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# DAILY REPORT

## ANNEX

# MIDDLE EAST & NORTH AFRICA

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**FBIS** FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

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## AL-QADHDHAFI, GRANTS INTERVIEW ON VARIOUS FOREIGN ISSUES

Paris JEUNE AFRIQUE in French 8 Oct 76 pp 69-73 LD--FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

[Arnaud de Borchgrave 'Early September' interview with Col Mu'ammam al-Qadhafi, chairman of the Libyan Revolution Command Council: "Mu'ammam al-Qadhafi Explains"--place of interview not specified]

[Text] JEUNE AFRIQUE: Do you consider yourself a revolutionary?

Mu'ammam al-Qadhafi: In the sense that the age of the popular masses has begun throughout the world--though some regimes are resisting it--you can consider me an international revolutionary.

JEUNE AFRIQUE: And do you really believe that your own revolutionary scheme--the Third Universal Theory--is more global than Marxism and that it is valid for not only the Third World but also industrialized countries?

Mu'ammam al-Qadhafi: Study it well and you will become convinced that this is so. Marxism invites controversy--some people are for it and others against. Provided it is studied correctly, the third theory will be accepted everywhere, not only in the Third World. Only the enemies of the masses, those who want to exploit them, reject it. As a Westerner you will admit that parliamentary democracy is very sick. In their struggle for power political parties spend their time denouncing and ridiculing one another and this struggle must inevitably harm the vital interests of society. In order to prove the incompetence of a government, a political party must destroy the work of that government and discredit its plans even if they are advantageous to society. The interests of the masses are soon overlooked.

We now witness a distortion of democracy. Even though control is exerted and real counterweights are in operation, legal control over the party in power often remains in the hands of a parliament most of whose members belong to the same party. Referendums are equally fallacious. Presenting the people with two alternatives--yes or no--is a form of oppression. The people should be given an opportunity for explaining the reasons for their assent or dissent.

Our people's assemblies represent the only way to achieve real democracy. In our country everything is decided by people's committees which are responsible to local, regional or national assemblies. Democracy means leading the people by the people themselves and not by an elite or a ruling class.

JEUNE AFRIQUE: And that is why you are helping revolutionaries throughout the world?

Mu'ammam al-Qadhafi: We support movements whose cause seems to us just, irrespective of their attitude toward the Third Universal Theory. Because there are still people who need our help to liberate themselves from colonialist, neocolonialist or racist regimes.

JEUNE AFRIQUE: You have nonetheless denied that you helped Egyptian revolutionaries opposed to AS-Sadat, despite the fact that according to Libyan propaganda Egypt is ruled by a neocolonialist regime.

Mu'ammam al-Qadhafi: In fact, we do not even know whether there is any group in Egypt opposed to AS-Sadat's policy. Therefore, we would find it difficult to support them. Is AS-Sadat's policy a prelude to neocolonialism or is it only a question of maneuvers aimed at defusing the country's domestic and external problems? [paragraph continues]

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I cannot yet express an opinion on the subject but I believe that As-Sadat is merely taking advantage of the present international circumstances in order to try to deal with his country's major difficulties. However, if neocolonialism were again to prevail in Egypt, this would constitute a threat to the entire Arab nation since we are one entity and in that case the masses would support us in our struggle against such a threat.

JEUNE AFRIQUE: You have stated that no coup could take place in Libya because in your country power is completely in the hands of the people. Were the people consulted when you concluded an arms deal with the Soviet Union?

Mu'ammarr al-Qadhafi (bursting out laughing): People's power has asserted itself gradually. From 1 September 1969, when we seized power, until April 1973, when the people's revolution was started and the masses assumed complete power, the Supreme Revolution Council ruled the country. Right from the start we established relations with the Soviet Union--no treaty, only purely routine conventional relations of the most classic type. These relations are now excellent. We would very much like to have similar relations with the United States but Washington has preferred to freeze our relations and refuses to exchange ambassadors.

JEUNE AFRIQUE: In the past you used to warn your interlocutors about Soviet imperialism. What has made you change your mind? Egypt and Syria were once very close to the Soviet Union and look what happened. Does this not worry you?

Mu'ammarr al-Qadhafi: What I warned about was the danger of the Soviet Union pursuing a colonialist policy. If it had tried to pursue such a policy in Libya we would have rejected it. And, in fact, we are opposed to the presence of the Soviet fleet--and the American 6th Fleet--in the Mediterranean. I insist: Not only the Soviet Fleet. When a country deals with us on terms of equality and seeks our friendship it would be impolite to adopt a hostile attitude toward it or criticize certain aspects of its foreign policy we do not approve of.

JEUNE AFRIQUE: How can a Libyan Army of 30,000 men--or even 60,000 since you are planning to double its size--operate 2,000 Soviet-supplied tanks?

Mu'ammarr al-Qadhafi: I disagree with your figures.

JEUNE AFRIQUE: Results of satellite reconnaissance are very accurate.

Mu'ammarr al-Qadhafi: We know the technique and we have taken precautions. How do you know that some of the tanks that you have seen being unloaded are not decoys? In any case, we need a lot of arms and heavy equipment for the citizens' army we are planning. We want to get away from the professional army concept--in our country all able-bodied men will be given military training. So if war comes we will be able to mobilize the entire nation and there will be enough equipment for all, not just for the standing army. Some of the tanks which you saw during the march--past on the seventh anniversary of the revolution were driven by specially trained civilians.

JEUNE AFRIQUE: Has most of this hardware been stockpiled in case other countries need it, for instance in the event of a new war with Israel?

Mu'ammarr al-Qadhafi: The arms which we have so far bought are still very inadequate for a citizens' army and the needs of a credible defense. Since the United States claims that it protects the Free World, it should remember that we also are free and quite prepared to purchase American arms with a view to protecting our freedom. [paragraph continues]

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We ordered and paid cash for eight American C-130 transport aircraft, but the Washington administration stopped the deal just before these aircraft were to be delivered. The only conclusion we can draw from the policy pursued by the State Department is that the Americans are enemies of peoples' freedom.

JEUNE AFRIQUE: The new Scud missiles you displayed for the first time during the 1 September march-past were described by the commentator as being able to hit Haifa and Tel Aviv. Considering that their range is only 270 km, how could they hit Israel?

Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi: The announcer got carried away by the general euphoria and I am not responsible for his overstatements. But, I can tell you that those were improved Scuds with a longer range than that of normal Scuds. Not long enough to reach Israel, however.

JEUNE AFRIQUE: Every missile has the same markings painted in red: "Short-Range Missiles."

Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi: The Scuds constitute for us a kind of strategic preventive weapon. Any country has the right to possess some strategic arms. Even the United States believed that it was taking legitimate defense action when it dropped the nuclear bomb, even though the war against Japan was almost won at the time the bomb was dropped on Hiroshima.

JEUNE AFRIQUE: How do you manage to reconcile your nonalignment and peaceful coexistence principles and your pledged respect for the integrity of all nations with your support for revolutionaries trying to overthrow other governments such as in Thailand and the Philippines?

Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi: In the Philippines there is the universal problem of religious oppression. In any case, Libya is not the only country showing concern about this since all Moslem countries and also African and Asian countries share its concern and since the Colombo conference of nonaligned countries decided to send a delegation to the Philippines. Events which are taking place there should cause concern to any person with a sense of justice.

JEUNE AFRIQUE: And Thailand?

Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi: I do not have sufficient information about it, but it is also probably a matter of religious oppression. When we give our support to that kind of cause we are not interfering in the internal affairs of the countries concerned, because our aid is of a moral nature.

JEUNE AFRIQUE: No weapons?

Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi: That would be difficult, if only for geographical reasons.

JEUNE AFRIQUE: No money?

Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi: We have sent money to Guatemala and Italy for the earthquake victims and to Pakistan after the floods which occurred there, as well as in many other instances of that kind. But the Western media do not mention that aid.

JEUNE AFRIQUE: Could you list the local insurrections around the world which receive your support in the form of weapons or money?

Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi: If we could send weapons or equipment to the liberation forces of South Africa, we would certainly do so. But we would have to be absolutely sure that that material would be used by the liberation forces themselves and not by the countries through which it would have to pass. [paragraph continues]

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If we were geographically closer to the racist regime of South Africa, we would openly wage war on it with our army. Of course, we supplied Egypt and Syria with weapons during the October war and we are arming the Palestinian resistance. We consider all these causes just and we believe that we have a sacred responsibility toward them.

JEUNE AFRIQUE: Nothing else?

Mu'ammar al-Qadhafi: Libya is an obstacle to the destruction of the Arab cause and that of Palestine. That is why it has become the target of the propaganda of the Zionists and their allies, who are systematically distorting Libyan policy and attempting to present a grotesque image of our country.

JEUNE AFRIQUE: So, everything apart from the instances which you have just mentioned is nothing but pure invention?

Mu'ammar al-Qadhafi: Yes.

JEUNE AFRIQUE: You denied any involvement in the July abortive coup in the Sudan and yet the leader of that insurrection against President Numayri publicly thanked you for your assistance.

Mu'ammar al-Qadhafi: Those who fight for dubious causes claim to have powerful allies. That encourages them to continue their struggle.

JEUNE AFRIQUE: Yet the Sudanese found Soviet equipment with Libyan markings and captured mercenaries trained in Libya!

Mu'ammar al-Qadhafi: That is indeed proof that it is a fabrication. If I had wanted to take part in the insurrection, I would have first of all wiped out any trace of Libyan markings. When the other governments in the region are faced with internal opposition they cast the blame on Libya; it is the latest trick which they have discovered. If world opinion is not aware of it, it is because it is truly naive, or else refuses to see the truth....

JEUNE AFRIQUE: And your weapons shipments to the IRA (Irish Republican Army)?

Mu'ammar al-Qadhafi: Our relations with London and Dublin are improving and we will soon be exchanging ambassadors with Ireland. The IRA chapter is closed. That does not mean that the reunification of Ireland is a cause which is no longer of value and that justice is no longer on that side. But, it is not a very serious matter, and I believe that we should set aside anything which does not appear to be of an urgent nature. After Ireland and Britain, I hope that our relations with the United States will also improve.

JEUNE AFRIQUE: What do you expect of the Americans?

Mu'ammar al-Qadhafi: That they help us to begin a dialog. We must talk with them more often. The majority of our students abroad are in the United States--there are 2,000 of them. Yet we are not talking to each other.

JEUNE AFRIQUE: At what level should the dialog take place?

Mu'ammar al-Qadhafi: It does not matter.

JEUNE AFRIQUE: You took As-Sadat to task 2 days after the outbreak of the October 1973 conflict for going to war. You are now saying that no country helped Egypt more during that conflict than Libya. When did you change your mind and what exactly did you supply Egypt with?

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Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi: What I said was that As-Sadat had an inadequate plan of campaign, but once hostilities had broken out we had no option but to support Egypt and Syria. Those two countries received 300 tanks and 60 aircraft from us, plus a certain quantity of electronic equipment and infrared telescopes for the Egyptian Navy and artillery.

JEUNE AFRIQUE: In your 1 September speech you said that the Egyptian forces had attempted to provoke incidents in Libyan border villages. When and where did that happen?

Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi: Those villages are surrounded by Egyptian artillery forces and tanks. I do not know whether As-Sadat is bluffing or whether he intends to wage war on us. In any event, we have withdrawn all our border forces. If something happens, it will be known who is responsible.

JEUNE AFRIQUE: Has the Soviet Union offered you its assistance in the event of Egyptian forces invading Libya?

Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi: We have not discussed it, either in Moscow or in other capitals. Only the Arab League has been informed. But we read with pleasure the PRAVDA commentary supporting us.

JEUNE AFRIQUE: If you are not responsible for any trouble in Egypt, can you explain to us why As-Sadat is angry with you and why he has moved troops from the canal zone to the Libyan border?

Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi: I ask myself the same question, but I cannot find an answer. Maybe Washington knows....

JEUNE AFRIQUE: During the last few months it seems that none of the Arab leaders has had a kind word to say about you. What is the reason for this attitude, in your opinion?

Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi: I believe that they are jealous of our power of attraction over the Arab masses. It is very natural and does not trouble us. That proves to us that our way is the right way.

JEUNE AFRIQUE: As-Sadat supports the PLO in the Lebanese conflict. Why are you more critical of him than of Al-Asad?

Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi: My criticism is not based on Egypt's attitude toward Lebanon but on As-Sadat's behavior toward us and the signing of the Sinai agreement which neutralized the Egyptian front. As-Sadat can, however, plead mitigating circumstances, because that agreement was imposed on him by the United States.

JEUNE AFRIQUE: Do you mean that, in your opinion, Egypt was defeated in 1973?

Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi: Of course it was--politically and militarily. Look at the results: Less than nothing! For a long time Israel's three major objectives have been the guaranteeing of secure borders, direct negotiation with the three battlefield countries and, lastly, the destruction of the Palestinian cause by splitting the Arab ranks. The Israelis have succeeded in obtaining a secure border with Egypt and they are seeking to secure the same thing for their eastern and northern borders through the Lebanese civil war. They have also managed to hold direct talks with the Arab governments since the Kilometer 101 talks. But the Palestinian cause cannot be destroyed; it will go on until final victory.

JEUNE AFRIQUE: You have recently suggested the idea of a tripartite summit of the Egyptian and Syrian presidents and yourself to discuss the question of As-Sadat. [paragraph continues]

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Are you seeking to be reconciled with him or to condemn him? Is not the idea of that meeting lacking in realism, in view of the fact that As-Sadat refused to shake hands with Al-Asad and yourself at the Colombo conference?

Mu'ammarr al-Qadhafi: I am simply seeking to find a constitutional solution for our problem. According to the constitution of our stillborn federation, this type of summit was supposed to be a supreme council, meeting every 2 years. Whether this is a practical solution remains to be seen. I am not opposed to a reconciliation with As-Sadat. We could meet alone in a neutral country and settle our differences in a few hours.

JEUNE AFRIQUE: In your speech you stated that you had received many letters from Egyptian officers condemning As-Sadat for signing a nonbelligerency treaty with Israel. How many letters have you received and how did they reach you?

Mu'ammarr al-Qadhafi: Communication takes place in various ways. We even have direct contact at the border, where some letters have been delivered to us directly. We announce this every day on the radio and read out the texts of the letters, but we keep the names of the correspondents secret, of course. We have received thousands of letters during the last few years from different social groups--officers, students and trained personnel--who support our revolution.

JEUNE AFRIQUE: You have stated that Libya could overthrow As-Sadat. How?

Mu'ammarr al-Qadhafi: Our revolution shows up weak spots and suggests solutions which act as a magnet on the masses. Now, whenever a leader loses the support of the masses he is caught up in quicksands.

JEUNE AFRIQUE: Are you always aware of your secret service's activities? Do your agents tell you how they are carrying out your instructions or how they are getting weapons to their place of destination?

Mu'ammarr al-Qadhafi: This is a very important question. Throughout the world the activities of intelligence agencies can be controlled from beginning to end only by high officials. Because of the very nature of their work they could do bad things or act clumsily. These agencies can often operate in a manner inconsistent with their government's policies. The U.S. CIA provides a vivid example of this. Unfortunately, the state cannot disown them and say: "It was Ahmad's or Muhammad's fault." In the final analysis the state has to take the responsibility and Libya, in that respect, is no different from the United States, the Soviet Union or any other country.

JEUNE AFRIQUE: If you were to order your secret service to do something and they felt that the only way to comply with your order was to smuggle weapons in a diplomatic pouch, would they tell you about it?

Mu'ammarr al-Qadhafi: Sending arms through your secret service is not the best way of doing things. If we had wanted to send arms to Angola before it achieved independence, the best way would have been to contact the liberation front concerned and reach an understanding. But it would be a big mistake to ask your Mukhabarat (secret service) to do this. This is how diplomatic pouches get misused. We are aware of these dangers and we are alert to them. I believe that the deterioration in the international order we are witnessing is largely a result of the use of legal facilities for illegal ends. We all suffer from this syndrome. Thus the entire world has accepted the inviolability of diplomatic pouches, their misuse having had serious consequences.

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JEUNE AFRIQUE: What did you know about what happened during the July summit in Jidda, at which Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Sudan met to discuss your case?

Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi: I received information somewhat different from that published in NEWSWEEK, at least with regard to the Saudis. When we asked them for clarifications on the allegations contained in the article, the Saudis answered that As-Sadat had got in contact with them while he was conferring with Numayri in Alexandria; he wanted to ask Prince Fahd (the heir apparent and Saudi prime minister) to meet with him. When the Saudis replied that the prime minister was too busy, As-Sadat and Numayri asked for Prince Abdallah (commander of the national guard) or another high dignitary to come to Alexandria, still without explaining what it was about. The Saudis subsequently learned, to their great surprise, that As-Sadat and Numayri were on their way to Jidda without an invitation and without even having notified the palace. Once there, the two heads of state told the Saudis that they wanted to discuss the Libyan case; they showed their interlocutors a map of Libya showing three secret camps where we were supposed to have been training guerrillas to invade Egypt and Sudan, as well as a fourth camp in the extreme south of the country where we were supposed to have been training young Saudis and Yemenis to infiltrate Saudi Arabia. As-Sadat gave the names of the places and the personnel involved; he finally convinced them. We told the Saudis that we had no objection to As-Sadat and his helpers coming to show us the locations of these camps since we were unaware of their existence.

JEUNE AFRIQUE: The commando chief who hijacked an Egyptian aircraft on 22 August confessed that one of your Interior Ministry officials named (Tanabou) had promised him \$345,000 for the operation.

Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi: We laughed a lot over this name because the defendant stated that the official was an under secretary at the Ministry of the Interior. This proved that he had been forced to confess. To make doubly sure, however, we checked the names of all state and even municipal officials. This person, this name, does not exist. The under secretary at the Ministry of the Interior is called (Younes Belkacem). Let us be serious. How can we be responsible for the hijacking of an aircraft, of an Egyptian aircraft from one airport to another, by a Jordanian, a Kuwaiti and a Palestinian? This whole affair is ridiculous and this account was only aimed at discrediting us. Show me just one Libyan who has embezzled public funds or organized the hijacking of an aircraft!

JEUNE AFRIQUE: But do you support George Habash and his Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, who have been responsible for a number of hijackings?

Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi: These people have made mistakes and we keep on telling them that their hijackings damage their cause and always arouse the hostility of thousands of people. We cannot be held responsible for their errors of judgement.

JEUNE AFRIQUE: If you are against the hijacking of aircraft, why do you not take vigorous action to stop it?

Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi: The hijacking of aircraft lies in the province of terrorism and this is why we are opposed to it. If we have allowed air pirates to land here, it has been at the specific request of the governments and even the heads of the governments concerned. With the case of the Japan airways jumbo jet, the Japanese prime minister telephoned our under secretary for foreign affairs to ask him to refuse landing facilities. [paragraph continues]



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Then the Japanese premier telephoned our prime minister to ask him to help to save the passengers by authorizing a landing. The same thing happened with the aircraft from Malaya. We have kept the telegrams and the recordings of our conversations with foreign officials. On 5 September we closed our airspace and our airports when the KIM DC-9 was hijacked. We are the only country in the world which applies Islamic law against terrorism. The aim of all this anti-Libyan propaganda is simply to make us deviate from our revolutionary goals.

JEUNE AFRIQUE: According to information from French sources, Libya would like to buy nuclear arms and would be prepared to pay a very high price for achieving nuclear capability. Why?

Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi: Your information is false. We would like to acquire nuclear technology--not arms--for peaceful purposes: Energy, Agricultural development and so forth. The world should adopt this as a universal principle.

JEUNE AFRIQUE: Have you been promised help in this sphere either by France or the Soviet Union?

Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi: We are still trying and we are quite prepared to enter into negotiations with the United States about nuclear technology, as was the case with As-Sadat. The United States should help us to develop in this sphere, especially if it fears that we could buy nuclear arms. The guarantees which it imposes when supplying nuclear technology should be another reason, from its own viewpoint, for helping us. If it did, it would be completely aware of what is going on.

JEUNE AFRIQUE: What is Libya's role in the liberation of southern Africa?

Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi: We will help the blacks to secure their rights by any means. Many other countries will do the same if the white racist minorities remain intransigent with respect to the question of power for the Black majority.

JEUNE AFRIQUE: Your former comrades, now in exile, assert that you suffer from acute migraine and go through periods of profound depression followed by moments of intense euphoria. Do you feel different from other people?

Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi: I do not suffer from migraine. I have only had sinus trouble but I have been cured. Problems do not affect my health. On the contrary, they stimulate me and I forget my troubles as a result.

JEUNE AFRIQUE: Why are you inclined to work at night and sleep in the morning?

Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi: I do not have a set schedule with respect to work and sleep. I work until my eyes feel tired and then I lie down, sometimes for 30 minutes and sometimes for 3-4 hours, before going back to my office or my official duties. I do this all the time whether it is night or day.