

# (SPEECHES)

Qadhdhafi Rhetoric

TV Speech, 16 April 1986

Qadhdhafi's rhetoric is confrontational, angry. He expresses satisfaction with the support he believes he has received from other Arab governments and European nations. Only one death/dying reference.

On Reagan: "He should be put on trial as a war criminal and murderer of children. This is because he has issued the orders to his armed forces to kill our children."

"We will not abandon the struggle for the liberation of Palestine. The raids will never make us abandon this whatever they might be. We will not abandon incitement for popular revolution, whatever raids they carry out. In fact we incite revolution, and we insist on revolution."

"When the Americans attack Libyan territory, we will oppose them; we will chant slogans, and burning fire will start beneath their feet and (consume) their bodies. . . . We will fight them with 1 million fighters and millions of others are ready to fight on our side."

"The murderers are Thatcher and Reagan, the murderers of children."

"In appreciation of the international situation, and in appreciation of the stands of Italy, France, Spain, and Greece, these friendly countries, and also Malta, I decided not to include the Mediterranean region in the exclusion zone and not to escalate military operations in southern Europe. But Italy and Spain will have to stop the U.S. 6th Fleet from now on, from any presence in their ports and from launching raids from these ports, otherwise we will be forced to escalate the operations in self-defense."

"Libyan radio must call on the Arab nation for an immediate unity."

"I am calling for revolution, and he who stands in the way of revolution must be annihilated. Reagan can lift the protection of his children and family for we are not child-killers like him; we are responsible for the revolution and we incite it, and non one can make us change course."

On Arab leaders: "Not a single day passes without them contacting me several times. They all call--I did not ask them--but they all called for the convening of an extraordinary Arab summit which could be held in a day or two, an extraordinary Arab summit, to stand by you, the Libyan people, against this flagrant aggression. . . . I believe that the Arab states which have an economic potential will participate with us in financing the battle . . . . Arab unity should emerge immediately."

"Even if America drops atom bombs on us we are ready. We are ready to die . . . . We are ready to fight and are ready to die."

Speech in Benghazi, 8 May 86

The rhetoric in this speech is entirely confrontational. Qadhdhafi envisions himself leading the Libyan and Arab masses in defiantly standing up to the United States. He angrily lashes out at Japan and the U.S. NATO allies for their failure to support the Libyan position on the raid. He also recalls the attack on his "house" and asserts he saved his family himself during the raid.

"I want challenging masses, I want brave masses, I want masses which come out under bombing to challenge the aggression. I want masses which will make sacrifices."

On Latin America: "The revolution is burning on the borders of America."

On the attacking U.S. planes: "They found hell facing them."

On the U.S.: "They have now begun to think about trying to terrorize us with cruise missiles. To hell with cruise missiles!"

The Libyan masses are saying "raspberry to America, a thousand raspberries to America" and to "Arab hirelings of America."

"We will send arms to the rebels of Latin America . . . to show America that we are strong and more challenging. . . . If the struggle for the liberation of Palestine is seen by them as terrorism, then we will carry on with this terrorism ceaselessly."

Reagan is "the mad Israeli dog and the Mossad agent" with background as "an agent of Hitler's gestapo."

On the U.S.: "We defeated them and we demolished them. We will not capitulate."

"How can Libya, with whom the six continents are in harmony, be isolated, you imperialists?"

"We say that sny country which takes any anti-Libyan action, when we smell any hostile stance from it--be it propaganda, political, or terroristic--we will attack it according to the basis which the United States has established. . . . We will follow the example of the United States and face violence with violence."

On Israeli participation in Star Wars: "They will participate in the space program. This means that war in the future between Syria and the

Israelis, between Jordan and the Israelis, between Saudi Arabia or Iraq or Egypt or us and the Israelis, will be fought by American military space shuttles, because the Israelis are participating in this program. . . . Since the Israelis are participating in it, they have become a party in the war against the Warsaw Pact and the Soviet Union. This now puts us on one side and the Israelis and NATO on the other side."

"Oh brothers, we will not capitulate, we will not bow, we will never let you down. We will fight! We will be the example of sacrifice and struggle for the sake of the Arab nation and its future. We will fight until the Arab armies across the imaginary borders join us and the Arab masses across the imaginary borders join us. Salute to the masses of the Arab nation which rose in Sudan!"

"We in the revolution command have decided to arm the Libyan cities from Tubruq to Zuwarah, all of them will become arms and fire, and the Libyan coast will become a line of fire and of confrontation. . . . If the Americans land on the Libyan coast they will burn, they will die. We are now preparing the armed cities and are preparing the slaughter-houses for the sheep of the United States. We shall turn them into sheep in slaughter-houses."

"Italy should expel the U.S. presence; otherwise we cannot turn a blind eye to any new U.S. campaigns from Italy. If we can, we shall attack Italy."

"The atomic bomb with which they are scaring you, by God, if they drop several atomic bombs this will not make us surrender."

"I would like one million Libyans to arm Libyan cities, to prepare slaughterhouses and guns for the American sheep."

Recalling Churchill's statement to Hitler "we are waiting for you and so are the fish," he says: "We also say to the Americans . . . oh you sheep, we are waiting for you and so are the fish of the Mediterranean. Let them understand that there are no prisoners between us and them; . . . every American who falls in the hands of the Libyans will be killed because when the Libyan ship was hit and when the crew of this ship left the stricken ship by rescue boats, American aircraft tried to kill the crew which was on board the rescue boats. . . . Any American who lands on Libyan territories will be massacred. We will build slaughter-houses and we will build storage places in which we will receive the American sheep if they land on Libyan shores. We will turn the Libyan land into a burning fire."

"Death to the Americans! Death to NATO! Death to aggression! Death to the aggressors! Defeat is for the aggressors! Victory is for the masses! March forward brothers! Forward in the battle of glory, the battle of honor, and the battle of dignity! We will never surrender! We are waiting for you and so are the fish!"

TV Speech, 11 June 1986

In comparison with the May speech, Qadhdhafi's tone is more somber. His rhetoric is still confrontational, but many of his remarks focus on death, sacrifice, baptism in blood, and so forth. Several comments are verbatim repeats of his remarks in May.

On the U.S.: "By God, if we had a force similar to theirs, then today we would be bombing and destroying their capitals. . . . If we had a military power, then on April 15th we would not have hesitated to attack New York or London."

"We have some horrifying means to use against the Americans, but we have not authorized their use yet."

". . . Our historic and brave resistance to imperialism and to NATO, has been baptized in blood, in the blood of our sons and the blood of our soldiers, and the Gulf of Sidra started to actually become a red gulf, as we said it would, because of the blood of the Libyan martyrs, the Libyan fighters, the soldiers of the Navy and Air Force, and the blood of the U.S. aggressors. We are continuing. As we said, our motto is always similar to what Churchill said to the Germans: We are waiting for your, so are the fish."

". . . the whore Thatcher . . ."

". . . Israel's rabid dog Reagan . . ."

On other Arabs: ". . . their governments have lost the justification for their existence . . . . They should advance in order to kill off the official Arab regimes who failed in the face of the U.S. raid to meet even at the foreign ministers level."

On Reagan: "He cannot dispute that he was in the gestapo, cooperated with Hitler, and participated in killing thousands of Jews. Then in order to conceal his past he went to Hollywood as an actor to represent the Israeli intelligence and he was a Mossad agent at the time."

On Arab regimes: "I call on you to rise in a revolution. This is because their regimes have failed and are paralyzed and have brought shame and humiliation on the Arab nation. They must be erased by fire, blood and fire . . . ."

"If we are to die, then let us die. If (they) are determined to kill us they can kill us because they possess all the means to do so. But we can challenge them. We can stage a heroic battle without precedent. . . . If they land on the shores, they will find before them 1 million Libyan fighters and they will inevitably be annihilated. If they fire their missiles, we will give them the opportunity to do so until they run out of missiles and then we will come out to fight them. If it is a matter

of sabotage, we will commit acts of sabotage. If they want to destroy the world, then we will destroy the world. If they want to destroy the Mediterranean, we will destroy the Mediterranean."

On his worst case scenario: "I have drawn the worst picture. The way we die--this is what we should decide. But death might be to the United States and not us. . . . But we can hit the United States, we can smash its mouth, we can exhaust it, and we can make it see reason. A war like this might end with the unity of the Arab nation--a revolutionary Jamahiri unity--and the United States will lose completely."

"But if they try to humiliate us, then we should fight them. We fight them and we forget everything. We forget our lives as a whole and accept martyrdom, and we will be victorious. After that we will live again."

"When the United States lands on the coast it should be burned; its soldiers should become roasted sheep and eating them afterwards is permitted. If it wants to annihilate us let it annihilate us. They plotted against us and they attacked our homes. If we had had aircraft which could reach New York on 15 April we would not have hesitated to attack London and New York . . . ."

Report on a speech to a Yemeni unification meeting in Tripoli, VOGAH 1 July

Qadhdhafi's anti-U.S. rhetoric in this speech is limited, but more of the combative tone of his Benghazi speech than the somber mood of his 11 June remarks.

"The leader when on to say the aggression that took place against the Jamahiriya will be the fate of every Arab home if we do not achieve our unity."

"Finally, the leader confirmed that the Arab masses in Libya had decided to die while fighting America and write down the glory of the Arab nation. We confirm to you that we do not fear America and that we shall fight bravely for the dignity of the Arab nation."

"We are not as those who arrive one by one at the black house and in Britain like the despicable and shameful actions of the King of Jordan."

## Qadhdhafi Rhetoric on Previous Evacuation Days

1985 (speech to a rally, broadcast live on TV)

Angry confrontational anti-U.S. rhetoric; harsh vitriol directed at Egypt, Amal's Birri, and 'Arafat; criticism of Syria with a reaffirmation of the Libyan-Syrian alliance; proposal for an Arab union. Tone is combative, no apocalyptic allusions.

On the former U.S. base in Libya: "It was prepared to be a nuclear base, so that if there had been a new world war this base would have been used for nuclear purposes."

"The United States does not care if a new world war breaks out" and the United States "is an imperialist power whose mission is to dominate the world."

On his being personally insulted by an American on the former American base: "I was an officer, yet an American corporal stopped me on my own land, where my grandfather was buried and fell as a martyr for it! (garble) sons of a bitch!"

On Arab allies of the United States: ". . . Filthy Arab rulers going one after the other to perform a minor pilgrimage in the American White House . . . instead of going during Ramadan to Mecca, (they) are going to the American White House to lick Reagan's filthy feet. These Americans think that the Arab nation is humiliated like these rulers . . . ."

On U.S. exercises in Egypt: "They came from America in order to drop their bombs in the Egyptian desert when on maneuvers and afterwards they go back. . . . The plane which entered Egyptian airspace and dropped its bombs in the Egyptian desert could drop them on the Egyptian capital, on the Egyptian army, on a factory, on Libya, on the border, on an Egyptian or a Libyan port, on an Egyptian or a Libyan airport. . . . They were experimenting on how to seize the Arab homeland."

"All must understand that we are unionists and our mission is to liberate the Arab people and the Arab homeland. If they like it then all well and good; and if they do not then let them go to hell."

"We have the right to incite revolution and to prepare for confrontation to remove this danger from our borders. Our borders are the Arab land. Therefore we have the right to liberate the Arab land--every inch of it. . . . Freedom is threatened on Libyan soil as long as the forces which we evacuated from the Libyan soil are present on other Arab soil. Therefore we have the right to struggle until we liberate all the Arab soil. . . . This is not aggression. We did not go to Europe, to America, and we did not cross the Atlantic Ocean. We want to be free on our soil. They are the ones who came to our land."

On U.S. accusation that Libya destabilizes other Arab regimes: "America, by destabilization, means anti-American action, liberation resistance against American control in the Arab homeland, in Africa, because it wants the continent and the Arab region to be stable for its influence and agents. We reject any stability for the agents of America in the Arab homeland and Africa, and any stability in the Arab homeland and Africa for the American bases and influence."

"The American Indians are a nation and America is their land. The American continent belonged to the American Indians. Then came the American imposters with no origin and occupied their land and expelled them. Now the American Indian is regarded as a fugitive criminal because he is demanding his right to his land, the land of his forefathers, which was taken from him by the invaders."

"Lay yourselves flat in front of America, you Arab rulers; go and kiss Reagan's shoes, lick them!"

"When the Prophet . . . found Jewish Arabs living in the Arabian peninsula, he slaughtered them all. Why? He said because two religions cannot exist in the land of the Arabs, only one religion. Either Judaism triumphs or Islam triumphs. He slaughtered the Arabs who adopted Judaism saying that there cannot be two religions in the land of the Arabs. What about then having two nations in the land of the Arabs: Zionism and Arab nationalism? (garble) coexistence can there be with the Israelis, with a racist, aggressive camp that is hostile to the Arab existence and that is armed with nuclear weapons? No matter how much you lay prostrate before the enemy and capitulate, beg, and submit to him, the enemy will continue to assert its existence and destroy the Arab existence. This is because there cannot be two nations in this Arab land."

Threats to Arab rulers: "The sentence was executed in the case of Sadat and it will be executed with the others. Anybody who puts his hand in the hand of the Israelis should be executed and the hand should be severed, either sooner or later. This is your mission and the mission of all Arab revolutionaries in Egypt and outside Egypt. We will never allow any Arab country to recognize our enemy."

On bombing of Omdurman, Sudan: "We struck in Omdurman."

More threats: "This is what we must do. Any Arab who guards the Israelis must also be the first to receive the stab. The score must be settled first with the guardians of Israel, so that the way becomes open between us and the Israelis."

". . . The enemy will divide the Arab homeland into cantons and ministates, and will deprive us of our rivers, energy, and holy places; they will divide and rule us. Before this crisis takes place, we must take the initiative and risk. After that, weapons and violence will be everywhere and no one should blame anyone but themselves. Those who oppose the unitary action in the Arab nation will see where they will end."

1984 (Speech to a rally, broadcast live on TV)

This is Qadhafi's first major speech after the May 1984 attempted coup. The speech is primarily devoted to a lengthy diatribe against the United States. He makes allusions to the May attack, accusing the United States of being behind it. His tone is defiant and combative; he threatens the United States. There are no apocalyptic references.

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

"We, on our part, are determined to resist America, foil America's attempts, thwart America's will, and destroy America's nose in the Arab land, which belongs to us, the land of our ancestors. We will fight from the Gulf to the ocean and to hell with America 1,000 times."

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

"Those of the Arab rulers who prevent Arab unity are agents of America, servants of America, placed by America to serve its interests. They are rulers indeed . . . their names are Arab and they rule in Arab countries, but they are America's donkey's, upon which America rides to penetrate the Arab homeland in every kingdom, republic, and sultanate."

"Therefore, the peoples that want to live free have no option but to resist America, to fight America, to ally even with the devil against America."

On U.S. actions, accusation of U.S. involvement in terrorism inside Libya: "It threatened us with its fleets within our territorial waters. It denied us our right to the Gulf of Sidra which has belonged to use from generation to generation of the historic gulfs, and our right to



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

Also: "They say: Look--terrorism. They must be invaded. They must be butchered. They hatch terrorist operations and assassinations against us inside our country. Imagine the total impudence with which they declare before the world, and shouldering the responsibility, that they are doing something inside Libya."

"If there were an international court where we could try America and show it is terrorist number one and irresponsible and against international law, we would have brought this evidence and all witnesses to this court."

"Those whom you yourselves captured and brought were mere dogs of America. They were ordered by America. They gave them bombs and told them to put them somewhere, and they did."

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

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

On May attack, Qadhdhafi says international media gave "evidence and irrefutable proof that the action you had to liquidate inside the country was arranged abroad, and it is America that bears responsibility for it--this was a 100% American act. If the ones who carried it out were called 'Ali or Muhammad, it meant nothing. It is merely the name of the dog. This dog was trained in America, and this is a police dog who was given a bomb to set off inside Libya. The act is an American act and the confrontation with with America, because the rats and the stray dogs do not possess the courage or the human or material potential, nor do they have a cause."

On the United States: "They said ultimately Libya will united the Arabs and lead them to the liquidation of Israel. This is true. We, the Arab nation, should united and destroy the Zionist state in Palestine. This matter concerns us. This concerns our own security and existence and

does not concern the Americans. If the Americans want a Zionist state, let them establish it in Alaska or Texas. They should not establish it in Palestine at the expense of the Arab nation. The Arab nation opposes any presence contrary to its own, whether this is Israel or anything else."

"Libya's activities have expanded since 1980 to include Latin America, and it seems the aim is to disturb the U.S. position. Look how they want to defend their interests because Libya supports the peoples of Central and Latin America and is upsetting the American position! It is evident the United States considers the peoples and countries of Latin America as its maids, so it spreads its wings around them, denying them the right to liberate themselves or to ask for support from the Libyan revolution. The Libyan revolution is a revolution on earth, and these peoples are struggling for liberation. Hence they have the right to ask for support for the Libyan revolution whose duty it is to extend a helping hand to these peoples struggling against foreign domination."

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

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

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

1983, no speech made, Qadhdhafi travelling

1982 (Speech to officers reported by VOGAH)

The radio report is very short, makes no mention of the United States, only refers to Libyan support for the confrontation states.

1981 (Speech broadcast by Tripoli radio)

Speech begins with combative anti-U.S. rhetoric, also includes criticism of Europeans. Speech followed Israeli raid on Iraqi nuclear reactor. On that subject, Qadhafi harshly attacked Israel and called for Arabs to mend their differences. There were several apocalyptic allusions in the speech.

On the United States: "Constantly accusing others of terrorism while claiming innocence is in itself an exercising of terrorism in the full meaning of the word."

"Brothers, we wish to express our disdain for all U.S. accusations . . . by which it is trying to intimidate us and to weaken our determination to continue to (support) the just struggle of peoples fighting foreign domination."

"The whole world, dear brothers, must, with us, strive to scorn the stupid American attitude. On the basis of the concrete proofs provided by the United States each day, the world should be convinced that the United States exercises terrorism with the full meaning of this ugly word. And I say to the United States: No matter how much it concentrates its false propaganda against us, falsely accusing us of terrorism, we will not in any way be affected, even for one minute, by frivolous U.S. propaganda, because we know that the United States is the one which practices terrorism, and we know that we are practicing our natural right to live so that we may have a place on earth under the sun."

"The United States is now, brothers, leading a frenzied campaign against the Libyan people because it still resents and will forever resent the heavy loss it incurred at the hands of the Great 1 Aepthember revolution." . . . "The United States is now focusing its foreign policies on fighting Libya. The main activity of American foreign policy now is fighting Libya . . . and now it is conducting and this is of course an honor, a great honor, an international medal of honor for the Libyans, men and women--the United States is now mobilizing NATO against Libya."

"We shall resist and become another Vietnam if the United States tries to invade us by one means or another. This is the slogan that the United States must hear; it is not mere talk because behind it there is death, martyrdom. . . . Now the Libyans effectively carry out their slogans with blood and lives, and the world knows this and is a witness to this."

The United States "must realize that it is conducting a losing policy if it believes that the terrorism it is carrying out against us, with all the pressures and various warlike means--if it believes that this will bend our determination or make us capitulate."

"As we say to the United States: To Hell with you! We also say: To Hell with the oil, if oil is going to make us (a satellite) of the United States."

On the bombing of the Iraqi reactor: "The Israelis, in agreement with the United States and with the material support from the United States, declared yesterday that they are determined not to allow the Arab nation to enter the nuclear age."

"Destruction of the Israeli nuclear reactor in Dimona should be the forefront of current Arab action. It must be destroyed by force. . . . Just as the Israelis say they will destroy any Arab reactor by force, so the Arabs (must also) destroy the Israeli reactor. . . . Dear brothers, if Iraqi aircraft, or Syrian, or those of any Arab state destroy the Israeli reactor, is there a punishment which this state will suffer? Is their any obstacle? No. Such action has become legitimate and the Israelis are the ones who made it so, and they are the ones who gave the Arabs this strong pretext and gave us this right to destroy the Israeli atomic reactor, as the Israelis have done. Dear brothers, the Israelis may raid Libya, or Syria, or Algeria, or any Arab state; this is expected and is not important. But what is important, dear brothers, inasmuch as we (garble) acts of aggression from the enemy, we must prepare to address acts of aggression to the enemy."

1977 (Speech reported by ARNA)

This is the speech cited by Qadhdhafi in his 1986 TV address. In the speech, he is critical of the United States and reflects on historical events to suggest that the history is being repeated in the form of U.S. campaigns against Libya. The rhetoric is not particularly harsh or combative.

The United States "is determined to commit aggression against us and bars us from buying goods from it. Even the goods we paid for were withheld. The United States refused to hand them over to us."

"Al-Qadhdhafi said that we should draw lessons from history. He said: History repeats itself. What happened in the past might happen in the future."

"He said that this chapter of history we are now reading in Darnah and which take us back to the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century seems to be similar to a great extent to the age we are living through at present. He said that we must learn the lesson of history from this chapter. We must read this history anew, as it will help us in the confrontation with the enemies of the present and the future. He said that the useful lesson is that the popular resistance of our people will not be conquered and that barbaric campaigns, however great, cannot conquer a people who are determined to fight and defend their homeland. . . . He pointed out that the U.S. Marines in 1805 are the same U.S. Marines in 1977. He pointed out that the agents of 1805 are also the agents of 1977. He said that the international plots against our people at that period are the same as those being concocted against us at the present. He stressed that the Libyan Arab people who resist colonialist campaigns in 1805 are the same people today (garble) resisting new campaigns."

## Qadhdhafi Rhetoric on 1 September Anniversaries

1985 (Live on Tripoli radio)

On U.S. economic sanctions: "America and the agents of America believed that the economic power was affected because America is under the illusion that it imposed an economic seige on Libya. For how many years? Well, to hell with America a thousand times. They imposed an economic seige on Libya and they were waiting for a result. The result was ugly and disappointing to them."

"Even if they wanted to come with all their satanic power to occupy Libya, definitely they would not be able to sit or sleep; therefore they would not be able to remain on the Libyan soil, because there are armed people in Libya. All the soil would be mines and explosives, all the oil would be spikes and spear. Who can stay on a soil containing armed people? . . . We want to show them that the agents of America and Zionism in the Arab homeland are sentenced to death and are sentenced to complete annihilation."

"Arab unity now can be realized by revolution and we must incite it day and night; in this vein the revolutionary committees at their eighth meeting yesterday declared that they will set up beamed broadcasts to incite revolution in all parts of the Arab homeland. This is a proper action. . . . Arab unity by force has become necessary. It has become necessary because our existence without Arab unity is threatened with destruction and extinction. We say that if the world has heard about any violent act to change the Arab map it is a domestic act concerning only the Arabs and is permitted. It is not an invasion or interference in the internal affairs."

"The military strategic cooperation has been established, and the ships of the American 6th Fleet, according to this agreement, are now carrying Israeli aircraft to any place in the Arab homeland. In spite of this, the Arab traitors continue to kiss the hands of the American president and go on pilgrimages to the American White House to offer loyalty and support during their dirty, nauseating trips. . . . The jihad must begin with the Arab rulers who travel to America and who are the friends of America. They are the number one enemy."

"Even those who have nothing with which to buy American goods and have no oil to give to America have gone to kiss American hands in order not to be missed in the calculations. He has gone and kissed Reagan's hands and feet and explained to him I have no oil to gove you to support your Zionist banks and have no purchasing power to buy your goods, however, I have my subservience and humiliation and I offer it to you."

"We have always said and say that we have not decided to go and invade America. We have always said and say that we do not intend to cross the sea or the ocean."

"The Western states, all of them, are no conspiring against us; they have been transformed into arenas for training in terrorism against us, to export terrorism to us. Until now we have not established alliances with the Red Brigades, the gangs in Germany or in Spain, or the rest of the gangs. Until now we have not openly established alliances with these, despite the fact that we are the victims of injustice and have the right to establish alliances with these gangs. If others export terrorism to us, then we have the right to export terrorism to them, tit for tat. America comes to our shores and violates our airspace. We have never gone and violated American airspace."

"We are always wronged. Therefore we have the right to fight Zionism, we have the right to fight America, and we have the right to export terrorism to them because they have done everything to us."

"If we want really to face up to our responsibilities, then Libya has no alternative but to be a base for liberation. If Libya does not become a base for liberation, then we would be escaping from shouldering our responsibilities. . . . We are destined to be a base for liberation. Even the Palestinian guerrillas' action, if they have not ability to act from Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, and Egypt, it must act from Libya. This is a chance for us to fight Zionism, and to face up to the consequences. This is self-defense. Until now it is possible to begin studying the possibilities of basing the guerrilla action in Libya."

"We are not against a king because he is a king, nor are we against a sultan because he is a sultan. We are against the traitors, the lackeys, and the advocates of regionalism who have enticed America and the Israelis against us and who are working for the death of this nation. We are compelled to defend ourselves."

1984 (Live on Tripoli radio)

Heavy focus on the need for Arab unity. Qadhafi also used the speech to direct an appeal to Libyans on Hajj in Saudi Arabia not to cause disturbances. Anti-U.S. rhetoric is angry, combative, confident.

"We are determined to demolish the arrogance of America, to cut America down to size, and to challenge its arrogance."

"We will never allow Egypt to remain a satellite of Zionism, an American colony. . . . The rulers of Egypt have been over-confident in the protection of American imperialism. We are not afraid of America, we are committed to demolishing the arrogance of America. We are a nation which has to be liberated, and with the help of God, this nation will reach the stage of offering millions of sacrifices for demolishing the arrogance of America. We are a nation which has to be liberated, and with the help of God, this nation will reach the stage of offering millions of sacrifices for demolishing the arrogance of America, until

the Arab nation is respected everywhere on earth, until the Arab nation is feared everywhere on earth, until America and others fear the Arab nation era after era and generation after generation. To Hell with America and down with Zionism. We are coming to liberate Palestine inch by inch, we are coming to make the Gulf of Sidra into a red gulf; we are coming to destroy the American 6th Fleet if it violates our sanctity; we are coming to demolish the arrogance of America; we are coming to join all our abilities with the Palestinian resistance, with the Palestinian revolution, with the national resistance, with the heroic Lebanese people, with the heroic Syrian people."

"Brothers, we must combat the American terrorism so that we can feel that we are living happily. We want to live happily from the ocean to the gulf, to live with dignity and pride. This nation must teach America a lesson. We will teach America a lesson greater than the Vietnam lesson."

"We have fought alongside Nicaragua. . . . America is fighting you, America hates you and envies you because you are actually fighting it at its doorstep. You are fighting alongside Nicaragua, which might be belittled. Nicaragua means a great thing, it means fighting America near its borders, similar to the fight that America is waging against us at our borders in the Gulf of Sidra. We are fighting it in its territorial waters in Nicaragua."

"America is staggering because it is being strangled; it is not happy when it sends its fleets. It is staggering because it is being strangled at its borders. Yes, the imperialist peoples will be strangled. We are working hard to build a wide front of the peoples who are against America, of the peoples who are struggling against imperialism, of the peoples who want to put an end to the polarization of the great imperialist powers, peoples from Iran to Afghanistan."

1983 (Live on Tripoli radio)

Speech is basically an extended angry diatribe against the United States. Rhetoric is angry and combative, with promises to fight to the death. As is usual for this occasion, speech also contains call for Arab unity.

"Today Egypt is subjugated by the invading American imperialist crusading forces which desecrate its land, desecrate the tomb of 'Abd al-Nasir."

". . . Great Egypt is now a shooting gallery for the American forces . . . . . When they bring their aircraft to drop their bombs on Egyptian land this is a restoration of the prestige of American imperialism."

"As for the United States we say . . . that to come to an understanding with the United States is hopeless, to make peace with the United States is hopeless. It is power mad. It does not accept anyone except those

who submit to it and who declare that they are slaves and the United States is the lord. We say: Raspberries to the United States!"

"This land is sacred and was watered by our fathers and grandfathers. This land cannot become an American trashcan. The American forces cannot tread on Libyan land unless they first tread on our bodies. With regard to the United States, I tell you brothers that we have used as mediators everyone possible in the states of the world, both Arab and foreign, to come to an understanding with the United States so that it will respect the independence of the Libyan people and their basic historic choices, and also their sovereignty over their land and water. We declare brothers, that all these mediations failed and were smashed on the rock of U.S. arrogance. The United States wants us to be its slaves--it wants Libya to turn into a satellite."

"Libya's new and rising generations are awaiting the U.S. 6th Fleet if it enters the Gulf of Sidra. There is a new Dien Bien Phu waiting for the 6th Fleet if it approaches the Gulf of Sidra. The Gulf of Sidra is an indivisible part of Libyan territory, and all the Libyan people must be prepared to die in the Gulf of Sidra. American conceit and American arrogance will be smashed at the entrance to the Gulf of Sidra. We do not have the ambition of invading and occupying America because it is a superpower and we are a small state. . . . But we declare that we are prepared to die in direct combat with America in the Gulf of Sidra or in any part of our territory and territorial waters. This is our right on earth and under the sun."

"America <sup>g</sup>waged an open, direct, and unjust war against the Libyan people from 1800 until it ended with the capture of the American ship Philadelphia in 1805. Then America was assured that terror was impossible against the Libyan people, that threatening the Libyan people with force could not force them into submission. We forced America to pay a levy in the Mediterranean, and, brothers, we have exercised our sovereignty over the Gulf of Sidra from ages past."

"America does not recognize law. It engages in terror and in the politics of force. It practices the policy of taming people's and rulers so that they submit to America. It wants to be a god. For this reason, brothers, the first link between the Iranian revolution and the Al-Fatih revolution was its declaration that America is the great Satan on earth. Yes, indeed, America is the great satan on earth. If only for this reason, we enter into a strategic alliance with the Islamic revolution in Iran."

"When we ally ourselves with revolution in Latin America, and particularly Central America, we are defending ourselves. This Satan must be clipped and we must take war to the American borders just as America is taking threats to the Gulf of Sidra . . . ."

". . . The door of dialogue with America is closed (garble) and there is



nothing before the Libyan people except to be prepared to die and to sacrifice. American might will not intimidate us, however small our size."

". . . the arrogant Nazi forces, like the American forces of today . . ."

"Last night, brothers, 10,000 crusading soldiers--Phalangist, French, and American--swept Islamic Beirut."

"Today, brothers, we are forced to defend ourselves as Muslims, because the foreigners have declared a new crusade against us. America is leading the new crusade. The Arab rulers who shake the hands, the filthy hands, of America are being deceived in a great historical act of deception."

"The United States hates all Arabs. It hates Islam and the east. America is an oppressive crusader. Either the new crusade will be destroyed or our existence and independence, the Arab and Islamic homelands, and the Islamic east will be destroyed."

"Our military, naval, and air forces are prepared. If the 6th Fleet enters the Gulf of Sidra, it will have to face the full weight of the Libyan naval and air efforts, which will destroy the 6th Fleet. . . . If the battle is confined to the sea, the target will be the 6th Fleet. But if the battle spreads to the Libyan land, then in return Libya will deal blows to the European land, wherever over hands can reach, to strike at the rear bases on which the 6th Fleet relies."

"As for the death train, it will storm the Arabs country by country, house to house, man or woman, young or old, because Zionism wants to clear a space for 24 million Jews to be brought to the Arab homeland."

"Notice American fanaticism and American reaction in preventing Libyan students from learning about aviation, space, and the atom for peaceful purposes. America has lost all credibility as an advanced country living in the 20th century and has changed into (garble) power that should be fought everywhere . . . ."

"But the United States despises those who want to unite the Arab nation. It accuses us of terrorism. The sacred struggle of the Palestinian people is regarded as terrorism and subversion; the struggle for Arab unity is regarded by the United States as terrorism and subversion."

1982 (Live on Tripoli radio)

Another long, meandering speech. It differs from 1981 in that it contains only a few passing references to the United States. The tone is also less confident than in 1981, as Al-Qadhafi bitterly and gloomily denounces most of the rest of the Arab world for failing to unite, for

bowing to imperialism and Zionism, and specifically for failing to come to the defense of Beirut when Israel attacked the city. He portrays Libya as leading a lonely struggle to rally the rest of the Arab world to the support of pan-Arab causes.

According to Al-Qadhdhafi, Arab rulers have become weak, corrupt and cowardly in the face of imperialism and Zionism, as shown by their failure to resist Israel. The real issue facing the Arabs, he says, "is not one of Palestinians. It is the issue of the endangered Arab existence. Once the Israelis reach an agreement with the Palestinians they will devote themselves to destroying the Arab countries and expanding in the Arab countries. . . . We say the problem is not Palestinian at all. It is a problem of the Arab nation and the enemy who has been planted in its heart." In response to this Arab decline, "a voice must rise in Libya, a voice that will decide on confrontation whatever the price....Either there will be confrontation or overy one of us will be free of all responsibility toward the other."

The only direct reference to the United States comes during al-Qadhdhafi's invocation of violent struggle as a means of restoring Arab nationhood. "In Libya, a decision must be made declaring that we do not suffer from any inferiority complex. We are not afraid of America. We love death. We bestow great virtues on death so that we might triumph in the battle of life."

Other references to the United States come mostly during the course of denunciations directed against various Arab rulers. On King Fahd of Saudi Arabia: "What excuse has the pig of the peninsula, the drunkard...Fahd ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz--the symbol of shame and disgrace--how can this pig raise his voice before the Arab nation when he is supplying America with the oil of the Arab nation and when he is handing over Mecca to the American forces." On Hassan II, "the despicable king of Morocco": Morocco has now become an American colony and the king tells the people every day without shame or fear that he is giving the United States bases on Moroccan territories." On Egypt under As-Sadat: "Yesterday Egypt was the fortress of struggle, its land, air and sea used to be out of bounds fro America. Today we see Egypt being trampled on by the boots of U.S. (?troops). They are getting their own back for 'Abd an-Nasir, for the defeats which the great 'Abd an-Nasir inflicted on imperialism, Zionism and reactionism...Now we can see what the conditions of dear Egypt have come to, see how Egypt has been sold. Who would ever have expected Egypt to become a U.S. base?"

1981 (Live on Tripoli radio)

A long speech, meandering through four main themes: a call for Arab unity; a call for struggle against Israel; denunciation of the United States; a call for an end to factional fighting in Lebanon. The tone seems generally upbeat and confidant, though Al-Qadhdhafi decries the

absence of Arab unity, harshly attacking Egypt for cooperating with the United States, and also criticizing major oil producers, especially Saudi Arabia, for selling oil to the United States and not contributing enough to the Palestinian cause.

Denunciation of the United States is based upon U.S. support for Israel and especially upon the clash between U.S. and Libyan forces in the Gulf of Sidra on 19 August 1981; i.e., only two weeks before this speech.

Al-Qadhdhafi says that "we shall continue to urge Arab youths from the ocean to the gulf to fight for the sake of Palestine--to fight against America, to fight against any obstacles which prevent establishing Arab unity and liberating Arab land." He tells his audience that the United States is implacably hostile to all revolutionary forces and especially to Islamic forces. "We have to understand that there is neither the possibility of nor any use in coming to an understanding with the U.S. Government....The United States is waging crusades against Islam....We shall fight it everywhere after being convinced that it is impossible for us to reach any peaceful understanding with the United States..."

He makes a long defense of the Libyan claim to the Gulf of Sidra and threatens both the United States and European nations hosting U.S. bases if there are further American attacks. He also calls on Europeans to attack U.S. bases. "We warn all the peoples of the Mediterranean that if the United States attacks us on the Gulf of Sidra we shall deliberately attack the nuclear missiles and bases and the United States will cause a nuclear disaster in the Mediterranean....If the U.S. bases in Western Europe and the Mediterranean countries take part in this attack and support this attack it will be our right, in self-defense, to attack these bases....We salute the German people, who as of yesterday began to respond to incitement and embarked on attacking the U.S. airbases."

He accuses the United States of trying to assassinate him, and tells Libyans that they must be prepared to die in the struggle against the United States. These references are couched in heroic terms which confidently envisage ultimate American defeat. "I do not fear death. You should not fear America. The most important thing is that...there is no alternative to death at any given hour in the Gulf of Sidra....We will be able to repel the United States, to defeat the United States as it was defeated in the Gulf of Sidra." He acknowledges that "there is no comparison between us and the United States" militarily, but says that "a small stone can stop and damage a big machine. Libya can be a stone in the U.S. kidney; it can be a stone in the U.S. machine, causing damage...perhaps causing it to die."

## Qadhdhafi Reaction to May 84 Attack

Aden radio reported a telephone call between Qadhdhafi and 'Ali Nasir Muhammad, 9 May.

JANA 9-10 May reported statements by Qadhdhafi on attack:

"We have documents and evidence proving these terrorists were trained in Britain and the United States and that they belong to the same terrorist group that cooperates with the British and U.S. Governments and receives protection, support, and training from them."

". . . The Western governments are the terrorists, Reagan is the biggest terrorist in the world, and these governments are detached from civilization."

"He confirmed we have the right to self-defense in our land to to pursue our enemies anywhere, and you must know this from now on. There is no international law which allows the British or U.S. Government to protect terrorism and export it. If they want to export terrorism we will exercise our right to respond to this."

Interview with Eric Rouleau, LE MONDE, 10 May 84

"Things are now clear. The United States and Britain are harboring not political oppositionists, as they claim, but terrorists who they are arming and inciting to crime, with the active cooperation of Sudan and other Arab countries. The Libyans are entitled to defend themselves, to fight the terrorists where they can be found, and in the same way as the police shoot members of the Red Brigades without warning. The countries which are arming the killers will also pay dearly for their crime. The states, Arab or other, which are exporting terrorism to our country will receive revolution, while we will send them in exchange."

VOGAH report on an interview with the Lebanese newspaper Al-Sha'b, 10 June 84

"The brother leader of the revolution affirmed that the United States is determined to get its grip on the entire Arab homeland and prevent the rise of any Arab unity. He said that in order to do this, the United States is very eager to establish hireling regimes linked to U.S. protection and independent in name though a colony in deed with no freedom of decision-making, action, or movement. They are dummies: no more and no less. They move at America's order and on a signal from the White House."

"The brother leader explained the battle going on today is an American battle mainly aimed at enabling the Zionist enemy to control all sources of Arab life from the Nile to the Euphrates. The United States is also

preparing the next plan to encourage Zionist immigration to the area by bringing 12 or 15 million Zionists into the Middle East so that the Zionist enemy would be the only one that has the final say and authority. . . . After completing this stage, the United States would move on to the second stage, that is, seizure of energy sources such as oil."

"The brother leader referred during this interview to terrorist and criminal groups such as the Muslim Brotherhood, which infiltrated the Jamahiriyah to carry out acts of subversion, and he said: They were no more than a group of stray dogs looked after by the U.S. Government and supervised by its Central Intelligence Agency, and they represent a group of weak-minded greedy people taken over by temptation."

Qadhdhafi's next major public appearance was that year's Evacuation Day speech. He also gave an interview to Vienna TV on 15 June, led 'Id prayers 29 June, gave interview to Stern published on 12 July, spoke to Arab-African Cooperation meeting on 2 August, spoke to Benghazi officials on 5 August, spoke to a solidarity conference 29 August, to a canal ceremony the same day, spoke at the 1 September anniversary parade, and also to the People's Congress on 1 September.

## Qadhdhafi Rhetoric on Gulf of Sidra Crises

1981

Qadhdhafi's 1981 Sidra crisis rhetoric contains promises of confrontation, threats to the United States, insults to Reagan, and so forth.

JANA 22 August report on a press statement (Qadhdhafi is in Ethiopia)

"This time, the 6th Fleet has openly and officially carried out a campaign of invasion against the Jamahiriyah."

"Libyan Arab air and sea forces will continue operating in the Gulf of Sidra, which will always be an indivisible part of the Libyan territory, even if it means the death of the last Libyan man and woman. The brother commander affirmed that the Libyan Arab people are fully prepared, and will remain so forever, to defend the Gulf of Sidra, even if it means a bilateral war between us and the United States, or even a third world war. . . . He added that a catastrophe could occur if the United States were again to play with fire in this area. . . . We accept fighting the United States one-to-one, but should NATO, which held a meeting immediately after this aggression, become involved, then Libya too has its allies and friends in the world."

Tripoli radio 22 Aug rally speech

"The Libyan people are determined to fight against imperialism, the Libyan people are determined to fight reaction, exploitation, and feudalism. The Libyan people have inflicted defeat upon U.S. imperialism."

"Reagan has violated international norms and international law. . . . Reagan is now acting in international politics just as he was acting on the stage. To Reagan we say that acting . . . is quite different from stage acting."

JANA 25 August report on statement in Syria

Qadhdhafi affirmed "the Jamahiriyah's determination to confront the blatant American aggression and provocations even if this led to a military confrontation with America or to the outbreak of the third world war."

Tripoli radio 28 August solidarity conference speech (in Tripoli)

"The United States must one day face the call for its expulsion from the

United Nations and its banishment as an outlaw and a member that is suffering from power madness."

"We should show solidarity with the persecuted races, such as red Indians and black Americans."

"The Libyan people will, without hesitation, honor your request if you ask them to let the Jamahiriyah be a center for international resistance against imperialist colonialism, hireling reaction and racism in all its forms. I do not doubt that they will bear this internationalist responsibility with courage and dignity."

1986

Tripoli radio 2 March speech to People's Congress

Pre-confrontation rhetoric contains threats, promises to fight, attack on Reagan.

"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 our factories and homes."

"We appeal to the American people to bring down the terrorist Reagan, who plays with fire and threatens world peace."

"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."

15 March speech broadcast by VOGAH

Pre-confrontation references to death, promise to die fighting, to the line of death in Sidra.

"I told you then that the United States would not be able to defeat the Libyan people, although it can annihilate them. If they die, then they will die standing up and not kneeling down."

"The 32.30 parallel, which is the beginning of the Gulf of Sidra, is considered the line of death; we are actually prepared to die for it. . . . The United States cannot defeat the Libyans, but can annihilate them with its atomic bombs and fleets. There is a difference between defeat and annihilation."

"In war, we shall pay the price with our lives, our blood, our homes, and

our property."

28 March rally speech on TV

Angry confrontation rhetoric characterizes this speech, the first after the 24 March U.S.-Libyan clash. Qadhdhafi directs personal attacks at Reagan, makes several statements about the line of death, going down fighting, baptism of blood in Sidra.

"The butcher Reagan--we said from the very first day of his election that he is not fit to be a president. We respect him as an actor. We respect actors as actors in the profession they have chosen for themselves, and for which they are equipped and qualified instinctively. But when the farcical Western democracy enables an actor, whose capabilities have been geared for acting and who has prepared himself to be an actor, to become president of a superpower, we said that hw will be a catastrophe to the world and to international politics."

". . . Reagan, the foolish and ignorant . . ."

"First, there is no government which tells more lies than the U.S. Government. It denied the shooting down of three F-14 planes in the Gulf of Sidra and denied the death of 6 pilots, who the sharks are still eating in the Gulf of Sidra."

"Brothers, it has been made clear now that parallel 32 is the line of death. We die in it and the enemy dies in it equally. Moreover, our sovereignty over the Gulf of Sidra has been baptized with blood. This time it has been baptized with blood. We have asserted to the world that we are prepared to baptize our sovereignty over the Gulf of Sidra with blood, with our bodies, with all that we possess."

"First, we are prepared to die if the United States or anyone else enters the Gulf of Sidra by force."

"We are ready to die. We know that America has nuclear bombs and hellish forces but this does not concern us. We state our rights and we are ready to die and the confrontation continues."

"We know that America has nuclear bombs and the whole world knows that it can annihilate Libya totally. But before this happens we can inflict unforeseen destruction on the 6th Fleet and America. Indeed, we can destroy the American carriers, the warships of the American 6th Fleet and the American Air Force. This will happen when we go absolutely crazy and want the disaster to hit us and our enemies. O God, as the saying goes, if one wants to finish himself off and take his enemies with him. If we see that we are about to be finished, we shall take the American 6th Fleet with us. We are capable of this."