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Al-Qadhafi Speech

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[Speech by Colonel Mu'ammar al-Qadhafi at rally at Umm 'Atiqah Airbase to mark 14th anniversary of expulsion of U.S. bases from Libya — live]

[Excerpts] America used to dream that this huge base would remain under its control for more than 99 years. It believed the Libyan territory would always remain leased in the service of American imperialist ambitions. America wrongly believed, naturally, just as it always had, that it and its allies had secured the Libyan territory generation after generation, so that Libya would remain a NATO base in the service of American imperialism and its allies. America and its allies built all their calculations on this basis — that this base, Wheelus Base, would remain for about 100 years and that they could continue relying on four other American military bases from Al-Watyah on the Tunisian border to the Gulf of Sidra to Ras al-Umuf in the Gulf of Sidra.

But what happened after that? The revolution broke out in Libya and the throne, which believed America with its bases could protect him till the end, was destroyed. [slogan, chanting] And in a single blow, on the dawn of the Great al-Fatih, the royal regime totally collapsed, the regime America had relied upon to keep Wheelus Base permanently at its disposal and secure Libyan territory for NATO. In a few minutes America lost, and all the hopes on which it had depended for scores of years collapsed. In a few minutes on the dawn of the Great Al-Fatih all America's calculations were written off.

I give this short introduction, a useful lesson of history, in order to prove to the agents in the Arab homeland who believe America is protecting them and that the AWACS aircraft and the American bases can protect them from the revolution — we say to them that if America is capable of protecting its agents, it would have protected Idris as-Sanusi, the number one agent, who placed Wheelus Base at the disposal of America, together with four more bases on Libyan territory consequently making Libyan territory and the entire Libyan people a sacrifice for America. If America were capable of protecting its agents, it would not have failed to protect this number one agent, Idris as-Sanusi, who leased Libyan territory, ignored the will of the Libyan people, and ignored the revolutionary will.

America was deceiving itself. It believed that whatever its number one agent said was true. But the number one agent Idris as-Sanusi was lying, and America and its allies' calculations lied, and the will of the Libyan people was true — the Libyan people who destroyed the era of Idris as-Sanusi through revolution and the biggest American bases through revolution. [words indistinct]

Therefore, on the basis of historical experience, we are confident the American agents in the Arab homeland will inevitably fall as the number one agent Idris as-Sanusi fell. America will sustain a loss and other losses in the Arab homeland, as it did in Libya. Its bases in the Arab homeland will be demolished, as will the Ra's Banas base on the Red Sea in Egyptian territory and its new bases in Sudan, Somalia, and all the Arab homeland that today under American influence and where America does as it pleases,

completely ignoring Arab will. America will sustain other losses as it did in Libya. Its bases in the Arab homeland will be demolished as were those on Libyan soil. Brothers, this will inevitably come. But the colonialists do not learn from the lessons. They are blinded by greed and imperialist expansion. They always ignore the will of the peoples until they collide with it.

The United States ignored the will of the Vietnamese people until it collided with their will, and the forces of America were destroyed on the rock of the Vietnamese people's resistance. America's resistance and forces were destroyed by the resistance of the Latin American and Central American nations, and the American bases on Libyan soil were destroyed.

Today we celebrate at the base formerly called Wheelus Base; we celebrate at Umm 'Atiqah Base: the Libyan girl, victim of American tyrant aggression.

We celebrate and raise our heads and our voices high and get prepared, O brothers, to defend our freedom and dignity and to assert our existence in our land with all pride. [chanting] While America was dreaming this base would remain in the service of her military aims for scores of years, it was taken aback by the revolution, which undermined all American calculations and inflicted heavy losses on America in North Africa and the Mediterranean. I say: Just as America was dreaming of staying in the Libyan land for scores of years and was disappointed, so it is now dreaming of returning to this base. The continuous attempts and provocative military engagements against the Libyan people and the continuous plotting against the freedom of this land are nothing but desperate new attempts by America to return to this base. America dreams of returning to Umm 'Atiqah Base and turning it into Wheelus Base again. America harbors the ambition of controlling the Libyan land once again, as it used to control Libya during the days of prime agent Idris as-Sanusi. America dreams of preventing any serious attempt in the Arab land to establish Arab unity or a serious Arab recovery.

America is determined to subjugate the Arab homeland to its interests and its will. We on our part, are determined to resist America, foil America's attempts, thwart America's will, and destroy America's nose in the Arab land, which belongs to us, the land of our ancestors. We will fight from the Gulf to the ocean and to hell with America 1,000 times. America is determined to resist the Arab will and to destroy the future of the Arab nation. America, O brothers, reveals its aggressive intentions against freedom in this land with all arrogance. America wants to completely subjugate the Arab homeland to its fleets, military forces, and economic interests. It consider this pertinent to America's security.

America, O brothers, is practicing oppressive and unlawful imperialist policy driven by the madness of power. I say to you that there is no possibility whatsoever of reaching an understanding with a mad country inflicted with arrogance, the madness of power, and perceiving itself capable of subjugating the globe to her might. No understanding can be reached with America except through challenge, through confronting its strength with a determination of steel, by which we are determined to die or live freely. America is determined to subjugate us as its slaves

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and turn our land into a sphere of its influence. America is an arch enemy of the Arab nation. [slogans, chanting, anti-American slogans]

Brethren, America is deceiving itself because it believed that all Arabs are like their rulers. America believed that the Egyptians are all like agent As-Sadat. It believed that all the Egyptians are servile and low like the deceased As-Sadat. America believed the 20 million Arabs in the Sudan are servile, low, and insignificant like the lackey Numayri in Khartoum. America believes the Arab peoples, the youths of the Arab nation, and the will of the Arab nation are as weak as are the Arab rulers at this stage.

We tell America the rulers of the Arab nation at this stage are the worst dregs this nation has. We tell them that survival is for the Arab nation and triumph is for its youths and its will, which will defeat its agents and traitorous rulers and America's will in the Arab homeland. [slogan, chanting]

However, there is no possibility — as I have told you — of reaching an understanding with a power-mad and internationally arrogant country. Not only the Libyans, but all the sons of the Arab nation should refuse to entertain the ambition of any armistice, understanding, or friendship with a country named America, because it is a staunch enemy, a real enemy. Its interests oppose the interests of this nation. Imperialist America's interests oppose Arab unity, and consequently America is a staunch and real enemy and is serious in preventing the establishment of Arab unity.

Those of the Arab rulers who prevent Arab unity are agents of America, servants of America, placed by America to serve its interests. They are rulers indeed — kings, presidents, and amirs — their names are Arab and they rule in Arab countries, but they are America's donkeys, upon which America rides to penetrate the Arab homeland in every kingdom, republic, and sultanate. [chanting: "To Hell with America"]

Consequently, there is no possibility of deciding to live as a free people, for any people in the world to decide to live free and befriend America at the same time. Freedom, the freedom of peoples, is contradictory to the ambitions of imperialist America. Therefore, the peoples that want to live free have no option but to resist America, to fight America, to ally even with the devil against America. America has no friend, either agent or enemy. Through the revolution we decided to live free; Thus, we have automatically become enemies of America. We did not want any confrontation with America. We are only a small country, a small and poor people with economic problems and problems in the fields of development and the unification of its scattered nation. We have no concern or contact with, or provocation against, America.

Economic development in Libya, building progress and freedom on Libyan soil, and working for Arab unity — all this brought us into confrontation with America. We are building on our own soil. We are uniting our own nation. America said no. Therefore, we say no to it.

You cannot live free while you are befriend America. America's friends are America's slaves. The free men are

America's enemies. It is not because we are Arab or a Muslim state, or anything else. The nations of Latin America are Catholic states; America is bombing and killing them wholesale. It is trying to swallow them one state after another, beginning with Grenada, the smallest state. These states are Christian and Catholic.

A state like Indonesia is not a hireling of America. Other Muslim states and Arab states are hirelings to America. America does not differentiate between one as Arab and that one not, or Muslim or Christian. America has imperialist ambitions. Anyone who falls inside the plan for U.S. imperialist interests is raided by America. Either he submits to it or becomes its enemy. We refused to submit to America. We automatically became enemies of America. We did not invade America. We liberated this base: It used to be Wheelus Base and we turned it into Umm 'Atiqah Base.

America used to occupy this land. This is a part of a Libyan town. America occupied this land, this base. When we liberated our soil we became enemies of America. Why does America hate us? Because we destroyed this base. We, the revolutionaries, caused the destruction of American bases on Libyan soil. So we have become terrorists, reckless, mad, and internationally irresponsible. Why? Because America wants to build its bases and its links on our soil. We demolished its bases and cut off its links. We did our national duty: We liberated the land of our fathers and forefathers. America considers us terrorists, outlaws, and renegades. What logic could one use to talk to an arrogant state with definite designs on the Arab homeland?

America continues its tyranny and scorns the Arab nation because it senses the humiliating and disgraceful submission by its agent rulers. In essence, it was not we who wanted to be the enemies of America. It was not we who invaded it. It was not we who went to it. We have not established bases in America. Why are we celebrating the occasion today? We celebrate the occasion because we liberated this part of our land from American colonialism. America says it is not a colonialist state and has no ambitions. Why, then did it come before the revolution to this base and occupy it, build its atomic stores and its strategic planes at this base, and stretch itself over Libyan territory?

Therefore, if it finds an opportunity, America will return to this base. If it finds an opportunity it will retrieve its Libyan bases. If it finds an opportunity, it will occupy you again. Since you deprived it of such an opportunity, you are enemies, you are terrorists, you are mad, you are reckless, and you are irresponsible. Imagine: This is the American logic.

Therefore, I tell you you have no alternative but to confront America and treat it as it treats you. The latest method America resorted to was the cowboy method, the method of barbarism, because it is a state that utterly disregards mankind and international law since it is powerful. It feels it is the most powerful state in the world.

It has threatened with its fleets. It waited to split the revolution. It enlisted one of the members of the Revolution Command Council. He became an agent. He became an agent of America and the Israelis. It tried to rely on splitting the Revolutionary

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Command Council from within. It tried to infiltrate us from within. It tried to wait, hoping the revolution would fall. It conspired against us from our frontiers in all directions with all its agent regimes. It threatened us with its fleets within our territorial waters. It denied us our right to the Gulf of Sidra, which has belonged to us from generation to generation of the historic gulfs, and our right to which is supported by the Law of the Sea.

Following failure in these attempts America resorted to the meanest methods, which are more barbaric and irresponsible. It trained terrorists, agents, and dogs and wanted to push them inside Libya to toss bombs, burn, and destroy. America cannot possibly escape from its responsibility for this before the world.

There are several statements in front of me. If I read passages from them they will show the world America's complete responsibility, from the President's down to its intelligence, for training, preparing, financing, and protecting terrorists for the purpose of committing homicidal killings inside Libya and carrying out assassinations, causing explosions, and arson. The last thing that occurs to a madman, after all other attempts have failed and all its tricks have failed, is to resort to this method.

There is a neutral American newspaper: It was the one that spoke the truth. The newspaper was American, not Libyan. This newspaper said [words indistinct] the campaign of slander against Libya, which is being fanned and directed by American quarters, is considered part of a policy prepared and hatched by Washington to destabilize the independence of this land: Libya. This campaign embraces open military, political, and economic acts against Libya and secret operations by the CIA. This American newspaper is well informed. This newspaper has a number of spies who work for it. They supplied it with this information about the secret operations that American intelligence has carried out in Libya. It exposed these secret operations. Who committed them? They were committed by America.

Also, here is London radio. While replying to a question from someone, in its political program it said that American intelligence was plotting a conspiracy to assassinate Colonel al-Qadhafi. This is what the radio said. America has been trying to harm Libya and it is trying to overthrow its popular and revolutionary regime. This British radio was answering someone who wrote to it. It had proof... [interrupted by chants]

Here is an Italian newspaper: As of the beginning of 1984 America's preparation for barbaric action inside Libya had begun. The Italian paper *IL MESSAGGERO* says the American Government intends to take new measures against Libya and Al-Qadhafi. As of 1984's start, that is, on (?28 January 1984), it said the U.S. Government — this paper has confirmation — is introducing new measures. This meant it will not be the U.S. 6th Fleet, and not like previous campaigns, but another method: assassination, killing, and subversion.

In an interview the whole world listened to with Nasir ad-Din an-Nashashibi, former U.S. President Nixon said on 15 April 1984 — this is when the campaign had begun — that Al-Qadhafi was causing trouble for us — meaning America: He was trying to increase Libya's influence in the African Continent.

All the European powers — notice that he says the European powers, and this means the colonial states. We did not say the African or Asian people, because he knows we are working for their liberation, but he said the European powers, the states of Europe. Naturally, Nixon was talking about Western Europe, which means the colonial states should stand up to Libya because Libya was spreading freedom in the African Continent. [paragraph as heard]

We support Numayri against Al-Qadhafi. Quite insolently, this former U.S. president said: We support. It shows whom America is supporting and whom it is against. The one supported by America — surely, what sort of position could it have with its people and the Arab nation? And the one that who opposes America — what is its position with its people and the Arab nation? Here is America today: It is an honor for Numayri. He is supported by America, and against Al-Qadhafi. Splendid. This is a medal of disgrace for the rhinoceros.

Afterward, on 19 April 1984, the U.S. secretary of state made a statement was reported by all newspapers. This was quite recent—at the beginning of the stepping up of the campaign, before the assassination and sabotage attempts America prepared and brought to you here. The campaign was stepped up and it was clear. They talked about it daily: they themselves reported it — on 19 April this minister — the American minister — said he launched an attack against the Libyan people. He said Libyans were causing us concern in all parts of the world. Something must be done against them. The U.S. secretary of state said this in April. A responsible man, and he says that something must be done against the Libyans.

After this, there was the deputy secretary of state [as heard] in the same month — one was on 19 April and the other was on 20 April, 1 day later. This one, whose name is George Bush, told a gathering of newsmen in Washington after his return from Geneva: We must think about a final solution to Al-Qadhafi as we did in the past with others. He means as we did with Lumumba, Allende, and Bishop. He said it openly: As we did in Grenada. This is their secretary of state and vice president.

Their secretary of state and vice president declare this publicly before the world. If we say we are doing something, if we declare or if one of us says we shall do something against Reagan or we shall do something against America, it causes an uproar. They say: Look: terrorism. They must be invaded. They must be butchered. They hatch terrorist operations and assassinations against us inside our country. Imagine the total impudence with which they declare before the world, and shouldering the responsibility, that they are doing something inside Libya. [slogans, chanting]

This American center for security — the American center for security, which includes a number of senior responsible officials of the American Administration and officers from the Armed Forces: We can hear the head of the institution, Dr Joseph (?Cisco), say at a press conference — and this is a security center in America — that this revolutionary regime in Libya must be strongly confronted by rendering effective backing to fugitive Libyans. Very frankly, America must render effective backing

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to the Libyan stray dogs abroad and must strongly confront the Libyan regime. [slogans, chanting]

One must prevent Libya from becoming a progressive base in the Mediterranean. Furthermore, their newspaper *THE WASHINGTON POST*, on the 24th of the same month — the statements are all made during the fourth month: They were all happy and were making preparations, and their groups had infiltrated and believed the American plan was certain to succeed — to succeed in assassinations, explosions, and the destruction of Libya from within, after they had failed in all their previous attempts. All this happened in April. The word April came up at all times — In an editorial *THE WASHINGTON POST*... [interrupted by slogans, chanting] It said on the 24th of the same month — successive statements, because they were happy that month, April — it said we shall not succeed — and here I mean the author of this editorial in *THE WASHINGTON POST* — we shall not succeed in resisting Al-Qadhafi, and the result was that Britain suffered a humiliation it did not want. He incites Britain saying: Look, we told you to come and help us, to come and help us resist Libya, but you were slow so you sustained humiliation in your country and for your police in central London. He was provoking Britain saying it had sustained humiliation that it did not want.

Then, in the same month — on 24 April — in a political program on their radio — which was televised — an American politician [as heard] named Daniel Schorr said the CIA has informed Congress it wants to carry out secret operations against Al-Qadhafi. This was said on American television. It was said so openly. If you follow what is said in America you can follow the steps of this terroristic operation day by day. Because all this was said during April we regarded it as an April fool. It looks like one. [applause]

This is the British *OBSERVER*. In the same month — April — it carried an article — a long article entitled "Al-Qadhafi and the Green Nuns" — in which it said the Libyans who are Muslim Brotherhood members and have fled the country enjoy genuine support from America. In this article the paper confirmed the Libyans who have fled are members of the Muslim Brotherhood and are enjoying America's genuine support. Let us see who supports terrorism. Who trains the terrorists? Their own paper, *THE NEW YORK TIMES*, during the same month of April, said the Reagan administration was trying to find a way to topple Colonel al-Qadhafi because it regards him as the head of international terrorism. Reagan and Shultz — Shultz is one of the (?running) dogs: He is their foreign minister — have placed Libya at the top of the list of terrorist states. This was written openly in their own paper, which is read by millions of people daily: The U.S. secretary of state has on several occasions informed his aides that an end should be put to Al-Qadhafi. This is one of their major papers. Everybody reads it. All this evidence is there. If there were an international court where we could try America and show it is terrorist number one and irresponsible and against international law, we would have brought this evidence and all witnesses to this court.

On the 26th of the same month U.S. *NEWSWEEK* reaffirmed the CIA has a plan to supply forces hostile to Libya with weapons and another plan [words indistinct] who opposes Al-Qadhafi

with weapons inside Libya itself. This means the Americans have a plan for supplying weapons to those inside Libya who oppose the revolutionary regime. Therefore, the elements who obtained weapons inside Libya did so according to arrangements made by agents of the American CIA. [anti-American shouts] This means that every day, particularly during the month of April, they were saying the operation was ready. Evidence of this lies in the fact the CIA was the one that made the plan, and the U.S. President was the one who signed it. The U.S. Government was responsible for everything. They talked about it daily, especially during April.

What did *THE WASHINGTON POST* say on 30 April? It said that something was going to take place in Libya. Look at that: It wrote on 30 April that something was going to take place in Libya. This means they had arranged it and knew about it. On the same day — 30 April — London radio said observers in London were saying the American Administration had begun consultations with the British and other governments — and here they mean the Sudanese and other lackey governments, for example — regarding the coordination of action against the Jamahiriyah. Officials in Washington were preparing plans for action against the Jamahiriyah for Reagan's study following his return from China. This was broadcast on 30 April. It said that following his return from China Reagan would study the anti-Libya plans. It was said the plans would include the choice of carrying out a unilateral action, in addition to the application of other sanctions. Imagine! They said precisely that the plan would include the carrying out of a unilateral action — meaning assassinations. The whole world heard that. It is there.

On 1 May an American spokesman — this was transmitted by KUNA — revealed his government — the American Government — wanted to put an end to the Libyan role in Africa. Look at this injustice: Africa is our continent and we are part of it. America has installed itself as a policeman who comes to our southern border to prevent us from moving. To hell with America! [shouts: "Hell to America"] In the same month of April the Kuwaiti *AS-SIYASAH* published a report that said that the Reagan administration had given instructions to the FBI and CIA to carry out precautionary strikes against groups, organizations, or governments that harbor international terrorism, and Libya may be the number one target of such U.S. precautionary strikes.

It is quite clear: A commentary by the Voice of America on 3 May said: Colonel al-Qadhafi has repeatedly shown his (?disregard) for the values of international law and norms. Therefore, the security of states in Africa and elsewhere in the world requires that an end be put to Al-Qadhafi. This means it is quite clear they wanted to carry out assassinations against people.

[Passage indistinct] He said the Europeans may support the CIA's secret operations against Al-Qadhafi, but it is not expected that they should participate. This means there were secret operations by the CIA against us, and this is quite clear. Furthermore, it is also clear the Americans consulted the Europeans and the reactionary Arab states — the lackeys — on all of this. There are conclusive witnesses and evidence. The assassina-

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tion or sabotage operations that could have taken place were the American responsibility from A to Z.

Those whom you yourselves captured and brought [not further specified] were mere dogs of America. They were ordered by America. They gave them bombs and told them to put them somewhere, and they did. By God, we were merciful to them. [shouts: "Do not be Merciful, O Leader"]

In the same month, May, the Kuwaiti *AS-SIYASAH* reaffirmed the Reagan administration had undertaken to help the Libyan members of the Muslim Brotherhood as long as the strategic aim was to overthrow Al-Qadhafi and the revolutionary regime in Libya. This is a paper with information from a country that has relations with America. It said that the United States has trained and given a task to Libyan members of the Muslim Brotherhood to carry out inside Libya. The same paper added that Libyan members of the Muslim Brotherhood in America have asked the CIA to monitor the movements of a number of Libyan students in America because they feared them.

On 21 May 1984 in a lengthy article, the American *CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR* said there was no simple answer to the Libyan problem, because in the past states needed many years to put an end to Libyan barbaric piracy. Imagine! This means Libya is a problem because it opposes the expansion of American interests and their advance in North Africa, the Mediterranean, and the Arab homeland. That is to say, the same role Libya played at the beginning of the 19th century when it imposed a toll on American ships and checked American terrorist attacks on the ports of North Africa.

In their view, we who defend our ports and shores are barbaric and pirates, while they, they aggressors, who come from beyond the oceans and seas and attack our shores — what are they called? Who are the pirates in this case? Who is the wicked aggressor? There is no possibility of talking logically with those who are mad with power.

Those who come from beyond the oceans and seas to attack us on our own shores, what do they call them? Who is the pirate in this case? Who is the criminal aggressor? There is no chance of coming to an understanding with the power-mad.

Finally, the Italian paper *COMBAT* clarified some part of the truth: It said Libya's national commitments toward the fateful Arab issues and Libya's unlimited support for international liberation movements made Al-Qadhafi the avowed number one enemy of Reagan and Thatcher. In the end, this paper said the truth. [sentence indistinct] As long as we support freedom and like to be free — as I said to you at the beginning of the speech — we automatically become America's enemies. It is automatic.

We prefer to be dead rather than slaves of America. Then the confrontation between us and America changed from fleets to personal assassination. We have no alternative but to resist America by every means. If we have to export terrorism, we will export terrorism to it. We are capable of exporting terrorism to the heart of America. We are also capable of physical liquidation, destruction, and arson inside America.

What I read to you was what the major U.S. newspapers and well-informed American, European, and Arab radios said — which constituted evidence and irrefutable proof that the action you had to liquidate inside the country was arranged abroad, and it is America that bears responsibility for it — this was a 100 percent American act. If the ones who carried it out were called 'Ali or Muhammad, it meant nothing. It is merely the name of the dog. This dog was trained in America, and this is a police dog who was given a bomb to set off inside Libya. The act is an American act and the confrontation is with America, because the rats and the stray dogs do not possess the courage or the human or material potential, nor do they have a cause. There is not a single Libyan who has a justification for opposing his country now that authority is in the hands of its people, its wealth has reverted to its people, and its weapons are being given to its people to train with. [applause]

I do not believe there can be any pretext. Things like chocolate that are not well made or a matchstick that does not light can hardly be a justification. They are trivial things that do not justify one bearing arms or standing in opposition.

Affairs in Libya are all very convincing and do not provide any justification or any right for anyone with the minimum of logic to oppose his country. Libya is not a reactionary state. This is not a dictatorship. There is no injustice in Libya. There is no one single section of people in Libya ruling the remainder of the people. Women and men in Libya are daily being urged to leave their homes and decide Libya's policy — the purchasing of goods from abroad, the construction of sewage works inside. You decide on all this and what is to be done and what is not to be done. You have the budget in your own hands. You know the number of barrels of oil and you know how many dinars we receive in return for our oil exports.

The other evidence about which I have just talked is based on what the media published. But the other evidence is that the State Department submitted to the U.S. Congress a 25-page report about Libya. Imagine! It tired itself — the U.S. State Department has tired itself with all its establishments and experts and prepared a 25-page report on Libya which it submitted to the U.S. Congress. The Congress took long hours in debating this report. This is some kind of injustice. Libya is not a state of the United States. What business have they in preparing a report and debating about Libya? We are a free state in North Africa and in the Arab world. What have they to do with us? What business have they preparing reports about us? This is the (?height) of aggression and arrogance. This means they are interested in everything, control the movements of every state, and want all states and nations of the world to muster in one single file on orders from America. Otherwise the Americans will hit those who do not fall into this single file. Imagine!

The first thing they began with — I do not like to give you details of the report, which can be distributed to you at any time, but will tell you about its headings. The first thing they said was about the arming of the Armed Forces. They are angry because the Libyan Armed Forces have been supplied with missiles, aircraft, and so on. The Americans have expressed their concern over the arming of the Libyan forces. How can Libya become a strong state militarily? They do not talk about the atomic bombs

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and the missiles carrying nuclear warheads deployed in the whole of Europe — with which they have covered all Europe, the cover of hell they have made for Western Europe — which they possess. They do not talk about this. They are concerned over the arming of Libyan forces. No matter how many weapons they are supplied with, the Libyan forces have not got so many as to be of concern to the United States. The Libyan forces are not equal even to one of the nuclear missiles with which America has created a cover of hell and which it has deployed in oceans and continents. Imagine the extent of injustice! The Americans debate the arming of the Libyan Army. Why is the Libyan Army supplied with tanks? Why is there a tank for every 1,300 citizens? Is this a state of the United States?

Then they talked about relations with the Soviet Union. Al-Qadhafi's relations with the Soviet Union have become closer and more developed. They are angry with that. We are free. How about that? They want us to consult America about our relations with the Soviet Union or China or India — shall we have relations with these states or not. This is what the Americans want us to do: to ask them whether we can have relations with this or that state. They are angry — how come Libyan relations with the Soviet Union have become stronger? You Americans — cowboys — what business do you have with this? May God curse their fathers. [shouts and cheers: "We shall not abandon our principles even if the whole world is against us!"]

Afterward, they said: Why is Libya protecting the Touaregs, who live in several African countries, and the Toubou tribes that branched out to Tebessa? You can just imagine: It is as if it was a government in one of the states of America. [sentence indistinct] It means that we (?must not) deal with Tebessa, which is on our border, and must not have relations with neighboring tribes or with the Touaregs, who are Libyans. Yet America has the right to discuss Libya's policy. They said: Why is Libya protecting the Touareg tribes and the Toubou tribes? This is an official report. It is here in English. Here is the English copy. Perhaps there are some foreign journalists here who might raise an objection. It can be published so everyone can read it.

Afterward they started to study Libya's relations with its neighbors. They first said: The Sahara is not Libya's only objective, but moderate Tunisia considers it a basic objective because Libya is trying to get Tunisia out of the Western alliance. You just imagine. They are trying to stir things up between Tunisia and us.

In the U.S. Congress — and this is what the report says — they said Libya is trying to bring Tunisia out of the Western alliance. They are trying to present Tunisia as a Western ally. Libya is trying to bring Tunisia out of the Western alliance and Tunisia is considered a basic objective of Libya. They are defending Tunisia. Tunisia is a free and sovereign state. We are closer to it than they are. What business do they have defending Tunisia? We are brothers, and whether we quarrel or fight or do something else, we are one people and [word indistinct].

Afterward they started the Libya-Africa question, beginning with Sudan. They said that after Jamal 'Abd an-Nasir's death Al-Qadhafi lost confidence in his neighbors' ability to realize

Arab unity. Thus, relations between the two countries deteriorated. Just imagine: They rebuke Numayri because he cannot realize Arab unity. They expose him and at the same time defend him. America has installed itself as a sometime defender of Tunisia and Sudan, at other times a defender of Africa, and at some other time a defender of Latin America. And it said that after 'Abd an-Nasir's death Al-Qadhafi lost confidence in his neighbors' ability to realize Arab unity, and thus relations between the two countries deteriorated. What is their concern whether our relations deteriorated and whether we realized Arab unity or not? You must see how they interfere in domestic affairs.

The report said Al-Qadhafi's attempt to make arrangements to overthrow the regime in Sudan in February 1983 clearly shows Al-Qadhafi's intentions towards Sudan. Imagine: They are defending Sudan. They are lawyers. Whether we have good or bad intentions towards Sudan, what business is that of America? Are the American international policemen dealing with disturbances and fighting everywhere in the world? Who gave them this right? Naturally, this makes America confront the will of nations, as was the case in Vietnam, when it came back with a bloody nose. May God do the same to it in Libya!

For years the Libyan atlas — imagine their reading our atlas — the Americans are concerned over how the Libyan atlas shows parts of Niger, such as the province of Toummo. Toummo is a well from which camels drink water. It is a well situated along the Libyan-Niger border. I believe the majority of Libyans and Nigerois do not know it. The U.S. Congress debates the Toummo well. American intelligence and the American Government know about this well, but they called it a province. It is a well, not a province. They said that Libya's putting the Toummo Province in its atlas means Libya is taking parts of Niger. All right, is Libya taking parts of America or Niger? If Niger were a free and sovereign state, it would defend itself. This indicates these are American colonies and America wants to defend them. This is what such talk means. Those states that are free should answer America and tell it to have some shame and not interfere in our border issues with this or that state and not interfere in our sovereignty: We are free and can defend ourselves against Libya.

At a time when Al-Qadhafi has not occupied this area, as he did in Aozou in Chad, the intention is clear that he wants to do so. Imagine! They claim we have a clear intention to occupy the Toummo well — which I believe has dried up. America — the whole of America — is studying this well. They act like dogs along our border to create troubles so that they can find an excuse. They are tyrants and want to return to this base. But to hell with them. They will only return to this base over our dead bodies and on a sea of our blood. [shouts, applause]

Let me finish these words quickly. Once again the report referred to Tunisia. It said Al-Qadhafi, in coordination with Muslim extremists and trade unions and students in Tunisia and Europe, is leading demonstrations and implementing disturbances in Tunisia. Just imagine the sedition! Why should the U.S. Congress study such a situation? What do they mean by it? The reports continue by saying: He threatens to incite the masses to stage a revolution, despite the regimes and borders now existing. In other words, the Americans are disturbed to see that

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Arab borders between one people and another are no longer respected by the revolution in Libya. During the era of Abraham Lincoln, there used to be 50 [as heard] states, none of which respected the borders between them, with 600,000 victims for the sake of uniting North and South. It was not said that that was not allowed. But for us, it is not allowed. Six hundred thousand Americans were killed during the war to unite America. Therefore, we are free to liberate and unite the Arab nation at any price, despite America. [applause and shouts]

The report then referred to Egypt and Algeria. It said that both Egypt and Algeria are states influenced by the fever in Libya — in other words, the revolution, liberation, and unity is a fever in Libya and a disease as far as Egypt and Algeria are concerned. This is what the Americans said in their report — we did not say it. The report said Al-Qadhdhafi is interested in these two countries more than others.

Al-Qadhdhafi's agents were active in Egypt in the early seventies. The Americans regard the revolutionary and free Egyptians as agents of Libya. Al-Qadhdhafi, the report says, has strengthened the Muslim extremist groups in Egypt. The difference between Libya and Algeria may lead Al-Qadhdhafi to increase his subversive activities against Algeria. Contact has been made with former Algerian President Ahmed Benbella following his release and departure from Algeria. Imagine the U.S. Congress and the U.S. Government sticking their noses into such minor issues! Nobody talks about Ahmed Benbella. Algeria has not talked about Ahmed Benbella for the past 15 years. The Americans wrote a report. For long hours their Congress debated this report until they got to Ahmed Benbella. They claimed Libya was contacting Ahmed Benbella, differences appeared between Libya and Algeria and Al-Qadhdhafi will increase his subversive activities — imagine! — in Algeria. I do not know how to explain it when the Americans in their own Congress place themselves in defense of some Arab regimes — defending some Arab regimes inside their Congress against Libya. They claim Libya attacks this and that Arab regime. Algeria itself can do that — it is a free and sovereign state. It has given 1 and 1/2 million martyrs for its independence; it does not need the U.S. Congress, U.S. Government, American intelligence, nor the American cowboy who is defending it. It is absurd to see the U.S. Congress defending Algeria against Libya. Libya and Algeria are one state and one people. If we have understandings between us or if we fight against each other, we are Arabs. What business have the Americans, the cowboys, the imperialists, in this — the subversives, the sons of bitches.

Afterward they discussed Mauritania. Just imagine the American absurdity as written in the report. It said Al-Qadhdhafi was very arrogant during his visit to Mauritania. Just imagine! What business is it of theirs if I was arrogant or not when I visited Mauritania? Just imagine the American absurdity. I want the Arab nations from Mauritania to Iraq to hear of this American absurdity and hear about the American justifications for the aggression against this nation — the absurd and flimsy justifications. Are these the kind of words to be uttered by [word indistinct] and by a respectable country against another? Is this a political assessment of international politics, or international events? Is this absurdity really, by God, a policy? Is this a policy of a major power? Al-Qadhdhafi was very haughty during his

visit to Mauritania; insists that Mauritania should follow his method in establishing an Arab and Muslim republic; said to the Mauritians they must run a Muslim and Arab republic. Just see how stupid are the American justifications.

Later the report referred to Somalia: Somalia in the last few years has been a target for Al-Qadhdhafi, particularly as a result of the close relations among Somalia, Sudan, and the United States. You can just see the scandal! They said Somalia, in the last few years, has become a target of Al-Qadhdhafi, particularly as a result of the close relations between Somalia, Sudan and the United States.

That means it has shown that Somalia, after becoming an agent of the United States, has fallen out with Libya. This is true. We were with Somalia until it came under the U.S. sphere of influence and became an American lackey. The Americans defend it; they are colonialists defending regimes such as Somalia and Sudan after they have become agents for them. Why does Libya harbor enmity toward these regimes? They ask: Why is Libya hostile to Somalia and Sudan? Because they have become agents of America. Naturally we are hostile to regimes which are not hostile to America, primarily because they are hostile to us.

Some African states — and here I want to talk about those states which were excepted — talked to me about Jerry Rawlings saying he returned to power in 1980 with Libyan support — in other words, Libya reinstated Rawlings in power. After that they talked about Libyan assistance to the extremist Muslims in Upper Volta which overthrew Colonel Zerbo and returned Sankara to power. Sankara returned to power with Libyan support. They place the responsibility for any revolution in Africa on us because Rawlings is anti-American and not an American agent. They hate the Americans because they ask why such regimes succeed and why Libya supports them. They wish all regimes were lackeys and all African states spheres of influence for America. So they get angry and punish those who stage these revolutions. Who helped to stage a revolution in Ghana? Who helped the revolution in Upper Volta to succeed? They view such successes as a crime. They regard such assistance and support as a crime.

At the end of the article they expose themselves a little. They wrote: Libya and the Middle East. They said that among the most important aspirations of the Libyan people is to rule and to lead the Arabs in liquidating Israel! And here they began to clarify matters a little. They began to reveal their intentions. They said ultimately Libya will unite the Arabs and lead them to the liquidation of Israel. This is true. We, the Arab nation, should unite and destroy the Zionist state in Palestine. This matter concerns us. This concerns our own security and existence and does not concern the Americans. If the Americans want a Zionist state, let them establish it in Alaska or Texas. They should not establish it in Palestine at the expense of the Arab nation. The Arab nation opposes any presence contrary to its own, whether this is Israel or anything else. Empty words! [applause, cheers]

The report continues that the support given by Libyans to Arab groups which share the Libyan philosophy — meaning the liquidation of Israel — was a significant factor in foiling a com-

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promise and threatening stability in some Arab moderate regimes in the Middle East. American intentions began to show up at the end of the report. America protects the Israelis. It wants Israel to remain a strong state, threatening the Arab presence. He who resists Israel is an enemy and should be resisted by America; this is the first point. Second, Libya helps Arab groups which share Libya's philosophy — meaning the Palestinian revolution, the Lebanese national resistance, and Arab states such as Syria. The report says this help was a significant factor in foiling a compromise and threatening the stability of some Arab regimes in the Middle East. This means this help has struck at the U.S. plan in this region — the American solution. Through this report it has been proven America is hostile to us. Why? Because we are confronting its aggressive plans which will implemented at the expense of our own future. Therefore, the Libyan role has demolished the American plan in the Middle East, and that is why America is angry. This is quite clear. They say the Palestinian revolution, the Lebanese national resistance, Syria, Libya, and Arab regimes of this type are foiling the compromise. What is the compromise? Someone is occupying Palestine. What is the compromise here? [shouts, slogans]

The destruction, the report adds, of Israel is one of the most important aims of Al-Qadhdhafi's policy. Add to this his desire to control the Arab world. For example, the total sum of money spent on weapons given to Palestinian organizations amounted to \$100 million in 1981. Imagine! They count everything we spend on assistance to the Palestinian organizations! The Palestinian question is recognized by the entire world — it is a just question. It is inevitable that the subjects of this question should be supported by every means. They said: No, this is a crime. Why do the Libyans support the Palestinians with \$100 million? What is \$100 million worth? It is equivalent to 30 million Libyan dinars. Imagine! They take exception to that. They began to clarify their attitude and began to defend it in a direct manner saying the destruction of Israel is one of the most significant aims of this policy, as well as controlling the Arab world for this aim. They began to clarify their intentions. They said Al-Qadhdhafi is angry with the Arabs because of their compromise solutions following the 1973 war with Israel. What business is it of theirs! [cheers]

Since April 1983, Al-Qadhdhafi has played an effective role in Syria to encourage the split in the Fatah organization crowned with the expulsion of 'Arafat from Damascus. One side wants to defend Yasir 'Arafat, one side to expose him. Well, they have exposed all their agents one by one from the ocean to the Gulf. Their defense of Israel is clear and it means they are against us because we are against the existence of an Israeli state in Arab land. Then they said: Why does Libya help the Palestinians expel Yasir 'Arafat? Are we to note the U.S. Congress is a friend of Yasir 'Arafat who defends him and punishes Libya because it enabled the Palestinians to expel Yasir 'Arafat? This is an official report! What a scandal!

On the other hand, Al-Qadhdhafi's aim is to create a lasting extremism in the PLO in order to destroy Israel. It is very clear the defense is now of the Israeli existence, and therefore there is no choice but to destroy the PLO and to destroy Palestinian resistance. And how could you Libyans support the Palestinian resistance? Why did you not get permission from America and

the U.S. Congress? Of course, this could happen because there are Arab rulers who are submissive and made this way of dealing customary for America. They take orders from it. They consider all of us to be just like them. But we are not rulers: We came from the desert barefoot and naked. We attacked this base when I was a lieutenant with our soldiers sitting around here barefooted. We attacked it because we came from among the people. We are not rulers and did not come to power by inheritance. None of us came from amirs who wanted hirelings. We are not from the As-Sanusi family or from the sultans. They think we are rulers and should consult with them. This is the real reason. But we are only barefooted and naked people.

And why are the Libyans cooperating with extremist Palestinian movements against Israel, threatening the conservative Arab regimes, kingdoms, sultanates, and amirates? This is a clear defense of Arab reaction. Why do the Libyans threaten Arab regimes — notice here how they define them: kingdoms, sultanates, and amirates. Well defined! There are no republics! This is a clear defense of Arab reaction. The Libyans and their instigator Al-Qadhdhafi were behind the Zufar movement [word indistinct] fighting the sultan of Oman. There is absolutely nothing left undiscussed by them. It is the day of judgment, and there is no God. They became God on earth and we are attending the American day of judgment. And we cannot pass through; only Numayri and his group can do this.

The Libyans are allies of the PDRY and have supported the National Democratic Front in North Yemen. See how they are picking on us? Well, these are interactions within the Arab homeland. What has it to do with America?

And the Libyans have supported the Iranian revolution ever since it began, because Khomeyni is against Israel. In a nutshell, they are objecting to our relations with the world. We support the Iranian revolution because Khomeyni, thank God, is by the testimony of America against Israel. He does not take arms from Israel as the Arab reaction in Iraq claims. Khomeyni is indeed against Israel, and we support him and anybody else who is against Israel and against America. And those who do not like it can try to make the earth flat rather than a globe.

There is a last point: Libya and Latin America. Libyan's activities have expanded since 1980 to include Latin America, and it seems the aim is to disturb the U.S. position. Look how they want to defend their interests because Libya supports the peoples of Central and Latin America and is upsetting the American position! It is evident the United States considers the peoples and countries of Latin America as its maids, so it spreads its wings around them, denying them the right to liberate themselves or to ask for support from the Libyan revolution.

The Libyan revolution is a revolution on earth, and these peoples are struggling for liberation. Hence they have the right to ask for support from the Libyan revolution whose duty it is to extend a helping hand to these peoples struggling against foreign domination.

The United States protests: how can peoples liberate themselves from the Libyan revolution, and how can Latin America liberate itself from its grip? But the revolution has spread its

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activities in Latin America. It seems the purpose behind this is to shake the American position.

The Falklands war showed the United Kingdom too is a target. The Americans begged Britain to join them. They told it: You too are a target for the Libyans, just like the United States. This is because Libya supported Argentina in the Falklands war.

The revolutionaries of El Salvador have indirectly benefitted from the Sandinist revolution by contacts with agents of Libya. The leaders of the Sandinist revolution and the Farabundo Marti Movement have paid several visits to Tripoli. The activities of Libya's agents in these areas have intensified. A Libyan Arab People's Bureau has been established in Grenada, and it is giving aid to leftist organizations in the Caribbean area, leftist leaders of the Dominican Republic and many other countries such as Grenada, St Lucia, and Barbados. All these are statelets in Central America. Also leftist leaders from Venezuela, Colombia, Chile, Costa Rica, and Honduras study in Tripoli, and, in addition, Salvadorans, Colombians, Surinamese, Chileans, Costa Ricans, and Hondurans receive military training.

Thus it is evident Libya has been helping the cause of liberation in Latin America, and the rebels of Latin America find support from Libya; hence Libya constitutes a threat close to the U.S. borders.

The activities of the Libyans in Africa and the Middle East, and now in Latin America, constitute a source of instability in these areas. Libya has changed the balance of power in northeast Africa. Its activities in Africa have encouraged hostility to the United States!

These people do not want to antagonize America. America can do all it wants, and we are expected to respond correctly.

Libya's activities have been an important factor in changing the balance of power from moderation and acceptance of compromise — that is, Libya has encouraged the rejection of compromise. This encouraged those who rely on violence, and placed those who accept compromise and constructive proposals into complex positions, forcing them to maintain silence. That is, Libya forced them to keep silent and frightened those who accepted American solutions.

America says its solutions must be approved; anyone who objects is seen as a terrorist.

This report constitutes another condemnation of America; it is an official document showing the American flagrant interference in Libyan internal affairs. That means the United States prohibits us from making any movement toward the Touareg or Toubou or toward our neighbors, from talking about Arab unity or the liberation of Palestine, from supporting the Palestinian resistance, from supporting the revolutions in Central and Latin America, from supplying our own Army with weapons, and from staging a revolution inside Libya calling this a fever that may be caught by Egypt and Algeria. It has even interfered with regard to a person who lives in exile — Ahmed Benbella — asking why Libya is involved in this. Even Algeria did not protest to us in this manner. Algeria did protest; and we did not accept their protest.

Every day we protest to them, and they protest to us. America protested: Why did Libya contact Ahmed Benbella? Is Ahmed Benbella George Washington or Abraham Lincoln? Is he an American or an Algerian?

The purpose behind all this is to terrorize us. [cheers] The purpose of all this is to intimidate us and ultimately to liquidate us so we do not create allies and refrain from helping the Palestinians, African revolutionaries, and revolutionaries of Latin America and do not support Syria or Zafar or Khomeyni or Ethiopia. America does not approve of all this. When we lose Iran, Ethiopia, Syria, Dhufar, the Palestinian resistance, and the revolutionaries of Africa in Upper Volta, Ghana, and Benin, and the revolutionaries of Latin and Central America — South and Central America — we will be without allies. That is what America wants. As for America, which is making alliances with Britain and Western Europe against Libya — every day it gathers the NATO alliance to discuss Libya — Libya has become more dangerous than the Soviet Union as far as America is concerned. According to America, our relations with the Soviet Union should be severed and should deteriorate; we should not supply our Army with weapons. Where does such talk lead us? It will make us a chicken in the hands of America — an egg rather than a chicken: America could break us at any time.

If we follow the American logic, we will become something which resembles the Khartoum government. We said if a wolf attacks them somewhere, they call for America's help: Bring us the AWACS aircraft. How many times have the AWACS aircraft entered Sudan without finding anything? The Americans said: What kind of a game is this? The Americans told the Sudanese: We thought you were subjected to air raids, or the Soviet Union had invaded Sudan; Why do you yell for the AWACS aircraft? You saw how many times they called for American help in one year? They just yell for help. Whenever he [Numayri] is informed of an incident, he replies: Bring the United States. According to him, the United States is God. America was unable to protect Idris as-Sanusi, the number one lackey; it was unable to protect Haile Selassie, the shah of Iran, Lon Nol, Nguyen Cao Ky, Batista, or Somoza. They have agents everywhere in the world who fell before their very own eyes. The rhinoceros of Sudan will fall despite America by the will of the Sudanese people, not as a result of a Libyan invasion; he will fall soon. [applause] Sudan will be liberated — Sudan whose will has been falsified by this agent and lackey. When we want to discipline agent Numayri for committing this crime and for carrying out the orders of his American masters in training the terrorists and sending them to Libya, when we will discipline him, we will do so by our unlimited support for the revolution in the Sudan marching from the south toward Khartoum; we shall work in order to ensure this revolution reaches Khartoum. We will work for the liberation of Khartoum, despite America. [applause]

Let those who have been hostile to the Libyan people know how the tables will be turned on them. The disciplining of this rhinoceros has become the national duty of Libyans. Shame on every Libyan, male or female, if he or she does not work totally for the disciplining of this rhinoceros and its like — the Arab reactionaries who have put their countries in the service of American plans hostile to their Arab nation. The world will see the fate of this rhinoceros. The agents conspiring from now with

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America, the enemy of the Arab nation, will be sorry. But they will be sorry when it is too late. We will place our capabilities with the revolution in Sudan, with the Sudanese people, without even moving one Libyan tank or aircraft to Sudan. He will fall by the blows of the Sudanese people, the Sudanese Army, the peasants, workers, students, and the Sudanese revolutionaries, from the north and south, despite those claiming they are protecting him. This is because this dirty agent has disregarded the Libyan people and never thought about the severe punishment he and his like will receive. He, this naive person, never thought. His fate and end is near, and we will work to bring it forward.

As for America, which has exported terrorism to us, we will respond likewise. We are capable of exporting terrorism to America; we are capable of training people against America, carrying out assassinations and arson inside America, just as America did against us. [chants]

Brothers, it has been 1 year since the attempt to reach a formula of joint Arab action — in June last year, in May and June last year. I visited a number of Arab states and reached a reconciliation with Arab rulers who had harmed the Arab nation, helped the enemies of the Arab nation, and even conspired against the Libyan people. To put them on the spot and to burn their trump cards, I met with them. I tested them to carry out an action to arrive at a formula for a joint Arab action. I mean action, and not just seeing them in a single Arab rank because such ranks can be mustered on American orders and may do so on the side of American interests. I am talking about joint Arab action which consolidates the steadfastness of Syria against the enemy and consolidates the Lebanese people and the Palestinian resistance so that it can liberate Palestine. I wanted joint Arab action that could ultimately destroy the nuclear base of aggression.

We have astounding facts about Israel's nuclear armament. This inferno will pour over the heads of all Arabs. The Israelis are manufacturing atomic bombs. These bombs are ready for use against the Arab nation.

I have explained all this to them. I told them the Arab nation is exposed to annihilation. This is because there are 24 million Jews who will be brought to the Middle East and these require new areas other than Palestine — areas from Egypt, Libya, Syria, Iraq, and the Arabian Peninsula. These Israelis have also been active in North Africa to Judaize it, which is the strategic objective of Judaism.

It has become evident now there is an Israeli group in Morocco. This became clear from the Israeli festival held on 15 May in Morocco on the occasion of the anniversary of the establishment of the Jewish state in Palestine and the occupation of Palestine. They intentionally held the festival on 15 May in an Arab capital. This is the ultimate challenge. The ultimate challenge is for the Israelis to stage an historical festival, attended by the most extremist of Israelis, the enemies of the Arab nation, in an Arab country on 15 of May, the anniversary of the creation of this state on the debris of the Palestine people. They have done this as a challenge to the Arab nation.

There is an Israeli domination over the region. There is an Israeli group in Tunisia. They relied also on an Israeli group in Libya,

but that was before the revolution. At a moment of weakness, it will become evident that Arab North Africa is in fact under Israeli domination. This is because those Israeli civilians, peasants — unarmed and poor — will one day become like the Jews of Palestine, armed, well trained terrorists staging wholesale massacres of the sons of the Arab nation in North Africa.

Inevitably this will happen. I said this to King Hassan, the Tunisians, and the Algerians. I said it to the Saudis, to all of them. All are convinced the Arab nation is in danger. I told Morocco the Israeli threat on the Arab nation is the true threat. It is not the Polisario threat. Consequently, if you and I face up to the Israeli threat, I am ready to abandon the Polisario cause. This is because the Israeli enemy will attack the Polisario and in addition the Moroccans and the Saharans equally. Why? Because they are Arabs and consequently the common enemy.

I told King Hassan the threat from Israel is directed against all. It is not a threat from the Sahara. The threat to Sahara also is not Moroccan, but from Israel, which is working to Judaize North Africa.

Capitulation has reached our borders. The Jews have reached Libya's borders. This is because Egypt has capitulated. It has become an Israeli colony. It has new power.

To be able to bring 24 million immigrants, the Israelis need to occupy the Nile, the Jordan, the Euphrates, the Al-Litani and all its tributaries such as Wayli, Orontis, and Yarmuk — all these small rivers. The Jordan is a principal target, and it is now under their full control.

They have reached the Al-Litani in Lebanon, the Euphrates in Syria. They are taking the Nile's water to develop the Negev. The 24 million will have to take Sinai. But when will they be able to do so? Only when they destroy the steadfast Syrian military might and destroy the Palestine resistance. Then they will move to Egypt and wrest from it Sinai, the Nile valley and the Negev Desert. Then bring the 24 million immigrants. These 24 million will become 50 million, 60 million, and 100 million in the future, and occupy the entire Arab homeland.

We told them the battle is one of rivers, to obtain water. The next battle will be the battle of energy, the battle for oil.

America does not depend on the Arabs for gasoline. America never trusts and never depends on the Saudis, the Kuwaitis, or the Gulf group to provide it continuously with gasoline simply because they are Arabs, and Arab regimes are temporary and subject to change. On whom does America depend to provide it continuously with energy? It depends on the Israelis. America considers Israel its deputy in the Middle and Near East, which ought to inherit the area which contains the oil. The coming battle after the battle of the rivers will be the battle for oil. By the orders of America, the Israelis will march on Saudi Arabia and the Gulf and occupy the oil zones. This is not the first time the enemy has laughed at the Arabs.

Israel has atomic bombs. Is it conceivable they could be used against the Palestinians, bands and individuals fighting with rifles and launchers? They will be used against the Arab coun-

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tries. You can recall how they used them in (?1969). That is another story.

The British magazine *SANITY* revealed an October war secret in its latest issue. This magazine is the mouthpiece of a group against nuclear weapons. The article says in October 1973 Israel was taken by surprise and was not prepared for an attack on two fronts — the southwest front with Egypt and northeast front with Syria. The Egyptian attack was bigger with regard to the number of troops and aircraft attacking Israel, while the Syrian attack was smaller but more dangerous because the Syrian forces merely had to cross defensive lines in the Golan Heights to reach the Jordan valley and Galilee which are heavily populated by Israelis.

Under pressure on both fronts, the Israeli Cabinet held an emergency meeting in which it decided Israel should use its nuclear weapons. The magazine says it was easy for Israel to quickly assemble 10 nuclear bombs at the Demona nuclear research station. So, 10 bombs could be assembled hurriedly. Is it conceivable Israel would use 10 nuclear bombs against Palestinian bands? Israel is against the Arab nation, whether reactionary or progressive. It wants to destroy the Arab existence to replace it with an Israeli presence.

The explosive power of these nuclear bombs was up to 20 kilotons. The bombs were to be readied and fitted to (Jericho) ground-to-ground missiles with a range of 200 miles. The Israeli plan was to use the Israeli missile to carry the nuclear bomb into Syrian concentrations in the Golan Heights. Damascus and Cairo were both within range of this Israeli missile. More dangerous than this, there was some consideration about destroying Aswan High Dam with a Jericho missile to be launched from Sharm ash-Shaykh. The magazine added the United States was actually fully aware of what was happening, and had things not gone in the way Israel hoped, the Western superpowers would have agreed to Israel's waging a limited nuclear war against the Arabs. This a real danger. Indeed, in 1973 the Israelis were ready to drop 10 nuclear bombs on Arab lands. Ten nuclear bombs would not have spared either the Egyptian, Syrian, Lebanese, or Jordanian people. The people of regimes which are Israeli hirelings would die.

These bombs are to be used against Mu'ammar al-Qadhafi (and) the Arab nation. I have told them the Israelis have a nuclear arsenal and are determined to liquidate the Arab nation so that you will be replaced by Israelis.

But a year later, what was the result? The convening of the Israeli festival, the return of the Egypt of Camp David to the so-called Islamic Conference — this is a Zionist conference, not an Islamic one; Arab rulers met with an Egyptian president who recognizes the enemy conspiracy against the Palestinian revolution and the Lebanese people. Recently we found them conspiring against us. They kept silent as if betting on the success of this operation. The Polisario, the Saharan problem has not been solved; no referendum has taken place there yet. The unity of the Arab Maghreb which they were talking a great deal about last Ramadan is not talked about by any of them — the unity of the Arab Maghreb which we accepted as a step along the path leading to unity of the Arab nation. What was the result? The war continued against

the Iranian revolution. The Arab states are entering the war against the Iranian revolution on America's behalf. And America is participating in the war against the Iranian revolution. The Israelis are occupying southern Lebanon and demand the presence of UN forces in the Al-Biqa' Valley — the Al-Biqa' Valley is Lebanese-Syrian. They said: Bring UN forces to be deployed between us and the Syrians. Imagine! They behave in the Arab homeland as if it belongs to them. This is the outcome of a whole year.

Recently we found these regimes conspiring against us — the Arab regimes. On American orders they are training saboteurs and terrorists and supporting them, in order to liquidate us.

Who is the loser in this? The losers are the Arab regimes to whom we extended a hand; the losers are the Arab rulers who bet on the cards in their hands. Now these cards have been burned. The unity by stages, the unity of economic integration, the peaceful unity, Arab solidarity, the purification of Arab atmosphere — all these cards are now invalid. But our cards are still valid. We have in our hands the card of revolution. We told them we have the card of revolution. We asked them: What do you have? They said: We have the card of economic unity — economic integration. We held joint meetings and formed joint committees; we signed agreements on economic unity and unity by stages: We studied unity, and we crushed unity. We played all the cards they had. But a year later we discovered all these cards were forged. Nothing has been achieved by such cards — not economic unity, unity by stages, or economic integration.

Their behavior quite quickly hindered everything. A dispute over a border hindered all these unity-seeking programs. What does this mean? It means these cards are of no value, invalid and imaginary; it means this unity is imaginary; integration unity is imaginary. Economic integration is imaginary unity. Unity by stages means to hinder unity and to squander the unity issue. Purification of the Arab atmosphere means preparing this atmosphere for American and Israeli domination; it means planting despair in the hearts of the Arab nation with regard to its unity and liberation. Who is the winner?

We are. They lose. Why? We told them we have the revolution card. They said: No, please do not play the card of the revolution now. We have other cards; let us play them. What were these cards? They said unity by way of economic integration, through conciliation, by way of study, by slow methods, by way of logic — we went along with them. They lost. We begged them for a year. How I wished they went beyond the figure of one — the result is zero. How I wished that we achieved 1 percent success during that year. If we give a figure of 100 percent for the whole year, how I wished that they showed a profit of one. The result was zero.

The cards in the hands of those Arab countries termed conservative or moderate are false and spent; they have been burned. What remains? The only card remaining is that of the revolution. Thus the card of the revolution is the trump card. Unity cannot be attained except through revolution. Economic unity cannot be achieved without political unity. Unity of Arab action can only be attained by revolution. Liberation can come only through

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revolution. The unification of the Arab nation can only be accomplished through revolution.

Hence revolution is no longer of choice. It is an only course, an imperative course. If the Arab nation wants to save its fate and future, it has no alternative other than revolution. Through revolution, Palestine can be liberated; the Arab nation can become united. Backwardness can be overcome; an end can be put to America and its arrogance and disregard for the Arab homeland. [slogans, applause]

The people's war will come. The people's revolution will come. But I say to you I assumed personal responsibility before the Libyan people's conferences for visiting regimes considered hostile to the Libyan people at the time, and I rectified all I could in my personal capacity. I prolonged the lives of those regimes by my visits.

Now I give these regimes an opportunity which will remain open to them until 1 September: If we fail to make any progress on the road to Arab unity or to joint Arab action... [Al-Qadhafdi pauses] either those people I visited affirm to me by deeds in the next 2 months [as heard] that we are moving with Arab realities toward Arab unity, in whatever form it may be, be it a federal unity [wahdah ittihadiah] guaranteeing coexistence for kingdoms, republics, jamahiriya's, principedoms, and sultanates internally — the task of changing these regimes rests with their sons, while on the level of the Arab homeland, a form of a political, economic and military federation [ittihad] would be set up. If things do not move along these lines, through a joint Arab action against the Israelis and the Israeli enemy — against whom war should be started, be it a war of attrition, a fedayeen war staged from the borders of Egypt, Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon as well as from the sea, or a war by regular armies for the liberation of the whole of Palestine — either starting this way or with Arab

unity or both, we will refuse to accept the Arab nation's wasting time, the deceiving of the Arab people and the practice of treason against the future of the Arab nation.

The revolution will then start and the Arab realities will be destroyed, with all those in them, to create a strong Arab nation even if this means the loss of half the Arab nation in the attempt to save it and its future and to preserve a place for it on earth with glory.

Forward! The revolutionary struggle will continue until liberation, until unity, until the banners of the Arab nation are raised in strength and glory, and until victory is attained for the Palestinian people and the peoples of the Arab nation over reaction, the United States, Zionism, and backwardness.

Let us be ready to offer even greater sacrifices than those we have offered against America's piracy and middle-aged threats. America's campaigns will fail just as its campaigners against Darnah, which was liberated in 1805, have failed, as all Western crusades have failed. All the campaigns will fail because this nation has the right to live in freedom on the land and under the sun in glory and pride, whatever the sacrifices and whatever the price. America will be defeated and so will its agents. The dogs of America will be killed.

Brothers, victory will undoubtedly be ours. We must be ready to offer sacrifices, to detonate the revolutionary capabilities. We must prepare for the unification of the Arab nation, for the liberation of the Arab nation, for the defeat of America.

Forward, brothers! The revolutionary struggle will continue!