decided to have the plane refueled. A very sick woman was aboard the plane. We took her to one of our hospitals and had a physician attend her. The plane took off without our knowing where to or for what reason it had been hijacked. The kidnapers did not discuss it with us. They plainly said: Either fuel or it will be blown up.

SPIEGEL: Western states demand that no country must accept people taking hostages or the kidnapers of planes, claiming that this is the only way to fight terrorism effectively. What do you think of this demand?

Al-Qadhdhafi: It means that every plane will crash or be blown up in the air, and that many innocent victims will have to die that way. I am against terrorism and against the hijacking of planes. I am for eliminating terrorism and eliminating the hijacking of planes. As I said, hijacking planes is a crime and an act of piracy. But the idea, as outlined, cannot be implemented. Imagine, if all airports of the world would be suddenly closed, what would happen? If you want to fight terrorism, you must eliminate its reasons.

SPIEGEL: This leads us to the question: What is terrorism?

Al-Qadhdhafi: Terrorism is the implementation of an action aimed at terrorizing civilians. There is much individual terrorism in the United States: A madman, psychopath, criminal, adventurer or robber takes one or several hostages to blackmail them for \$1 million, for instance. For me this is an act of terrorism. Nobody in the world can accept it. But the fight for freedom and emancipation cannot be considered as terrorism. Otherwise more than half of today's state leaders would be terrorists.

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SPIEGEL: Maybe this is how it is. Do you consider resistance against an occupation force as terrorism?

Al-Qadhdhafi: Resistance against an occupation force is not terrorism. French resistance against Nazi occupation was not terrorism. There were German groups, too, fighting against the Nazi regime in Germany. Were these people terrorists? Certainly not. Today the United States is celebrating the anniversary of its liberation from the British oppressors. The Americans at that time destroyed British ships and installations. Today they are celebrating the victory of their violence which helped America to become independent of the British.

SPIEGEL: Of course there is justification for the use of force.

Al-Qadhdhafi: If President Ford and Queen Elizabeth of England are appealing today to the state president of Angola to pardon the sentenced white mercenaries, both of them, Ford and Elizabeth, are nothing but protectors and promoters of terrorism. Everybody in this world knows that mercenaries are professional killers.

SPIEGEL: So there never will be mercy for mercenaries?

Al-Qadhdhafi: Never. By the way, why is it not terrorism if European or Western States are applying force? Why only if the force is being applied by people of the Third World? The appeals of Ford and Elizabeth are a wicked deed. The world should condemn it. I cannot imagine how a state with a bit of morals or decency can demand clemency for mercenaries or terrorists.

SPIEGEL: Mr President, we thank you for this talk.

#### ZIONISM SYMPOSIUM RESUMES IN TRIPOLI

Tripoli ARNA in English 1817 GMT 26 Jul 76 LD

[Text] Tripoli, July 26 ARNA--The international symposium on Zionism and racism resumed its session here today and listened to research papers on the role of the Zionist enemy in the service of neocolonialism and the colonial and settler nature of the concept of Zionism.

The research revealed the practices of Zionism for extending its scope of colonial influence, dominating the African economy to employ it in the service of international monopolies and alleging that Israel is an oasis for democracy in the world.

The research also exposed the expansionist aggressive policy of Zionism and the economic deterioration and social upheavals suffered by the Zionist enemy and considered world Zionism a threat to world peace and security.

Addressing the symposium, the representative of Uganda reviewed the criminal methods followed by Zionism against independent peoples and its endeavors to dominate the world economically, politically and culturally. He also referred to the savage Zionist raid on the Entebbe airport and spoke highly of the stance of the L.A.R. and leader of its revolution, Colonel Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi, towards the ordeal which befell Uganda as well as towards African causes. A member of the Argentine delegation also made a speech in which he extolled the courageous and noble stances of the Great First of September Revolution and its leader, Col. Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi, towards all liberation causes and freedomfighters.

#### Al-Qadhdhafi Addresses Symposium

Tripoli ARNA in English 0800 GMT 27 Jul 76 LD

[Text] Tripoli, July 27, ARNA--Colonel Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi, chairman of the Revolution Command Council, yesterday attended the international seminar on Zionism and racial discrimination.



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Col al-Qadhdhafi listened to lectures given by participants including Professor Pierre Partence, professor of international law at Brussels University, Ralph Stewart, member of the house of deputies of Canada, Sulayman Ahmad, member of the house deputies of Mauritius, and others.

Col al-Qadhdhafi also listened to research on racist relations between the Israelis and South Africa delivered by Professor Mark Stephens from an American university, Professor Amilio Mandorani from Madrid University and Professor Abdul Malek Auda, from the University of Cairo, who is the dean of the faculty of information.

Col al-Qadhdhafi addressed the seminar and made it clear that Zionism and racism in South Africa have been internationally and politically condemned through the United Nations resolutions. These resolutions condemned Zionism, racism and segregation because of colour or race and called for combatting them.

Colonel al-Qadhdhafi added: This international seminar has come to perpetuate the condemnation from philosophical, intellectual and scientific aspects.

Consequently the world politicians and scholars have decided that the combat of racists in occupied Palestine, South Africa, Zimbabwe, Namibia and any other place is a must, as it is a historical consequence, politically deemed necessary by the United Nations and philosophically and intellectually approved by this seminar.

Colonel al-Qadhdhafi asserted that the existing bridge between the Israelis and South Africa is a concrete evidence of the nature of the two regimes.

He emphasised that the pathway of genuine peace is the repatriation of the Palestinian people to their lands, but the world imperialism led by the United States is currently behaving as a protector and ally of racists.

Colonel al-Qadhdhafi asserted the Libyan Arab Republic's attitude is against racism and racists, as it is expressing the conscience of the world and international legality.

AL-SHAHATI RECEIVES SOVIET, GDR ENVOYS

Tripoli ARNA in English 0808 GMT 27 Jul 76 LD

[Text] Tripoli, LAR, July 27, ARNA--Ahmad al-Shahati, secretary of foreign affairs at the Secretariat General of General People's Congress received here yesterday the Soviet ambassador to the Libyan Arab Republic.

During the meeting, the Soviet ambassador conveyed a verbal message to him from the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party for the political organisation in the L.A.R.

The ambassador expressed appreciation of the good relations linking the two friendly countries.

He also pointed out to the role played by the L.A.R. for exposing the reactionaries and imperialists and her support to the liberation movements all over the world.

The foreign affairs secretary also received the East German ambassador to the Libyan Arab Republic. The ambassador handed over to the secretary a statement issued by the Central Committee of Unified Socialist Party in East Germany about the situation in Lebanon.

Al-Shahati also received socialist parties' delegations from Spain, the Soviet Union, Poland, America and Britain and Swiss and American Journalists.

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## LAOS, LIBYA TO ESTABLISH DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS

Tripoli ARNA in Arabic 1605 GMT 26 Jul 76 LD

[Text] Tripoli, 26 July --It has been decided to establish diplomatic relations between the LAR and the Lao People's Democratic Republic at ambassadorial level.

A statement was issued in Tripoli and Vientiane this morning; it said that to further the policies of the LAR and the Lao People's Democratic Republic which aim for the bolstering of friendship and cooperation with all peace-loving countries and out of their desire to strengthen the relations of friendship between the LAR and the Lao People's Democratic Republic, the two sides have agreed to establish political relations between the two countries on the ambassadorial level.

## AMBASSADOR TO SAUDI ARABIA RECALLED FOR TALKS

Tripoli ARNA in Arabic 0800 GMT 25 Jul 76 LD

[Text] Tripoli, 25 July--ARNA has learned from informed sources that the LAR has recalled its ambassador to Saudi Arabia for consultations on the correctness of As-Sadat's recent statement regarding Saudi Arabia that Saudi Arabia and Sudan have been included in a military alliance against the LAR people and revolution.

## MOROCCO

## AGREEMENT RESOLVES BELGIAN LANDS DISPUTE

Casablanca AL-BAYANE in French 13 Jul 76 p 1 WA

[Text] Rabat, 12 July--The minister of Finance and the Belgian ambassador to Rabat yesterday signed an agreement resolving the Moroccan-Belgian disputes arising from the decree of 2 March 1973 concerning the recovery of lands. The agreement provides for indemnification payments for Belgian citizens whose lands were appropriated by the Moroccan state.

## SUDAN

## TRIAL OF MERCENARIES CONTINUES IN OMDURMAN

Cairo MENA in Arabic 1655 GMT 26 Jul 76 JN

[Text] Khartoum, 26 July--At the second session it held in Omdurman today, the state security court heard a statement by the first prosecution witness in the case against some 39 of the mercenaries who participated in the abortive Libyan invasion of Sudan.

The statement indicates that all the defendants have admitted that they were responsible for the occupation of strategic positions in Omdurman and that they were deployed in those positions at 0500 on Friday, 2 July, in order to control them and eliminate anyone who got in their way.

In their statements, which were read by the first prosecution witness, the defendants said that they had received initial training in Ethiopia, after which they were transferred to Libya, placed in training camps in the Libyan desert and in the Ia-'Uwaynat area on the Sudanese border and trained by Libyan officers.

The witness further said that the defendants were trained on all kinds of weapons, that some of them had been placed in the military training academy of the Libyan Army and that they had received money during their time in Ethiopia and Libya.

# SPIEGEL Gespräch

## „Was hat Libyen mit Carlos zu tun?“

Libyens Staatschef Muammar el-Gaddafi über den Terrorismus

**SPIEGEL:** Herr Präsident, Sie haben vor kurzem der kuweitischen Zeitung „El-Rai el-Arm“ erklärt, daß Sie es für Ihre Pflicht halten, sich in jeder Ecke in dieser Welt für Gerechtigkeit und Freiheit einzusetzen. Bedeutet dies Unterstützung für sämtliche Befreiungsbewegungen?

**GADDAFI:** Wer sind die Befreiungsbewegungen? Es sind diejenigen, die für Freiheit und Gerechtigkeit und gegen Unterdrückung und Barbarei kämpfen. Die Emanzipation der Menschen von Unterdrückung ist eine gerechte Sache, und es ist daher die Pflicht aller Menschen, sie zu unterstützen.

**SPIEGEL:** Wo liegt die Grenze? Die Swapo in Südwafrika zum Beispiel ist eine international akzeptierte Befreiungsbewegung. Aber auch kleine Gruppen, wie die Eta im spanischen Baskenland, sehen sich als Befreiungsbewegung an. Teilen Sie diese Ansicht?

**GADDAFI:** Auf jeden Fall. Hier muß festgestellt werden, daß die Kämpfer einer Freiheitsbewegung allein die Verantwortung für die Entstehung ihrer Emanzipation tragen. Wir haben nicht das Recht, über sie zu urteilen. Für uns ist ganz klar, was eine Befreiungsbewegung ist: jede Bewegung, die gegen Rassismus und Kolonialismus aufbegehrt, wie Namibia ge-

gen Südafrika. Hier muß die ganze Welt helfen und sie unterstützen.

**SPIEGEL:** Nochmals: Wo liegt die Grenze? Sind die deutsche Baader/Meinhof-Gruppe und die Japanische Rote Armee Freiheitsbewegungen?

**GADDAFI:** Wir kennen diese Gruppen oder Bewegungen nicht, und wir haben keine Verbindung zu ihnen. Wir unterstützen sie weder moralisch noch materiell.

**SPIEGEL:** Wann unterstützen Sie eine Freiheitsbewegung direkt? Mit anderen Worten: Wer bekommt etwas?

**GADDAFI:** Manchmal helfen wir direkt. Aber es gibt Situationen, wo es für uns schwer oder unmöglich ist, direkt zu helfen, obwohl wir gerne direkt helfen wollten und sollten. Hier bleibt für uns nur, wenigstens moralische Hilfe zu leisten. Zum Beispiel: Wenn Namibia und Südafrika Nachbarn Libyens wären, hätten wir schon längst mit unseren Streitkräften auf der Seite der Befreiungsbewegungen dieser Länder gegen die Rassisten und Kolonialisten gekämpft. Aber es gibt viele Hindernisse und Schwierigkeiten, die im Wege stehen.

**SPIEGEL:** Unter welchen Voraussetzungen halten Sie überhaupt Gewalt für gerechtfertigt?

**GADDAFI:** Ich halte die Anwendung von Gewalt für gerechtfertigt,

wenn ein kolonisiertes und unterdrücktes Volk seine Befreiung fordert und der Kolonialist oder Unterdrücker nicht aufgeben will. Dann bleibt diesem Volk nur eines: zu den Waffen zu greifen, um den Usurpator aus dem Lande zu treiben, mit anderen Worten: revolutionäre Gewalt anzuwenden.

**SPIEGEL:** Guerilla-Operationen in Israel gelten für den palästinensischen Widerstand als militärische Aktionen. Halten Sie auch Gewalt gegen Einrichtungen der Israelis außerhalb Palästinas für gerechtfertigt?

**GADDAFI:** Verantwortung und Konsequenzen dafür müssen von denen getragen werden, die das unternehmen und rechtfertigen. Wir können nicht entscheiden, was für sie richtig und was für sie falsch ist. Ich selbst bin der Meinung, daß alle palästinensischen Kräfte für die Befreiung des besetzten Palästina eingesetzt werden müssen.

**SPIEGEL:** Wie ist es mit einer Deutschen-Lufthansa-Maschine, die nach Tel Aviv fliegt? Kann, muß sie entführt werden?

**GADDAFI:** Flugzeugentführungen oder Sprengung von Zivil-Flugzeugen sowie das Terrorisieren von Zivilisten sind für uns Raubakte und Verbrechen. Die libysche Gesetzgebung bestraft solche Täter sehr hart. Wir betrachten derartige Taten nicht als „Befreiungs-

### Gaddafi über

**Baader-Meinhof:** „Wir kennen diese Gruppe oder Bewegung nicht, und wir haben keine Verbindung zu ihnen. Wir unterstützen sie weder moralisch noch materiell.“

**Flugzeugentführungen:** „Flugzeugentführungen oder Sprengung von Zivil-Flugzeugen sowie das Terrorisieren von Zivilisten sind für uns Raubakte und Verbrechen.“

**Carlos:** „Ich kenne ihn nicht, ich weiß noch nicht mal, aus welchem Land er kommt.“

**Gewalt:** „Ich halte die Anwendung von Gewalt für gerechtfertigt, wenn ein kolonisiertes und unterdrücktes Volk seine Befreiung fordert und der Kolonialist oder Unterdrücker nicht aufgeben will.“

**Terrorismus:** „Ich bin gegen Terrorismus und gegen Flugzeugentführungen. Ich bin für Ausrottung des Terrorismus und für Ausrottung der Flugzeugentführungen.“



Staatspräsident Gaddafi: „Die Welt sollte uns dankbar sein“

akt“, wir sind gegen diese Kampfmethoden. Sie haben nichts, gar nichts mit Befreiungsaktionen zu tun.

**SPIEGEL:** War Ihrer Meinung nach denn der Anschlag gegen das israelische Olympia-Team in München gerechtfertigt?

**GADDAFI:** Ich sagte, ich verfüge und bestimme über solche Täter nicht. Und ich kann nicht entscheiden, was sie tun und lassen wollen. Das geht nur die Täter selbst an, sie müssen die Verantwortung tragen. Ich kenne ihre Motive und Rechtfertigungen nicht.

**SPIEGEL:** Wie erklären Sie sich denn, daß die Geiselnnehmer bei Flugzeugentführungen der unterschiedlichsten Art immer wieder Ihr Land, Libyen, als Endziel wählen? Zum Beispiel vor einem Jahr die Japaner von der Roten Armee und später die von Carlos geführte Gruppe, die die Opec-Minister in Wien entführte?

**GADDAFI:** Erstens: Die Entführer der arabischen Opec-Minister sind nicht in Libyen ausgestiegen oder geblieben, sondern in Tunis und Algier, also in einem anderen Land. Zweitens: Der Anteil Libyens an Landungen entführter Flugzeuge ist nicht größer als der Anteil vieler Länder dieser Welt, die gezwungen waren, entführten Flugzeugen die Landung zu erlauben. Was das entführte japanische Flugzeug angeht, haben wir eine humanitäre Tat vollbracht, für die die Welt uns dankbar sein sollte: Wenn wir nicht erlaubt hätten, daß es bei uns landete, wäre es mitsamt allen Insassen abgestürzt. Die Entführer haben mit der Sprengung des Flugzeugs gedroht.

**SPIEGEL:** Was ist mit den Japanern geschehen?

**GADDAFI:** Sie sind vor Gericht gestellt worden.

**SPIEGEL:** Und die Carlos-Gruppe?

**GADDAFI:** Was hat Libyen mit Carlos zu tun? Er ist nicht bei mir ausgestiegen, weder er noch seine Gruppe. Ich habe seinen Namen erst gehört, als er seinen Piratenakt unternahm. Ich kenne ihn nicht, ich weiß noch nicht mal, aus welchem Land er kommt. Übrigens: Warum fragen Sie Präsident Sadat nicht danach (*lacht*)? Der nämlich erhob den Vorwurf, daß Carlos bei mir sei. Er hat dies in die Welt gesetzt, also muß er ihn gut kennen. Er weiß, wer Carlos ist, woher er kommt, was er alles tun kann, wann er kommt und geht. Alle diese Fragen können Sie also getrost Sadat stellen. Und er wird alle beantworten können.

**SPIEGEL:** Die Air-France-Maschine mit israelischen Passagieren, die kürzlich nach Entebbe entführt wurde, durften in Libyen auftanken. Warum haben Sie den Austausch von Geiseln gegen inhaftierte Freiheitskämpfer in Ihrem Land nicht zugelassen?

**GADDAFI:** Die Entführer dieser Maschine haben von uns nichts gefor-

dert. Sie landeten bei uns, und wir glaubten, sie wollten uns einige Geiseln überlassen. Doch das taten sie nicht. Sie forderten von uns, ihr Flugzeug aufzutanken. Sie drohten, sonst das Flugzeug mitsamt allen Passagieren in die Luft zu sprengen. Um die Sprengung des Flugzeuges zu verhindern, haben wir entschieden, das Flugzeug aufzutanken zu lassen. An Bord der Maschine war eine Frau, die sehr krank war. Wir haben sie in einem unserer Krankenhäuser aufgenommen und ärztlich versorgt. Das Flugzeug ist weitergeflogen, ohne daß wir wußten, wohin, und ohne daß wir wußten, aus welchem



**Gaddafi beim Gebet**  
„Warum fragen Sie Sadat nicht?“

Grund es entführt wurde. Die Entführer haben mit uns darüber nicht geredet. Sie sagten nur ganz klar: entweder Treibstoff oder Sprengung.

**SPIEGEL:** Die westlichen Staaten fordern, daß kein Land Geiselnnehmer und Flugzeugentführer mehr aufnehmen dürfe, da nur so der Terrorismus wirksam bekämpft werden könne. Was halten Sie von dieser Forderung?

**GADDAFI:** Sie bedeutet, daß jedes entführte Flugzeug abstürzt oder in der Luft explodiert und daß somit viele unschuldige Opfer sterben werden. Ich bin gegen Terrorismus und gegen Flugzeugentführungen. Ich bin für Ausrottung des Terrorismus und für Ausrottung der Flugzeugentführungen. Flugzeugentführungen sind, ich

sage es schon, Verbrechen und Piratenakte. Aber die Idee, wie sie jetzt vortragen wurde, ist undurchführbar. Denn stellen Sie sich vor, wenn alle Flughäfen dieser Welt auf einmal gesperrt würden, was passierte dann? Um den Terrorismus zu bekämpfen, muß man seine Ursachen beseitigen.

**SPIEGEL:** Das führt uns zu der Frage: Was ist Terrorismus?

**GADDAFI:** Terrorismus ist die Durchführung einer Aktion, die zur Terrorisierung von Zivilisten gedacht ist. So gibt es viel individuellen Terrorismus in den USA: Ein Verrückter, Psychopath oder Verbrecher, Abenteurer oder Räuber nimmt eine oder mehrere Geiseln, um Geld zu erpressen, zum Beispiel eine Million Dollar. Das ist für mich ein terroristischer Akt. Kein Mensch auf dieser Welt kann ihn akzeptieren. Aber der Kampf für Freiheit und Emanzipation kann nicht als Terrorismus betrachtet werden. Sonst wären mehr als die Hälfte der heutigen Staatsoberhäupter Terroristen.

**SPIEGEL:** Vielleicht ist es ja so. Ist der Widerstand gegen eine Besatzungsmacht in Ihren Augen Terrorismus?

**GADDAFI:** Der Widerstand gegen eine Besatzungsmacht ist kein Terrorismus. Der französische Widerstand gegen die Nazi-Besatzung war kein Terrorismus. Es gab ja auch deutsche Gruppen, die gegen die Nazi-Herrschaft in Deutschland kämpften. Waren diese Menschen Terroristen? Bestimmt nicht! Heute feiern die USA den Jahrestag ihrer Befreiung von den englischen Unterdrückern. Damals haben die Amerikaner englische Schiffe und Anlagen vernichtet. Sie feiern heute also den Sieg ihrer Gewalt, die Amerika zur Unabhängigkeit von den Engländern verholfen hat.

**SPIEGEL:** Natürlich gibt es Rechtfertigungen für Gewaltanwendung.

**GADDAFI:** Wenn Präsident Ford und die Königin Elizabeth von England heute an den angolanischen Staatspräsidenten appellieren, er solle die verurteilten weißen Söldner begnadigen, dann sind die beiden, Ford und Elizabeth, nichts anderes als Schützer und Förderer von Terroristen. Denn jeder auf dieser Welt weiß doch, daß Söldner Killer von Beruf sind.

**SPIEGEL:** Für Söldner gibt es auf keinen Fall Gnade?

**GADDAFI:** Auf keinen Fall. Übrigens: Warum ist es kein Terrorismus, wenn die europäischen oder die westlichen Staaten Gewalt anwenden? Warum nur, wenn die Gewalt von Völkern der Dritten Welt angewandt wird? Der Appell von Ford und Elizabeth ist eine verwerfliche Tat. Die Welt sollte sie verdammen. Ich kann mir nicht vorstellen, wie ein Staat, der einen Funken von Moral oder Scham hat, die Begnadigung von Söldnern und Terroristen fordern kann.

**SPIEGEL:** Herr Präsident, wir danken Ihnen für dieses Gespräch.