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Israel has carried out this provocative military action against the Great Jamahiriyyah after the Arabs restored diplomatic relations with Egypt. This is what we were afraid of, but also what we were expecting. We emphasized to the Arab brothers the dangers of recognizing the Egyptian regime, which has thrown itself into the bosom of the Zionist enemy.

The People's Committee of the People's Bureau for Foreign Liaison asked the heads of the Arab diplomatic missions to convey this information to their governments.

**U.S. 'Economic Blockade' Renewal Condemned**  
*LD172237 Tripoli Television Service in Arabic*  
2000 GMT 17 Dec 87

[Text] I have just received the following: VOA has reported that the head of the U.S. Administration has decided to continue what he termed the economic blockade against the Great Jamahiriyyah. JANA's political affairs editor commented on this by saying: What VOA attributed to the head of the terrorist U.S. Administration, Reagan, compels us—in addition to the fact that this administration has reiterated the racism, rancor, terrorist inclination, and hegemony which dominate political decisions in Washington, as well as the persons making them—to stress two points:

1. We in the Great Jamahiriyyah were not surprised by such a decision. What would have surprised us is if the U.S. Yankee had refrained from his aggressive and provocative policy against us, given the fact that the U.S. Administration—with its current head, its intelligence apparatuses, and its destructive weapons—is still the United States, the enemy of the peoples, the carrier of the banner of sabotage, the one who lusts to annihilate others, and the one with the crazy dream of transforming the world into a U.S. dominion.

2. Such a U.S. policy, coinciding with the Zionist provocations that are supported by the United States against the Great Jamahiriyyah, and the threats against it, together with the escalation of the oppressive Zionist campaign against the Arab masses in the occupied territories, stresses the credibility of the Great al-Fatih Revolution's analysis of the U.S.-Soviet summit. This analysis states, as the brother leader of the revolution emphasized in his statement to JANA on such a summit, that history has taught whenever the great agree, it will be at the expense of the weak. As a result, a number of peoples, including the Lebanese, the Libyans, and the Palestinians, may be forced to pay the price.

**Al-Qadhdhafi Addresses Arab Opposition Parties**  
*LDT30205 Tripoli Television Service in Arabic*  
2045 GMT 12 Dec 87

[Address by Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi at the opening session of the pan-Arab conference of Arab opposition parties held at the People's Hall in Tripoli on 12 December—recorded]

[Text] Good evening and welcome. How are you? In the name of God, I welcome you, brothers, in your country. I thank you for accepting our invitation and for being here today. I wish you a good stay and success in your proceedings.

I remember that we have met once before. During this meeting, as well as after it, we must revise what we decided in our earlier conference years ago—I don't remember how many years ago. Regardless of that first conference of the Arab opposition, however, we now have a proposed agenda before us. It is open to additions proposed by any delegation from the Arab opposition. I will try to express my opinion briefly, since you do not need me to analyze the negative situation facing the Arabs or the deteriorating situation of the Arab nation. Regrettably, the situation has been worsening for a long time. Today, it is critical and bad. Even if we repeated this statement on every occasion, I still believe that the situation has currently reached an unprecedented degree, one unprecedented in this era and in our times.

The condition of the Arab nation was already deteriorating. It has been colonized and torn apart, but it resisted, stood up, and triumphed. Now another regrettable setback, a misfortune, and further bad luck has befallen this nation. It was this worsening state of the nation that pushed me to resort, among other things, to the dynamic Arab opposition movements so that maybe they could do something.

In fact, I possess neither magic nor exorcisms, nor even an integral project with which to treat this setback we are facing. But my idea is for the Arab opposition forces to meet and to discuss the situation so that we can come up with a particular course with which to save our nation. The points included in the proposed agenda are efforts to achieve this end. The goal to which I want to draw your attention is that of Arab unity. Any attempt that does not seek to establish Arab unity will not be a solution. All problems, failures, challenges, and aggression flow from the condition of Arab unity. Thus, it is agreed that if Arab unity exists, then the force with which we can face this situation exists at all levels. If there is no unity, then there is weakness. This causes collapse and rapid deterioration on all fronts.

We must turn our attention to the need for anything that leads to the attainment of Arab unity.

There is a historic and regrettably long-standing issue; namely, that of liberating Palestine. This has become forever linked with the question of Arab unity. There are other Arab territories that are occupied; there are other problems and threats to the entire Arab homeland from every direction. But the question of Palestine—since it is long-standing, since it represents an entire occupied Arab country whose people have been evicted while the remaining people live under occupation, and since an aggressive base has been established in this Arab country—has become a threat to the entire Arab existence.

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Our conflict with this enemy that occupies Palestine has become a struggle for existence, not a fight over a border. This is what we always hear. We read about it in the papers and we hear about it on the radio. It is a struggle for existence, not a fight over borders. This is a fact. Therefore, the question of Palestine has become forever linked with the question of Arab unity to the extent that there are people who say that we can attain Arab unity through the liberation of Palestine and that with the unity of the Arabs, Palestine will then be liberated. In fact, the two issues are indeed intertwined to such an extent. We can unite by directing our policies toward Palestine, and we can become united for the sake of liberating Palestine.

The fundamental issue before us is to work to attain this Arab unity. Closely tied to this issue is the question of liberating Palestine, since there is a true danger manifested in the occupation of Palestine. This danger is no longer confined to the Palestinian people alone, but has instead become a threat to the rest of the Arab nation, to the Arab homeland. This is the basis upon which I want all extent Arab forces to rally and to discuss matters. We should struggle to attain it by using all the means at our disposal.

The current political issues—the questions of the hour—are on the agenda even though they are temporary, for they have affected the Arab political situation. As for the Arab political situation, we believe that there is a popular force you are supposed to lead by virtue of your being the Arab opposition. There are Arab regimes that are supposed to be popular, while there are Arab regimes that are reactionary and dictatorial. The latter are lackeys; they are hostile to the masses and stand against you as an Arab opposition. They persecute you.

The current political situation has even affected the political relations between the Arab revolutionary forces—I mean between one Arab revolutionary state and another. The current problem has created excuses for diversions from the fundamental goal: the unity of the Arab nation and the liberation of Palestine. For example, when I talk with King Hassan of Morocco about liberating Palestine, he replies: First free my army from the Sahara so that I can take it to Palestine. He says: There are 80,000 Moroccan soldiers engaged in a war against an Arab faction belonging to that Arab force about which you are talking. Free these 80,000 soldiers from this campaign so that I can place them at your disposal or at the disposal of whoever wants to liberate Palestine.

That is how he answered me. A problem like the Sahara has thus created a justification for Morocco, for example, to turn away from Arab unity and from the liberation of Palestine. Morocco talks about liberating the Sahara instead of liberating Palestine.

When we approach a country such as Sudan and talk to it about the liberation of Palestine, it says: Let us free the south. The problem of the south is a temporary political problem, but it has created an excuse for Sudan, regardless of the regime ruling it then or now. They say: Let us liberate the south first. If I tell Iraq, let us liberate Palestine now, it will simply laugh and reply: I am facing a war with all my resources. All of my capabilities are directed against Iran. How can I think about the liberation of Palestine? I want to liberate Al-Faw or Majnun Island. Even the Jamahiriyyah can now say that Aozou is threatened, that my borders are imperiled, that the Gulf of Sidra is endangered, that I want to liberate the Gulf of Sidra and Aozou, for example, so that I can then devote my efforts to liberating Palestine.

As a result of this, these subjects have been placed on the agenda as current political situations that we, as Arab opposition forces, seek to resolve. If we succeed in solving the problem of the Sahara, then we will remove the excuses that Morocco uses for not devoting its efforts to liberating Palestine. We will also succeed in putting an end to Arabs shedding the blood of other Arabs over an Arab territory. My belief as a unity-seeking Arab is that I see no justification for fighting between Arabs on Arab land. The final aim should be unity between two Arab lands; these two should be one Arab land. If Morocco prevails, then the land will become Moroccan. However, if the Polisario prevails, for example—and let us suppose it then occupied Morocco—they would become one state. So, so what?

I believe that it is the peak of blasphemy to have a war on Arab land for the sake of gaining this territory for another Arab. This is one Arab homeland; we are one Arab people. As unionists, we do not believe in this division at all. We do not believe that this is your land and that this is my land. This land belongs to all of us. Why should there be fighting between the Moroccans and the Saharan people? Why should there be Moroccans and Saharans? Why can't they all be Moroccans or Saharans? There is a matter in which we, as revolutionaries, can be interested and which we recognize, if the war is a revolutionary one, and if the Polisario raises the slogan of liberating Morocco, the realization of socialism and Arab unity, and the establishment of a popular Jamahiri regime in Morocco. Maybe we can be interested in this, for this might be a revolutionary war. If it is a revolutionary war, then all revolutionary forces will stand by the Polisario and all the reactionary forces will oppose it. How I wish that the conflicts in the Arab world were between revolutionary and reactionary forces! However, the Polisario raises the cry of independence for the Sahara, not the liberation of Morocco. If it indeed raises the slogan of liberation for Morocco, then I will openly support it. I will fight with the Saharan people if they want to liberate Morocco and unite this region. Even if they want to march on Algeria, Tunisia, and Libya after this, I will be with them. It will then be an Arab revolution that will pull down the artificial borders

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in this region, boundaries that were established by the French, the Italians, and even the British. But a war for independence for Arabs? What independence, and independence from whom?

This problem has naturally affected relations between Algeria and Morocco. Perhaps it has contributed to making Morocco—not Morocco, but the king of Morocco—show his policy of receiving the prime minister of the enemy on Arab soil. This is blasphemy as far as we are concerned. Now the effort to unify the Arab Maghreb is being put forward, and we have left the initiative to lead this effort to the brothers in Algeria.

However, the problem of the Sahara is an obstacle to this effort, to this union. When we invite Morocco to this union, Morocco states that the Sahara problem must first be resolved between itself and Algeria. How can I unite with Algeria while it supports a separatist movement against me? That is how Morocco sees it. If we exclude Morocco, then Mauritania and Tunisia might say that this is an action that will create an axis. If there is to be a union of the countries in the Arab Maghreb, then it must include the countries of the Arab Maghreb. Thus, the Sahara problem has constituted an obstacle to Arab unity. We are meeting here to try to find a way to achieve this Arab unity. A temporary or an urgent problem like this has slowed the march toward the fundamental historical goal: Arab unity and the liberation of Palestine. One says: I cannot go to Palestine because my army is busy fighting in the Sahara. The Polisario also (?has) brave fighters who should be fighting with the Palestinian resistance; but they say that their land is occupied by Morocco. Thus, this keeps us from liberating Palestine, and we have hindered an Arab force. The Moroccan Army, the Polisario—these are Arab fighting forces. These forces have been blocked, since they are involved in fighting against each other instead of directing their efforts against the common enemy.

Arab unity and the attempt to achieve a union between the countries of the Arab Maghreb have been blocked by this problem. Because of this, the Sahara problem was placed among the political issues with which we must contend as we move toward Arab unity and the liberation of Palestine. We must work to resolve these problems.

As for the so-called Gulf war, I have asserted in the statement issued about the last 2 days that it would be naive if we were to ask a favor of Gorbachev or Reagan [word indistinct] of America, to settle the Gulf War for us. The Gulf war should really be settled by either Iran or Iraq; the others cannot do anything. However, as an Arab opposition force, perhaps we will do something. It is more appropriate for us to be asked to make this effort concerning Iran and Iraq than to request the help of Gorbachev and this Yankee, the cowboy. Naturally, requesting their help has proven Arab stupidity and weakness.

To beg them for things indicates Arab weakness and stupidity. What is in fact termed the Gulf war has cost us a great deal. First, we have lost the Iraqi force, which one day might have been used to liberate Palestine—this is a possibility. It can be employed on the same day as any other Arab force capable of doing this.

But, in fact, this force was not used to liberate Palestine. This war has created problems between Libya and Iraq, and between Syria and Iraq. One would think that Iraq, Syria, and the Jamahiriyyah are revolutionary forces in the same front. Now they oppose each other due to this war. Both Libya and Syria think that this war should be a revolutionary conflict and not a radical one, and that we should have fighting between the Arabs and the Persians. It should be a revolutionary war.

There was a revolution in Iran that liberated Iran from U.S. influence. The United States is the bitter enemy of the Arab nation and of all people seeking liberation. Iran declared that it stands by the Palestinian people and against racism in South Africa, while the shah was a bitter enemy of the Arabs. He was a Persian and a fanatic. He used to belittle and disregard the Arabs. He used to ally himself with the United States against the Arabs. He allied himself with Israel against the Arabs. He was an artery feeding the Zionist entity with oil and money. He was an ally of the Israelis. He formerly supplied racist South Africa, the racist regime in South Africa. We, the Arabs who live in Africa, are more concerned about the question of racism in South Africa than are the Arabs who do not live in Africa. The shah occupied the Greater and Lesser Tunbs Islands and the Gulf.

Therefore, we should have fought Iran then, as a result of that situation. But to militarily oppose a revolution that toppled the shah—the ally of the United States and Israel and of the racists in South Africa—and that threw its weight on the side of the Arabs and their main cause, Palestine, is not right. This is why we thought that we should not fight against it, but instead ought to stand with it.

Iraq, which is a state that is supposed to be ideologically close to us as well as progressive and revolutionary, became involved in a war with Iran. This led to this revolutionary group—Iraq, Syria, the Jamahiriyyah, and Algeria—being torn asunder. That is to say: One party engaged in a war with it while the others do not see any need to fight this revolution. In fact, we do not accept military action against this revolution.

The war has squandered huge sums of money. The reactionary Arab states have conspired against Iraq, wanting it to fight the Iranian revolution on their behalf. They want Iraq to fight the Shi'ites and revolutionary Islam for them, as if they were saying: We will fight with the last Iraqi soldier or even with the last Iraqi citizen in defense of Kuwait, the Gulf, Saudi Arabia, Jordan, and Egypt. Iraq naturally became involved in this conspiracy

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and encouraged it with money. Iraq believed that it could win the war immediately; but it instead became apparent that this was to be a long and bitter conflict. Iraq became entangled in it. The reactionary states were then the ones wanting to get rid of Iraq.

It is impossible for the Arab reactionary states in that region to be allies of the Iraqi Ba'th Party, if we assume that there is a Ba'th Party in Iraq. At least the slogans of the Ba'th Party are very hostile and dangerous to the reactionary Arab regimes in that region. It is impossible for those reactionary regimes to defend Iraq, to give funds in defense of Iraq so that the Ba'th Party will remain in power. The Ba'th Party staged a revolution in Iraq—I mean that the regime in Iraq is now based on a revolution launched against the monarchical regime. Therefore, it is impossible for the reactionary Arab states to give money and arms to defend a regime based on a coup against a monarchical regime.

Until recently, Iraq was considered to be a revolutionary, socialist, and progressive state that had relations and a friendship treaty with the Soviet Union, not the United States. Therefore, it is impossible for the reactionary Arab states, in view of all this, to love Iraq and to defend it.

So then, why do they give generous amounts of arms and money to Iraq? They do so in order to get rid of it. They do so in order to throw Iraq into the fires of this war. Why do the United States and Israel supply Iran with arms? This is an established fact. Do they do it because Iran is not at all revolutionary? Iran is revolutionary. It opposes Zionism and imperialism, yet they supply it with arms, just as the Arab reactionary states provide Iraq with funds and arms. Zionism and imperialism want to get rid of the Iranian revolution; this is why they encourage it with the supply of arms so that it continues the war.

The reactionary Arab states want to get rid of Iraq because Iraq is a progressive country. They encourage it with these supplies of money and arms. Naturally, what is termed the Gulf War and this revolutionary Iranian Islamic revival have spread fear in these Mickey Mouse states of the Arab world. They then sought help from the United States without any other consideration. This war has created a justification for the United States, NATO, and other Western countries to be in the Gulf and to have additional influence on each of these states—indeed, more than ever before.

Due to this fear of the Iranian revolution, the frightened states sought the help of Egypt. They did so because it possesses a sizable population in the region and because the United States opposes the Iranian revolution, with Egypt being either a U.S. colony or under U.S. influence. Egypt will respond to this cry for help. In fact, the traitorous regime in Egypt has benefited from this war. It has been recognized diplomatically by the Arab states because of their fear. It is as though this war has rendered

a service to the treasonous regime in Egypt, and to the United States and its allies, by permitting them a presence in the Gulf. But it has harmed the Arab revolutionary alliance between Iraq, Syria, the Jamahiriyah, Algeria, and so on.

Therefore, as an opposition force concerned about this war, we may try to do something about it.

The other urgent political issue that has further aggravated the situation is Egypt, the biggest Arab country, the headquarters of the Arab League, and the leader of Arab struggle in confronting Zionism and imperialism. Suddenly it is cowering and recognizing the enemy, hoisting the Israeli flag over its capital, and normalizing relations with it. More serious than this is, first, the Egyptian-Israeli economic opening that led to the opening of the Suez Canal to the enemy, shortening its transportation route and supplying it with oil. Egypt is now supplying oil and iron to the Israeli enemy. Numbers are available in this regard. There is also land, air, and maritime transport.

All this gave more breathing space to the enemy. Egypt is supporting the Zionist enemy so that it can develop, invigorate, breath, and grow further. It has provided it with security on the southern front so that it can concentrate on its northern front. Indeed, since then, instead of the peace process that Al-Sadat and other rulers of Egypt lie about, the process of war and annihilation has begun against the Palestinian, Lebanese, and Syrian peoples. Israeli raids have reached Algeria, and we are still expecting Israeli attacks on any Arab country, whether in North Africa, the Arabian Peninsula, or any other place.

The second thing is—sorry, I cannot focus on this subject. It seems that I have been given a blank piece of paper.

The second thing is that Egypt has been used as a bridgehead to Arab countries for Zionism. Israel rode Egypt like a camel and moved into Arab countries. A camel that has Arab features and the name of Egypt seeks to enter and you open the gate for it, but its rider is a Zionist. It has gone to all the Arab countries. To recognize Egypt now is to half recognize the Zionist enemy. Egyptian aircraft go to the occupied land and to the Arab countries with which it has relations. Egyptian media propagate Zionism. All these actors, producers, writers, directors, and publishing and cultural centers propagate Zionism and erase anything that incites struggle against it; these go and move freely about in Arab countries. The singer we hear on the radio stations of Arab countries sings to Al-Sadat and Israeli parties. The sports teams play in the occupied land, not in Arab countries. The writers who go to Arab countries propagate Zionism.

The cancer has spread in the homeland, and it comes from Egypt. The two most serious things are: the infiltration of Zionism into Arab countries through Egypt, and the support provided by Egypt to the entity that was

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once surrounded. In order for them to go from Elat to Haifa, they had to cross oceans and the continent. They had to cross Africa and the Mediterranean. Now from Elat they cross the Suez Canal to the Palestinian coast. Egyptian rulers offered them their ultimate dream.

What can one do? It is a real catastrophe. A great Arab country, the biggest one, has recognized the enemy. Not only has it recognized the enemy, but it is also propagandizing for the enemy, lending it power, and providing for it. Egypt went to all the African countries and urged them to reestablish their relations with the enemy. I, myself, asked the African presidents: Why are you resuming your relations with the Zionist enemy? They said that this was at Egypt's request.

Here is Egypt, an Arab state which was combating the enemy. Now it has recognized the enemy. How could I, being an African president, break off relations with the Israelis while you Arabs establish relations with them. It stands to reason [words indistinct] see the service it has rendered. What made Spain, which had never recognized the Zionist enemy before, now recognize it? Greece, too, now recognizes it. Greece, even under the monarchy, never thought to recognize the Zionist enemy, nor did Spain for that matter, in consideration for the feelings of the Arabs and the historical and territorial ties with them.

Now, who could convince them? I met with the Spanish prime minister, who told me: How could I not recognize the Israelis when Egypt does so? It is not logical. I could not be more Arab than the Arabs.

We were endeavoring to expel the Zionist entity from the United Nations. Now the request is to expel the Arabs, for they are considered to be savages, barbarians, underdeveloped, and gypsies. This is what we are called. This is what is being disseminated about you, the Arabs. [Words indistinct] should be expelled, all the Arabs. If you have wealth, they take it. Then they [words indistinct]. What are these barbarians and savages, they say. They should not be allowed into the United Nations. They would expel you from all the organizations. And what about UNESCO? What UNESCO? They said that the Arabs are not civilized or educated. Al-Sadat told them this. He said that the Arabs are barbarians, savages; they are not civilized or educated. We are the only ones, he told them, who are civilized [words indistinct].

The criterion for civilization has become whether or not you recognize Zionism. We have managed to convince the world to write to the United Nations and urge it to issue a resolution stipulating that Zionism is a form of racism. This is now being reconsidered. The General Assembly will meet one of these days and declare the abrogation of this resolution. This is being requested now. See this! The PLO has replaced Zionism and its terrorism. The request to expel the PLO is being voiced from everywhere. Even its bureau at the United Nations. The United States is now calling for its closure.

This is a peaceful process. See how the situation has become reversed in every respect. Egypt has caused a catastrophe for our cause. It presented a historic service to the enemy and caused the entire world to become confused and to reconsider all its stands. Those who traditionally had not recognized the Zionist enemy ended up by recognizing it for the sake of Egypt. Africa, which has had no relations with Israel for the last 20 years, has now resumed all ties. The United Nations, instead of expelling the Zionist enemy, will now expel the PLO. They will now expel the PLO. You can see the preparatory signs for this. The Palestinian bureaus, and the Libyan Peoples' Bureaus, are beginning to be expelled from the countries of the world. The situation is reversed, the latter now being considered terrorists. They are not joining in the process; they are not joining in the process determined by David's stable [Camp David].

Recognizing Zionism, surrender, renunciation, and concession. It is the Palestinian people who are paying the bill, in the occupied land and in the camps, and the Lebanese people in streets and towns everywhere. The Syrian people, as well as the rest of the Arab nation, pay the bill. We will all pay the price. See the atrocity of the catastrophe that has befallen us because of the recognition of a traitor, whose origin might be the Falasha, who is Al-Sadat.

Fine, if Al-Sadat, who was originally Falasha or Jewish, succeeded with subterfuge and tricks to become the president of an Arab country and to put it at the service of Zionism, what about the rest of them? I do not think that Husni is from the Falasha, at least his build does not seem to be Falasha. [laughter] What makes him carry on this catastrophe? How could we welcome him and stretch out our hand to him? In reality, it seems to me and to my analysis—which stems from a revolutionary stand, not a political one—I wish I were the president of a republic so that I could make decisions and have political and administrative prerogatives. But here authority is in the hands of the people, the people's congresses, the people's committees, the new Jamahiri system, and I possess neither the political nor the administrative initiative.

To me, the Egyptian regime should be combated and blockaded from all sides until it falls, and if harm comes to the Egyptian people because of this, then so be it. The Egyptian people will have to face the damage that comes to them as the result of the encirclement of Egypt so that they will turn against this regime. If the Egyptian people are harmed, then it is this Egyptian regime which was the one that brought harm to them. Anything that is Egyptian should be completely boycotted until the Egyptian people get fed up and carry out a revolution. Causing harm to the Egyptian people is intentionally beneficial at this stage. It can be compared to a surgical operation which is painful but cures the patient. So, in order to cure the Egyptian people and to save them and work for

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their future and that of the Arab nation, the Egyptian people should endure pain at this stage. Yes, boycott all that is Egyptian, because it is ugly and stinking from its recognition of Zionism.

This is to ensure that the Egyptian people will stage a revolution and attach blame to the Egyptian regime, which has inflicted harm on the Egyptian citizens. Workers, air traffic, the press, the movement of goods, visits, tourism, investments—all have been affected. The Egyptian regime, as I see it, has not rendered anything worthwhile to Egypt. It should be further strangled. Worse than this is the fact that following its re-recognition by the Arab states, it has done nothing for the Arab nation in return such as leaving stable David or stopping Israel's atrocities. Immediately after its recognition by the Arab states, Israeli massacres in Gaza began. Look at them. I thank God for exposing them. The Arabs left Amman and recognized the Egyptian regime. After that, the massacres in Gaza began. The people of Gaza are footing the bill.

As for the Jamahiriya, it should have been said at the people's congresses that this country is separated from us by a desert, and that is that. In other words, we should pretend that Egypt does not exist. Egypt should also pretend that Libya does not exist. All right. He will hear nothing from me, and I will hear nothing from him. We will not seek help from him, and he will not seek help from us. This situation will continue until God settles the issue.

I have no problem with Egypt. Egypt has a problem with the Arab nation. As for Libya and Egypt, we have no problem between us. Between us there is a lifeless desert; we have no mutual interests. What is Egypt? Egypt is the Nile valley, and this valley is far away from the desert. We assume that Egypt does not exist. I have no need for Egypt. I have no embassy and no aircraft in Egypt. I make no visits to Egypt. I have no workers in Egypt. I have nothing in Egypt. I can pretend that Egypt does not exist at all.

This is the correct attitude to adopt. It should stay this way until judgment day. This is a more honorable position to take than to re-establish any kind of relations with this regime while it is drowning in treason from the top of its head to the tip of its toes. This regime has caused us the present historical tragedy we are experiencing. We have paid the price for this tragedy with our sons, our homes, and our future. This is the price for Egypt's action. Bombs falling on our heads everywhere—in Libya, Lebanon, Syria, and Tunisia. What is the reason for this? The reason is this tragedy. To this day Egypt is still continuing to support the enemy against us.

What right have the Arab governments to re-establish relations with Egypt? We, as a recognized Arab opposition force, affirm that these governments, which we oppose, should be brought to trial. They should stand trial and tell the people what Egypt has contributed to

make them recognize it. They should tell the people; they should convince you. They should convince you of the reasons that made them recognize the Egyptian regime. Maybe there are positive things of which we are not aware.

Maybe there is a plan under which Egypt is fighting the enemy and liberating Palestine. Maybe Egypt will abrogate the stable David accords next year, 1988, or the year after. Let them convince you. Okay. What is to be achieved in return for this recognition? What will Egypt give in return for its recognition? Following the Arabs' re-establishment of relations with Egypt, what will Egypt give in return to the Arab cause? Will it fight Iran? This is not the cause.

Among the subjects listed on the agenda is the international conference on the Middle East. This is another bomb. All these things are bombs exploding in our midst in order to scatter us—the Sahara, the Gulf war, the recognition of Egypt, the international conference, etc. All these are bombs being thrown into the Arab assembly in order to scatter the Arabs in every direction. Among these bombs is the international conference. Countries such as Libya and Syria have different views on the international conference. I am against it 100 percent, while Syria is for it 100 percent. This is a calamity. Prior to the idea of holding an international conference, there were no differences between us. Now there are differences, for example, on this conference. Is this not a calamity? It has scattered us.

The international conference, as the Israelis and the Americans have declared—and I would like to state that the U.S. and the Zionist attitude will be the one which will triumph at the United Nations or at the international conference or anywhere else, because there is no counterattitude that can check imperialism and Zionism. [sentence as heard]

If the Soviet Union is against Zionism and imperialism and is checking them, then my own experience tells me that it can realize something in its own interest. In other words, the Soviet Union can check the action of the United States vis-a-vis the Soviet Union itself or the socialist camp, but the Soviet Union is incapable of checking U.S. action against Libya or Afghanistan or Angola or Ethiopia, or Palestine, or Lebanon. It is quite evident that it cannot, although it is possible for the Soviet Union to deter the United States from attacking it.

Now, the latest thing is that we see the Soviet Union defending this because the United States was about to attack Poland and enter it. The Soviet Union, with difficulty, just managed to salvage the situation. The opinion that will triumph at the international conference will be the opinion of the United States and the Israelis.

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What have the United States and the Israelis said? They have said that the international conference is an international umbrella, which will justify direct bilateral negotiations and bless any settlement to be agreed between any two parties. [audience shouts: "Palestine is Arab" and "No to the capitulationist solutions"] Yes, I agree. As soon as the international conference is convened, King Husayn and the Israelis will meet—the two parties, as the Israelis have said. This is the umbrella of the international conference. The Jordanian and the Israeli delegations will meet. If they agree on anything, then the international conference will bless it, not oppose it.

In actual fact, the Zionist enemy will be recognized at this two-sided meeting, thus forming another stable David, as was the case with Egypt. In other words, they will take another step similar to that which was taken between Egypt and the Israelis. They want to do the same thing that Egypt and the Israelis did. They want to do the same between Jordan and the Israelis, between Lebanon and the Israelis, and between Syria and the Israelis. Then the issue will come to an end. This is a very serious point.

It is similar to the Amman conference. As soon as they met, they restored relations with Egypt. As soon as the international conference convenes, the Israelis will be recognized by Jordan and by the Lebanese—I mean the Al-Jumayyil government, the government of the separatists, which will speak on behalf of all Lebanese. They will exchange ambassadors, and there will be an embassy in East Beirut and a Lebanese embassy in Jerusalem, not even in Tel Aviv. There will be a Jordanian embassy, too, and there will be an Israeli embassy in Amman.

A true copy of what happened between Egypt and the Israelis; this is what will take place at this international conference. This is the story of the international conference. How can Syria refuse to recognize the Israelis. This would be a calamity for Syria. It would be isolated. The Golan would remain occupied. There will be Israeli embassies in Amman, Beirut, and Egypt. This is the international conference.

The Palestinian resistance, the PLO, and the Palestinian people are not recognized at this international conference. It is forbidden to have a Palestinian delegation. They are conspiring to bring a traitor, bearing U.S. nationality, a Palestinian having British nationality, and a Palestinian having Israeli nationality, to say that they speak on behalf of the Palestinians. They want to have another traitor within the delegation—a Jordanian or a Lebanese. Imagine! To whom does the issue belong? It belongs to the Palestinians. If the Palestinians do not have their own delegation and if their delegation is not the largest or the strongest, then what is the benefit of an international conference?

Why do they speak about the occupation of the West Bank, Jordan, and the Golan Heights? Because of Palestine. It appears that the basic issue is Palestine. But they

have deliberately overlooked it. They said: We do not recognize any representation of the Palestinians. To whom does this belong? It is the question of the Palestinian people. In other words, in evil there is a choice. Despite the fact that it is evil and treasonous, a conspiracy and a calamity, we wish that there were a Palestinian delegation representing the Palestinian resistance to say yes or no. If this happens, then all right. We have disagreed with the PLO, but it is all right by us. We have disagreed with Syria, but it is all right. Let them go to the international conference. The conference will end with Jordan, Lebanon, and Egypt recognizing the Israelis. Those who are against the conference are against the peace process. All right, send your aircraft to attack them.

It appears for this purpose that the question of the international conference has been placed on your draft agenda. But the idea and the goal is how to save the Arab nation through the realization of Arab unity. There is no thought given to anything except the unity of the Arab nation. You should not think about anything else except the unity of the Arab nation. You should not think about Arab solidarity and neighborliness, etc.

We should strive for neighborliness between Iran and Iraq and between Turkey and Syria, for example. As for the one Arab homeland and the one Arab people, there should be no neighborliness, as we have unity. Either we are united or we suffer a calamity. This unity—it is written here: [Al-Qadhdhafi indicates the draft agenda] The Arab union as a formula.

We can propose a plan for the establishment of an Arab union in order to salvage what can be salvaged. The monarchical regimes will remain as they are. The republican regimes will remain as they are. And the Jamahiriyah will remain as it is. The sultanates will remain as they are, and the shaykhdoms will remain as they are. Even the place where donkeys are tethered [Al-Qadhdhafi's reference to Oman] will remain as it is. [laughter] No one will change them.

But all of them should meet to set up a chairmanship council. The chairmanship of this council will be in rotation. I do not care if there is a donkey at the head of an Arab state. He will assume the chairmanship of this council. I do not care. Please unite us even under the chairmanship of a donkey. [laughter] We used to make it a condition that Arab unity should be revolutionary unity. All right; we have conceded for the sake of unity. We said: Let the kings, the sultans, the shaykhs, the presidents for life or half their life or a quarter of their life remain as they are. [laughter]

But let us make a chairmanship council of these rulers; let us make an executive council of the Arab prime ministers; let us make a foreign ministerial council of the Arab foreign ministers, an industrial council of the Arab



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industry ministers, an educational council of the education ministers, and a health council of the health ministers, etc. The chairmanship is by rotation. Let us say that the foreign minister of Qatar, when his turn comes, becomes the foreign minister of all the Arabs. We have given them an opportunity to preside over all the Arabs. The head [as heard] of Bahrain will, when his turn comes, become the head of the chairmanship council of all the Arabs.

They said that they do not want Arab unity because it entails an abdication—who will be the Shukri al-Quwwatli and who will be the Jamal 'Abd al-Nasir [Al-Qadhdhafi reference to the United Arab Republic of 1958 when Egypt and Syria were united and Abd al-Nasir became the head of state while the then President of Syria had to give up his post in favor of Al-Nasir]. The riddle has been solved. There will be no Shukri al-Quwwatlis and no Jamal 'Abd al-Nasirs. You will all become 'Abd al-Nasirs; all of you will become heads. You will be heads in rotation. This is in addition to the fact that you will remain heads of your own country.

This will not abolish the revolution. If there is a possibility for a revolution to be staged, then it will be staged. There will be no veto against a revolution taking place in this or that country. It will take place. If the people want to change the monarchical regime in a country to a presidential system, then they will do so. If the people want to change a presidential system into a Jamahiriyah regime, then they will do so.

If the workers are exploited in any Arab country, then they can stage a revolution. If the peasants are ruled by the feudalists and are being exploited, then they can stage a revolution. Students can stage a revolution. Soldiers can do so as well. These are interactions which we have left to the country itself. Regardless of such interaction in any country—today it may be a monarchy and tomorrow a republic and the day after that it may become a Jamahiriyah—it will remain a member of this Arab union. We do not care about the identity or how it changes. What concerns us is that it should remain a member of this union.

In addition, this will not prevent the establishment of true integration unity. This and that Arab country may unite and set up one state. Iraq may unite with Syria and set up one state. Excellent! This would be within this union. Tunisia and Algeria may become one state. Excellent! They would be within this union. Egypt and Sudan may establish one state, or 100 quarters. [laughter; Al-Qadhdhafi says the words "or 100 quarters" in Egyptian dialect]

The important thing—whether they are 1 or 100—is that they are members of this union. This is the political framework for the unity of the Arabs. We have given this unity an economic content. It is not a political cover. It is an economic and material content concerning food and the establishments dealing with wheat, agriculture,

gas, oil, energy, and water. For each we have opened a volume; we have made a volume for each proposal. We have proposed a political cover and, inside it, this content.

If they refuse even this form, then what is left for us? We have only violence before us, forced to the point that some of you must go underground and start blowing up the ground under the feet of rulers and kings. This does not mean that we desire violence, but necessity pushes us to this, for if we do not kill, they will kill us. [Words indistinct] we want this Arab opposition to be shaken and to be aware of its responsibility. However, enjoying the fact that you are an opposition is something that sometimes serves the regimes. Let us now consider the Egyptian opposition.

It is sufficient that someone like Khaled Muhyi al-Din cannot come to Libya. He is too frightened by the regime to come to Libya, whereas the regime goes with all impudence to the occupied territories, to Palestine, and he cannot come to Libya. That is it. This one cannot confront the regime. If he is too frightened to come to Libya, then is it possible for him to confront the regime? I do not think so. This is not a revolutionary or serious standpoint at all. The Egyptians should come to Libya openly in front of the regime. If the latter protests, then one should say that I protest against you: Why do you go to Tel Aviv? Why do you go to the Israelis and shake hands with them? I am going to Arabs, my neighbors and brothers, and I shake hands with them. If the Egyptian opponent cannot say these words, then how can he oppose the regime? I do not believe this; this is not opposition.

On the contrary, this seems to be deception, deception to show that the regime is democratic and has an opposition. If this regime is liberal and democratic, then it must act like a liberal regime and anyone can put forward his candidacy for the presidency of the Republic. What does it mean that Husni Mubarak elected himself last time, this time, next time, and the times after that?

Any Egyptian should have the right to put himself up as a candidate. Did they not say: Liberalism and plurality of the parties? This is plurality of the parties. This means that after 4 years—how long is the presidential term in Egypt, 6 or 4 years? Six. After 6 years, the presidential term comes to an end, and everyone then puts forward his candidacy. This president does not have the right to put himself forward as a candidate another time after having done so twice. This means that Husni Mubarak does not have the right to put himself forward as a candidate. However, he will do so and he will succeed in advance, before the elections are even held: 99 percent, and 9 out of 10.

What is this farce? Is the Egyptian opposition not educated, not aware? Does it not understand? Has it not seen that Egypt constitutes a danger for our Arab nation? Do you not know that when the Israelis go to the



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northern front, they will come back to Egypt and divide it into a Coptic state and an Islamic state and take Sinai for the second time? They will take the Nile and cultivate the Sinai and the Negev so that they make 24 million Jews emigrate and come to this region.

The Israelis will become the greatest concentration in the Middle East, more than the Arabs. They will become a state larger in population than Syria, Jordan, Lebanon, and the rest of the Arab states, and it is possible that it would [word indistinct] Egypt or be equal to it. There are 24 million Jews who are ready to emigrate when they occupy Egypt a second time and take the Nile from it. The battle now is how to take the Jordan River, the Litani, Al-'As, and Yarmuk rivers. This is the battle in the north, controlling the Arab local water resources. This is sufficient for 12 million Jews. After that, they will go back to the Negev, the Sinai, the Nile, and the division of Egypt until they (?annex) it and make it into two states.

Who is waiting for this and obstructing everything so that this additional disaster takes place? Is it the Egyptian regime? Is the Egyptian opposition not aware of this? Have they not studied this? How can this be? Have they been brainwashed? I do not know. How can one politician who is aware not know this danger? It is publicly known that the Israelis work for the division of Egypt into two states, as a minimum, into one Coptic state and one Islamic state, as well as the division of Lebanon, Syria, and the rest of the Arab states.

Arabs must be American Indians, Kurds, and gypsies. This is the U.S. and Zionist decision, as well as that of all the West. They have decided that this race, which is called Arab, must come to an end because we are savages and uncivilized. They say things like this: Arabs hate civilization, hate agriculture, hate peace, destroy churches, destroy Jesus and Mary, and destroy Christianity. They teach this to their children. But of course there are Arab Christians among us. It is impossible for the West to understand that there are Arab Christians who worship Jesus or Mary.

No, these are Arabs and they must all be eliminated. The American mentality is orientated continuously toward elimination, the elimination of race, because it was established on the basis of elimination. It, the United States, was established only after the elimination of a nation of American Indians. They distributed blankets to them containing the smallpox virus. Imagine, a mind reaching this point. They took blankets which they filled with the smallpox virus and distributed them to the American Indians who then died out.

They discovered that cancer would spread if they cut down a forest. An American Indian doctor wrote to me and said: Imagine, the United States has been cutting down a forest in which an American Indian group is living in order to spread cancer. The United States was established on the basis of genocide. Therefore, this is its

international policy: genocide. It is now focusing on the mass annihilation of the Arab race in order to pave the way for Zionist expansion, which is one of the states in the Middle East. [sentence as heard]

Do not believe this. It is Al-Qadhdhafi who is telling you this. Forget this nonsense. What is all this talk about genocide? The United States is a civilized country. Wait and see. [Passage indistinct] This was proven by scientists and doctors. The United States took this virus, played around with genealogy, experimented with prisoners, released them, and they got out and spread it. In order to cover up this enormous crime, the United States said that this virus came from Zaire, from African countries, and from African monkeys. It has come from American monkeys, not African monkeys.

Look at how they spread rats in Egypt: 12 million rats. They left this country with a disaster. It is true that this might sound funny, but it is a fact. If you saw the hellish U.S. machinery, then you would say that this is hell and not human. You would say this after you have seen their decisions, heard the confessions of their spies, the secret issues they work on, their maneuvers and [word indistinct]. The plan was to destroy agriculture in Egypt so that the Egyptians would have to live on U.S. wheat. Indeed, statistics show that 12 million rats were brought into Egypt after the phase of opening took place. I refer you to the reports of experts—you will see the disaster that has befallen Egypt. Egypt was completely destroyed, and now Egypt begs the United States for wheat.

The United States fights [words indistinct] fights with cockroaches, fists, or atomic bombs. It does everything. It kills. It deliberately attempted to kill me; it used aircraft, the most advanced airplanes. Squadron after squadron attacked the house. People still say that the United States is civilized, that it is not crazy, and that it does not intend to kill people. The situation is clear. How can they send planes to attack someone asleep with his family? It would have been better if the United States had carried out a coup, if it had landed on the coast, started a war, and captured me as a war criminal. Where is the room in which he is sitting? Attack it with planes. Where is the office in which he works? Where is the tent he stays in? What is this? I am in my country. I am not in the United States; I have not occupied a portion of it in such a way that they would attack me.

This is the lesson. The lesson is that the United States is crazy. It is an enemy, one established on the basis of genocide. It will not stop until it has annihilated this race, the Arab race. The Arab race is better annihilated [words indistinct]. This is shameful and a disgrace. We have become like dirt to the world. By God, it would be better if we were finished. I hope that they pelt us with atomic bombs. May we provoke the United States into annihilating us with the destructive means it possesses. I would prefer it if we were annihilated. That is it; they will say that this was a vile nation and one that is finished, a nation that is incapable of living and is

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instead finished. Or, they will say that this was a nation that was defined but is now finished. As for our remaining this way, what is our worth?

What is our value? We are not solving the problem in southern Sudan, or that of Aozou, or that of the Polisario, or that of the Zionist enemy against whom we have done nothing, or that of the United States.

The United States displays a clear enmity toward the Arab nation. Hatred. We swore to them by all things sacred that we do not hate, that we live peacefully. They said no, you hate, you do not want to live peacefully. Imagine this! How? Did you see our fleets heading for you, or our nuclear submarines? Did we send you microbes? We are at home, cultivating, building, trying to cure ourselves by ourselves, and trying to progress from underdevelopment to progress [words indistinct].

They expelled Libyan students who were studying atomic energy for peaceful purposes and who were studying aviation. They said that Libya will not study space or atomic energy. These are studied by the United States, its allies, and its agents. This means [word indistinct]. All right, you know space; it appears that it doesn't belong to God, but rather to the United States. You, Libyans, study space? Who allows that? We said: True, we only took it from the United States. At the same time, there is an Arab opposition that is greeting the rulers: Hello, your excellency the ruler. What opposition is this? This is a comedy. [laughter, applause]

I would like you to meet and to concentrate your efforts during the coming hours and the time ahead of you, preferably without speeches. This is because everything is clear, and what I have said is sufficient. Anyone who speaks would say something similar. So, this is clear. What can we do? You can form committees, and each committee will be in charge of one of the articles.

With regard to this, if anyone is willing to add another article, the Lebanese problem is not mentioned here, and Lebanon is a true problem. We thus devoted one of the articles to [word indistinct] Lebanon among the basic political issues. In fact, it should have been issue No 1, along with the camps. Lebanon is torn apart. Then you form committees—this one in charge of Lebanon, that one in charge of the Gulf war, that one responsible for Egypt, another responsible for the Sahara problem, that one in charge of the international conference [on the Middle East], and so on.

The main scheme is how to liberate Palestine. We decided upon a practical procedure that the opposition will work with. It should publish it in its newspapers, in its literature, and demonstrate with it, meet with it, speak with it, oppose the government with it, and meet with the government on its basis—the basis of this program—until the government feels that the masses and the people it governs have a different opinion than its own. Either the government falls, or it alters its policy

according to the wishes of the people it governs. Then you win the masses. As for anyone who flirts with the government, do you think that he will win the man in the street, the masses? He will not.

The existing governments do not acquire the respect of citizens. When you respect a government, you lose the respect of the citizen. You will no longer be respected. If you win the respect of the citizens, you should not respect these regimes.

In following the procedure I mentioned for the division into committees, for setting up a program, agreeing on it, and beginning the struggle in conformity with this program, we will win the masses. However, the masses are currently lacking in the opposition, for they do not believe that this opposition represents them. [Words indistinct] that this opposition may attach importance to the government and lengthen the rule of governments that harm the Arab citizen. Is there anyone among us who does not like a ruler because he is named Hassan or Husayn, or so and so, or Fahd. It is only because of his [not further identified] policy that his program causes harm to the Arab nation and its future. His policy engenders bombs, catastrophes, and even microbes over our heads. This is neither a temptation, nor a matter of mood, nor a picnic; it is a necessity.

This leads to the Arab opposition having a united plan for the same people, the same homeland, and against the same enemy. The national parties, some of which were established for regional reasons, must no longer continue in that way, for the issue now in question is a pan-Arab one. For example, we have the independence party in Morocco; you were demanding independence for Morocco. How could your demand now be independence for Morocco? Morocco is an independent country. Now that is something new. What would your party do? It must put Arab unity in the place of independence.

All right, the previous stage was independence from France; you have now become independent from France. Now the goal must be Arab unity. You must cross out independence and write down Arab unity. If you do not want to pursue Arab unity, then pursue the unity of the Arab Maghreb. This would be a step toward Arab unity.

Take the national party, for example. I do not know which country—the Sudan or any other nation. Now, there is only the Arab nation. You must cross this out. When we refer to the Tunisian Constitutional Party, what constitution are we talking about? Are you demanding a constitution for Tunisia? We have a constitution, and that is that. There is no need to demand a constitution.

The Egyptian Al-Wafd Party sent a delegation to London [word indistinct] so that Egypt could become independent. Someone told them to send a delegation to London to bring the British Army to Egypt. We are not sending a delegation for you to establish the Al-Wafd Party again.

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Al-Wafd was originally organized because during the English times, they wanted to send a delegation to London. They then called on the Al-Wafd Party. Is sending an Egyptian delegation to London now a demand? What is this Al-Wafd? Now there should be Arab unity, liberation, and socialism. A social and pan-Arab demand. They are intermingled.

Regrettably, we trail other nations in our pan-Arab unity. The world has entered a stage of social revolution, while we have not yet achieved pan-Arab unity. We thus have two burdens: the burden of social revolution and that of pan-Arab unity. The social revolution is in fact acting against pan-Arab unity. A revolutionary Arab country is now closer to Iran than to a neighboring reactionary Arab country. A scientific socialist Arab country is closer to Moscow than to a reactionary neighboring Arab country.

This is all due to the social revolution that the world has entered. For our part, we have entered it without having attained Arab national unity. Other nations achieved their unity in the age of nationalities, in the 19th century. They then entered the age of social revolution as united nations, the internal struggle between forces of exploitation, between the exploiters and the exploited. [sentence as heard] As for us, one Arab is the enemy of another: A U.S. Arab and an Arab who is opposed to America. My enemy is the United States, and this Arab is a friend of the United States. Pan-Arab unity was delayed until the world entered the stage of social revolution, and this is another catastrophe.

I [word indistinct] in this program and confrontation, and I paid the price. If this open Arab opposition does not serve the purpose, then we will have to move toward a covert Arab opposition, and violence will commence. I am satisfied, for I have offered everything that could save even Arab rulers. The unity plan is the one that I have told you about. To preserve whatever can be saved, we will develop it in the future. If they say no, all right. This will mean that you have pushed us to violence against you—and to covert action. Go to the United States. We are not afraid of the United States. What is the United States? [Words indistinct] Japan and attacked it with atomic bombs, and now it is begging Japan. Japan is stronger than the United States economically, even though it occupies an island that is exposed to earthquakes every year. The United States is not capable of finishing matters. We are not afraid of that country.

It attacked me with its most advanced aircraft, yet I live to this day, despite the United States. [applause]

When the pilots returned, they said that there is no possible way that Al-Qadhdhafi could still be alive. They said that he is definitely dead. Then they began embracing each other. The U.S. chief of staff was cutting farts; they were happy. [laughter, applause] They said that this

is it; our laser-guided bombs are 100-percent guaranteed. We hit his office, his tent, and the house. We are certain he was there when we attacked. They returned satisfied.

However, in reality the United States cannot finish [words indistinct] shortening and prolonging the lives of people and nations. It was not able to prolong the life of Numayri, Al-Sadat, King Idris, the shah of Iran, Lon Nol, Nguyen Cao Ky, Haile Selassie, and the list of all agents ending with Marcos and Imelda. It could not prolong their lives or help them to stay in power; they fell despite the United States. So what is this fear of the United States? The first thing is to free yourselves from the fear of the United States. You leave Libya free of the fear of the United States. [applause]

This is my perception. It is merely an opinion. I have invited you to meet as a request for help from any active Arab force that could save the Arab nation. The Palestinian resistance is present in Arab opposition, although it has no government. The Palestinian resistance is the fire over which we must pour fuel, for this resistance kindles the spirit of revolution in the Arab homeland. The spirit of resistance and defiance is very, very essential. The spirit of revolution would not exist without them at this stage. Without the Palestinian resistance, there will be no armed struggle, no violence, no fighting, or no fear of the Arab citizen. Arab rulers fear the Palestinian resistance more than [words indistinct]. Why is this? Because it has the rifle, because it is revolutionary, because it fights, and because it dies. Some might say that we are an Arab opposition opposed to our regime. What does the Palestinian resistance have to do with it? No, no, the Palestinian resistance leads Arab opposition. It is essential, especially since we are talking about Arab unity and Arab territory, whether occupied by an Israeli, an agent of the United States, or anyone else. Consequently, Arab opposition should offer support to the Palestinian resistance, place it at the head, and offer it everything. This is not for the sake of the black eyes of the Palestinian resistance, but because this movement is essential to your cause.

It is the Palestinian resistance, not the Arab opposition, that fires up the emotions of Arab youth. If there is still anything alive in the Arab homeland, it is due to the Palestinian resistance, not the cold Arab opposition. Arab opposition cannot light anything; it is cold. The Polisario energizes the region more than the Moroccan parties do. Moroccan parties have a long history and we appreciate their struggle role, but they do not excite the emotions of the young people. Instead their emotions are stirred by the Polisario [words indistinct]. Other Arab opposition groups do not stir the young people either; it is the Palestinian resistance that does this. If we subtract the Palestinian resistance from the Arab reality, then we will be left with ashes and extinguished embers. The Palestinian resistance is an ember that we must continue blowing on so that the other pieces of coal will light and become embers. Therefore, you revere, respect, support, and offer it everything. This is your pan-Arab duty.