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Al-Qadhdhafi Interviewed on Relations With Egypt
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[Interview with leader Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi by Faridah al-Naqqash, Sa'd Zughlul Fu'ad, 'Abd al-'Azim Munaf, and Salah 'Isa in a "bedouin tent" in a Benghazi suburb — date not given]

[Text] Al-Naqqash: Before we begin the dialogue we would like, Mr Colonel, to convey to you a complaint by Egyptians working in Libya regarding the manner in which the decision to terminate their work contracts in Libya is being implemented. We are confident that the political decision was not meant to be like this, yet it is being implemented in a manner that will leave deep scars and unpleasant memories among the Egyptian people. This is despite the fact that we are confident of the goodness of the Libyan people and their goodwill generally.

Al-Qadhdhafi: I was informed of this today and I will follow up the matter personally.

Fu'ad: I have walked about in Tripoli harbor among the Egyptians awaiting departure and I have found that they are suffering severely from the measures that are being taken. They have no objection to the decision but are surprised that things should go as far as confiscating a refrigerator or washing machine or even stopping them from leaving if they are in possession of a flatiron.

Al-Qadhdhafi: Do not such things exist in Egypt?

Fu'ad: They do exist. But these people bought these goods with their toil and sweat. They will add no significant income to the Jamahiriyah's revenues. The problem is the manner in which they are being seen off, which suggests a deliberate wish to hurt.

Munaf: Mr Colonel, we would have liked to leave discussion of this matter until after this interview, but having broached it we might as well carry on. This represents a new problem between the two peoples. Disturbances occurred in 1977 between the people in Libya and Egypt with which the Egyptian people had nothing to do. During that time not a single Egyptian in the Jamahiriyah suffered. Why should this happen now, when we are celebrating the anniversary of the 23 July revolution, the mother of Arab revolution. We realize that there are differences between governments, but unfortunately these differences have begun to affect the relations between peoples.

Al-Qadhdhafi: First of all we are not a government. We have no government (!). There is no dispute between us and Egypt either regarding borders or regarding territorial waters. What is between us is not like what is between the ruling regimes in Syria and Iraq. Our quarrel with Egypt is only for one reason, namely the "national problem"; we are not alone in quarreling with it. There is a quarrel between the Arab nation in general and Egyptian policy, which is based on recognition of the enemy. We believe that this policy should be toppled; it should be contained in every possible way and liquidated so that we can solve the national problem, particularly since Egypt has become a

breathing outlet for the Zionist enemy. It has given the enemy a breather which has enabled him to concentrate all his efforts on the northern front. This has encouraged him to try to destroy Syria, Lebanon, and the Palestinians, after which he will turn on Egypt once again in order to capture Sinai and the Nile, divide Egypt into a Coptic state and an Islamic state, and divide each of those into ministates. All these are well-known plans and not a secret; it is the plan known as the balkanization of the Arab homeland and its aim is to settle 3 million Jews during the first stage, increasing to 24 million at a later stage and then to 100 million, to be brought in from all parts of the world in order to settle in Sinai, the Negev, the West Bank, and Lebanon. This will be a new nation that will rise up on the remains of the Arab nation. It was the Camp David policy that opened the door to this.

Al-Naqqash: But what about the measures that are being taken against the Egyptian people, Mr Colonel?

Al-Qadhdhafi: They are responsible for changing their government's policy with their own will. The Arab nation's future is in doubt. Israel has become capable of manufacturing atom bombs; nuclear missiles are now deployed in the Negev and the Golan. All the Western states agree that Israel should be a nuclear power; there is no end to the tricks they play toward attaining this end. Every other day they announce that nuclear waste has been smuggled to Israel or an American scientist has smuggled equipment to it for the nuclear industry. Our destiny is in danger. I recall that once 'Abd al-Nasir said: If we become certain that Israel possesses an atomic bomb we will attack the enemy bases and we will enlist 4 million soldiers. Now that this danger has become real we must march now in order to eliminate this danger because it is a threat not only to our aspirations but also to our very existence.

They destroyed the Iraqi reactor because it was contrary to Israel's security. Well, the existence of Israel itself is contrary to the Arab nation's security and therefore it deserves to be destroyed because it represents some kind of a "veto" on our future, our strength, and our very existence. They now have a free hand in the area because the Egyptian policy has allowed them this. Egypt has been turned into a bridge which they cross in order to carry out their plans. Even the Israeli chief of staff came as far as the Libyan border and inspected the Egyptian bases on your territory. The United States deploys its B-52 bombers in the western desert, which is a Libyan or Arab desert. If Egypt wants to give it to the United States, let us take it. All this is happening while the Egyptian people are silent.

Al-Naqqash: The Egyptian people are not supposed to pay for the mistakes of the government. The movement by a people to change a policy or rebel against it depends on objective circumstances. Every revolution has its own circumstances and its own rules.

Al-Qadhdhafi: These are very ancient marxist justifications that are no longer valid.

'Isa: Mr Colonel, there are specific reports on the nature of the situation on the Libyan-Egyptian borders. You have announced that there are military concentrations while Egyptian officials

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have denied this. What exactly are the reports you have and how did you ascertain them?

Al-Qadhdhafi: We are not interested in this subject, we have no army on the Egyptian border, we have no buildup, and we will not declare a war, but we are certain that Egypt is concentrating its forces on our borders. I have seen this with my own eyes and through aerial, naval, and electronic reconnaissance. They are mining the desert, deploying tanks, and stockpiling ammunition. There are three new military airfields that have recently been built on our borders. These are the Habbatah, Al-Barrani, and Al-Sallum airfields, which have been built with the Egyptian people's money and at the expense of their livelihood. Why don't you build airports in Alexandria, or Port Said, or even Suhaj instead of building military bases on our borders?

'Isa: Would you allow some frank talk? Egyptian officials say that they are afraid that Libya will carry out terrorist actions inside Egypt. Last year they accused you of mining the Red Sea. We appreciate your views regarding the Camp David situation, but what do you have to say regarding the accusations that you are preparing for terrorist actions inside Egypt?

Al-Qadhdhafi: Who can convince Egypt that this is not true? the United States is lying and Egypt is repeating its lies. The Israelis lie and the Egyptian Government and the world repeat these lies. Do we have the capabilities to mine the Red Sea? It is conceivable that the United States mined it. Why should we be blamed for what the United States did? Moreover, the Red Sea is not an Egyptian sea. It is logical for Saudi Arabia, Ethiopia, or the PDRY to complain. What has this got to do with Egypt?

'Isa: It is said that you aim to strike at the Suez Canal and the gulf.

Al-Qadhdhafi: We would have mined the Suez Canal. Moreover, the gulf is now under Israeli control. In addition to Tabah Israel has taken 18 new border posts. We had no information on this before. The problem with Israel has thus become one of boundaries and not of existence. They now talk about Tabah and forget about the problem of Palestine; they have forgotten that this is our country. Did you come here in order to discuss with me the choice between one kind of treason and another?

'Isa: Mr Colonel, we are journalists who have come to ask you questions and to obtain clarifications from you. Political discussion is something different and is not part of our role and our task.

Al-Qadhdhafi: You are politicians representing popular forces. You must halt this total collapse toward which Egypt is leading the Arab nation. If you do so then the nation can.

Fu'ad: Should we reopen the door to further exacerbation of the situation and open the door to estrangement between the Egyptian and Arab peoples?

Al-Naqqash: Is there, Mr Colonel, actually a decision to terminate the work contracts of Egyptians in Libya?

Al-Qadhdhafi: If the Egyptians working in Libya support the Egyptian regime via the hard currency they remit, then it means

that they are indirectly helping Israel. For this reason they must be sent away.

Al-Naqqash: Is it of any benefit to replace Egyptian workers and Arab workers in general by workers from Ghana, Korea, and the Philippines?

Al-Qadhdhafi: The decision to terminate the contracts of foreign workers in Libya is general and does not concern the Egyptian workers in particular. Since you are journalists and you are now in Libya you might as well look for the truth yourselves. Go and see those who are being sent away. Are they only Egyptians or are they all the foreign workers in Libya?

Al-Naqqash: The majority of those being sent away, Mr Colonel, are Egyptians.

Al-Qadhdhafi: The majority of the workers in Libya are Egyptians. Instead of saying thank you, you are saying "God's curse be upon you" because the majority of those working in Libya are Egyptians. We Arabs are accustomed to ungratefulness.

(Several voices) No, Mr Colonel.

Al-Naqqash: We are not saying this. What we are saying that the Egyptians have contributed to the development plan in the Jamahiriyah. This is beneficial for the future of all the Arab nation and not just the future of the Egyptians.

Al-Qadhdhafi: Yes, we do not deny this. They have been working with us for 16 years. I was the one who brought the Egyptians to Libya and I have asked for unity with Egypt more than once.

(Adding bitterly) But you responded to us with rejection and refusal.

Munaf: With your permission, we do not wish this point to take up all our time. Yet we have heard that contacts are taking place between you and Egypt and that an envoy from the Jamahiriyah visited early this month in order to mediate. What progress has been made in these contacts?

Al-Qadhdhafi: There are no official contacts. All meetings of this kind are carried out by individuals on their own responsibility as such.

Munaf: But brother Ahmad al-Qadhdhafi al-Damm was recently in Cairo.

Al-Qadhdhafi: He is a junior officer; he has no powers or function. He has been a friend of the Egyptians since he studied at an Egyptian college. If anybody in Egypt summoned him — a friend of somebody like Ashraf Marwan — he would go off on his own and might bring back messages. I personally have no contact with Egyptian officials.

Munaf: Is not the objective to ease tension between the two countries and to clear up whatever mars the relations between them?

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Al-Qadhdhafi: Our view of Egyptian policy is well known; we accept no dealings with it in its present condition.

Al-Naqqash: Is there any connection between the present tension in relations between the two countries and what happened in Sudan?

Al-Qadhdhafi: Of course. The Egyptian policy did not wish Sudan to be liberated. It wanted and still wants to impose trusteeship on it. What happened in Sudan was a blow to this policy in the eyes of the Arabs and in the eyes of the world. It was a blow to the Americans as well. And so Egyptian policy lost its nerve and began launching a mad campaign against Libya. It was openly said that Al-Qadhdhafi was behind the revolution in Sudan. This is an insult to the Sudanese people who staged the revolt. It is true that I incited revolution against the Numayri regime, but it was the Sudanese people who carried out the revolution. Furthermore, Egyptian policy is afraid that the fever of revolution, in its various forms, such as civil disobedience, will spread to Egypt. Actually, I do advocate this, which you may not like because, obviously, you have come here to defend the regime that rules you. (Loud Egyptian laughter reverberates in the tent.) I will not stop doing so until the Egyptian policy changes and Egypt turns away from Al-Sadat's policy and withdraws its recognition of Israel. We will then give you everything — oil and weapons. You can even take Libya. Come and rule us. As for Israel and the United States ruling us, no.

'Isa: What is the state of relations now between the Jamahiriya and Sudan following the uprising?

Al-Qadhdhafi: Quite excellent.

Al-Naqqash: On what level — economic, political, military?

Al-Qadhdhafi: On all levels. We give aid to the Sudanese people. Trucks cross daily to Sudan carrying supplies there. There is now a major shipment of plows in order to help the Sudanese till the land after the rain has fallen. They say that we export terror. Is it terror that we are exporting with plows, food supplies, and seeds in order to rescue thousands of Sudanese children from hunger?

Al-Naqqash: Is it true that you have been helping the rebels in southern Sudan?

Al-Qadhdhafi: Of course. Before the downfall of Numayri we supported the revolution against him. All the arms with which they fought in the south were ours; we trained all the fighting units, but we have stopped this since 6 April. We are now bringing pressure on the people in the south to get them to stop the war and accept negotiations with the new regime in Sudan. We are against the continuation of the war since the uprising.

Munaf: Does the Jamahiriya, Mr Colonel, insist on Sudan applying the jamahiriya system applied in your country?

Al-Qadhdhafi: It is not our business. Sudan is free to choose whatever regime it likes, even if it chooses to be an empire, although the jamahiriya system is the inevitable future system for all world communities and all countries will become jamahir-

iyahs in the future. The broadening of the base of opposition and of the base participating in power will stop at the point when all the people are in power. This is the jamahiriya, that is, the state of the masses. The establishment of jamahiriya in the world is inevitable and is confirmed by the current conflict. It is confirmed even by the multiplicity of parties, which is a sign of greater awareness by the people and of their desire to give their views on the authority that rules them and to determine their future. The conflict will not stop until all the people participate in power.

Al-Naqqash: You have concluded an agreement with King Hassan II. This is despite the well-known fact that he played a major role in paving the way for Al-Sadat's trip to Jerusalem. We understand the necessities of politics, but how can this be reconciled with such a revolutionary stand?

Al-Qadhdhafi: I agree with what you say but, regardless of all this, King Hassan came and said that he was in favor of unity and extended his hand to us, saying he wants unity with us. So I cannot refuse his request. I consider unity between two opposed regimes — Jamahiriya and monarchy — and between two opposed persons — King Hassan and myself — as a historical solution to a problem. Previously we made it a condition that unity be between similar regimes, but now it is possible to establish unity between opposed regimes. This step has encouraged me to submit my plan for Arab unity between all Arab regimes, however contradictory they may be. The plan is based on fighting the dangers threatening the Arab nation — the emergence of the state instead of the nation and the emergence of several nations instead of one single nation. Moreover, the occurrence of social revolutions in the world around us even before the Arabs could achieve national unity has complicated the problem of our unity. This was what led me to call for the unity of all opposites, a unity that will be the Noah's ark that will rescue the nation and take it to the shore of safety. Once we reach this shore, then let the natural conflict between the wolf and the sheep, and the donkey and the hyena brought together in Noah's ark, or the unity of opposites, begin.

'Isa: Did you submit this unity plan to Egypt?

Al-Qadhdhafi: It will be submitted to it but this has not happened yet.

Turning toward 'Umar al-Hamdi, secretary general of the General People's Congress, who was attending the meeting, Al-Qadhdhafi said: Please remind me, 'Umar, to ask the brothers what happened to the message sent to the Egyptian president because it should be different from all the messages addressed to the others. We will tell him: You cannot join the federation so long as Egypt recognizes the enemy. But we will not exclude Egypt from the invitation to join the federation.

'Isa: Have any Arab countries accepted the idea?

Al-Qadhdhafi: Messages have been delivered but we have not received any answers so far. The idea of a federation is based on the establishment of an Arab presidential council including all the Arab kings and heads of state, to be presided over alternately by each of them, an executive council at the Arab homeland's

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level consisting of all the prime ministers, and a foreign affairs council consisting of all the foreign ministers. The chairmanship of the councils will alternate.

Thus the present regimes will not change and nobody will oppose unity out of fear for his position or status; on the contrary, the plan gives another advantage, which is that those who are in power will have the opportunity to preside alternately not only over their countries but also over the whole nation, even if they are officials of the smallest and least populous countries.

'Isa: But on what will they unite, Mr Colonel?

Al-Qadhdhafi: Pardon... I am talking about the framework or the form. But what is important is the content, which we will spell out in the memorandums and subsequent studies attached to the plan with regard to the establishment of economic institutions and federal projects on the federation level that will enable the Arab homeland to become an economic power. An example is the setting up of an Arab authority for grain in order to provide food for the Arab homeland on a federal level and only through Arab resources; a plan for a gas system under which an integrated gas system will be established covering Algeria, Libya, Tunisia, and the area up to the Gulf; a single electric power grid linking the whole Arab homeland so that there are uninterrupted power supplies, as in Europe. Thus, no factory will stop nor elevator halt for any reason. This is not a dream but a reality. The resources are available. There can also be a water network. The Nile can be linked to the great man-made river in Libya so as to form one single water network irrigating the desert between the two countries. The rivers in Jordan, Lebanon, and Syria can be linked in one single irrigation network.

During this time Colonel al-Qadhdhafi was speaking in a dreamy voice. His features were calm and he was constantly gazing at the desert through the tent door. We all remained silent and stopped taking pictures.

Al-Naqqash: In what is the state of the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front and what impasse is it facing?

Surprised by the question, the colonel gave a low, shy laugh; our loud Egyptian laughter broke out, disturbing the calm of the night and of the desert.

Al-Qadhdhafi: Yes, by God, it is a bitter reality. I believe that the front did play its role under those circumstances. It was established following Al-Sadat's visit to Jerusalem in order to prevent a further collapse in the situation. There were Arab regimes that were ready to follow Al-Sadat's example, such as Jordan, Sudan, Somalia, and Muscat. But the Steadfastness Front prevented that from happening.

Al-Naqqash: Are any efforts being made to revive this front?

Al-Qadhdhafi: I believe that we have now superseded it.

Munaf: This leads us to talk about the Arab League. Where does it stand in relation to the unity plans and is it still qualified to play its role or any role?

Al-Qadhdhafi: I believe that the federation I proposed is an expression of the post-Arab League era. We can no longer remain within the Arab League alone because this would be a real waste. In the present deteriorating Arab situation we are far too weak to achieve the unity of the Arab masses. We cannot remain within the Arab League framework alone. Therefore, my unionist plan is a transitional stage between the two stages.

Fu'ad: In the light of the present Palestinian situation and after the agreement between King Husayn and 'Arafat, how do you visualize the next steps?

Al-Qadhdhafi: I assure you that King Husayn and 'Arafat will not remain companions on the road. Their alliance will not last. The agreement is a tempest in a teacup that will soon die down. There will be no Jordanian-Palestinian alliance because it is doomed to failure.

'Isa: Does your excellency believe that the policy of Arabizing Camp David has failed or is about to fail?

Al-Qadhdhafi: I believe that Egyptian policy is continuing its efforts toward this end and that its only wish in life is to Arabize Camp David. It is interested in neither the economic problem nor anything else in life except trying to Arabize Camp David.

'Isa: Can Egyptian policy achieve its objectives if the Arabs reject it? If Camp David becomes Arabized it will not be Egypt's fault alone.

Al-Qadhdhafi: There are certain Arabs who accept.

'Isa: The U.S. Congress recently approved economic aid for the next 2 years, all of which is attached to political conditions. These include imposing a trade ban on Libya allegedly because it sponsors international terror. What is your comment on this, Mr Colonel, and how much U.S. pressure is there on Libya? And why?

Al-Qadhdhafi: As to why, I think it is known. The United States has announced that Libya is its number one enemy and the Soviet Union is number two. It claims that all that it wants from the Soviet Union is merely to maintain a balance with it; it has no designs to occupy it or use it as a stepping stone toward another objective. As for Libya, it stands in an area which the Americans hope to invade, dominate, and cross as they close on the Soviet Union in order to encircle it. Therefore Libya has first to be removed before the objective can be reached. For this reason we top the list of U.S. enemies. This was said at the congressional meeting at which certain economic prohibitions on the Soviet Union were lifted and economic restrictions were imposed on Libya.

'Isa: Will this affect you?

Al-Qadhdhafi: No. Even if it does... the electronic components [murakkabat iliktrunyah] they send to us are of no value; we can live without them. As long as we have our guns in our hands nothing will affect us.

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Munaf: Have the visits by some Arab heads of state changed the nature of conflict with the United States?

Al-Qadhdhafi: Of course. The United States is very keen on fragmenting and penetrating the Arab ranks. In fact it has succeeded in penetrating this front which once was progressive and solid.

Al-Naqqash: Could this be the reason why the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front failed?

Al-Qadhdhafi: Yes. It could be a reason.

'Isa: Mr Colonel, in the eyes of your adversaries and perhaps of some of your friends you are an enigma. You say no to everything yet you are the head of an ambitious state. Yes. [as published]

Al-Qadhdhafi: A point of order: I am not a head of state; I am leader of a revolution. There is no head of state in the Jamahiriyah because it is the people who are the head.

'Isa: I am sorry. You are a revolutionary leader in a small country with limited resources and yet you say 'no' to everything. Some people say that you are a 'target in history' [as published], meaning that you are the symbol of the nation's rejection of what is offered to it, because there is a great deal of impracticality in your policy.

Al-Qadhdhafi: I do what I believe is right and is my duty from a national standpoint expressing the nation's desire. But from a regional standpoint there are the shortcomings you have mentioned. We are a small, poor, sparsely populated desert state. But a duty is a duty and what is right is right. Am I to say yes to the United States when it takes the Gulf of Sirte? Am I to say yes when it wants to dominate the Arab homeland? Am I to say yes to recognizing Israel? Am I to accept that Palestine is its land? Am I to agree that the Arabs should pay for Hitler's crime or pay with their land and future the price of the persecution of Jews by the Romans, the Europeans, and the Nazis? They shout "long live regionalism!" Am I to shout with them? No. I must say no, whatever the price may be, even though I may be doing this from a small and poor country, as you say.

'Isa: Does it not worry you sometimes to feel that you are "alone" in the midst of a nation looking for compromise solutions?

Al-Qadhdhafi: This is true. This has been realized by the people who have written about me, the latest being a European writer. He wrote a book about me called "the lone hawk."

Al-Naqqash: Do you not sometimes feel that you were born in the wrong age?

Al-Qadhdhafi: By God, I do feel that sometimes. It is a natural feeling. Revolutionaries are like prophets; they feel like strangers in the era in which they live because they have a mission that shocks the established order and the existing reality. Even Noah, who, according to the Koran, lived to be 950 years old, despaired and shouted: God be my witness that I have called upon my

nation day and night and my calling has only caused them to stray further. He also prayed: God, let not the heretics multiply in the land. This means crush them. This was because every time he called upon the people to do something in their interest they would call for the opposite. This too is a tragedy that revolutionaries experience, because they have awareness and feelings that prompt them to rise up and rebel. Others do not have such feelings, otherwise they would all become revolutionaries. This anger and revolution against the established reality sometimes makes them strangers in the world in which they live. Even the dreams of revolutionaries sometimes seem strange. The revolutionary sees tomorrow and dreams of the future as a reality. I am confident that what I see could be achieved. The people do not see what I see or else they do not believe it is possible to achieve it. For instance, I believe that the Arab nation can become a paradise. It can become one powerful state. I imagine that it is possible to link the Nile to the great man-made river in Libya, that the Libyan and Egyptian deserts can turn green, and that the western desert can yield fruits and become a green carpet.

'Isa: In which case, Mr Colonel, we will not disagree over whether it is Egyptian or Libyan. (laughter)

Al-Qadhdhafi: Of course not, because basically it is Arab and will turn into a paradise. The Al-Nubariyah Canal has reached Tubruq so it can be linked to the great man-made river that will reach there. I would imagine that Nasir Lake will be linked to Al-Kafrah, the source of the great man-made river. Will we not thus create paradise on earth? How would you feel if you could see this but people did not see it? Would you not feel alien and that you were born in the wrong era?

Munaf: Mr Colonel, much has been said about your role in the Iraq-Iran war. How true are the reports that you are supplying Iran with missiles and what is the story of the strategic agreement between the Jamahiriyah and Iran?

Al-Qadhdhafi: There are many misrepresentations regarding our stand. In order to understand the matter correctly I must remind you that that when Iraq ceded Shatt al-'Arab to Iran in the 1975 Algiers agreement, we opposed this and rejected and condemned the agreement. We said that the shah of Iran was a fanatic anti-Arab Persian and we were the first to call for the liberation of the islands which Iran occupied. We called for a struggle against the shah and advocated toppling him. In the meantime everybody else was shaking hands with the shah and considered our call for his overthrow to be nonsense. But we continued to incite people against him. At that time Zulfikar Ali Bhutto visited the shah, who complained to him about me. Bhutto told me later that the shah considered me a source of trouble for him. His papers used to accuse me of being behind every explosion that took place or mutiny that occurred. Nevertheless, I continued to incite the people against him. The people now ruling Iran were in jail listening to what I was saying and being influenced by it. The revolution then broke out and succeeded. The tyrant, who was the ally of the Americans, the Israelis, and South Africa, fell. How can I brandish arms in its face? The strategic alliance that was announced recently is not an agreement but a common outlook of our revolution and their revolution, because the Iranian revolution rescued Iran from U.S.

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hegemony and proclaimed its stand on the side of the Arab nation against Zionism, racism, and reaction. So we cannot fight it. I am very sorry that a war is raging between Iran and an Arab country. I am not happy because I am aligned against an Arab state but, from an Arab standpoint, I cannot fight against a revolution.

Munaf: But, Mr Colonel, Basra is now threatened with occupation.

Al-Qadhdhafi: My friend, the whole of Palestine is occupied yet the Arabs are silent and do nothing about it. By God, the question is not one of Iran fighting against an Arab country but of Iran being against the United States because incitement against Iran would be American incitement. It is this incitement that is stirring the Arabian peninsula, Egypt, and Jordan to fight against Iran. Has Arab nationalism become so dear to the United States?

As long as Iran is against the United States I am with it.

Al-Naqqash: The fact of the matter, Mr Colonel, is that the Iranian revolution is subjecting the Iranian people to terrible oppression. How can we differentiate between this and that? It is the people who are resisting the United States.

Al-Qadhdhafi: These are internal matters. On 14 July 1958, which we consider a glorious day in the life of our Arab people, the waters of the Euphrates turned red, yet we did not call this oppression. We said this was a great revolution. We said to hell with those who were crushed because they were the enemies of the revolution. During the French revolution there were guillotines all over France. Nobody condemned this revolution. Change has its price.

(Various voices) Why do we not mediate between the two countries, Mr Colonel? Why do you not mediate between them in order to stop the bloodshed and spare their strength so that they can confront the principal enemy?

Al-Qadhdhafi: This is a losing war. It is a loss indeed that the two armies and the two countries should exhaust their military and economic resources in a senseless war. Iraq will not annex Iran nor will Iran annex Iraq. It is a war neither against Zionism nor against the United States. But what has happened is that the United States and Israel have exploited this war. If there was a possibility of halting the war I would have done what you asked. I did in fact mediate to stop it when Rafsanjani visited me in this tent. I spoke to him about the matter, but the Iranians are not amenable to any mediation. I believe that the war, having become a war of cities, has become a dirty war.

Munaf: Sudan's file has been closed and the Moroccan opposition file has been closed. What will the next file be?

Al-Qadhdhafi: The file of the revolution, which is an ever-open file. It is a revolution that is bound to wipe out all the vestiges of the past, the contradictions, and the complexes on the Arab land — reaction, border issues, regionalism, backwardness, spheres of imperialist influence, and the Zionist camp.

Munaf: In the light of the present situation, assuming that conditions remain as they are, where, Mr Colonel, is the Arab nation heading?

Al-Qadhdhafi: For oblivion. If the situation remains as it is we will become red Indians and we will be scattered among the continents as they were scattered.

The battle the Israelis are now fighting is a battle for water first and foremost. All their battles now are aimed at dominating this area so that Israel controls all the Arab waters, from Al-Litani to the Nile via the Al-Yarmuk and Al-'Asi Rivers in Jordan, and so that the Nile waters are diverted to the Negev. Once Israel achieves its objective on the northern front, it will turn toward you in Egypt and inevitably annex Sinai.

Al-Naqqash: That is not easy, Mr Colonel.

Al-Qadhdhafi: True, it is not easy. When they reached Beirut in 1982 they thought that the dream was about to come true and that when they left Lebanon there would be a state for the Maronites, another for the Druze, a third for the Shi'ites, and a fourth for the Sunnis. Once this was done they would destroy the Syrian Army and partition Syria as they wished to partition Lebanon. For this reason I beseeched President Hafiz al-Asad to stop the fighting between the Syrian Army and the Israeli Army. I told him that the objective was to destroy the Syrian Army and, if they succeeded, they would have a free hand to do whatever they liked in Lebanon and would enter Syria and partition it. We would thus be realizing their dreams for them. Once this was done they would move from the north to the south. Thanks to the Lebanese resistance, the Israeli-U.S. plan was thrown into confusion. The reason is that there is no government or army in Lebanon. Is this not evidence that in countries where there are governments and armies the Israelis have succeeded in achieving their objectives, yet in a country where there is no government, president, or army they have achieved nothing? Why? Because they have found a jamahiriyyah, an undeclared Lebanese jamahiriyyah. An armed people without a president or regular army tore up the 17 May agreement and expelled the Israelis. This was the first time the Israelis have withdrawn from an Arab country as a result of fighting by an armed people. This is why we call for arming the people, because an armed people can never be defeated.

The fate of countries that have a president who issues orders declaring war or accepting a cease-fire or withdrawal and truce is in the hands of the president. In Lebanon, Sana' Muhaydali did not ask the president's permission. Neither did those who destroyed the U.S. Marine headquarters and the French consulate. This is what a jamahiriyyah situation is about.

Al-Naqqash: Is this why you are arming the people?

Al-Qadhdhafi: Yes, that is so.

Munaf: This gives us insight into the Libyan experiment. What are your observations regarding it after this long experience?

Al-Qadhdhafi: I do not think that enough time has passed with regard to a historic experiment like ours, which needs many years

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before it can be judged. But the basis of jamahiriyah rule has in actual fact been laid down and our choice has been proven right. It has been established that it is possible to set up a government of all the people and to end the phenomenon of power seeking and power conflict. In fact there is a shunning of power because when power belongs to the man in the street it is no longer attractive. Some people do not even bother to attend the people's congress meetings.

Al-Naqqash: There is a very important point, Mr Colonel, since you have used the term "shunning." For my colleague Salah 'Isa and myself this is our first visit to Libya. We have not yet seen any experiment of people's power at close quarters, but we have seen on television that people's congresses consist only of groups of boys and adolescents. Is this a shunning of participation in power or are there shortcomings in the execution?

Al-Qadhdhafi: But this is not the time of the meeting of people's congresses. What you saw on television was a popular celebration of the 23 July Revolution anniversary, which is different from the people's congresses. You must see the congresses in their reality. In the United States they consider theirs an example of representative democracy, yet only 30 percent of the people take part in the elections. They still call this democracy. In our country all the people meet in the form of a congress and issue decisions and laws. It is the congresses that rule, decide, and legislate. These congresses do not represent the people because we consider representation charlatanry. For this reason a people's congress is all the people, not just their representatives. We have long discussed this matter and have come to the conclusion that the only form of self-rule is direct democracy.

Al-Naqqash: When you say this is the only form do you not see that this prejudging the future? Could not humanity produce other forms?

Al-Qadhdhafi: Whatever it may produce, it will not produce anything more than the masses. All the forms preceding our experiment that were democratic represented less than the masses, while a people's congress is all the people, not their representative. For this reason there will be nothing greater or more comprehensive in the future. I did not engineer this idea but extracted it from world history. After the storming of the Bastille in France and the masses' attack on the palaces of the feudal lords monarchy fell. Popular congresses were then spontaneously set up everywhere in France. They were called councils. The masses formed councils and local governments in towns and villages. This was what happened here in Libya. The people heard of the downfall of the monarchy and so they set up people's congresses in certain quarters and discussed the situation; they sent telegrams containing their recommendations to the Revolution Command Council. Thus when the regime and the government fall the masses move in order to run their own affairs. This was the experiment from which I drew inspiration in order to derive the idea of direct democracy and people's congresses as a means for rule of the people by the people.

'Isa: With regard to the economic aspect of the Third World theory, Mr Colonel, don't you see that in a country like Libya with a society...

Al-Qadhdhafi: (interrupting) No, no...

'Isa: Well, what shall I say, Mr Colonel?

Al-Qadhdhafi: I have been asked this question many times. The country is poor and has greater need of this theory than a rich country. Maybe Libya does not need chapter two of the *Green Book*, which contains ideas for solving economic problems, as much as a poor country with limited resources like Egypt or Mauritania needs it. If a handful of people take over power in such a country the rich become richer and the poor become poorer. When wealth is limited it should instead be shared equally.

As for Libya and its economic situation, of which you are aware, the question was one of equality in power sharing. When there is an employer and an employee there is no equality in expressing views in the people's congresses. For this reason we have abolished all forms of exploitation. I said: The house is for whoever lives in it, the car for whoever drives it, and the land for whoever tills it. Partners and not hired workers.

Al-Naqqash: We have observed that there is great enthusiasm and emotionalism. Do you not think that excessive emotionalism and the lack of public awareness could give the opportunity to elements with greater experience and astuteness, like the army for example, to take control of things?

Al-Qadhdhafi: There is nothing called the army in our experiment. The army must disappear and so should the government and the social classes. An army in a jamahiriyah society is a temporary phenomenon that will disappear and be replaced by the armed people. We stress that power, wealth, and arms should be completely and equally divided among the people. This is what will achieve the power of the masses. Even the revolutionary committees which we have set up in order incite and enlighten the masses at the people's congresses are temporary bodies. They will be dissolved when the people's committees reach a revolutionary level by exercising power and showing greater awareness. Hence the people's congress will no longer need an instigator.

Munaf: In the light of recent developments how do you view relations between the one Arab people in Egypt and Libya?

Al-Qadhdhafi: That is a good expression; they are indeed one Arab people. You know that I love Egypt and I quarreled with all the world, including the Libyans, when unity was so close. Some Libyans objected on the grounds that we are a small rich country while Egypt is a big poor country. I attacked people who thought thus and said that if the Libyans did not want unity with Egypt then I would leave Libya. I quarreled even with the Arab leaders; I became some sort of president for Egypt; I quarreled for its sake with the students when I was a student and with the officers when I was an officer. I quarreled with Boumediene, Numayri, and everybody else in defending Egypt. I boycotted the rulers who hated Egypt, but later Egypt rewarded me with evil. Just imagine, the Voice of the Arabs Radio, which I spent many nights listening to and which I urged the Libyans to listen to, exhorting them to turn their radio dial from Libya to Egypt — this very radio is now attacking us and insulting us. It signs on

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with 'Abd al-Nasir's words. Let the next be an attack on us. [as published]

'Isa: Let us go back to brother Munaf's question: How do you view relations between the one people in the two countries in the light of what is happening?

Al-Qadhdhafi: The continuation of the Egyptian policy is a stumbling block that should be removed.

'Isa: Can we not maintain the ties between the two peoples regardless of the form of government?

Al-Qadhdhafi: I am with you in linking together and merging the two peoples in a manner that will cut short the life of the ruling regime. Find me a way to do it. I am prepared to endorse with my fingerprint and toeprint any action that would link the two peoples, even if it is at the expense of the Libyan economy.

'Isa: A quick question: Do you consider the ideas of the *Green Book* a development of 'Abd al-Nasir's views or do they go beyond them? Or are they a substitute for them?

Al-Qadhdhafi: We believe that what 'Abd al-Nasir said and did was a forerunner of our experience and we consider ourselves to be the fruits of his struggle. 'Abd al-Nasir was aligned with the masses. I have come and realized the power of the masses. 'Abd al-Nasir started with socialism and with combating exploitation. I complement these things, but those who claim to be Nasirite and lead Nasirite groups in the United States, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, or the Arab countries display doubts about this so that Libya cannot lead the Nasirite current in the world. For this reason they say that the *Green Book* is against 'Abd al-Nasir. This is a cheap and mean ploy. Nobody can ignore 'Abd al-Nasir's heritage. We do not deny that we have learned from 'Abd al-Nasir but we cannot remain immobile. If 'Abd al-Nasir were alive now and if he were my age or living in the present circumstances he would certainly have come out with new proposals.

Fu'ad: Let us go back once again to brother Munaf's question. Allow me to say that I am afraid that there will be a break between the Arab people in Egypt and in Libya as a result of what is happening now. How can Libya be emptied of Egyptians? There are no more than 30,000 or 40,000 Egyptians and the money they send home in comparison with the remittances of the 4 million or so Egyptians abroad is nothing. The only loser will be the relations between the two peoples.

Al-Qadhdhafi: There are 100,000 Egyptians and the one responsible for this break is the Egyptian Government. Moreover, Libyans are banned from entering Egypt. What does the Egyptian regime have to say to this?

'Isa: It is said in Egypt that it is you, Mr Colonel, who ban them from visiting.

Al-Qadhdhafi: These are falsehoods which we challenge. The Libyans are prepared to travel to Cairo tomorrow, but see what would happen to them. They would either be expelled from the airport or taken to jail, to the intelligence service, where they

would be subjected to electric shocks and humiliation. Those who have suffered such things are still alive and you can meet them if you wish.

Al-Naqqash: Are there any specific names or incidents, Mr Colonel?

Al-Qadhdhafi: Good grief! We will bring you Al-Humaydi, Al-Mughrabi, and Ahmad. These people are known to have landed at Cairo Airport and were taken away. The marks of burns can still be seen on their bodies. I tell you that Libyans are banned from entering Egypt yet we have 100,000 Egyptians here.

Al-Naqqash: But the Libyans do not work in Egypt; this is quite a different thing.

'Isa: What we are talking about, Mr Colonel, is that when the Egyptians depart they should be seen off in a manner compatible with the relations between the two countries, the relations that we should all preserve regardless of temporary and transient incidents because they are ammunition for the future.

Al-Qadhdhafi: I will personally make a statement on the radio so that matters remain within the bounds of the decision that was issued. In fact the people's congresses adopted a decision to dispense with the services of all foreigners in general in Libya because of a problem we have concerning hard currency. With regard to Arabs, Egyptians or non-Egyptians, the congresses have decided that applications by any Arab for Libyan citizenship, or Arab citizenship as we call it, should be accepted, even if 100,000 Egyptians come with their families to reside in Libya and obtain Libyan citizenship. They are welcome. There are thousands of Arabs who are obtaining U.S. citizenship. Once I was visited by an American journalist who turned out to be Egyptian in origin. Some 10,000 Egyptians obtained U.S. citizenship after the setback. They were all engineers and professionals. They say that Libya is not technologically advanced and there are no factories or skyscrapers there. For this reason engineers are not encouraged to seek its citizenship. Well, what about the workers and the peasants who work on construction jobs? Why do they not come and obtain our citizenship? If a poor Egyptian with many children comes and applies for citizenship then we will give it to him. But we cannot continue with the present situation because of the hard currency problem.

Al-Naqqash: How do you evaluate the reactionary forces in Libya and where do they exist?

Al-Qadhdhafi: All the Arabs have been affected by regionalism including, of course, the Libyans, because of the continued estrangement between the various Arab countries. We had exploiting classes, such as the merchants, contractors, brokers, and businessmen. All these have been removed and their privileges withdrawn. But as ordinary individuals they are still working. Of course, they are unhappy with our experiment.

Fu'ad: When a people's committee is elected to administer a certain institution what is the criterion? Is it efficiency or loyalty?

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Al-Qadhdhafi: This is the ancient riddle: Is it the people to be trusted or the people with experience? However, when the people's congress meets in order to elect a people's committee it takes into consideration the qualifications required because the committee members must have certain qualifications in order to be elected. What is important is that experience alone is not enough; it should be combined with loyalty.

The people's committees run everything; even schools and universities have committees that include professors, academics, and students.

Al-Naqqash: Does not this lead to a deterioration of education?

Al-Qadhdhafi: Teaching in lecture halls and laboratories is one thing and administering power is something else. But, of course, some confusion might occur, not in the philosophical or political sense but in the ordinary sense. As for the anarchy of Bakunin and (Brodon), it is not very far from the jamahiriyyah system. I have asked some professors to prepare a study for me clarifying the difference between the anarchy of Bakunin and (Brodon) and that of Al-Qadhdhafi. (Laughter)

Al-Naqqash: What is your attitude toward Marxism?

Al-Qadhdhafi: We consider it to be a progressive way of thinking.

Al-Naqqash: Are you hostile to it?

Al-Qadhdhafi: Rather we consider ourselves to have superseded it.

'Isa: At the end of this interview we are in a better situation than we were at its beginning. At least we are laughing. We have something to reproach you with: You said that we had come in order to defend our government's policy and that we justify treason. We have come neither to defend nor to attack but to visit a country that we regard as ours and to meet with you.

Al-Qadhdhafi: In fact I was goading you. I never stop goading. Revolutionaries never stop goading. It is their role and this is their message. (Laughter)

Arab League's Klibi Arrives in Tripoli 14 Aug
LD141913 Tripoli JANA in English 1815 GMT 14 Aug 85

[Text] Tripoli, 28 Dulqidaa, 14 August, JAMAHIRIYAH NEWS AGENCY — Chedli Klibi, the secretary-general of the League of Arab States arrived this evening in Tripoli on a visit to the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyyah.

Chedli gave a statement on his arrival at Tripoli international airport saying: I look forward to meeting Colonel Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi whom I got used to meeting with regularly to consult him on what concerns our Arab nation, what brings about its re-unification and consolidate its unity.

Received by Al-Qadhdhafi

LD142232 Tripoli JANA in Arabic 1920 GMT 14 Aug 85

[Text] Tripoli, 14 Aug (JANA) — The brother commander of the revolution this evening received the Arab League secretary general, Chedli Klibi.

Tripoli Examines Expulsion of Foreign Labor Force

'Biased' Media Reports Condemned

LD142143 Tripoli Voice of Greater Arab Homeland in Arabic 2015 GMT 14 Aug 85

[Text] Some information media have started a programmed campaign against the Jamahiriyyah's decision to get rid of the foreign labor force, which is part of organizing the economic course of the Jamahiriyyah and within the framework of creating the ideal productive society that is able to change itself unassisted.

What attracts attention is that this biased campaign expresses the hidden ulterior motives for those regimes that have exploited this chance, which is a word of truth said for deceitful reasons, and tried to discredit everything progressive and noble in this nation: unity, revolution, liberation, and fraternity. These regimes have tried to erase the call of all these aims and slogans from the hearts of deprived masses for one purpose: to tie the masses to the wheels of these regimes by controlling them psychologically and making them hostile toward all the uniting principles and slogans which are being raised in the interest of these basically oppressed masses.

Political Editor Comments

LD150410 Tripoli Voice of Greater Arab Homeland in Arabic 2315 GMT 14 Aug 85

[Excerpts] Some of the news media have begun a programmed campaign against the Jamahiriyyah's decision to get rid of the foreign labor force; this is part of the organization of the country's economic course and lies within the framework of creating the ideal productive society able to change itself on its own.

The political editor of the Voice of the Greater Arab Homeland — the voice of the revolutionary committees — commented on this campaign. He stressed that the resolutions of the basic people's congresses to dispense with the services of the foreign labor forces have exposed the Arab regimes and revealed their true nature. He stressed that these regimes are incapable of sustaining their peoples and that in every one of their crises, they put the responsibility for their problems on the shoulders of their neighbors. Now they have to pay for their treason and for being agents of the West.

The editor stressed that the Jamahiriyyah is able to absorb 10 million Arabs, not just 100,000, in fulfillment of the achievement of unity, to fight Western imperialist influence, and exterminate the local reactionary force inside the Arab countries. He pointed out that unless these goals are being furthered, the masses of the

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basic people's congresses do not accept any Arab and will treat him as a foreigner.

The editor asks: What is the difference between a person from Bangladesh or Thailand and any person from the Arab countries who rejects the Arab nation and the establishment of the united Arab state?

The editor called on the Arab regimes to solve this riddle for him.

In this regard, the political editor points out that the basic people's congresses have stressed in their resolution that Arabs who want to come to or remain in the Jamahiriyah must consider the Jamahiriyah to be Al-Madinah and themselves to be immigrants and its followers. They are partners, for better or worse, in good times and bad, and on earth and in heaven.

In his reply to the campaign of doubt, the editor stresses that at issue is not Libyan nationality but Arab nationality. He adds that the decision to dispense with the foreign labor force is the decision of the masses of the basic people's congresses, not the decision of Mu'ammar al-Qadhafi, who does not have any legislative authority in the Jamahiriyah. Hence, those who wish to live among the Arab masses in Libya must bear the consequences of this decision in order to be treated on equal terms with Libyan Arabs as concerns foreign [as heard] transactions and training in the use of arms to defend the Arab nation and its destiny.

The editor stresses that the solution is not to falsify the facts and engage in childish bickering but to strive for Arab unity and the establishment of one Arab state in which the wealth of the Arabs is distributed equally among the masses of the Arab nation.

The masses of the people's congresses decided to dispense with the foreign labor force, have taken into consideration that he who is in need has no freedom of choice, because such freedom is imprisoned within this need [quotation from the *Green Book*]; and the needy are pressured into becoming the victim of reactionary regimes which are agents of the United States and the colonialist West.

The editor stressed that Arab unity is the solution which will save us from the whirlwind of unemployment crises, need, and exploitation. All the radical solutions for these chronic crises and problems are contained in Arab unity. There is no way to achieve popular freedom and democracy except by hastening the collapse of the bankrupt and decrepit reactionary regimes which usurped by force the masses' legislative rights and sovereignty. The political editor of the Voice of the Greater Arab Homeland — the voice of the revolutionary committees — ended his commentary with a number of questions, including the following:

Is it reasonable or logical that the reactionary regimes should be supported with \$4 or \$5 billion every year? Is that the price for the hostility of these regimes to Arab unity? Or is that the price for falling into the laps of the West and being its agents? Is that the price for treachery to the Arab cause and alliance with the reactionary forces? Is that the price for making one's territory the bases, staging point, and facilities for the Western invasion fleets?

SUDAN

Foreign Ministry Announces Resuming Iranian Ties *EA141613 Omdurman Domestic Service in Arabic* 1500 GMT 14 Aug 85

[Text] The Foreign Ministry issued a press statement today about the visit to Sudan by the Iranian delegation, headed by Mr Hoseyn Sheykh ol-Eslam, deputy foreign minister for political affairs.

The statement stressed that arising from the principles and aims of Sudan's declared foreign policy, and for the sake of strengthening Sudan's relations with its brothers in the Islamic world, the two sides have agreed to resume diplomatic relations. It was also decided to exchange diplomatic representatives in Khartoum and Tehran as soon as possible.

The two sides discussed ways of strengthening relations in economic, commercial, cultural, and technical fields. After taking cognizance of the Iranian situation, the Government of Sudan expressed its concern and regret at the continuation of the destructive Iran-Iraq war which drains a lot of the energies of the two peoples. Sudan called for an end to the war forthwith. The delegation expressed Iran's readiness to provide necessary assistance to alleviate the suffering from drought and desertification in Sudan.

On the other hand, the prime minister and the foreign minister accepted the invitation extended to them to visit Iran. The date of the visit will be fixed later.

The delegation left Khartoum this morning, returning to Tehran after a visit that last several days.

Daf'allah Views Relations With Eastern Bloc *JN141858 Khartoum SUNA in Arabic 1800 GMT 14 Aug 85*

[Text] Khartoum, 14 Aug (SUNA) — Prime Minister Dr al-Jazuli Daf'allah will represent Sudan next October during the celebrations to be held on the 40th anniversary of the establishment of the United Nations. He will also visit Italy, France, Britain, the Netherlands, and the FRG.

In a statement to the press today, Dr al-Jazuli explained that the aim of this tour is to discuss relations between Sudan and these countries and explain Sudan's new image and policies in the new era.

Asked about the development of relations between Sudan and the Eastern bloc, Dr al-Jazuli affirmed that Sudan stretches a friendly hand to all countries, and that the new era is basically seeking Sudan's interests and sees no difference between the East and the West in serving the country's national interests.

Asked about relations between Sudan and the Soviet Union, Dr al-Jazuli said he met with the Soviet ambassador in Khartoum, before the ambassador's trip to Moscow, and explained to him Sudan's foreign policy as a nonaligned country stretching a