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LIBYA

Continuing Reportage on General People's Congress

Al-Qadhafi Addresses Congress

LD021451 Tripoli Domestic Service in Arabic 1140
GMT 2 Mar 86

[Speech by Libyan Leader Colonel Mu'ammar al-Qadhafi at the General People's Congress at Banghazi's Qaryunis University — live]

[Text][Passage indistinct] In Banghazi or even Sabha, it is better to convene in any other town or village, if you wish to hold your meeting there. However, in holding your meetings in Banghazi, Tripoli, or Sabha, these reactionary and monarchist cities, (?it is better to avoid them). [chants]

Today is a historic and great day. It is the day when the state of the Jamahiriyah was proclaimed on 2 March 1977. This day might not be fully appreciated by us, who have witnessed the establishment of the Jamahir, and even the contemporary world might not be able to appreciate it, as it is surely trying to do so now, because it is an official world. Even the so-called United Nations is, in fact, not a United Nations, but a body of governmental delegations meeting at that headquarters. People's delegations are, however, those which meet on Libyan soil and, therefore, their resolutions fully contravene most of the governmental delegations, that is, people's resolutions taken on the Libyan soil are fully different from their delegates' resolutions at the United Nations. Such a UN delegate was representing a government, but those who took part in the International People's Congresses in Libya represent the Jamahir and peoples. I mean that the living world is an official world, which does not recognize, but fights, the Jamahiriyah. History, however, will say that this day is a great day. Despite the fact that it has been created by a small people who live in a small, poor, and backward country, it is, however, one of the turning points in the history of humanity: the establishment of the state of the Jamahir and the establishment of the Jamahiriyah in this context, the emergence of the people's conferences and people's committees — the establishment of the people's authority. This historic and innovative act has no comparison. It is regrettable that it is not understood at present, but it will be, however, one of the main events in the history of humanity in the future.

It has been said that when a French philosopher called Rousseau died, only two of his friends walked in his funeral procession. After the passage of scores of years and more, however millions have come to observe his death, a matter which confirms that his thoughts were great thoughts to humanity.

Today, as we meet and speak here, is a great historic day, the day of the rise of the Jamahiriyah. We, in the midst of this event and in the midst of celebrating it, can only see we are in the midst of this great event. However, future generations will see it as a historical turning point and a new page being written down by man in his history toward final salvation. Millions are still struggling everywhere in the world to reach power and are paying the price with their lives and bodies and with their possessions to

get rid of a ruling party, to get rid of a dominating government and to get rid of the ruler, whether from an oligarchy or a tribe. Now all instruments of rule are facing fierce resistance from the popular masses everywhere. This undoubtedly indicates that the Libyan people are the vanguard of the whole world and the symbol and example to be followed in all parts of the world. Libya is setting an example for the state of Jamahir, the state of salvation. This is what this day means. It means that in fact, Libya through revolution became independent for the first time as part of the Arab homeland. After the (?demise) of the great Islamic Arab state, Libya's independence was for the first time linked to the rise of the Jamahiriyah. We in fact we do not differentiate a great deal between the two things.

I emphasize that in 1969 this part of the Arab homeland first gained its independence. In 1969 when you entered from the Chadian borders you enter the Malta Information [flight control] Zone. The Libyan map used to have written on it the term: Malta Information Zone when you entered it from Chad, Sudan, or Niger. As soon as you crossed the borders of the those countries, you came within the Malta Information Zone. It was written on the Libyan map, impertinently by those who used to colonize this country in the name of independence; you are now within the Malta Information Zone. The boundaries of the Libyan sovereignty were unknown because there was no sovereignty to start with, because until 1969 U.S. forces and British forces — all foreign forces — were dominant.

The question of independence in this country is then raised simultaneously with its transformation into the Jamahiriyah which placed authority in the hands of the masses. Then the problem of the Gulf of Sidra arose -- as if these are new things on the international scene. In fact they are all connected to the fact that a part of the Arab homeland has been liberated and consequently, the limits of this sovereignty have become clear.

Sovereignty does not mean the downfall of the foreign usurper only to be replaced by a local oppressor. There is no difference between the bullets of the British and the bullets of the forces which hit the citizens in the streets of Cairo. There is no difference whatsoever between the British governor, Faruq and the current ruler of Egypt, or the one assassinated earlier.

This day reveals the truth and exposes the falsehood being carried out on our borders in the Arab countries and in the entire world. Even the Philippines, which has paid the price and where the popular masses brought down Marcos' regime, has replaced the regime with a female Marcos. In fact there is no different between this president and that -- all of them are puppets of the United States of America. These masses will someday regret they exchanged a president with another president and will continue in this vicious circle until the masses awaken to what is happening, and to what the Libyan world example is offering, and see that salvation is not through the replacement of one ruler by another or a government by another, or a class by a class. Salvation comes through the people in the people's congresses and committees in place of any instrument of rule, no matter what it was. I stress to you today that the masses who support the new president of the Philippines in the future will demonstrate against her, because she is an instrument of power and the difference between her and the president deposed by the masses

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will vanish. This is being repeated everywhere in the world around us.

I want to underline that the importance of 2d of March, the day of the rise of Jamahiriyah, does not mean independence and the consolidation of a national instrument of power handling the citizens, their properties and their sovereignty the way the colonialists handled or [words indistinct], but liberation and freedom means that the people own these potentials. What this day means and what the people's authority means is this concept. However, I would like to stress today that it is important to resist any intervention [tadakhul] in popular will. [applause]

What (?concerns) us is that there should be no request for intervention in the popular will from any individual or any group, for any reason. I saw (?banners) in the streets on this occasion saying that the best and most useful assistance of the masses is for me to help them. When one is learning how to walk, you ought not to help him so that he does not rely on your muscles; let him strengthen his own muscles, so that if he walks, he will be walking by himself. He who wants to intervene to assist the masses hinders the development of their will. In fact, the best assistance for the masses is not to assist them, because this assistance would be at the cost of strengthening their will. Facing us could be intervention outside the masses. When I say outside the masses, I mean even one of the masses; outside is not something from outside the country -- an outside action like colonialism, an outside aggression. I am speaking about intervention in the people's authority, whether it comes without a request or if the popular masses ask for it. These two factors could constitute an extreme danger to the popular will and to popular authority. The masses and their revolutionary forces should be prepared to resist these two forbidden things. The masses must not request the assistance of anyone, however critical the problems facing them become, because this request would show that the masses are weak and subsequently they would lose confidence in themselves. They would always need a savior. This savior would be the dictator who saves the masses and who solves their problems. And he who offers them something, sets a price; the price would be domination and dictatorship. Thus, those who carried out revolutions and independence battles for the sake of their peoples, turned into tyrants when they came into power.

This is the forbidden thing which was avoided by the forces which carried out the Al-Fatih Revolution, namely, they did not exercise authority, so that through the passage of time the revolution would turn into a convincing force for the masses. Subsequently, the historic qualitative jump took place and salvation took place, namely, that those who exercise authority are the people. The masses ought not -- moreover, it is forbidden for the masses -- to request assistance from anyone. They also must resist any intervention from anyone. Today I want to stress that the great and brilliant victory of popular freedom and democracy over the land of Libya is a gain for which lives in the countries of the world are being paid.

Despite the fact that it has appeared easy to the majority, it was still difficult for those who created it. It was not easy for the Free Unionist officers together with their soldiers who carried out the revolution [chants] to carry out such an act. It was a dangerous and very hard voyage. It was a voyage of death for them. We

lived through some long and difficult years; we lived through them under stress and tension and, at the time, we were ready to pay with our lives for such an act, and we still feel the same even now. I must say, with some regret, that the vast popular masses have found themselves living through the era of emancipation, thanks to the revolution and to the deliberate revolutionary urge, without paying any price for that. [Words indistinct] the evidence for that, you do easily seek the help of the leader and seek the help of someone who can solve a problem arising from your agency. If you differ with each other for a quarter of an hour, you hastily seek help. This is a dangerous and incorrect course. On the contrary, the best way is not to seek help in such situations. The people must not have a tutor, guardian or president, otherwise we will fall into the forbidden anew. [as heard] The Jamahir must not belittle their capabilities for solving the problems. I am certain that at the General People's Congress, at the people's conferences and the people's committees, there are people who have brains and extraordinary forces and have more potential than anybody else who has been elected. A shepherd must have solutions, but he does not know anybody. The establishment of the people's authority means that such a person ought to be known and this shepherd must have a say and thus influence the destiny of the society. This will (?lead) to having the shepherd as a member in the Basic People's Conference where he can stand up during the proceedings of the conference and assert that he has a solution for this or that problem. This person might be a genius like so many other ordinary people whom we must bring all together. I am sure that in this way, we will guarantee the surmounting of all problems -- be they technical, military, economical, political, internal, or external -- but one person might fail, like the government and the class, because there are so many negative influences against these instruments.

Only the people have do not have any negative influences acting against them in their practice of their lives. As regards this negative aspect which I have mentioned, namely, that while we have been intentionally involved in and made a conscious commitment to the undertaking of these serious tasks, we suddenly found ourselves free. Although we paid a price, in truth our fathers and forefathers paid it. However, we who are here at present do not feel it to be great. We remember them yet we do not feel the gravity of the price they paid because we did not take part in the battles of (Al-Haniyah), (Al-Kirbadhiyah) and Al-Jabal Al-Akhdhar. We did not take part in those battles, hence we are unaware of the gravity and the value of the price of freedom. We were not participating in the movement of the Free Unionist Officers and consequently, were unaware of the suffering endured during the beginning of the revolution and during the dangerous confrontation with the foreign bases and the dictatorial authority backed by the strongest power on the face of earth.

Therefore, there is in fact a negative influence which acts against freedom on the Libyan soil and the revolutionary forces should eliminate this negative influence through only one thing: namely, through continuous incitement in order to strengthen the popular will, by refraining from asking for any assistance and to resist anyone interfering in the popular will. There is nothing in the Jamahiriyah except the people's congresses and the people's committees. If you fail, the people's congresses and the people's committees will fail, and if you succeed, the people's congresses and the people's committees will succeed. There is nobody to

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shoulder the responsibility except the people's congresses and the people's committees on Libyan land. Even from a legal, constitutional, or administrative point of view, you cannot question or put on trial anyone over any problem you face, because no one has authority except the people's congresses and the people's committees. There should be no dependence on any party outside the people's congresses and the people's committees. There is not a single person, in fact, who is responsible even within the people's congresses and the people's committees. There are, however, popular mass establishments: a whole people's congress, a people's congress secretariat, a whole people's committee. Consequently, if a people's committee allows its secretary to discharge its affairs by himself, it must understand that it will have to pay the price for such behavior, because the actions of the secretary of the people's committee on his own are not recognizable. The secretary of the people's committee is the administrative organizer of the committee only. His duty is to supervise and not to discharge affairs. If, at the instigation of the revolutionary forces of the popular masses a people's committee is put on trial, then the people's committee will be the one to be tried and not its secretary, because any behavior, constitutionally and democratically in the Jamahiri system, is the behavior of the people's committee. If it gives a free rein to its secretary to act on its behalf, this means nothing. It does not mean it is not responsible. The actions of the secretary will be considered by us, the popular masses and the revolutionary forces, to be the actions of the whole of the people's committee and it will be liable to questioning or trial.

We undertook the march, the escalation of these marches in order to achieve the situation in which we now are: people's committees and people's congresses. There would be absolutely no legitimacy in a group of people undertaking a march on any place in order to topple a committee, a secretary, or a secretariat. This is a method that we had created ourselves. We have incited the masses to march so that the result of the march would be the setting up of people's congresses and people's committees. We want to attain this situation, and we, the revolutionary forces, have pledged to incite the masses to undertake marches so that they can rid themselves of fear; so that they can storm offices, the offices of the civil servants they used to fear; so that they can sense that no ruler, administrator, or anyone can stand in their way.

We have been through a period during which for years we have been inciting marches, until the masses took the seats of power and democracy was established. The people should always be in these seats. The struggle was over our taking these seats, and all the marches were for us to attain these seats. Now we the people have taken the seats, in the people's congresses and people's committees. Therefore, there is no reason for a march now, because this would contradict the exercising of people's power in its mature and definitive form.

Now any people's congress can convene an emergency or an ordinary session, and decide to topple anyone it wants, or to change anything it wants, without leaving the seat; anyone leaving the seat to act or to march would harm the people's power. You do not need to raise your voice, or even to stand up. You just say a word and you change the secretary of the congress, change the secretary of the committee, change the committee, change a

decision, create a law, declare war, or decide peace while you are sitting in the seat because you are the master, you are the king, you are the president. You are the decision-maker while you sit in the seat.

If a people's congress wants to change a people's committee or bring it to account, or change its secretary, or one of its members, let it take the seats and not (?be afraid). Each time, particularly on the anniversary of the Jamahiriya and the emergence of people's power, we must stress, act or say what is likely to stress this great achievement. On all (?occasions) we must sit — in addition to the celebrations, chanting, dancing, etc., which represent joy and an expression of happiness and emancipation — we must sit in order to increase our understanding of this great achievement, and to deepen the roots of the people's power, in order to grasp the meaning of Jamahiriya, and also to maintain our reputation throughout the world.

Libya offers a universal model for all the Arab peoples. This is a historic achievement that is greater than the achievement realized at a time of [name indistinct] in Athens. It is an achievement that has given substance, in practice, to all the ideas and dreams of thinkers and scholars in the world who were looking for the virtuous city, for the paradise lost, for paradise on earth, the creation of the city of Plato and the (?Al-Farabi) city. Everything, even the attempts by communists and anarchists, and the great achievements in history were looking for what can now be found on Libyan territory. [applause]

One of the Jamahiriya's meanings is that the Jamahir should undertake all responsibilities and duties and thereby shoulder all the consequences. We must never put a committee into authority and at the same time forget that our main task is to work, fight and train as soon as we leave the hall. These are contradictions which harm democracy and freedom. You only deserve to sit on a chair and be a sir if you are able to do your own work, to train and defend your family; then and only then do you deserve to sit like a master. But if you are unable to defend yourself and unable to work creatively, yet mislead yourself into believing that you are the master of the chair, this is deception. The people who want to shoulder the responsibility of freedom must pay the price. Any person who wants to be free must pay the price for it.

If anyone of us had not taken part in the battles for freedom against the Italians or had not participated in Al-Fatih Revolution, he still has the opportunity to do so, by working, producing, training, offering to defend and, by consolidating the security of the Jamahiriya by defending it and increasing its production. In this way he can compensate for not having participated in the jihad battles or in the revolution.

This is now the greatest task [words indistinct] jihad's battles in order to liberate ourselves, liberating ourselves in order to control our country's potential, to be able to decide whatever we want and to build what we want. Now the stage of decision and building has been reached. The revolution is a means to free ourselves, as with freedom we can do whatever we want. Now the time to do what we want has arrived. Do whatever you want. You want to be a master? Then you must be armed, productive and able to make decisions because you hold in your hands all the means: authority, wealth and weapons. [Words indistinct] as if

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there is somebody who would like to defend you (?and your future). (?Everything you own should be for the battle). If we have separated boys and girls in battle, education and work, we were only talking about (?material and mechanical) separation. I do not believe that girls should be in one amphitheater and boys in another. I believe they should be in the same amphitheater. Women should not be in one camp and men in another; women should not be in one factory and men in another. This is wrong -- if one is in a factory and one is not, one is in an amphitheater and one is outside, one is in the battle and the other is not. If someone says there should be a military academy for girls or even a whole military formation for women, I consider this idea to be progressive and to be discussed from a formality point of view. He who says no to girls joining the military academy, this is a reactionary idea; women should not be trained, this is also a reactionary idea.

There are no men and women in the state of Jamhir; there are, however, males and females, and we have plenty of them — those whom God created as male and those whom he created as female. This should not be a concern of ours. Man can eat, walk, hear, think, has freedom, aspirations and human characteristics. This is enough. We should not, however, distinguish between people as male and female, with one having rights and not the other; one able to enter the battle and not the other; this is wrong and cannot be stated, Formal matters that make someone better than another are acceptable, but essential things, like joining a battle, should be guaranteed to everybody, as all in the Jamahir are owners of this land. Therefore, we should all be able to enter faculties, universities, professions, agriculture and industry; make some factories for men and some for women in the traditional way. [Words indistinct] because we are all inside the factory. Women makes clothes inside the house, and man inside the factory. This is acceptable, as long as they are both working. The home, the factory or the office — all mean nothing. What is important is that you perform your duties.

A woman receives training in the use of arms, however sophisticated. For her to receive training inside the home is, to me, as important as her receiving training in the camps; it makes no difference. In fact, the kitchen is like a laboratory or a factory. There is no difference between the kitchen and the laboratory or workshop at the pharmaceutical college or the science college; both involve mixing, materials, and cooking. We must be sure of this; we must not waste a great deal of time at the expense of our future and freedom.

All of us should fight and all of us should work. We must not allow reactionary lines of thinking to return. Some of us begin to serve, wittingly or unwittingly, the interests of the forces hostile to our freedom, to our nation and to the future of our generations. We must not confuse between formalities and theories, between the mixing of men and women and the performance of tasks. The mixing process is one of freedom. What I am talking about is not a call for mixing, but for work. It does not matter if each sex wants to work alone; the important thing is that all must work. In the military academy, the training of women has been entrusted to women. Women have been enlisted for military service essentially to train other women, so that there would be no objection on the grounds that men have been entrusted with the task of training women, despite the fact that teachers in

schools and universities consist of men and women, and women work alongside men in offices. The streets are full of men, too. Nobody objects to such mixing, even by the reactionaries. However, there are objections to the progressive thing to which we are not accustomed and which is seen as oppressive -- that we should all carry arms. I have repeatedly said that educated, armed, working, and strong women are much stronger and less likely to be taken advantage of than unarmed, weak and uneducated women. What matters in the end is good upbringing at home and good manners, and not the nature of the work.

We must listen to such words and repeat them at every opportunity, especially on such a great historic day, so that we affirm the Jamahiriya and the authority of the people; so that there can be no doubt every year that we have actually become masters and that we deserve this supremacy.

One of the tasks entrusted to the General People's Congress is to prepare the agenda which is before you. You might have noticed that there was a crisis in regard to the agenda last night. You should have continued with work every day, and the day after and the day after [words indistinct]. There was only one incident of salvation: When I and my colleagues staged the revolution. That was a salvation operation. You did not ask us to stage it, nor did we consult you, nor did we seek your votes. [applause and chants]

The savior is like the fedayeen. The fedayeen acts once and dies. We are in need of a fedayeen to blow up this door with his body so that we may come out. This has been carried out. There is no need for others to come after him every time to blow up the door.

Who would stage the revolution? We could have died staging the revolution, so that the people may live. This is what constitutes a savior. There can be no other interpretation. Neither I nor my colleagues accept any longer any other role for ourselves. A savior is different from a ruler. The ruler has his rule and [words indistinct] in the elections. He goes to welcome your guests at the airports like any puppet. He rides in a Mercedes car purchased from an imperialist country and carries a false flag which flutters under the flag of the colonialist in full disgrace and shame, and riding before him are motorcycles which are also imported. These are disgraceful things to the true revolutionaries. [Words indistinct] to welcome you.

The savior, and others like him are different from the president who remains constant. The role of the former takes place only once and then ends. Our role happens once only. We have staged the revolution. We have undertaken the greatest operation, namely, the revolution. Before us, there were five U.S. bases; before us were the British forces entering Tobruk at Al-'Adim base without permission from the Libyans. The day the revolution began thousands of British troops could have landed in Tobruk, [words indistinct] as all maneuvers used to take place at sea and ashore without any permission. The U.S. controlled the land, sea and airspace in accordance with the treaty with the monarchy. It used to act freely in Libya.

We undertook this operation, a fedayeen operation, a heroic one, a dangerous, a historic operation. But then it was the first time, and you should not come and ask us to resolve this or that

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problem, to dig wells. [slogans chanted praising Al-Qadhdhafi] You must understand this; this is our duty. As far as we are concerned, if we wanted to stay as rulers we would have done so. However, we mounted a revolution founded on a Jamahiriyah philosophy, and we can never betray the revolution. For us, no matter how dangerous an operation it was, and no matter how we ran risks — for us, revolution means that the people become master, the masses become emancipated. It does not mean the masses rule through us, otherwise, we would be repeating the same mistake.

People used to applaud Idriss al-Sanusi, as the one to secure independence. After taking power he brought in foreign bases [words indistinct]. What independence? The United States was not present before independence; it came after independence. This is the ruler that you chose and deified; you sanctified him. Idriss al-Sanusi was sanctified.

The truth has now come out. Who shackled Libya with foreign bases? It was Idriss al-Sanusi. His governments and his deputies, the deputies you elected, fought over them. Tribes used to fight each other because of a deputy. What then was the benefit to the tribe that fought another sister tribe? The one to benefit was the deputy who made money and smuggled it abroad, bringing foreigners here. That was the deputy representing you. Look at the result of representation. Did they liberate you from bases? It was they who brought in the bases; they were the ones to bring in colonialism and slavery again.

Were there, after independence, as many Italian troops as U.S. troops? No, not at all. The British occupied Libya after World War II and their forces were fewer than the U.S. troops that came under an agreement after independence. Look at this type of ruler, governments, deputies. No, we cannot betray the issue of the revolution. The revolution is against all these trends that lead to such dangerous situations to the future of freedom.

You want to force us into being rulers; no, no way. We brought the revolution despite everything. It was our duty. We assumed our responsibility because it was our business. If it had failed we would have died. If it succeeded our aspirations would have been fulfilled without anyone asking, without voting, without debates. We said that he who wanted to die with us could join in, and those who were prepared to die went along with us in the caravan of death. After this, you have nothing to do with us. Do not ask anything else from us; we are not responsible. If a disaster hits you, none of those who engaged in the revolution can be blamed; you will be the ones to blame.

The formation of a people's committee from the armed people is the extent [words indistinct]. This means that the popular understanding has reached a stage [words indistinct]. I was personally afraid to come near the formation of the people's committees of the armed people, but you took the risk and made the decision. Starting now, people's committees for the armed people will be formed. This should be underlined in red, because it is a very grave move. I wonder whether those who decided this understand its gravity, or have they decided [words indistinct].

Two. [numbering as heard] Nobody can now complain. The people's congresses decided that marginal jobs should be abol-

ished. This is done. There should be minimum dependence on the employees of the administrative body. These are extremely important and grave resolutions. Any government, supreme planning council, president or anybody, whoever he may be, cannot issue such a resolution; I am sure of that. Look at all the governments and parliaments of the world and compare their resolutions with yours. However serious these governments may be in solving their problems, they will never adopt resolutions or (?follow) policies similar to this policy. Look, these resolutions were made without marching, hitting or banging, while the people are sitting on their chairs. You adopted the gravest resolutions while sitting on your chairs. This is the stage of the Jamahiriyah, the stage of maturity, of reaching to the end of the road. The people [words indistinct].

Simplification of the administrative procedures: This is also very grave. Simplification of the administrative procedures: This [words indistinct] dropping the number of papers, cards and dealings, and closing many windows at which the people used to stand in line at offices and departments. All this will be abolished when we simplify the administrative work. Possibly one paper will contain everything. Instead of bringing the so-and-so certificate and such-and-such certificate, and the so-and-so official stamp and such-and-such proof, and go to 100 officials in 100 streets, and walk 100 kms and waste 100 hours, we have simplified all this. From one place you take one paper which contains all the information. And we dispense with 100 officials; only one is needed. The change (?has commenced) correctly.

Only yesterday I received grave resolutions. I only gave you an example of the grave resolutions which you adopted, and I hope that you will not forget them, because yesterday there was a clear forgetfulness concerning what was decided during the past session. Did the period of the people's committee for one year not end during the past session? Yes. Yes, it ended since last year.

An opportunity was given for questioning the General People's Committee so that opinions would be expressed at this session. The first thing you should do is to ask the Secretariat of the General People's Committee for the result of the enquiry you endorsed at the last meeting. Where is the enquiry? Did you not form a committee of the secretaries of peoples's congresses of municipalities? They came to Tripoli and stayed a few days, and had discussions with the General Peoples's Committee. Where is the result? We can not begin to elevate this or that without examining the result. We should examine this closely because it is a recurring matter. It is a recurring matter; it is a kind of [words indistinct]. We incite popular masses to control people's committees. When you go out of here you must make your people's committee accountable and find out about the issues you asked about.

Previous years: There is accountability every year — what were the negative and positive things done by the secretaries, secretaries of the Secretariat and of the committee. They should be accountable. We must know whether a secretary is sincere and efficient, a squanderer, a spendthrift; whether he economises [words indistinct] let us review this every year. [Passage indistinct] Everyone has a file -- his visits, tasks performed, tours, expenses, treatment. This is not [words indistinct] situation; a secretary of a general people's committee has to be made

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accountable. From this month until the next meeting at the end of the year, he has to know that he will have to appear before the General People's Congress and have his file opened, like the day of judgement. [Passage indistinct] This does not mean that he should not stay in a hotel; the main thing is that it is stated that such a person has stayed in such a hotel during a particular year. However, the congress may object to this hotel and decide that it is not suitable for its secretary to sleep in this particular hotel [words indistinct].

A particular country's minister, during the same or another period, comes to this country and stays in a hotel. It does not cost his country much. If you send him to a particular country, he can not go to another unless he can justify it to you by saying: I am going to this country on a mission and I thought of spending a holiday and seeing a friend in the other country. He shoulders his responsibility and you are free to permit it or not. When you travel you spend money. If you spend your own money, say so, but if you spend our money, then the people will make you accountable. [Words indistinct] this secretary has spent money in such and such a place and [words indistinct]. Sometimes he does not spend and you make him accountable [words indistinct]. Sometimes he does not spend, and you question him. Why have you not spent any money? [Passage indistinct] Sometimes he is made accountable because his spending was not appropriate. He will be made accountable. Not everyone is made accountable from this secretariat or this committee. That is why we have made him accountable for spending, laziness, inefficiency; and it is finished [words indistinct].

Even the Free Unionist officers who are still in the forces, still carry weapons; if they enter a battle with you and lose, I would not bring any of them to trial. It would not be their responsibility — it is yours, the people. We have told you that there will be a time when the people will carry arms. If we had said no, that we have engaged in the revolution and we alone carry arms and assume responsibility for defense, then yes, we would try them if they failed in a battle. But they, night and day, are asking you to come and undergo training; come and carry weapons.

So, that is it. We are just trainers. You are the ones who should fight for your own freedom. If you do not enlist for training or carry arms to score a victory in this battle who will you blame afterwards? Who will you bring to trial? You would try those who did not participate in the battle. I would not try the one who participated in the battle and died or was defeated or overwhelmed by a stronger and bigger force. I would put on trial the one who would not participate in the battle. He is responsible for defeat and loss.

Generally speaking with regard to the internal policy, you have made very serious decisions which you should not forget. This is because last time — 7 months ago — you made decisions and then forgot them. You have decided very serious matters. If we quote here for example, some of your decisions you may say to yourselves, how did we place such responsibilities on ourselves? You have decided to stress the application of the law relating to people with weapons and to follow up all the executive measures in this connection. Anyone who follows up such measures can storm a house tomorrow where there is a person who has avoided the implementation of this decision. He might complain: Why

has my house been stormed?

This is a serious decision which you should comprehend. With regard to the implementation of the law relating to arming people means that you should be trained in the use of weapons on a regular basis so that an armed people are created. More serious than this is the fact that alterations are made with the participation of the armed people in preparation for the gradual abolishment of the traditional military establishment and the founding of an armed people. Tomorrow, 50,000 of you or may be 100,000 Libyans can be armed (?in one month). A month later there will be another 100,000, and so on. Then the figure rises to 150,000 Libyans and then 200,000. Perhaps that figure will be reached in two weeks. In the future this may become one week. A quarter of a million are trained in one week, to be replaced by another a quarter of a million in one week.

There is no need for compulsory military service, conscription by force, or police looking for you. You should not become a slave for whom the police search. You should train and complete your training hours and then sit free where you are. Why should you be afraid? Walk in the street — as they say — with your head held high. You have performed your duty. In reactionary logic a person may have a sister who is being trained in arms while he himself is hiding at home after evading training. What is his value in your own culture? Any person who is an example of what I have just said let him hear what I am saying. To stress the program of the officer-teacher — tomorrow there may be 1,000 officer-teachers who have absconded; any person charged with the implementation of this decision can bring them and tear them apart in order to reaffirm democracy — to reaffirm the decision of this people.

Decisions by the peoples' congresses should not be taken lightly. A person may [words indistinct] the people have decided to [words indistinct] and this is final. You are against the people. This applies even if the people's policy and its implementation entails death [words indistinct]. To lay down a suitable program for training housewives and to compel female workers in various sectors to undergo military training — all right, you have developed them further. This is great and this people are great and they will develop this great experiment. How nice! You have undertaken very serious commitments.

The training of housewives has become compulsory and subject to a suitable program for their training. Tomorrow a housewife who may not abide by this program may be subjected to insults. Who has decided this? The president of the republic? The chairman of the Revolution Command Council? No. the general officer in command or the supreme commander of the army? No. That is it. The decision was taken by the people's congress. [Passage indistinct] Commissioning the female graduates of the military colleges for girls to train the housewives [words indistinct]. The military girls who graduate today, as I told you [words indistinct].

This is another error which you rectified. It should be taken into consideration that the training should take place after official office hours. Those who have no conscience used to come during the official office hours and say train us. They used to absent themselves from work on the pretext of training. This is treason.

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This is a deviation [words indistinct] the people with us. The popular will is asserting itself. After this popular resolution, it is now absolutely unacceptable for any person to be trained during office hours. You go to your job, and after you finish it, they will set a training time for you. [applause]

This is a kind of training. In the new year he resigns. Why? Because during the past year you (?criticized) him at the congress and brought him to book. He will not do something like that again. We have trained a person and taught him what is wrong and told him: We are watching you and will ask you to account for everything you may do [words indistinct].

What are the reasons for his failure? Why should he be labelled as useless? [Words indistinct] failure in something does not mean failure in everything. I have told you this many times — a person who is a primary school teacher may fail in his job from the first day. This does not mean that he is a total failure at everything. All right, he has failed in his profession. There may be failures among teachers in secondary schools or universities. [Words indistinct] we have said that this General People's Committee [words indistinct] with the stress on the people's authority on this great day and say that these administrative actions are within the duties of the General People's Congress. They should not give up and should not ask for help from any person.

I have come here to talk on 2 March on the anniversary of the establishment of the Jamahiriya and the establishment of the people's authority, and will say and do what reaffirms the people's authority and I will incite the masses in order that their will may become stronger. I have come here in order to clarify more and more my own position and those of my colleagues in this area. I spoke about this in a previous speech.

Therefore, before we can start as a revolutionary supervisory body, we draw the attention of the popular masses at this congress... [changes thought] because the people's committee to whom this person belongs should ask him to account for himself. Yesterday when you came here you mentioned Jadallah 'Azzuz instead of [name indistinct]. How? Why? Where did you get this? Who told you about it? Those who told you so will try to harm you tomorrow. [applause and cheers]. Before arriving at this conclusion we should go by stages. We should first tell the congress: Here is the result of the inquiry. [Indistinct shouts from the floor to which Al-Qadhafi replies: Yes, yes, I will come to that in due course]

The Secretariat of the General People's Congress knows on what it depends. (?I have received) the inquiry and the personal files, and I consider the issue as having been concluded. Instead of this frank talk and [words indistinct]. That is it, we begin with change and that is it. No, there is no harm. You should not refrain from talking about many issues. We should not insult each other in public places; we should respect each other. Even the person sentenced to death should not be humiliated. Yes, we sentence him to death according to the law, but we should not humiliate him. Frank criticism in the wrong place should not take place. No person should have his honor or his family insulted. But you should not refrain from openness. [Words indistinct] you should not be so shy that you do not talk openly to anyone. If you have a personal relationship with someone, then this should be con-

finied to your house [words indistinct].

Generally, however, there should be compromise. If someone steals, spends or neglects, his acts should be made public; this is not shameful. We do not have the right to blame him or to insult him. With respect you can show that this person is a thief without telling him that he is a thief, and this is enough. [Passage indistinct]

So, here are the results of the inquiries: You have first of all formed a body of the municipal secretaries. This body has undertaken the questioning of the General People's Committee, according to the correct method. Now the matter is before you. Last year, you postponed looking into the affairs of the General People's Committee in order to see the results of [words indistinct]. And the dossiers of the secretaries — who should all be appraised — the dossiers of last year, 1985... [changes thought] I personally have been asking what has been done with them? What have they done with the [words indistinct] budget? What were the negative and positive items in it?

These kinds of questions are a necessity. He who cannot ask them or who is afraid to do so should say so from the beginning. If such a person is asked to rise to the post of committee secretary he should decline, saying he is not prepared to undertake confrontation and [words indistinct]. Those who are promoted by you for this year and the next should understand this fact now, and they themselves, together with their personal records, will be submitted every year to the General People's Congress. [chants] [Passage indistinct]

Yesterday, you expressed your view about the well-known democracy. A people's committee [words indistinct] a quantitative committee. If we take this middle line and consider it as people's quantitative committee for economy for example, and then we elect it the people's basic conferences... [changes thought] We in this hall, the General People's Congress, when we elect someone we create a secretary. As soon as he becomes secretary for a committee he will become a member of the People's General Committee; everybody can understand this, even school boys. But at this stage the expertise is limited and conditions may not be [words indistinct] We cannot bring someone from outside this middle line or from outside this hall and elect him as the secretary for this committee. [applause] [Passage indistinct]

The general specialized people's committees were abolished. (?It seems) that you forget. The people's congresses decided to abolish the housing and electricity committees during their sessions. Did you not decide to establish companies for electricity and social services and for housing? Did you not just say they are no more and the committees disappeared? There is no committee for housing or electricity. The electricity committee became a company which would supply us with electricity, and we, the consumers, will pay for the electricity whether in our houses, workshops or farms. The company will supply a farm, workshop or house with electricity and the owner will pay fees. That is that. No people's committee or general secretariat. This is a company which has the electricity and supplies the motors with it, and wherever you require light, the company will send you light [words indistinct] If we were workers in a factory, let us say we were in a factory, we would call on the electricity company to

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bring us electricity to make the factory work. If you work in a iron factory, [words indistinct] factory, glass factory, clothes factory, petrochemical factory and chemical factory, you pay for the electricity given you out of the revenue, from your production. That is that. We ourselves produce the raw materials and we cut the price of electricity and we give it to (?society). This does not need democracy. You have already decided that before. So why do you ask why and how the housing and electricity committees disappeared? This is a general issue.

In addition, the existence or disappearance of the people's committees, or one of the secretariats does not constitute a danger to democracy; this happens in a spontaneous way. If such an entity has no mission, then that is that. It becomes a dead organ, about which you do not have to argue. Whatever will remain, will remain. [Words indistinct] if it has no work anymore. If social security has no central duty, then it will disappear in spite of all of us. We will not decide it. [Words indistinct] and someone said that it should remain, he does not even know the meaning of social security. Let it remain or not; then who will raise his hand? Even if it remained, what then? It has no work. Well then, some people came; who are they? People who became candidates for securing the social security. This has disappeared completely. This disappearance is according to the theory on which this state is based. All these committees will disappear in the future, and they will be replaced by the General People's Committee for the municipalities. Therefore, we are happy that they have begun to disappear gradually. This indicates that everything is going correctly. They will disappear, and some secretariats which remain will disappear in the future, [words indistinct] they will definitely disappear. At every stage we expect that a committee will disappear. People's committees will disappear or a general secretariat will disappear, and will be replaced by a general people's committee, which [words indistinct] for the General People's Committee for the municipalities. Not this committee, the presence of this committee is temporary, and it started to disappear. The housing committee became completely superfluous, and you opted for a company, a company which builds and from which you buy. What do we want from the people's housing committees? These are the plans of the municipalities and [words indistinct].

We have another authority. You call it — what do you call it -- services, facilities, or municipalities. Any office for licences [words indistinct] this street and say its width is so and so and you build buildings here or you build other institutions there. That is that. An expert manages it, not a bureaucracy at all, but an expert who knows how to plan cities. This has nothing to do with democracy. There is no need for committees at all. The planner would say this city should be constructed on a radial system, and that another city would be built according to another system. [Words indistinct] these houses should be of two stories, and those of one story, and those should be apartment buildings, and do not build over there because there will be gardens there and here are car parks. Planning says so. If you do not want to build all by yourself, then you spend money for [words indistinct]. Here is my money, build me a house. [Words indistinct] naturally, these companies are under the supervision of the people's congresses and the committees for [words indistinct]. I say, may the General People's Committee, all of it, disappear in one year, so that you reach the end quickly. [Words indistinct] they are afraid. They

said if we have investigated these people, investigated these and those people, and they were found guilty in their behavior last year, and they were found guilty in their work — but we sometimes need them for other jobs and other missions — then we would lose them. Who said that you would lose them? We said you would not lose them. [Words indistinct] they were found guilty in that job, [words indistinct]. They were found guilty in such and such a job, they stay in that job. If someone is found guilty in a job, he stays in it because he was educated and trained, and he will not do it again. [Words indistinct] the advantage of this is that they have read about the matter, and read the personal files and lived [words indistinct] before, and it is possible to carry out the selection of that committee and the whole management of the congress -- which is better than selecting a new committee that would start anew to read the files and the personal files, and would have no idea about all that was done by the other committees of the congress. As for those who said: this Secretariat first, then the congress — this is correct and true, and this is a sound basis, according to which the masses gather in the people's congress and elect a secretariat and select a people's committee. But [words indistinct] of this situation is arranged if these people are the ones. [sentence as heard]

Concerning housing, electric power, energy, oil, [words indistinct], nuclear energy and other issues — we must set up people's committees for them. [as heard] The same for oil: companies to drill with the authority to manage. Set up a people's committee or an establishment for it. It is a purely technical activity. This has nothing to do with democracy -- just exploring for oil and gas. Democracy manages resources. We explore for gas and for oil. We sell them, we use them in industry. And then the task is to manage the revenue they bring in, and whether they should be sold as is or refined. But one must explore, just explore. You are in fact not exploring. No Libyan or Arab is exploring. Complete foreigners are exploring. You now have an idea about gas from the Al-Tahaddi field, in the Gulf of Sidra. Did any of us decide and say: Let us explore here? They were not even Arabs; Americans in an Arab company! I visited them and found that they were Americans.

Geological studies told them to drill for gas there, and not one Arab is taking part in this operation. All we know is that we have brought a company and are exploring for oil. Where? We do not know. Ask those who know. Ask those who know the soil layers, where gas lies and where oil lies. They say there is gas here and there is oil there [words indistinct]. Later on you manage the gas, you can say: All right, the gas is there; let it stay underground. You can sell it, you can liquify it.

As for social security, it has not disappeared. People's committees for social security still exist in every municipality. it is good, that social security exists in every municipality this is better than their being tied down to people in Tripoli or anywhere else in a general committee. Many times I have gone around and found somebody who has broken limbs or handicapped, and people say: This handicapped man has poliomyelitis, this one needs a vehicle, this one needs a pair of crutches. I say: Where is the social security committee? They say: We have addressed ourselves to the General People's Committee for Social Security, but it has not answered. Well then, let there be local social security, which would care for the handicapped, those who need vehicles or a

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bicycle, and for those who need treatment. It would also decide on various cases or direct those in need to various establishments. This is better than tying this activity down to another department.

Even health is supposed to [words indistinct] because health is bound to [words indistinct]; but there is still a problem. There are hospitals meant for patients from all over the Jamahiriya that are located in a particular municipality. At this stage, we might not understand that they belong to everyone; we should not believe that they belong exclusively to the municipality where they are located.

As regards justice, what do we have to say about its essence? all these repressive organs must be destroyed. You must create security services in every municipality, in every street; create traffic police and secret police; Create fire brigades, civil defense, and people's courts. You are making laws, and those who violate the law can be tried in the streets. This is done even in Burkina Faso: In that country, when you go somewhere, you may find people gathering and trying somebody in the street. They investigate him, his attitude to the revolution, what he offers to the revolution or society, and whether he is useful or useless. If he is useful, they say he is good, and he gets a light punishment. Somebody else may not have any value, and have done nothing for the revolution or the country; he receives harsh punishment and is imprisoned. They look for evidence that would lessen the punishment of individuals. This is done and said by people who do not know the person on trial. People gather and start the trial by asking the person apprehended what he did. They summon the revolutionary committees to testify whether the accused is good or not for the revolution. Justice must be everywhere. It must not be centralized throughout the Jamahiriya, [words indistinct] we used to be like that -- in tribes, in the streets, in local groups, everywhere -- courts used to resolve problems. Is it necessary to go to court about matters like divorce, marriage, maintenance money, and so forth? A number of people and relatives can settle (?divorce issues). Two judges — one of the husband's relatives and one of the wife's relatives — can settle the matter. There used to be local courts for local issues. Now your [words indistinct] is local, and what need is there for central [words indistinct]? even [words indistinct]

As for Jamahiri sports: This is the program that has been the worst failure and not just during the tenure of the present sports committee. This was during the tenures of all previous committees. Those who do not share this view should leave us alone. Now all the world is moving towards the Jamahiri sports. They have seen that this era is very dangerous to the health, future and even the structure of man. One might lose the use of limbs without even practising sports; he might be involved in a car or aircraft accident, or electrocuted. Presently, especially in the industrial world, there is a rush towards the Jamahiri sports. Millions are taking part in sports. We have failed. I have never seen a street where Jamahiri sports are played or a city quarter where they practice Jamahiri sports. I also noticed there are no sports in schools. There is no alternative; we must build the physique and the mind of the new generation if we want to conquer Zionism and imperialism.

We must build this new Arab generation from the elementary

school level, so that it grows up into a giant in physique. To me physical training at schools is more important than 50 percent of the lessons taught there. If this youth is (?so weak physically) how are we going to destroy the enemies? How? We can destroy them through a new angry generation which possesses a physique as strong as steel and a mind which is just as tough. The new generation should be trained in electronics and technology and [words indistinct]. Half of the syllabus is rubbish and reactionary. It is better if the youths are given physical training. In any case, it means that Jamahiri sports have failed. There should be revolutionary committees for Jamahiri sports. Each municipality should (?pay attention) to it. Each quarter in the town has a popular committee [words indistinct].

[Text] In agriculture (?there is) a central issue. Everyone of you can grow something. (?It is not a problem). Agriculture in a country like Libya is privately owned. We do not interfere with you. [Passage indistinct] In every municipality there are popular committees on agriculture. There is an agricultural gazette in every municipality and there are experts and veterinarians in every municipality [words indistinct]. There are central projects and the central projects are a failure or they exist through the efforts of aliens, but they are a failure because the general action is not succeeding in a reactionary society. The society (?in Libya) is reactionary as in the case of underdeveloped societies. It is against the general interest and the general good.

Therefore, we (?must promote) private interest. Every one of us should breed livestock and cultivate the land himself and live on it. You should serve yourself. This is a natural theory and lends itself to (?the nature of development). It appears that the general project is not a success worldwide. You were afraid to apply the principle of partners and not workers. I have not seen any partners. I have not seen workers do their share of production in cement and glass works and motors and buses and trucks and textiles, footwear, chemicals and petrochemicals. I have not seen workers do their share and [words indistinct]. They are working for a wage. This is why the general project is a failure; it is not a socialist project. The second chapter of the Green Book has not been applied up to now. I do not know what it is. Is it the workers or the popular committees who are afraid? [Passage indistinct]. Why do the workers not take their share of the profits from petrochemicals? Why not? Who produced the products? It is they who produced them. Therefore, on this occasion, I say -- especially after the confrontation with America and with Zionism at one and the same time -- the people emerged on our side because it is in their interests. But an organized people also emerged; they backed us and never ceased to serve and therefore, I tell you that as of now everyone — this is a revolutionary (?principle), it is a revolutionary action — everyone who works in Libya — and I say this in front of the secretaries of the international congresses, the pan-Arab congresses and the secretaries of the basic popular congresses in the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya — every worker who works on Jamahiriya soil as of the 9th anniversary of the emergence of the Jamahiriya, is considered a partner and not a wage earner [applause] whichever country in the world he comes from. [chants of approval]

Let the general projects of agrarian reform remain general. That is, let it remain a body or corporation. All right, the general body

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of agricultural production: This one stands on its own even with the existence of the General People's Committee of Agrarian Reforms and Land Recalamation. It exists; this independent body exists. It has seed projects, it has its own budget, engineers and workers. As for other agricultural [words indistinct], they remain with the municipalities. There are farms and animals. That is it, as long as people live and they are happy, and the budget is local.

Why do you want centralization? I do not understand; facilities are available. These are technical ideas; education, scientific research, higher education and others. There may be one or two secretariats. This is not really an issue of democracy and is not submitted for discussion. It is a technical matter. Later we can try them [words indistinct]. Let us suppose that technically and administratively it is said that education should be amalgamated in one secretariat. Personally, I may have a technical idea concerning this issue. It is the place of democracy, I mean democratic discussion, but we are saying this as a supposition. Try it; if this process succeeds, well and good, but if it does not then [words indistinct], education on its own and higher education on its own. You think the country cannot bear separating education, separating light and heavy industries, and all our capabilities have to be in one secretariat, from a technical view. Our view is that they should be separated.

There are entities that have completely disappeared. Some secretariats have completely disappeared and some have disappeared at the general level but still exist at the local level. [Words indistinct] people's committees. The ones which have not disappeared yet are planning, economy, public service, treasury, education, information and culture, health, industry, communications and foreign liaison. These have not disappeared yet. [Words indistinct] must disappear; yes, they disappear, but not tyrannically [words indistinct] have trust, and have the right to [words indistinct] to be distributed in hotels; this is not possible. Not one, two, three or even a hundred agree behind the people's back; one comes out and raises his hand: I nominate so and so, or elevate so and so. Who is to elevate so and so? Let us know where you got the idea, where you got the proposal? This secretariat is chosen by this congress. It has the trust and is an official party, and you can make it accountable. While you can say [words indistinct] it will shoulder the responsibility. This you will only say if you change the General People's Committee or one of them. [as heard] We can help you; so and so and so and so have experience. This is what we have. Then [words indistinct] can raise his hand and say: I am against so and so. He can say we would like so and so, another person. You are free, but the way of distributing [words indistinct] deprives the congress of authority and enables anyone to play around with you. Someone may come to you and say: this piece of paper is from the leader [words indistinct] take it and read it. [Passage indistinct]

The people's courts are not founded upon a law. [Words indistinct] it is not by a law that the courts of the people's congresses are established. A basic people's congress establishes a court. This concerns the internal regulations of the congress. This includes the General People's Congress, which during its session can form a court [words indistinct] specified in its regulations. It can form a court [words indistinct] this person and that person you are a court, and look at this person and try him, even a person

in the congress who deserves to be tried. We schedule a session — if he made a mistake or did something, well then the court will look into it. This is not done according to a specific law. These are the internal regulations of the basic people's congresses. We will stop the sessions. For instance, the formulation, the court, these are the tools of the congress. Do you not have the agendas and minutes of the sessions? Do you not have the formulation, the formulation committee? They are exactly the same [words indistinct]. It is possible from those [words indistinct] only. From another session you can direct another court, and so on. This has nothing to do with law.

The other phenomenon which should not exist, whatever its democratic support, is the Al-Khums municipality phenomenon. It is a negative phenomenon. Regarding some people who have been selected, it became apparent that this selection is suspicious. To correct this it is necessary to rearrange the selection of the committee. But a problem has appeared. The General People's Committee or even the Secretariat of the General People's Congress considered that this committee should be transferred from this municipality to that municipality, so that the people who thought that they would benefit from these individuals did not benefit. This is because they are [wordd indistinct] and they were selected on that basis. You cannot say that is sabotage and [words indistinct] for the Jamahiriyah as a whole. You say no, we do not accept, we do not accept that you bring us a committee from another municipality. The situation includes a subjugation of the Jamahiriyah as a whole. How? These are necessary missions. At least the exceptions are necessary now. As an exception we select a secretary for the committee from outside the committee. Because if your thinking is mature you will not select someone because he is a relative or a neighbor of yours. You have no right to speak because you are not mature. If you were mature, we would not have reached this stage, the stage of moving the one you select to another municipality, while we bring you someone else from another municipality.

Why did we take such a measure? Because you have not reached the stage of respecting your will. You applied this exception to the rule in all the committees of the Jamahiriyah. [Words indistinct] if the selection is made, which was decided by the General People's Committee, this General People's Committee is not [words indistinct], it is from the people. It said this committee should be transformed to that municipality, and it will be transformed even [words indistinct], it is transformed from municipality to municipality. This committee is transformed from municipality to municipality, from one place to another. The whole committee is transformed. All the committees are transformed. That is it. These committees are just officials of the people. If you want to put them on trial, do so in their places, but the General People's Committee is free to do what it wants. [Words indistinct] this is wrong and is condemned regardless of any excuses. This is the Al-Khums municipality, because it originally selected people on the basis of [words indistinct]. According to this, they were transferred from the municipality and people from another municipality were brought to Al-Khums. As soon as you are transferred to another municipality, then everything stops, even the salaries, because their management of that area is not recognized. Everyone is supposed to look at the matter in this way. [Words indistinct] a sincere and mature people who understand their public interest. But when there is a

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people, which is described as under age, then they need a central police and central force to control them [words indistinct].

In addition to this introduction [words indistinct] to the agenda and the related matters: Following the questioning and the perusal of the files of the General People's Committee and the General People's Congress Secretariat is completed, which is the democratic method and the revolutionary way, we will refrain from taking any steps until we reach a conclusion as regards the questioning, and until we open the files of every one of them. Then the secretary of the General People's Congress, for example, will ask, after listening to the questioning and having read the files, whether there is a request to change a person or a whole committee. I have lists. If you approve them so be it, but if you do not, you can bring someone else. You are free.

Regarding the internal issue, despite the steep decline in the oil price from \$30 to \$25 per barrel to the current \$15 per barrel. [sentence as heard] In fact, a war has been declared on a world level against the developing countries in Africa, Latin America, and the Arab countries, seeking to destroy them and browbeat them as they [industrial countries] have seen a factor for development and wealth in oil. This is a new capability for that [developing countries] group, a matter which produces another factor that might be at the expense of the world superpowers' imperialist interests.

We agree that the world has two poles headed by the Soviet Union and the United States of America. This is a balance. International detente is, in fact, aimed at not disturbing this balance to such an extent that they have restricted the acquisition of other lands or other countries. They object to any change in the balance. The United States for example, objects to the Soviet forces' presence in Afghanistan, not for the sake of the Afghan people or in defense of freedom. No. It is because it believes Afghanistan will be pro-Soviet and become a communist state. Thus, we have added another gram to the other side of the scale. And so on. But if another factor were to emerge, such as the establishment of Arab unity or if the developing countries become a striking economic, military, and political power, then this will create a third pole. Consequently, that is undesirable. In fact, this major international economic conspiracy indeed has created this. They have exerted great efforts to replace oil and have found alternative energy sources in the recent past.

When carrying out the revolution in Libya we carried out a world revolution for the benefit of oil-producing countries. We managed to bring the price of a barrel of oil up to 40 dollars, which previously had ranged from 1 to 5 dollars a barrel. It reached the maximum and all oil-producing countries have benefited since the beginning of the 1970's. They have been benefiting from their wealth for the first time, and the credit for that belongs to us in this revolution's leadership.

Following the outbreak of our revolution, we decided -- from a local and national point of view, but within the group of oil-producing countries, after seeing that Libyan oil was being sold at low prices (?and we needed this wealth), and that the world needed oil -- not to sell our oil only at a certain price even if we were to stop production. They were obliged to accept, and we raised the price to 40 dollars. All of the oil-producing countries

and the oil experts admit that the Libyan revolution takes the credit for carrying out this revolution for the benefit of the oil-producing countries.

The war, naturally, is underway between the two camps. This means they had been preparing themselves during these years, and are now trying to make us lose the gains we secured in the preceding period. How did they make us incur losses? They did so because of [words indistinct] agents inside the oil-exporting countries, governments working against their own peoples. Oil [in such countries] belongs to governments, to individuals. They told them: This is not your business; you, this ruler or this amir, you receive your income from your field or oil well; sell us the largest quantity possible and take millions which we will deposit in our banks for you. Why should they worry about the people, the toilers, or the developing countries [words indistinct]. Regrettably, there are some Arab countries where oil belongs to individuals, to amirs. It is not like the situation here, with oil pumped in (?Jalu) and you refine it drop by drop, from [words indistinct]. No, over there, anyone with oil found on his tribal land, that is it! It then belongs to the amir or to the shaykh. They may use it to bestow charity on others.

Oil in the Arab countries belongs to rulers, except, obviously, in a progressive state like Algeria. It belongs to rulers; it does not even belong to the government. No, it belongs to shaykhs, sultans, and amirs. [Words indistinct] the Americans came and told them: We will only enter into contracts with each amir separately. They had individual contracts with Dubai, without any relation with the oil-exporting countries, with the people, or even with the United Arab Emirates.

They [Americans] have dispensed with energy. I mean they have created energy sources that have enabled them to dispense with energy to a certain extent, through not completely. They have purchased large quantities of oil from these states [where amirs and shakys own oil], and deposited it as reserves. And they have asked the agents I have mentioned, those who own oil individually as private property, they have asked them to increase production. That is it. The offer rose, demand slumped, and prices dwindled.

Undoubtedly they have made these countries incur reasonable losses, but now it is our turn. We are engaged in a counterattack to secure a price rise. Analysts believe that oil cannot be dispensed with, and it [oil prices] will not slump continuously. They will reach a certain level, and they will start to rise again. Great efforts currently are being exerted to convene a meeting of oil-producing states so that they may reduce production, demand a price rise, and recoup their losses as much as possible.

Naturally, efforts are now concentrating on Saudi Arabia, inside the Arab states, and the oil-exporting states because all of these states consider Saudi Arabia responsible in view of its large oil reserves. It started to produce large quantities and thus flooded the market which depressed the price of oil and made it cheap. This has harmed states like Libya, Algeria, Nigeria and some other oil-producing countries.

If the wealth does not belong to the people, well, the people do not benefit from it anyway because it does not reach them. [sentence as heard] So if the price of gasoline is increased or

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decreased, it makes no difference because the people are not affected. If someone used to produce 10 units and received 1 million dinars, now he produces 20 units but still gets 1 million. Why should he bother to produce 20 instead of 10, instead of 10 barrels to produce 20 barrels? The important thing for him is that he gets 1 million, even at the expense of the oil reserves. Reserves are calculated in terms of scores of years, but the individual does not calculate his life in terms of scores of years when calculating for himself. The people as a whole calculate in scores of years, hundreds of years, and thousands of years. The individual does not do this.

Irrespective of the great fall in oil about which I have alerted you repeatedly. [sentence as heard] I have repeatedly told you that you have nothing but the oil to sell, and that the oil price may fall or you may not find a buyer. You have heard me say that you that you must find an alternative for oil. Stop imports, stop luxuries. Dispense with this and that. [chants]

However, as far as Libya is concerned, the problem is not all that big. In my opinion the solution lies in the fact that as you are now celebrating the anniversary of the Jamahiriya and the establishment of the authority of the people, and as you are consolidating your free and independent existence on your territory for the first time, you should boldly face up to any crisis -- be it military, political, or economic. You must tackle matters with radical solutions and you have actually begun the process with these resolutions. The best thing is, I believe as a citizen, either we all will be subjects of the state or each of us will act independently and each of us will manage his own affairs. But such a thing is dangerous in regard to solutions.

When you are under the jurisdiction of the state, all Libyans should be given salaries. But these salaries should be unlike those of the past: a salary allowing you to live, to eat, to drink, to clothe yourselves; then you save the rest. Either you save it for yourself or you save it for the public treasury. With salaries that are just sufficient for us to live, we can develop our country; we can address ourselves to the production achievements I have been talking about. Complexes for agriculture, for industry, for education will be set up.

Or you could say: No, we do not accept such a solution, and each one of us will serve his own family. Well, fine, you get a loan, get a salary, get the salary given now or get the available salary [ratib mutawaffir] which could be greater or lesser than your present salary. You then say: I want to establish a farm, or I want to breed animals, or I want to open a workshop. Thus, each one would maintain the minimum level of employees or the people they need on the level of the state. If you can cut this down further, it would be even better. There would no longer be anyone in need of an employee, management, or office; it would be better. In this way there would be no problem.

The price of oil will increase again. We have reserves for scores of years in oil and gas. The world needs the wealth we have. It would be a grave thing for us to squander it now. We are selling the oil cheaply now and in this way we will deplete it. Instead of it lasting us for 30 years, it will last us only 10 years. [Passage indistinct] When their revenue fell they doubled the production. When a barrel of oil cost \$30, for example, they sold \$1 million

worth. When it fell to \$15, they began to sell 2 million barrels, in order to maintain the same level of revenue through the doubling of production. It is a serious matter for each to double his production and thus flood the market. Although our words will be held against us politically, it must be said that Saudi Arabia is strongly to blame and so are all the oil-producing countries. However, Saudi Arabia defends itself by saying it urged you to abide by the quantities allocated for you, but you violated the agreement on quotas and, consequently, Saudi Arabia was forced to increase its production. Truly, this argument is reasonable to a great extent. I have to say this for the sake of fairness. I am aware that Iraq, the UAE and Nigeria even before the recent coup, failed to abide by their allotted quotas. When their quota was 1 million barrels a day, they produced 1 and 1/2 million barrels. Consequently, they flooded the market with their excessive production.

It is a fact that Saudi Arabia repeatedly warned that everyone must adhere to his allotted quota, so that the oil-producing countries together would not produce more than 16 million barrels a day. But when production reached 19 million barrels a day, it meant that 2, 3, or 4 million barrels were above the limit [words indistinct]. Saudi Arabia says it warned you and consequently it no longer considers itself bound. Saudi Arabia has immense capabilities and immense resources; it can produce 12 million barrels a day, but it would be doing this at the expense of its future. I believe that the oil resources of Saudi Arabia and the Gulf countries are being depleted irresponsibly and will one day lead to turning these countries into deserts. All their palaces and edifices will become ruins and [words indistinct], their glass will break and their wood will rot and the luxurious cars will become scrap and they will return again to their camels and go hunting for deer [words indistinct] from the American cars [words indistinct]. When you visit the Gulf countries you can see buildings and decorations which will astound you. In few years time, after the depletion of oil, all will turn into darkness. This will actually happen unless something is done to save the region.

But we wish to warn that if these countries persist with their policy which is detrimental to us by producing large quantities of oil in excess of allotted quotas, it would be equivalent to a declaration of war. It would mean that we are faced with a state of war, which we will fight by God, by all means, because we would be defending our wealth and our resources.

Contacts with Saudi Arabia are continuous. I have personally contacted them by telephone. There are also written messages from King Fahd; they contain nice words, saying that Libya is Saudi Arabia and Saudi Arabia is Libya. Thus, to the letter, we cannot harm our brothers here in Libya. However, practically nothing has been achieved. Saudi Arabia is still producing [oil], still blaming other countries, the other countries blame Saudi Arabia. The result is that the imperialist conspiracy continues at the expense of these peoples' future. Naturally, it is useless to discuss a subject like this. Even if it were (?put before) the General People's Committee a thousand times a day it will not change the price of oil by one penny until the equation regarding oil-producing countries is changed.

The issue pertains to the liberation of the entire Arab region and oil must be under the control of the Arab masses, who someday

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must be able to stand up and say: If there is no oil we can live without it, and we can live on bread and water, even for a year. Then, tomorrow, the consumers will say: Please sell us the oil at \$100 million per barrel. That is because reserves will be depleted, and they are in need of oil. There is no dispensing with oil and gas. But because they have a surplus and our production is great, they have stored it and reluctantly say to us: We will not buy from you at more than \$15 or \$13. If these peoples wanted to save their lives they could decide to live in great austerity, even for several months, or abandon oil production, or produce a very little. This would turn the picture upside down. From the 16 million barrels per day we offer them on the market, let us offer them only 6 million. They might ask for 10 millions barrels per day, ask us to provide them with 10 million barrels per day at \$30 per barrel. This could happen immediately, in one day, if we decide to do it.

Generally, we see the countries whose conomic and oil policies affect our fate as countries declaring a state of war. If it continues it will be considered a state of war. I say that the escalation of the Gulf war, the crossing by Iranian forces of Shatt al-Arab, their occupation of new Iraqi territories, their crossing of the [words indistinct] borders, their occupation of the north of Iraq is in fact a response to the oil conspiracy. Indeed, in this way, oil production must be stopped in the Gulf region, its production must be hindered. Apparently it is a state of war. The U.S. officially announced that if anyone interferes with Gulf oil it will intervene militarily because it represents a vital interest to America. This means cutting off oil supplies to America, which is considered a state of war. We, on our part remind America of what it said, and use the same pretext: Whoever denies us oil, increases his production, ruins the market for us, and denies us these revenues is harming our vital interests, and here we will use every means to defend ourselves. If it is a state of war, let it be a state of war.

In such a case Libya, Iran and Algeria will be states very close to one another, because the goal is to bring these countries to their knees; to bring Libya, Algeria and Iran to their knees, for the benefit of reactionary and imperialist forces. In such a case, Algeria, Libya and Iran will be forced to unite their respective forces to defend their vital interests, because they are being attacked for their means of sustenance. Responsibility would then be borne by he who has declared this war on us, and neither America nor anyone else can protest, because the United States itself said that anyone fighting my oil interests would be infringing U.S. vital interests, and it would then intervene militarily.

We use the same point: Anyone adversely affecting our oil production would be harming a very, very vital interest; and we are prepared to use all means to defend our interests. I was contacted by the king of Morocco, by King Fahd, and a number of [pauses] even the Iraqis, the Kuwaitis, concerning the crossing of Shatt al-Arab by the Iranian forces. I told them: This is a reaction to the war waged on Libya, Algeria and Iran against their means of sustenance. You want to bring us to our knees! The United States has not been able to bring us to our knees, and you want to bring us to our knees in lieu of them, on orders from the United States? Obviously, Saudi Arabia rejects these accusations, saying: We do not want to bring anyone to their knees, but

the oil-producing states have not met their commitments, and we are obliged to produce as we want! Naturally, this recent Saudi production has considerably affected these states.

As a matter of fact, on this occasion I want to make it clear that the Gulf countries are currently making reproaches to Libya, Syria and even Algeria over why these states support Iran against Iraq. Here lies a deception: They say this war is an Arab-Persian war! Right. Why, when the shah, a racist Persian, occupied the Arab islands in the Gulf, and when we then called for fighting them, why did you, the Arabs in the Gulf, in Jordan and in Egypt, why did you not fight the shah? Answer!

I contacted them one by one over the telephone. 'Abbas Hoveyda, then president of the Iranian house of representatives, convened the Iranian house of representatives just to brag: Today at dawn, the Persian flag was hoisted over the Greater and Lesser Tonb Islands in the Gulf. The Iranian revolution executed 'Abbas Hoveyda. This president of the house of representatives was executed. Now, concerning his blatant defiance from racist 'Abbas Hoveyda and his president, the shah: Why, at that time, did the Arabs not speak about a Persian confrontation, or urge us to unify our forces and liberate these islands? And why did Saddam Husayn agree with the shah of Iran and hand him the Shatt al-Arab by way of the Algiers treaty? We told him: It would be a disgrace for you to accept this treaty with the shah of Iran. He said: No, the Arabs and Persians are brothers! And the Arabs in the Arabian Peninsula used to say about our Muslim brothers: We are Muslims. We said: They are Persians; he [the shah] is a Persian and we are Arabs; he wants to dominate you! They said: No, we are all Muslim brothers.

Now, since the outbreak of the revolution in Iran, they do not say: We are all Muslims. They say: They are Persians, and we are Arabs! Why did you not say so when the shah was there, challenging the Arab nation? Now they are proved to be Persians! Look at this logic! Every Libyan must understand this, so as not to say: Why are we supporting Iran? We called for an Iranian revolution, and the Iranian leaders listened to my speeches while they were in jail. They admit this. They said: We were listening and recording them; you were inciting us to rise when we were in the shah's prisons. The shah was an ally of the Israelis.

The shah was an ally of the Israelis, of South Africa, and of the United States. He constituted the biggest threat to the entire region through the U.S. presence. Because the United States was the supreme master of the Arab and Iranian regions at that time, there was a harmony between the regimes in the Arab homeland and the then Iranian regime. They were all partners in agentry. The United States was the supreme master of the region. Now that Iran has liberated itself from U.S. domination, it has turned against the Israelis siding with the Arab nation and the Palestine people. It has turned against racist South Africa, siding with Africa and openly against the United States. But now the Iranians are being described as Persians and we as Arabs. We will never betray the Iranian revolution. It is a revolution backing us against the Israelis, against America, and against South Africa. We will never fight it. To say that that revolution is against Iraq, is a big fallacy. We are not against Iraq, but only against the fascist Ba'thist regime, which is the enemy of the

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Iraqi people. We are with the heroic Iraqi army and with the Iraqi people who are our people, and with the Iraqi revolutionaries. I personally am leading part of the pan-Arab revolutionary forces which comprise the Al-Jut Front and Juqat front [names as heard], two Iraqi fronts fighting the fascist Ba'thist regime. They are Iraqi forces. [applause] Thus, it is a great fallacy to claim that Libya is against Iraq. Not at all. We are with Iraq and with the Iraqi people and the Iraqi army. The Iraqi revolutionary front constitutes a part of the forces we lead.

Brothers. The Iraqi people would not open any radio stations broadcasting against you as you are confronting the United States. Our Iraqi people could never condone this. Would it be logical for our Iraqi people to open stations against us when we are facing America and when the whole world is siding with Libya against the United States? However, the Iraqi regime opened six radio stations to demoralize the Libyans during their confrontation with the United States in the Gulf of Sidra. Would the Iraqi people do such a thing? Not at all. It was Saddam Husayn and his fascist Ba'thist regime who did this. How then, can we support him? Listen to the radio which calls itself the Voice of the Masses when the masses have nothing to do with it. The Iraqi masses have nothing to do with that radio. Morocco and even the UAE told him to stop these anti-Libyan people stations which only serve the United States. But he refused. [applause and chants] This is the state of affairs as regards Iraq.

This is the position in Iraq. It has even rejected mediation. They told us it is of no use. How can Saddam Husayn accept mediation from Libya, and simultaneously begin hostile stations against it. He wrecked King Hassan's mediation and wrecked Shaykh Zayid's mediation. They rebuked us: How can you stand against Iraq? We do not stand against Iraq. We (?visualize) the revolution in Persia (?to be) in the land of the Arabs. We were (?against) Iran, we [words indistinct] the revolution. When Iran sided with the United States and was ruled by the racist shah we were against him, but now the United States wants us to fight the revolution. The United States is the enemy of the Libyan revolution, the Iranian revolution, and the Palestinian revolution. It is standing against the Palestinian revolution, the Iranian revolution, and the Libyan revolution, against Syria, against Algeria. Does it make sense for us to fight with our rifles on the U.S.'s behalf, or to fight a revolution fighting the United States?

Some are saying the Iranians will take Iraq, and then will continue and take Syria, Jordan, Lebanon, and the Arab homeland. If that were to happen it will mean that Iran is (?anti-revolution), appearing to be Persian, racist, sectarian, Shi'ite, colonialist, and imperialist. Then there will be no difference between imperialism and Iran, and we will fight it in the same way we fight the United States, but only if this occurs. Yet this will not occur as long as there is an Iranian revolution. The revolution may turn into colonialism. If the Iranians turn into colonialists it means they are not revolutionaries, they will become Persians and colonialists, and Shi'ite. There is a (?chance) between us. Let Saddam Husayn fall, and we will see. If Iraq is annexed by Iran, then Iran will be a colonialist country and we will rise to fight it. If Iran proved that it is a revolution and toppled that regime, which the Iraqi people have not yet overthrown, and the Iraqi people became free and allied themselves with the Iranian revolution, if such words become true and

Iran is a revolution, then the Arabs will not have an excuse to fight that revolution.

If the Arabs are defending the Arabs in the peninsula and Arab nationalism, and (?here we have) Arab nationalism being threatened by the United States and are being blockaded. [sentence as heard] The Israelis, are they not an alien power occupying Palestine? Why do they not fight them? How could only Iran be the alien? Now, because the Iranian is a revolution and because he is against the Israelis and against the Americans, then he must be an alien in the viewpoint of Arab reaction. The Israeli is an alien. Why do you Arabs not fight him in the name of Arab nationalism? The United States is a foreign power hostile to the Arab nation. Why do you not fight it with us? They have even taken (?economic measures) against us [words indistinct].

We now tell them [not further identified]: We asked them to form a union among the Arabian Gulf countries. We told you, you who are afraid of Iran and of its revolution, to set up a unionist state comprising the countries of the Arabian Gulf region. We said make a state of that peninsula, of those worn-out bits of paper countries. They refuse to set up a state. That is it. A vacuum, a vacuum. Whenever a force emerges in the region, whether Iranian or any other, it is bound to fill the vacuum. This is a natural rule, (?the colonization) of a vacuum. Someone is bound to colonize this region, while it remains rich and open.

We presented a draft project on establishing an Arab federation to them. This does not change any of the rulers. These rulers will remain rulers; in fact the project enhances their positions. Up to now they have not achieved federation. Each one of them read the draft and approved it but then remained silent. We told them to fight Israel in order to liberate Palestine. They did not fight Israel. We told them to fight United States, but they said no, the United States is our friend. We told them to contribute together with you Libyan Arab people in the great man-made river — with your wealth, with your billions which you invest in U.S. banks. They refused. They did not give even a penny. For your information the Arabs did not give a penny toward the great industrial river.

We want to declare this now. They pledged to compensate Libya as a result of the U.S. economic war. So far they have not given a penny to Libya as compensation for the war which the United States imposed on us. Despite all this they ask us why we support Iran? We support Iran as long as Iran supports us. All right, why did you not participate with us in the great man-made river? You did not compensate us for the war which the United States imposed on us. You have not even established a federation among yourselves to fill the vacuum in the face of Iran. [as heard] You have not established an Arab union. You drown the market with oil. Then you ask us why we stand with Iran. As long as Iran is a catastrophe which God has created for the Arabs in the Gulf then this is a blessing. We are with the catastrophe. [applause]

We want to write down these words to send them so that they can read the words slowly if they do not hear such words from their own radios. We want to send these words through the General People's Committee for Foreign Liaison to every Arab region and to the Arab League. They claim that Libya is against Iraq. We are with Iraq. Look at the government which is dominating the

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Iraqi people — look what it is doing against us. We do not support Iran every time. When Iran was Persian we were against it. When it became a revolution we supported it. Why did you not fight Iran during the days of the shah? Why did you not fight it when we told you to fight it? This is for the benefit of every Libyan. I say this for the benefit of every Libyan, please forgive me, who may be ignorant or naive or any Libyan who may be deceived by others; such a Libyan should understand these facts and read these words well several times.

On the internal level there is no major problem or secret. We have put an end to internal exploitation. There is no longer any possibility for the emergence of exploitation anew within the socialist system currently established in Libya. I have seen some parties, reactionary of course, who express fear from the current revolutionary activities. They say they demolished a house; they demolished a mansion; they divided a farm. Any person who left Libya is now in the hostile ranks on America's side. He is finished. He will receive no mercy or compassion shown at home or abroad. All traces of him should be wiped out. Even his house should not remain so that he can say that he has a house to go back to. [shouts and cheers: O leader, proceed and take no notice; we sacrifice ourselves and our blood for you]

However, there is no fear from those who are inside. There is no possibility for inequality between individuals. No one can harbor ambitions for having a large farm in Libya while another Libyan has no farm at all or has only a small farm. Ambition is out of the question. We must be equal: This is a farm revolutionary act. Nor is there room for anyone who would use Libyan land and materials to build a building on it without paying taxes to the Libyan people. This could have been acceptable if they had paid for the building from their own funds; but if somebody uses Libyan land and construction materials, and takes Libyan foreign exchange abroad to import floor tiles and marble, they then must pay taxes on the extras they have. From now on, there will be no extras; each of us will have only 500 square meters; 200 square meters; 1000 square meters, 800 square meters; the same for all. [slogans and chants]

Libyans in Libya must be equal, and there is no fear of anyone. There is fear for those who think they are higher than other Libyans, or who want to take away their land and exploit them. If they have a house abroad, destroy it so that they cannot say: I still have a house abroad. They will not find a trace of it. Their farms must be taken by the Libyan people, because these people are finished; they have sold their souls to the devil. Now anyone remaining abroad is disgraced and so is his family and anyone related to him. For the world, which is not Arab at all, stands with the Libyan people against the United States; and in this case if a Libyan stands with the United States then he is finished. Blasphemy is the greatest of sins.

Any Libyan here inside Libya must accept being equal with us no matter what his status was in the past; rich or not, member of the government or not. We do not admit such things. All we want is Libyans on equal footing, and no Libyan must persecute another Libyan, whatever the circumstances. So long as you are here with us, you live like us.

As for the resolving of the present economic crisis, we have said

that resources have diminished in comparison with the situation before, but they might increase. At any rate, whether they increase or not, there must be economy in spending and a move toward production. One must not seek the ownership of cars or money. No, one must produce, produce grains, fruit, vegetables, meat, milk, eggs. These are the things toward which we must now orient ourselves. This is easy. Every family must work the land and feed itself. [chants] Every family can do this.

Every family plans how to manage its situation. The important thing is we will not be hungry, thirsty, without clothing until the end of the oil problem when the situation improves. It means it is possible, in a simple way, to overcome any crisis. No matter how much we lost in the price drop, in my opinion the loss was only in terms of luxury and extravagant items we used to buy. Let us suppose that we were selling at \$30 per barrel; in fact only \$15 were spent on essential goods and the other \$15 were spent on a variety of items, such as expensive clothes hangers, which we imported from abroad. A nail can do the job. You have probably seen the radio station offices during interviews; they all have these clothes hangers, not necessarily to hang clothes on but just to have in the office. It seems we cannot live without other items similar to this. We might be paying half our oil revenue to import them. Therefore, we did not lose because we can do without these trivial goods. I am sure that any loss we have sustained in the price drop is embedded in the superficial goods of which we were unaware and on which we spent a lot because there was a lot of money. We are obliged to spend seriously on the rest and on essential goods [words indistinct].

The problem is not an internal problem; neither is it an international problem. It is, as I see it, a pan-Arab problem. We must think on how this pan-Arab problem can be solved and by what means. We have no Libyan problem. I do not think that Libya will face serious problems economically. Political problems are nonexistent as authority is in the hands of the people. They have no problems like the Philippines or Egypt or the countries where their peoples are facing oppression and exploitation. There is no exploitation and no oppression. All capabilities, whether large or small, are in the hands of the people.

Before us is the pan-Arab problem. I have no worries at all that there is a Libyan problem at the economic, political or even the military level. From the military aspect [words indistinct] United States. The confrontation is really not between Libya and the United States. The United States is a superpower confronted by a superpower, in other words, the Soviet Union and the United States; the Atlantic alliance and the Warsaw Pact. However, the United States considers Libya to be enemy No 1 because Libya is in its path while it advances to occupy the Arab world and advances toward the Soviet Union. Therefore, it intends to destroy this resistance in its path and consequently it gives Libya the first priority. However, if the United States is fighting or not fighting the Soviet Union is a separate international issue. The United States dominates Europe and stations missiles there and in the Mediterranean. This is also a separate question. In fact, if the United States violates our sanctity or attacks our soil, we will fight it. We would do the same if it were America or the Planet Mars. If it violates the latitude 32 degrees 30 minutes, it means it has entered our home and we will fight it. We will be confident even if it strikes at us with ICBM missiles or bombs and destroys

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our factories and homes. God is triumphant. We fight when someone enters our home. We did not cross the Atlantic Ocean to the United States nor did we go to its borders.

If the United States wants to force us to surrender the Gulf of Sidra, then tomorrow it would force us to surrender something else. Tomorrow it will say: I want to pass between Misrata and Banghazi; you should not intercept my aircraft, the airspace is mine, and if you intercept. [sentence as heard] Just like the Israelis. They intercept our planes and threaten us if we intercept theirs. We are insistent that if an Israeli civilian plane comes within range of our aircraft we will force it to land. Let the world hear this and let the Israelis and Americans hear it.

We won in this confrontation. The United States was trying to mobilize public opinion against the Jamahiriya. What happened was the opposite; world public opinion was mobilized in favor of the Jamahiriya and against the United States. We now have the support of the whole world and all peoples have endorsed, (?through) national internationalist congresses, that the Gulf of Sidra is now regarded by the world as an inseparable part of Libyan territory. This situation is the same as the confrontation that took place in Egypt in 1956: 'Abd al-Nasir nationalized the Suez Canal, and the superpowers at that time — Britain and France — said that the Suez Canal did not belong to Egypt. Exactly like the Gulf of Sidra, they said the Suez Canal was an international canal. It was considered an international waterway and Egypt had no right to control the canal. This is how it was. 'Abd al-Nasir nationalized the canal. It belonged to an English company which administered it as though it were not in Egypt. He nationalized the canal and said: It is Egyptian, and whoever passes through here must pay fees to Egypt; the canal is an inseparable part of Egyptian territory, and Israelis are forbidden from passing through the canal because this is an Arab canal. They fought him by force, this tripartite aggression against Egypt, in order to convince the world that the Suez Canal was international. They said that they did not recognize that it belonged to any country; it will remain international. The outcome confirmed the Egyptianization of the Suez Canal — by war. The tripartite aggression led to a negative outcome for the countries that carried it out. At the end of the aggression the world confirmed that the Suez Canal was Egyptian, and not international, and it has remained so until now, despite the efforts of France, Britain and Israel and despite the tripartite aggression at that time. They launched a military campaign to open the Suez Canal by force to pass through it by force.

This is precisely what the United States is doing in the Gulf of Sidra, but the United States has forgotten the lessons of the tyrannical colonialists and imperialists. They did not benefit from the lessons; they forgot the lesson of Vietnam; the lesson of Lebanon, when a single fedayeen killed 300; and forgot the Suez Canal. Now the United States is trying to repeat it in the Gulf of Sidra. Now the Arabism and Libyanism of the Gulf of Sidra has been confirmed more than ever. The whole world now realizes that there is a gulf called the Gulf of Sidra. It is an inseparable part of Libyan territory. We will die for it, and all peoples will fight beside the Libyan people for the Gulf of Sidra. Meanwhile, the United States continues to say that the Gulf of Sidra is an international canal [words indistinct]. The whole world now confirms that the Gulf of Sidra is (?ours). Consequently, we now

have the right to defend every drop of water of the Gulf of Sidra in view of the fact that before the world, it is our gulf, our right, and part of our territory.

Perhaps before the world knew where the Gulf of Sidra was, they would have asked what and where is the Gulf in the event a battle were to take place. Now they know that the Gulf of Sidra is an inseparable part of Libyan soil, within Libyan boundaries. This gives us more capability, a right, more legitimacy to fight for the gulf because the whole world now recognizes it as our gulf. This overwhelming support from peoples is enough.

The other outcome is that a new internationalism at world level has been established; its center is in Libya, its headquarters in Libya, and its leadership in Libya in order to struggle with the Libyan people for the Gulf of Sidra and for Palestine and against the United States and Zionism. This has been missing. We now have with us the secretaries of the internationalist basic people's congresses, who declare their membership in the international people's front in their resolutions. We have been calling for an international people's front against imperialism which has not been realized at an official level; however, it has been realized now at the people's level. The people have declared the establishment of the international people's front. [applause] This is a declaration of the international people's front which was established to confront United States and imperialist hostile threats against the peace-loving Jamahiriya people. They call us terrorists while the internationalist congresses declare that the Libyan people are peace-loving. They have attacked us in the Gulf of Sidra, and when we resist they say we are terrorists threatening peace [words indistinct] who threaten peace.

We support the Arab people with all our force, out of profound faith. We firmly stand against U.S. imperialist terrorism. We declare our absolute support for the world popular front and that the Jamahiriya is the haven for all the world's free men and revolutionaries, and that it is that front's headquarters. These resolutions adopted by the international popular congresses are grave. This is a gain we won as a result of the confrontation.

They declared their absolute belief that Palestine is an Arab land occupied by the Zionist forces backed by the United States. All these peoples, irrespective of their origins and including the peoples of Western Europe and the United States itself, have declared this now in their congresses on the free Libyan territory. These peoples and masses found the freedom here to express themselves and to say whatever they like. They could not say this in their own homelands, but they could in Libya. We have won over all these people. They said Palestine is an Arab land occupied by the Zionist forces backed by the United States. They also declared that the Gulf of Sidra is an indivisible part of Libya.

We have wrested this support from the international congresses. We have won this testimony from them: The Gulf of Sidra is an indivisible part of Libya, it lies within the Libyan Arab territorial waters, and the Libyan Arab people have the full right to retrieve it. They denounced the U.S. military presence and the U.S. naval and air maneuvers off Libyan shores, which threaten world peace, and declared that any aggression against the Jamahiriya constitutes an aggression against all peace-loving peoples. They also declared that in the event of such an aggression, we will turn

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into bombs that will destroy all U.S. interests throughout the world. They also said: We demand the withdrawal of all foreign fleets from the Mediterranean and turn that sea into a lake of peace instead of a sea threatening mankind with annihilation. We appeal to the American people to bring down the terrorist Reagan, who plays with fire and threatens world peace. It suffices to have such a denunciation by the international congresses. He [Reagan] thought he had won over public opinion against Libya. But it has now transpired that all world public opinion is with Libya. All the peoples expressed their readiness to volunteer to fight alongside Libya for the sake of the Gulf of Sidra. Nevertheless, we say this problem is not an international one. I have said that as far as the United States is concerned, if it crosses our borders, by God, we will be forced to fight it.

We are intent on the unification of the Arab nation and the liberation of its territories. This is a matter which concerns us, the Arabs. If the United States enters, then we Arabs will be forced to confront it. This is our land and they have nothing to do with it. We did not at all object to what George Washington did for the U.S. liberation from British colonialism and for its unification. If the United States considered their actions legitimate, patriotic, and noble, they also must consider our actions legitimate, patriotic, and noble and consequently show respect for them. But the United States has no regard for freedom. Indeed, it has no regard for its own history. It suffers from megalomania. It wants all peoples to be subservient to it.

The truth of the matter is that I am prepared for confrontation even inside our homes. The doors of our homes should be at the 32 degree latitude line, that is, at the entrance of the Gulf of Sidra. If anyone enters the Gulf of Sidra and penetrates between Misrata and Banghazi and begins to play inside Libya's homeland, we cannot accept it, whatever the price and however strong the aggressor might be. We will fight him. We have to fight him. When I say we will fight, I do not care whether we will triumph or not. But fight we will, because that is our duty.

The Israelis permit themselves to intercept Arab planes but they do not have us to intercept their planes. We, in fact, object to their entire existence. Their existence conflicts with the Arab nation's existence. We must call on the Arab nation to fight the Israeli entity. War must be declared on this entity until it is eliminated, in spite of the United States and in spite of world Zionism.

We are with the Jews as long as they remain in their homelands, and we want them to enjoy equal rights in Europe, Asia and everywhere, alongside their other compatriots. But for the Jew, who was persecuted in Europe because he was a Jew, to come to the Arab homeland, to become an invader and win support of those who had previously persecuted him, is something we cannot accept. If Europe supports the Jews, why do the Jews then flee Europe? Let it support them there and grant them their full rights there. Why does it expel them just because they are Jews? Yet they protest against the Arabs, accusing them of being antisemitic. We are semites. How do you Europeans persecute the Jews? You persecuted the Jews when they were French, British, American and German citizens. All the Jews now living in Palestine belong to the nationality of another country. Why do you persecute them and force them to come to Palestine?

If everyone should go to the land he holds sacred, then the Muslims should all go to Saudi Arabia; seize the oil and declare Mecca their capital. Come on. Tomorrow let us travel by cars, planes and on foot in a big exodus. What do we want with this desert, where we have settled for some years? We no longer need it. Let us go then to our homeland. Kaaba would become our capital, just like Jerusalem. We are Muslims and our religious state is the Arabian peninsula. We would take the oil, everything, without anyone being able to prevent us. If they want to prevent us, then they should prevent the Israeli immigrants who are coming to Palestine: that is, the Jews. Let them ban the Jewish immigration to Palestine and also ban those coming from Indonesia and Nigeria, especially in the present oil crisis. But we would go to the Arabian peninsula, because it produces more oil. This is our peninsula and our oil. The Jews have said that Palestine is their country and its wealth is for them. Well, our country is the Arab peninsula. The country of the Muslims is the Arab peninsula. We (?who have oil), Nigerians, Libyans and Algerians can decide and go to the Arab peninsula; they cannot stop us, because they know our forefathers. The problem is the existence of the alien Zionism, which is, in fact, a pan-Arab problem and not an international problem. The Israelis, we have declared and we are adamant, will be intercepted if they try to cross the Mediterranean to our side, because they have (?manifested) their alien existence. The United States is an alien in the Mediterranean.

The second gain is that we — and for the first time — we the Arabs have managed to stop the Israelis from acting freely. The Israelis have changed all their air routes. [chants] They have changed all their air routes and against their will, have taken them away from the Mediterranean. Now they fly from occupied Palestine via Greece, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia to get to Italy. If they are listening to what I am saying and want to defy us by saying: Despite Al-Qadhdhafi we are going to fly over the Mediterranean — let them try, we will intercept with our warplanes. [chants] If they are listening to what I am saying and want to defy us by flying over the Mediterranean, we hereby declare to the United States, which is defending them, and to the Jews and those who are afraid of them, that we — in any part of the Mediterranean which is within the reach of our bases — will intercept its planes with our warplanes and force them to land, and any Israeli plane which we intercept but refuses to land will be downed by our missiles. [chants] We should be prepared to involve the Arab countries neighboring Palestine if Israeli aggression against Libya takes place. Let me explain the situation. The United States has equipped the Israelis with mid-air refuelling aircraft, like those used when they raided Tunis. I mean, if an aircraft takes off from occupied Palestine, it cannot reach Tunis and back. They have these kind of aircraft which can be used to refuel warplanes in midair, and by this method they can reach Libya. Libyan aircraft can reach Palestine, but cannot come back: That is, it is possible to raid and attack a target inside Palestine, but then we have to land, either in Jordan, Syria or Egypt. Our aircraft can carry out such an operation, but it ends then and there.

Arabs must understand — if the Israelis can attack Libya by using these long-distance means made available to them by the United States, we are of course bound to retaliate. And not only mere retaliation — it will be continuous war between us and

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them. This means that Egypt, Jordan and other Arab countries neighboring Palestine, must understand that they, against their will, will get involved in the war because we will raid targets in Palestine and land in these countries' airports, even if the pilots have to parachute there. [chants] Thus we will create a problem between them and their people and between them and their armies.

We are waiting to see if an Arab army will prevent an Arab aircraft which has just hit the Israeli enemy from landing. Or even down it. We are ready to accept a loss in this manner, even two or three losses, until we create a revolution in these Arab countries. When we hit the common enemy and we try to land in these countries and use their lands, but are prevented by these governments, then the nationalist armies and the Jamahir will rise up. The Jamahir will accept Libyan aircraft which hit the Israelis and land in an Arab country, even if they make them land upon their hands [as heard] if these government are not willing to do so. This will create a revolutionary situation. The masses will move because we will announce that a Libyan aircraft has hit the enemy and tried to land in that named Arab country, but your government has prevented it from doing so. We will tell the military and the popular masses that we have raided the common enemy, but your regime has declined to cooperate with us by not receiving our aircraft.

Egypt, Jordan, and other Arab states neighboring Palestine will get involved in such an action if one begins between us and Israel. As for the Americans, they must understand that any U.S. aircraft flying at the 32.5 degree latitude line will be downed by our missiles. [applause and cheers] They understand that the SAM-5 missiles have a range that reaches further than the 32.5 degree latitude line; they cover the Gulf of Sidra — that is to say further than the gulf. [applause] They must understand that any U.S. warship that sails inside the 32.5 degree latitude line will be destroyed with surface-to-surface missiles. They know the range of these missiles: they can destroy any U.S. warship inside the gulf. [applause and cheers]

The United States makes known those states that support it. It is known that the U.S. 6th Fleet, which is thought to be a possible means for carrying out an aggression on the Libyan people, depends upon bases in southern Europe. It depends upon bases in Greece, Italy, Spain, and perhaps France; this is in addition to bases in Arab states around us. This is a fact. These countries must understand that if and when the U.S. 6th Fleet carries out an aggression against Libya, it will be compelled to deprive the U.S. 6th Fleet of its supplies and dependence upon those bases by acting against them. This will be regarded as self-defense according to UN Charter Article 51. [applause and cheers]

The people of Sicily are against the U.S. bases. [passage indistinct] Great. Here is a person speaking on behalf of the people of Sicily — he is against the U.S. presence in Sicily. The United States is angry because there are no other states in world history that celebrate the expulsion of U.S. forces from their territory except Libya and Vietnam. [applause]

Look at any state in the world where the United States had a presence and has [words indistinct]. What has happened is to the contrary. The states where the United States had no presence

now have a United States presence. The United States had no presence in Egypt during Jamal 'Abd al-Nasir's era and now it does have a presence there. As for the other Arab countries where the United States had a presence, it continues to have a presence there today. Other than Libya and Vietnam, there is no other state in the world where U.S. forces were [words indistinct]. You must understand that you are the only people celebrating the expulsion and demolition of U.S. military bases. This has not happened anywhere in the world. The U.S. is angry and is asking itself: How can this [Libyan] people by way of a revolution triumph over the United States and deprive it of the Mediterranean and from the bases overlooking the Mediterranean? The Vietnamese and Libyan peoples are the only peoples who celebrate the expulsion of U.S. forces from their territories.

Even Cuba, despite the bitter fighting against U.S. supporters, and against the Batista regime, still maintains a U.S. military base on its soil. This is one of the reasons explaining U.S. enmity toward us: The United States, with all its arrogance and tyranny, a superpower, why was it ousted from Libya? Why had its bases been so easily undermined? And it was deprived of 2000 kilometers of Mediterranean coast that used to be under its control. Even the Gulf of Sidra.

It was only yesterday that we remembered our borders. It is only now that this distress has been removed from us. We were not free in our own country. I have told you that all of Libya was under the Malta District Control [flight information zone]. And did we use to be aware of the Gulf of Sidra? The Gulf of Sidra was originally under U.S. control. It is only now that we are cognizant of where our borders lie. A part of the Arab homeland has been liberated, and we can at least see the limits of its airspace and territorial waters.

Were we preoccupied with the Gulf of Sidra before? Colonialism was inside our own homes. It is only now that we have remembered where our territorial waters, our borders, and vital interests lie. The Gulf of Sidra is not something new. They think so, but it is not new. A country, a people has been liberated, and it searches for the limits of its [word indistinct].

Concerning Chad, the international position clearly sides with Libya. You see, France, a European state across the Mediterranean, enters Chad, which is in Africa, in the heart of Africa. France considers this action as its duty. What is strange is that the French Government says that by such an action it wins over public opinion. This would mean that the French people wants its sons to fight in Chad, thus discharging their duties! Well, in such a case what are the duties of the sons of the Libyan people?

If France says that its sons have to fight in Chad do we hear a Libyan say: No, it is not our duty to fight in Chad? Libya is in a better position to fight because is Chad not an extension of Libya, rather than extension of France? If it is a matter of treaties, I have a file here concerning them. When Goukouni was in power, we had a mutual defense treaty with him while France has no mutual defense treaty with any of the Chadian governments. France is taking a pure colonialist action.

Anyone fighting the Libyan people, and through it the Arab nation, the challenge of the Arab nation, the influence of the

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Arab nation, [word indistinct] of the Arab nation [word indistinct], they must be hit and nipped in the bud on Libyan territory, whether from the Gulf of Sidra or from Chad. This is the question.

Despite this, and our commitment for the full support of Chad's transitional government of National Unity and the Frolinat insurgents, it is not our intention as we have repeatedly affirmed to the world, to enter with our aircraft and tanks to fight in Chad. If France fights it will lose. Let it bring its aircraft and troops, and enter the Chadian Sahara. They will be fought by the Chadian insurgents, not by the Libyan Army. We have pledged before the world that the Libyan forces will not enter in the Chadian war. But with all insolence they brought their forces into Chad. Let them try; let them fight with the Ndjamenan government against the national government; fight with the Chadian Government against the Chadian people, fight with Chadian agents against the Chadian insurgents, and they would then see the fate of the French forces in Chad. The French people and the world know that Libya does not involve its forces in the war in Chad, but we support the Chadian insurgents. We support the Chadian Government of national unity.

As for France, it supports the Ndjamenan government with its military force, and it has decided to fight with its army. The war now is between the French army, and the Ndjamenan government which is backed by the French army on the one hand, and the Chadian insurgents on the other. We will see who is victorious!

Furthermore, it has become clear before the world that there is no government in Ndjamenan. There are French forces there. At the first battle the French forces returned immediately. This means that there is no government with an army, a people and which can resist. Why did it immediately ask for the help of the French forces? In other words, there is no government in Chad; there is no government in Ndjamenan; there are French forces in Ndjamenan. Therefore, this government is a myth.

The Ndjamenan government is a myth. The government is a French government in Ndjamenan. It is like Paris in Ndjamenan and France in Chad. It should be made clear. The war now is between the Chad people and the French forces which colonized Chad. The struggle will be in this manner. We support the revolutionaries of Chad. France allegedly says that it supports the government of Ndjamenan but it does this through its military force. It is because the French forces have been involved in the war directly. The government says that the French people supports this action, that they support the fighting in Chad. And this is to be put forward to the Libyan people later.

Another gain is that pan-Arab popular congresses have been formed. They are the nucleus of Jamahiri Arab unity on Libyan soil. These will from now on, continue to grow; popular congresses, popular committees, and revolutionary committees will spread in the Arab homeland as they proceed from the base that has now been established in this battle — the battle of confrontation.

One of the most important points that attracted my attention in the resolutions of the popular Arab congresses on Libyan soil was the emphasis on forming more revolutionary Arab committees

— both open and clandestine — and that they should become members of the revolutionary green guards. This resolution is extremely important. Arab masses on Libyan soil and with roots extending to all Arab soil, decided to form more revolutionary committees both open and clandestine and to join the revolutionary guard. This action has been put into motion and no one can stop it. The resolutions of the masses have begun. We want to deepen and expand this so that it embraces the Arab homeland.

Another point — joining the pan-Arab command of the revolutionary Arab forces: Here are the members of the basic popular Arab congresses on Libyan soil and here are the masses. They have decided to join the pan-Arab command of revolutionary forces. Up to now the pan-Arab command revolutionary forces were composed of regular groups such as parties and revolutionary movements but now a new impetus has been added to them, namely, the masses. Members of the basic popular Arab congresses have joined the pan-Arab command. The coming meeting of the pan-Arab command of the revolutionary forces will include as participants the basic popular Arab congresses on Libyan soil, and their extensions in the Arab homeland [applause and chants of approval] will be affiliated to the pan-Arab command of the revolutionary forces.

These are very serious consequences resulting from this confrontation in favor of the force fighting against imperialism.

We have seen the fraternization stressed between Libya and all the other nations that used to think of Libya as a nation of terrorists and aggressors and of the Libyan revolution as disliking foreigners. Instead, an international fraternity has been realized in this modern age on Libyan soil. Secretaries of the international popular congresses of all nationalities are together here with their brother secretaries of the popular Arab congresses and with their brother secretaries of the Libyan popular congresses. All gather under a general congress... [interrupted by applause].

There are more serious resolutions in this connection by the pan-Arab congresses, including the opening of ideological camps to absorb the greatest possible number of Arab brothers to work as missionaries in spreading the thesis of the (?third world theory). This is another gain. The Arabs themselves who are on Libyan soil have decided to open camps to learn the new Jamahiri theory so that they can apply it and spread it around. No government can make a decision against it because it takes place on Libyan soil and through the will of the Arab masses on Libyan soil. It will have serious consequences in the future spreading of the Jamahiri theory.

The pan-Arab congresses are the framework under which come all the Arab leagues, federations, and congresses. They are the official party which deals with the quarters concerned. They are another benefit for all the Arab compatriots living on Libyan soil because they are organized, democratic, and deal with the local Libyan sides. This first round of confrontation with the United States and Israel at one and the same time has been realized through these gains and victories, and as such we must not be complacent, letting victory make us lower our guard at this stage. We must always remain alert. We must meet challenge with challenge and always be wary with our fingers on the trigger,

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intensifying our confrontation's effectiveness at all levels.

Among the steps which caused this confrontation, made it come sooner, and proved it necessary is the great action that I consider one of the most important actions in the modern age of the Arab nation, namely, the unity action for the future. We regard the action that is taking place now after accomplishing the Arab-African Union between Libya and Algiera — as among the most important actions in the stage which concerns the unity of the Arab nation. [applause][this was discussed] During the meeting at Ain Amenas with President Benjedid and the popular Algerian leaderships. [It is most important] following the development of the Algerian charter, which was approved by the Algerian people, as this charter declares openly and insists on the rise of Arab unity from integrationist form into an amalgamationist form. Anyone who applies an amalgamationist or integrationist unity is backed by the Algerian people because the Algerian people are the ones who approved these words.

The Algerian people wrote in the National Charter the need for the establishment of unity in this century, from integration to amalgamation. On this basis, unity between the two countries will be submitted to people's congresses in Libya and the Algerian people in the next few months. This is one of the most important actions in modern times regarding Arab unity, because it brings together two important forces: Libya and Algeria, two effective, progressive forces in North Africa. It will unite the western wing of the Arab homeland and will integrate with the African-Arab Union between Libya and Morocco. The unity of territory will give it a strength that will distinguish it from unity between any other Arab country and Libya. Libyan and Algerian territories are one Arab territory, an extension of each other. Therefore, there is no geographical problem as there is between Libya and Morocco and Libya and Syria, or between Egypt and Syria. It will be one of the most important historical acts that will change the map of the Arab homeland in this century, if federation or any form of true unity is established between Libya and Algeria in the next few months.

Moreover, Syria is prepared to begin unity action to implement the unity plan signed by the Libyan and Syrian people on the 11th anniversary of the Al-Fatih Revolution, and to develop the federation of Arab republics. If good intention prevails between the two sides, the Libyan and Algerian sides, and unity work between the two countries is approved, I am convinced that a new stage will have begun for the Arab nation.

The solutions to all the problems — those of oil, education, health, culture, science, scientific research, backwardness, housing, communications — all these can only be solved by unity. Therefore, what troubles you is not internal Libyan problems; we believe that Libyans will face no problems worth mentioning. Nor is it international problems, because there is a specific line between us and the United States and our Arab cause [words indistinct]. If the United States comes to us we will be with it. There is no conflict between us on the Atlantic Ocean, nuclear missiles and so forth. The problem is peripheral, not internal. The problem remains a pan-Arab one. Serious attention must be given to changing the Arab map in any way. Praise be to God, after a dialogue of 17 years with the Algerian revolution we have reached an agreement on some form of unity. The truth is that

the dialogue between us was about unity, because there is either unity or conflict.

I believe that each of the two countries welcomes shouldering its responsibilities. [words indistinct] the speech given by the deputy speaker of the Algerian National People's Assembly who attended the General People's Congress. This brother expressed Algeria's sincere unionist tendencies and its standing [applause]. Despite everything, it is well known what Algeria did when the truth came and there was confrontation — unlike the government of the fascist of Baghdad which took advantage of the opportunity and doubled its anti-Libyan people radio stations. Algeria openly announced to the United States and the whole world that, without argument, if Libya was attacked, Algeria had to be taken into account.

There is a delegation from Yemen, the Yemen Arab Republic, whom you have not yet heard, and we are thankful for their presence. There [words indistinct] another Jamahiriyah in the Arab south, where there is something called the General People's Congress in Sanaa. Its membership has doubled and is numbered in the thousands. This is clearly the beginning of the birth of a Jamahiriyah in North Yemen [applause]. Therefore, [words indistinct] the head of the Yemeni delegation and they have understood the Third Universal Theory and the Jamahiriyah theory. We are very thankful for the sentiments of the Malian youth and people during my visit. They came out to welcome me. In fact they were not welcoming me but the Libyan people.

Malta is a country that I do not consider foreign as far as we are concerned. The natural and [word indistinct] thing that blend in with the nature of Arab-Maltese relations is the removal of many restrictions and considerations which existed between the two countries. Now, a Maltese can work in Libya in the same way as a Libyan; he can be admitted without a passport and own property in Libya. The Libyan has the same rights in Malta. He can own property and enter without a passport. This is a great step that will consolidate peace in the Mediterranean, consolidate fraternity and the solidarity of the Mediterranean peoples.

In fact all of these achievements work against imperialism and against Zionism, against the United States and against the Israelis. We must move all Arab potentials in every way to bring them to effective action regarding the Zionist entity. The Arab rulers must understand that we, the revolutionaries of the Arab nation and we the Arab masses, will not be silent for long toward their slumber. The Arab rulers all have to understand that we the revolutionaries and the masses are losing our patience and will not go along with them much longer in their hesitation, negligence and their parting with thinking and working toward the future of the Arab nation. If they think about the future of the Arab nation, the Arab nation is capable of removing them and deciding its future by itself. This is possible and we are agitating for it to the exception of anything else. We have the material means and material capabilities, and we are obliged to defend the future of the Arab nation, to exploit it and mobilize it in the direction of unity and liberation. The Arab nation will remain under neither the U.S. insolence nor under the Israeli influence. Our God did not create us to live continuously under U.S. and Israeli terrorism.

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The Israeli entity must be removed at whatever price. Its removal is not a big problem, and if the U.S. risks involvement in a third world war then our slogan will be: On me and on my enemies, O God, and it will not matter. We as a nation are exercising our right to live. Now and while we are celebrating the 9th anniversary of the founding of the Jamahiriya and the declaration of the people's authority, we celebrate while we are stronger materially and morally. With us now are the secretaries of the Arab basic people's congresses. This means that the pan-Arab people's congresses have been born in the Arab arena and have affirmed the need for revolutionary education with the new theory of the popular masses and the need to spread people's committees, overtly and covertly, in the Arab world and the spread of the people's congresses in the Arab world.

The secretaries of the international people's congresses now affirm the solidarity of all peoples with us. This confirms that the Jamahiriya is indeed an international model and example and is the land of all the masses and an international focal point. This is, in fact, a great historic burden. You are leading the Arab revolutionary forces and leading the Arab people's congresses which have joined the pan-Arab leadership and became part of it. You have become an international meeting point for all peoples.

Look at this poor land and the small people who are being awarded all of these distinctions and this honor and who are shouldering this heavy burden. However, this makes us feel our greatness and our power. If France is colonizing Chad, Central Africa, Gabon, and the Ivory Coast — the French-speaking countries — to create out of them an international power to face Europe and America, and if the United States is building bases and acquiring colonies and spheres of influence in order to create weight before the world and before the Soviet Union, and if the Soviet Union itself in the general congress of the Communist Party calls for the creation of Soviet power with the socialist community and the Warsaw Pact, here in the Jamahiriya — and not through an imperialist or colonialist action nor through might but through the people's democracy, the theory of salvation and emancipation — we have become a new power in the world connected to the masses, connected to the peoples within which enthusiasm has erupted after seeing their emancipation. The masses danced on Libyan soil after realizing that there is no police, no army, no party, no class, no ruler and no executioner looming over them. The historic joy, which was suppressed, began to manifest itself on Libyan territory. It was a great thing. The Arabs, on Arab soil, danced with delight because they did not expect to see that. The Europeans were saying to hell with America, but they could not say that in their own countries or they would be trampled by horses' hooves. You have seen that in Britain where they have been trampled by horses. They said we were expressing their feelings for them, and that is why the United States got angry and threatening. [Words indistinct] however, our stand is consistent. [Words indistinct] it got angry because a new polarization has emerged, a popular polarization this time and not by the power of missiles or by military-economic power. It is the camp of the masses, which the United Nations and others failed to establish. It is a new United Nations on Libyan soil.

After this short speech [audience laughter] naturally, it could

have been much longer. It was an honour for me to stand before the General People's Congress and the Pan-Arab General Congress and the General International Congress at this joint session of the three congresses which forms a people's congress for all the Arab Libyan and international peoples. Thanks to God, we have celebrated the 9th anniversary of the founding of the Jamahiriya without any setback to the people's authority and without any frustration to our masses. No one has deviated from the principles and the loyalty to the masses. Even those who tried to betray the people's authority have not succeeded. The few attempts have died in the cradle. We have passed the test — the test of our revolutionary ethics and our loyalty to the popular masses. There were some who said that this is merely a demagogic attempt designed to win over the sympathy of the masses, that it was propaganda and will not continue. Even some Libyan skeptics claimed that these were not people's congresses and not a people's authority [words indistinct] and it is impossible; you will not be able to issue a law or a decree or a budget. They will seek a pretext to proclaim a revolutionary government and to declare a revolutionary authority, using all of these terms to restore power to themselves again and will not arm you.

It has become clear that the leadership of the revolution has joined the masses in opposing anyone who is not serious. We will chase everyone who does not carry arms or who does not quickly train for arms or who does not practice authority. They said it was illogical for the people to practice politics.

Thank God, after 9 years of serious work, the Jamahiriya is acquiring more firmness and its root going deeper; our people are gaining confidence in themselves day after day. And now the effects have started to show on the Arab scene. The masses have begun to revive the feeling that the people's revolution leads to the elimination of all tyrants and idols and pressures practiced against Arab citizens who have allowed a handful of Israelis to dominate. This was because the Arab people were chained. The masses have begun to feel the revival and to feel they are capable of rebelling against the American bases.

Before this Jamahiri action which emerged from the Libyan land, and even in Europe, the people had no thought of opposing America. See how such a thought is now escalating. Demonstrations and actions are increasing. The greens have emerged; revolutionary committees have emerged. All this is thanks to your influence. [words indistinct] neither the missile nor [word indistinct] have any effect. Where is the Nazi power? Where is the fascist power? Where are the Moguls? Where are the Tartars? Where is Genghis Khan, Alexander the Great, and others? On the other hand the theory of Jean-Jacques Rousseau is there and is immortal. Plato's thoughts are immortal. Ibn Sina or Abu Bakr al-Asam or the Ghazali — all those who came out with thoughts and ideas — their thoughts are immortal. Religions which are based on justice have no missiles or anything else — that is to say, Jesus died when he was 32 years old and was raised to heaven by God. They tried to execute him but he left behind 70 of his close associates. Now half the world believes in the religion of Jesus. They do not believe in missiles or in atomic bombs — on the contrary. They are now in a dilemma with these missiles and atomic bombs because they do not know how to destroy such weapons; they have to continue to maintain them and develop them. They are living in torture. Victory is for the

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just theories — the popular theories. We do not create power; we do not create chemistry or the atom or terrorism. We want to restore the humanity of man which has been crushed everywhere. Everyone should understand that the future is with this theory which will be adopted by all the people of the world sooner or later. Forward, and the struggle continues! [applause and prolonged cheers]

Telegram Sent to Al-Qadhdhafi

*LD032123 Tripoli Domestic Service in Arabic
1729 GMT 3 Mar 86*

[Telegram addressed to Colonel Mu'ammr Al-Qadhdhafi from members of the International General People's Congress at Qaryunis University in Banghazi read in English — live]

[Text][Unidentified speaker] The telegram to the leader of the Great Al-Fatih Revolution, Colonel Mu'ammr al-Qadhdhafi: Greetings of the Great Al-Fatih, to the thinker, the teacher and the philosopher of the revolution, Colonel Mu'ammr al-Qadhdhafi, leader of the era of (?masses). [applause]

We, the members of the International People's General Congress, at our meeting in Banghazi on the occasion of the 11th regular session of the General People's Congress, convey our love, respect and appreciation to your unending efforts for the betterment of Jamahiriya and of all world. [applause and chants]

We assure you of our solidarity and support in your just and legitimate fight against the imperialist and Zionist enemies. We assure you our staunch belief in the ideology of the Green Book in its three parts and regard it as the only solution to the problem facing mankind. We implore you, as our leader, in the light of your green ideology, which proclaims peace and happiness to all the people of the world, to stick to your strategy until humanity gains victory over all its enemies.

International People's General Congress. [applause]

Congress Concludes 7-Day Session

*LD040043 Tripoli Voice of Greater Arab Homeland
in Arabic 0015 GMT 4 Mar 86*

[Text] The General People's Congress concluded last evening the meetings of its 11th regular session in Qaryunis University in Banghazi. The session continued for 7 days during which the

Congress formulated the resolutions of the Basic People's Congresses, the Pan-Arab Basic Congresses and the International Basic Congresses.

The Congress held its evening session, at the beginning of which the resolutions of the Pan-Arab Basic Congresses, which were formulated by the General Pan-Arab Congress, were read.

Denial of Recruiting Djibouti Citizens To Fight

LD041527 Tripoli JANA in Arabic 1430 GMT 4 Mar 86

[Text] Tripoli, 4 Mar (JANA) — A spokesman at the People's Committee of the People's Bureau for Foreign Liaison has made the following statement:

The French defense minister has told Djibouti television that the Jamahiriya is recruiting citizens from that country (Djibouti) to fight in Chad. The statements by French officials in this context are dictated by some specific factors, which are linked to the French involvement in Chad. They are as follows:

1. France is seeking justification for its intervention in Chad, which confirms its colonial ambitions in Africa, particularly in Chad;

2. The French defense minister can base his allegations only on some false justification, after the French policies have been exposed and the French intervention in Chad has been condemned by most African states;

3. France is the last country that can talk about Chad, because the Chadian problem is an African problem; the framework of its solution should be African with an African will, with the efforts of the sons of the continent; and a European country like France has nothing to do with this problem;

4. The French Government is seeking a pretext to exploit in order to resolve domestic political problems at a crucial stage in the elections;

5. The Libyan Arab Jamahiriya has previously denied such rumors, and today it confirms that it has recruited no citizens from Djibouti or from elsewhere, contrary to allegations by French officials seeking to cover up French military and colonial involvement in Chad.