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He added: "Those who failed to face President 'Abd al-Nasir for 18 years of his rule and to eradicate his name from the conscience of the Egyptian masses for 18 years after his death, now return to launch their campaigns."

WAKH Cites Al-Baz on New U.S. Initiative
*JN021755 Manama WAKH in English 1635 GMT
2 Mar 88*

[Text] Doha, March 2 (GNA)—First Undersecretary at the Egyptian Foreign Ministry 'Usamah al-Baz has said that the recent Middle East trip of the American Secretary of State George Shultz was meant to sound out the views of the leaders of the parties concerned to the Middle East conflict towards a peaceful settlement. This will be followed by a fresh American initiative to revive peace efforts in the region, he said.

At a news conference today Al-Baz said that the American initiative will be based on the United Nations Resolution 242, aimed at settling all aspects of the Palestinian problem and at regaining for the Palestinian people their rights, [words indistinct] concept.

The American initiative, Al-Baz added, calls upon the concerned parties to accept a change in the situation in the Israeli-occupied territories into a transitional phase and a permanent one, and the formation of a government to be headed by Israeli officials with the participation of mayors of Arab towns in the occupied territories.

Al-Baz said that Egypt and Jordan opposed the idea of the transitional government, believing that during a transitional period the Palestinians would have been familiarized to coexistence with such government.

Bulgarian Trade Union Delegation Arrives 3 Mar
*NC031352 Cairo MENA in Arabic 1300 GMT
3 Mar 88*

[Excerpt] Cairo, 3 Mar (MENA)—Ivan Ivanov Simov, chairman of the Bulgarian Chemical Industry Workers Union, arrived in Cairo early this morning, leading a delegation on the first visit to Egypt by a Bulgarian trade union delegation since 1975.

During the 1-week visit, the delegation will hold talks with officials of the General Union of Oil Workers led by Anwar 'Ashmawi, chairman of the union and deputy chairman of the Egyptian General Federation of Trade Unions. The talks will deal with ways to bolster relations and increase cooperation and coordination in fields of common interest. [passage omitted]

Libya

Al-Qadhafi Address People's Congress 2 Mar
*LD021621 Tripoli Television Service in Arabic
1038 GMT 2 Mar 88*

[Speech by Colonel Mu'ammar al-Qadhafi at the General People's Congress in Ra's al-Unuf marking 11th anniversary of the establishment of the jamahiriya—live]

[Text] In the name of God, we celebrate today not only the convening of an ordinary session of the General People's Congress, but also the anniversary of the decla-

ration of the people's authority and the setting up of the Jamahiriya. [applause] We salute the delegations from Arab and the foreign countries. We also salute the secretaries of pan-Arab conferences throughout the Jamahiriya, the secretaries of international conferences throughout the Jamahiriya, and the secretaries of people's congresses abroad.

Also attending today, in their capacity as members of the General People's Congress and to mark the anniversary of the establishment of the people's authority, are the secretaries of those pan-Arab conferences which are being held abroad and on the land of the Jamahiriya.

This commemoration is held today in the city of Ra's al-Unuf, on the banks of the Gulf of Sidra. This location for the celebration, as well as the attending foreign delegations, representatives of foreign countries, and the secretaries of the people's congresses, the pan-Arab and international conferences was intentional. We wanted to affirm our irrevocable determination to stand at the Gulf of Sidra and declare our unceasing preparation to die for it [applause and chants], and to renew again the line of death which lies at 32.5 degrees, a line once defined in the sea by a piece of water but now drawn in blood. [applause]

The day after we defined the line of death, that is, the entrance to the Gulf of Sidra, the Americans tried to cross that line. However, they died when they crossed it, and in so doing learned that the line of death was real and not just words. [applause] In 1986 we marked and colored the Gulf of Sidra with the blood from scores of martyrs. We fulfilled the promise we made when we said that we were prepared to die for this Gulf and make it red.

The United States, the aggressive power, now knows that the line of 32.5 degrees is the line of death: its aircraft and its soldiers have both been destroyed and died there. The United States knows that those behind the Gulf are prepared to turn it into a red gulf, yet it is the blood of martyrs and the enemies who attempted aggression that has colored it.

We stand today on the banks of the Gulf of Sidra to affirm our unyielding determination to defend our right to be there, to affirm that it is an indivisible part of Libyan Arab territory, and to affirm that the United States, regardless of its might, cannot prevent us from dying for it. Today the entire world and the aggressive and unlawful powers know that the air raids, the failed economic and political boycott attempts, the venomous and feverish propaganda, and all kinds of psychological and material pressures have failed and been destroyed on hard rock. They know they are facing a stubborn adversary who cannot be softened by these pressures, and who will not retreat before such threats.

Therefore, those tyrants must check their calculations. They must understand that barbarism, intimidation, power, official terrorism, the threats from fleets, and the attempts at boycotts have all ended in failure. Those things can bring them no results, and will only increase our stubbornness and determination to resist.

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The U.S. has no alternative but to back off and admit that it has tried a test operation with the aim of subjecting the area and containing it. Though they tried to frighten us and force us to retreat and deviate like the others, the United States now knows that the challenges have increased our determination and resistance.

Whenever we have faced this aggressive force, people in all parts of the world rallied around us because we faced their mortal enemy, the common enemy of all who struggle for freedom. Imperialism is the enemy of all who want to live in peace, safety, and freedom. Consequently, when we defend in the Gulf of Sidra, we defend the cause of freedom. We affirmed this cause in the declaration of the people's authority in 1979 when the Jamahiriya was set up. [applause]

The United States has no alternative but to reconsider its estimations and change its mind on the Gulf of Sidra. We want to affirm, while facing the challenge on the shores of the Gulf of Sidra, that we are determined to resist the imperialist presence not only in the Gulf but on any the Arab land. We are determined to turn all the Arab land into another Lebanon. The reason why I say Lebanon is because imperialism burned its fingers there. The Americans went there with arrogance, but left as stiff corpses and losers.

Now, with all its power, the United States cannot stretch its fingers into Lebanon again because it will meet with popular resistance led by Lebanese nationals and brave Palestinians. The resistance the United States faced in Lebanon did not come from the government or a regular army; it came from the people.

No one asked for permission to fight in Lebanon, and when young people decided to die in order to kill hundreds of Americans and Frenchmen, nobody could prevent them. They were martyred, but just one of them killed hundreds of American and French Marines. This is a decision for death which no one can prevent you from making. We have made the decision to die in the Gulf of Sidra and other places because we defend what is right and lawful. Our nation has the right to unity, liberty and peace.

As long as this is the principle that we defend, it is not possible for us to change our minds, to bargain, to be submissive, or to hesitate. It is not possible for us to renounce this principle and this struggle, because to do so would mean the renunciation of our existence, our life, and our right to exist on earth.

No matter how many treacherous conferences are held—such as the Amman conference, no matter how much the Palestinians' revolution of stones is conspired against—as seen in the hysterical attempts being made by the United States and by U.S. agents in the region, and no matter how many times this nation is violated and even humiliated, our objective remains clear: the liberation and unification of this nation so that it may lift its head among the other nations with pride. It has the right to do so, and we urge it to sacrifice its life for this cause until it has been obtained. Our fight will gain (?momentum), phase after phase, and it will confirm its worthiness with victory, phase after phase.

We should not despair, dear brothers. I know that there are frustrations, that there is a U.S.-Zionist-Western conspiracy, and also weakness, submission, and servility. But who are the subservient, the treacherous, and the servile? They are the scum, the agents, and the cowards who have not been brought in by the revolution nor by the masses. Have you ever seen a popular leader of the Lebanese nationalist movement or of the Palestinian resistance, brought in by the revolution and the masses, capitulate or retreat? What we hear is that he is fighting, or has been killed or martyred.

When the hamlets and the villages were shelled by the "New Jersey", the biggest ship in the world, none of those who carried a rifle retreated; neither did any of the revolutionary leaders. If there was a president, king, or ruler who did retreat or desert, it is because this is the way they are personally. This has nothing to do with the masses, nor has it anything to do with those who are responsible only for themselves.

Please make no mistake: The retreats, the treasons, the capitulation, the circumambulation of the Black House in the United States and the kissing of the Americans' hands, these things are not done by the Arab nation or by the Arab people. Nor are they done by the Palestinian resistance, the revolutionaries of the stones, the Lebanese nationalist movement, or the Al-Fatah revolution. Who, then, can do these things?

They are done by the creatures of the U.S. intelligence service, people who carry the labels: Made in the USA, Made in France. These people are falling one after the other because they have not been supported by the masses or by the revolution. Those who are supported by the masses and by the revolution do not fall because the masses and the revolution are the truth, and anything else is sham.

The signs of hope, the generation of anger which we announced, have started showing in Palestine. There are U.S. conspiracies and meetings, and their agents are plotting against Palestine. While it is one thing for these agents to make statements and to yell, it is another thing for the new generation, to wear masks, fight with stones, and offer martyrs every day. This is the revolution, the masses, the Arab nation; this is its conscience, this is its reality. [applause]

We should never despair because those who despair are superficial people. They believe that the truth is what is carried by the official radio stations and by government newspapers; they believe the statements made by the politicians. However, truth cannot be found in newspapers nor can it be heard on the radio. Those who planned the revolution of the stones did not announce in the newspapers that they would launch their revolution on a specific date. Their names only become known when one of them is martyred, then his name announced. We do not hear that on the radio of a station called "The Generation of Anger in Palestine", or that they have carried out such and such acts, or that they have a news bulletin. Never!

The dominant fact is that they have no radio station, no newspapers, and no government. Here is an Arab citizen, who is right and who possesses the land, fighting with a rifle.

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The United States and Zionism are this citizen's enemies. As for the ruler [of Lebanon], some day he will pack his bag and leave for the United States or go to the Israelis as Al-Sadat did. But the citizen, the owner of the house, the owner of the livestock, the owner of the tree, the owner of the farm, and the owner of the school—if he has a school—will remain. As for the rulers, even their children do not study with ours. They study in Europe. They learn foreign languages and study in Europe. Even their wives go abroad when things become difficult, and they prepare to join them.

Therefore, their presence is only temporary. The presence of those who plot and who are submissive is only temporary, because they are not of us. We are the masses, we are the people, we are those to whom land belongs. We are those whose children study at our schools. We are those who are treated at our hospitals. We are those who have livestock on which we subsist, and houses built from mud, animal hair, or bricks.

Consequently, the ordinary fighter with a rifle and he who has stones in his hands has not and will not surrender. Hope can be drawn from this, and from our determination to continue resisting until this nation is liberated and united, until U.S. and Zionist colonialism are defeated despite everything they do and however much they resist us. It is not a question of days, months, or years. This is a short-sighted view.

While they evicted us from Spain after 800 years, we evicted the Crusaders from Palestine after 80 years. The issue is one of the struggle of generations. Do not believe that the United States will always have its present power. This is an imperialist, exploitative power that lives by the blood of others, by looting peoples' wealth, and by wars. Consequently, the source of its power is threatened. People do not voluntarily give their blood for Dracula to suck. People do not plunder their own wealth to strengthen imperialist and Zionist powers.

The wars and progress envisioned by imperialism and the owners of arms factories will not continue. Peace may triumph, conscience may triumph, and markets might close to the imperialists' goods. Consequently, the day will come when the U.S. empire will inevitably age, and this has already started. You know that the United States has difficulty in financing its worldwide bases. It wants to force agent governments to meet the cost of U.S. military bases, otherwise the United States will not be able to finance its military presence outside its own territory.

This is good news. The weakening process has started. The United States is not going up; it has started going down. It is in a state of deterioration, decline, and deficiency. In the coming years it will become unable to finance its military bases abroad; consequently, it will be forced to withdraw its bases.

This is not because the United States has changed its hostile intentions, but because this is the law of nature. It will not continue to finance its bases abroad. Currently 60 percent of its maritime fleet is nonoperational. All that is sailing—which we would consider to be gigantic fleet—represents

only 40 percent of the United States' maritime force. The United States is unable to repair 60 percent of its maritime force—both civilian and military.

In addition, there are also time bombs inside the United States: There is the nation of the black people; the nation of the Red Indians; there are other oppressed groups—Arabs, Asians, Africans, and other groups; even oppressed Europeans can be found inside its borders. These groups will triumph. The United States is trying to push the conflict away by exporting it abroad, by exporting it to the Gulf of Sidra, to Nicaragua, to Panama, to Angola, to Afghanistan. It wants to turn a blind eye to the real danger.

Zionism will not continue to quarrel forever in Palestine, as it is doing these days. That society carries within it the seeds of its annihilation. The Israelis will not be able to live by fear in Palestine, despite their patience and perseverance, and in spite of U.S. support. They will not, even it takes generations, be able to continue to live in this hell, because they have usurped a people's land. This people is still present; it is fighting from inside and outside. The Israelis do not feel safe when they are on aircraft, on a bus, in their homes, at school, in the street, at home or abroad. Whenever an Israeli picks up an item he thinks that it could be a bomb planted by the fedayeen.

Why? Because he knows that he lives on a land that is not his. He takes a bus that runs through streets that are Palestinian, not his. He is an Englishman, a German, a Russian, an Iranian, or even an Arab Jew; he knows that his country is not Palestine. It was an illusion that brought him to Palestine. Therefore, he expects the Palestinians to leave the bus to him, to leave the sewage, to leave the trees, and let him enjoy the weather, the sea, and the land. Because he knows that this region does not belong to him, he is an aggressor.

This is a typical picture of an aggressor. He expects to be attacked from anywhere by the person who has a right to be there. The Israelis cannot live in such condition forever. We will continue to put pressure on them, psychologically and materially, by inciting the Palestinian revolution inside and outside. This is our aim, our determination, and our message. We will not give up. [applause]

This is not an analysis or history. We leave history to itself and to time. There is a real determination behind it, because we overcame fear. They killed our sons. The superpower raided us. They used NATO, and attacked a house, a street, and children. They buried us alive in Palestine. They have run over us with tanks in the streets of southern Lebanon—families in cars that were run over by Israeli tanks. It became obvious to us that, for the United States, right stands for deception and deception means right. There is no common understanding between us and the United States. It has one outlook, and we have another. It deprives us of our rights, while we have full freedom. We have no common language with the United States.

What the Israelis are doing is considered by the United States to be a legitimate defense, yet what we are doing, as far as the United States is concerned, is viewed as terrorism. What Hitler did is portrayed as racism, while what the

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Israelis are now doing is considered legitimate. These days, Hitler is innocent compared with the crimes of the Israelis in Palestine. Hitler did not bury anybody alive, but the Israelis have buried Palestinians alive.

As from now, the world will join with us in this campaign to revise the post-World War II culture, because this culture was made by the United States and Zionism to cover up their true reality. They are the real criminals. They are the ones who are accused of racism.

Yes, the Americans and the Israelis, and with them the West, are staging a racist war against the Arabs. This is a racist and a religious war, and it is Zionism and imperialism which have led to the alliance between Judaism and Christianity, and which have exploited Judaism and Christianity.

There is no enmity between Islam and Christianity or between Islam and Judaism. But imperialism—which dominates the Christian world, and Zionism—which has controlled the Jews, has forced Judaism and Christianity to ally themselves under the aegis of imperialism and Zionism against the Arabs, against Islam, and against the Christian Arab. As long as he is an Arab, even if he is a Christian, the Christians who follow imperialism will be against him. Thus this war is a racist war.

Consequently, we are determined to disclose the new reality. We vindicate Hitler in view of the crimes of the Israelis and the silence of the Americans about these crimes. The United States keeps silent; the United States does not say about the Israelis what it says about the Nazis because its interest now is for Zionism to be a base for destroying the Arabs. It is not in the interest of the United States for Hitler to remain. Therefore, Hitler is a criminal and the Israelis are innocent.

However, we are not interested in the analyses of the United States and what it claims about the defense of human rights. The United States is the enemy of man and the killer of mankind. We do not say that we declare enmity to the United States in a stubborn and irrevocable way. When it recognizes our right to existence, when it respects us and our land, and asks for cooperation with us as equals, then we will stretch out our hand.

We do not despise the Americans because they are Americans. We hate the imperialist policy which denies us the right to Palestine, to the Gulf of Sidra, and to our homes. Consequently, we, the ones who make the future, who lead the masses, never rely on what is said by the U.S. delegate, the U.S. President, the U.S. minister, or the Israeli minister. We do not even know how the Israeli ministry is formed.

It is a Zionist camp in Palestine, and it may change a hundred times and a hundred parties may rule everyday; this does not concern us. I personally do not know the names of the Israeli parties, the names of the Israeli rulers, and if they are ruled by a coalition or a party. All of them are a Zionist camp occupying Arab Palestinian land and we will fight them. That is final word. [applause]

It is not important who rules the U.S. or what party rules it—that does not concern me.

If the United States changes its policy toward us, respects us, and becomes neutral between us and the Israelis, this will be welcome [words indistinct] if it continues its policy against us. If you revert, we will revert. [quotation from the Koran] We are determined; we are willfull; and we will resist. We have made a decision. We have decided not to fear, and we will die standing. Can the United States prevent us? No, it cannot. [applause] That is the final word. We die every day. Death comes with God's will. We die with our will, and we die standing and fearless. [chanting of slogans]

Consequently, we are determined to light the fire of revolution in the Arab homeland so that America's feet get burned. We must oppose the U.S. presence on Arab soil because it is a pro-Zionist presence and because it is against our existence. Therefore, we do not welcome the U.S. presence, nor do we feel reassured about it no matter how many gifts it offers us. These gifts are poison wrapped in honey.

We the masses, the generation of anger, and the revolutionaries will oppose the United States from the Atlantic to the Gulf. We will even oppose it in Africa, and in the other continents with our alliance with the revolutionary forces and the fighting popular front that has begun to take shape under the leadership of the international center throughout the world. From this the United States will know that this round has ended with setbacks and defeats, from Vietnam to the Gulf of Sidra and Panama.

Dear brothers, the battle has now moved from Vietnam to Panama. Consider that the United States fought in Vietnam, across continents and oceans, as far as possible from its own borders, but that today it is fighting on its borders, in Panama. Today, the Panamanian people are fighting the United States on its borders; Nicaragua is on the borders of the United States. [applause]

Yes, look at the map of the conflict, which gives a good prediction of things to come. The conflict has moved to Panama, Nicaragua, and Central America. The United States is suffocating. Afterwards, the United States will begin to explode from within. Let the United States get angry, and let it drop its bombs. It dropped its bombs on Japan, and now Japan is more powerful economically than the United States. If it frees itself from pressures, Japan could now manufacture the nuclear bomb in a day. Everything is available to the Japanese. Why? Because the United States hit Japan with atomic bombs. What is detrimental to some is beneficial to others.

Do you think that those who are hit with nuclear bombs are finished? Look at Japan [words indistinct]. We are a desert area which absorbs nuclear and hydrogen bombs, and those who remain alive afterwards become the new Japanese. The main thing is to overcome fear. There is no fear. We are not afraid and we will never retreat, no matter how many bombs they drop on us. Even if they occupy us we will resist. If they occupy us, they will see what resistance means, and they will lose.

They are dying to occupy us, but they know that occupying us is like dragging their naked bodies over thorns, blades, and embers. If the United States wants to drag a naked body over thorns, blades, and embers, then let it come to our land.

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We are determined to shake the Arab land under America's feet until the U.S. presence is ended, until the U.S. presence returns in a new form; a from convinced that this nation must be respected and treated on equal terms, and that it should sit with this nation around the table of understanding with a new attitude.

When an Arab is buried alive in Palestine, the United States and Reagan say it is self-defense as far as the Israelis are concerned. When a Palestinian fighter attacked an Israeli base and killed armed soldiers who were occupying his land, Reagan said that it was a terrorist act which does not help the peace process.

In the end, the world, the Arabs, and those who are close or far have reaped the fruits of Camp David. Such was the peace process that Al-Sadat sowed. It has been crowned with the live burial of Palestinians. Consequently, what the rulers say does not represent the truth. We are determined, and they must understand that.

While we are celebrating the establishment of the state of the masses, I would have liked to see a model of an ideal state. I have delivered many lessons during the past bitter years on how to set up this ideal state, in which the family and state are self-sufficient, from the ordinary people to those who have power, authority, and arms.

I would have preferred not to have seen the enactment of the compulsory military service law. I would have liked to have seen the experiment of the armed people succeed, so that when we face any danger, corps of the armed people would immediately report to their camps. I delivered many lessons which are still written on how to establish a materially and morally unique state.

We said simple things on the need for the citizen to plant in his garden palm trees, vines, and olive trees. Imported bananas can be planted in his garden, as also can peppermint and parsley. We said that the cities should become productive. The land surrounding them should be divided into self-sufficient farms.

Every family in the city should be self-sufficient in agricultural produce, and the other part of the city should turn to technical production in workshops and craft centers. The number of civil servants should be reduced, and self-administration should be set up. We should concentrate on the growing of olives and palm trees, livestock and cereals. Why? Because they are the things that succeed on this soil. Libya could become an international farm.

Talk, war, and songs cannot last without an economic base. The economic base begins with the provision of food, not with money. We taught the difference between food and money: Money means that you sell oil and earn money, but this money is lost when you send it after the oil because you import food from those to whom you sold the oil. This means that oil and money went to the same foreigners.

We said: Use the money you take from oil for the production of food. Self-sufficiency for every family begins with food. Every family should think of its future, how to become self-sufficient, and not how to earn money. You can become

a middleman and a salesman, and tell your son to sell for 15 dinars a mirror which costs him 5 dinars, or go and sell some other item. This means that you are just circulating money; you have not made anything new.

We said: Think how to produce materials, how to produce goods, how to produce food, not how to accumulate money. Because it is possible to trade in [word indistinct] from morning to night by 100 persons. This man buys for 1 piaster and sells for 2 piasters, the other buys it for 2 and sells for 3. By the end of the day we find that money has changed pockets. One may have more money, another may have become rich today, but the mirror has not increased, it has remained a single mirror. This is destruction and ruin. If we made this mirror and sold it for 2 piasters and you want to sell it for 5, go and make a better one and sell it for 5. By the end of the day we find that we have made 100. This means that we have really manufactured something.

Now if the Libyan takes a truck full of sheep, why prevent [words indistinct]? Buy it in Tubruq, sell in Banghazi. Then one buys it from you in Banghazi and sell it in Ijdabiyah, another buys it in (ijdbiyah) and sells it in Surt, it reaches Misratah. The 10 sheep have not increased from Tubruq to Misratah, but the money has increased. This one earned 100 dinars, the other earned 150 dinars, the other earned 500 dinars. Do you think this is a gain? The gain is if 100 sheep give birth to another 20. Then you raise them and they become 40, and then they become 100; now it is not just your money that has become 100.

These are only examples. We spoke at length on how to create a state, but what interests me now is not how to make a state of this kind, because this depends on you. It seems to me that the citizen at this stage is not at the level of the Jamahiriyah. The proof is that the steps which should have been taken by the citizen himself in order to create the model and ideal state have not been taken. He is still drawn to the ordinary and traditional life. Even power—over which everybody fights everywhere, for which parties struggle and coups take place, for which people attack and assassinate each other—is now in the hands of the Libyan people, but sometimes they are lazy in exercising it.

There are other people who struggle for power, for partial power, or for participation in power. Power in Libya is fully in the hands of the people. The whole Libyan people are mobilized in people's conferences. How many basic people's conferences are there? There are almost 1,000 basic people's conferences, in which the Libyan people are mobilized. They have power, they adopt resolutions, they enact laws, they determine internal and external policy and the budget, they distribute, buy and cancel. Yet we exercise this power in a lazy manner and by proxy.

What I want to clarify now, which is enough for me, is to confirm the declaration of freedom. I said that the revolution which has risen and created the Jamahiriyah is a cry for freedom, a declaration of freedom. Consequently, what interests me is to make the state into a state of the free masses. I want everyone who is concerned with the cause of freedom, with the cause of human rights, and the world press to be present.

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We have said: Never will the Jews or the Christians be satisfied with you unless you follow their form of religion. That is a verse from the Koran. Whatever you do, they will not be satisfied with you. And they consider us a dictatorship, even if the Jamahiriyah is established. Imagine! There is nothing better than the Jamahiriyah or better than democracy, which means the people are in the chair. Yet they still say Al-Qadhdhafi is the dictator, as though we issue orders or resolutions. They are people who will never be satisfied with us unless we follow their religion. We would like all the forces which search for truth in the world to attend, to see for themselves and for the benefit of mankind the making of a model for a truly democratic state, a free state.

And now, in order to establish a free state, there must be a final thrust for this path, like the historic thrust we made to bring people to power. We did not fear the masses or the masses control of everything. The masses took control of offices, provinces, companies, and establishments, and the workers took control of factories and the radio station. Al-Sadat contacted me at the time and told me that a battalion of paratroops was ready for the rescue should we need it, as he had heard that the masses had taken control of the radio station.

I laughed all the time and told him that we instigated the masses to take control of the radio station. We do not fear the masses. How can we fight the masses with a battalion of Egyptian paratroopers? [applause] Subsequently we carried out an historic thrust, when the masses took control of everything, and the people's conferences and committees were set up and ended [word indistinct].

This took place in order to establish the Jamahiriyah. Now, in order to create the completely free state of the masses, there is a need for another daring operation in which we push matters right through. We cannot accept any pause in the middle of the road or partial solutions, or accept concocted solutions in order to complete a free state in which man enjoys in full his human rights for which he struggles and which we are denied everywhere.

The United States, which talks about human rights, is the first enemy of man, the first to distinguish between black and white, the first to deal with peoples through fleets, economic siege, economic sanctions, and political isolation. It has no other language than this barbaric and backward one. It lags several stages behind mankind. The United States lags several stages behind humanity; when it talks about human rights it is possibly talking about another human, a man of the jungle, a gorilla, something of this kind. It does not talk about homo sapiens, which has reached this stage.

It should be emphasized today, on the 11th anniversary of the establishment of people's power and the inauguration of the Jamahiriyah without any revision, that this is based on the establishment of people's power and the inauguration of the Jamahiriyah. As for the freedom of work for the Libyan individual on his own or with a group—any work which you see as beneficial to you, do it either on your own or in company with others. This is a principle; there is no need to say that is not allowed, prohibited, or should be licensed. You can obtain a license in order to organize trade.

As for work, every Libyan citizen, male or female, has the right to work on the land of Libya and enjoy the fruit of his efforts. What is prohibited is for the fruits of your efforts to be taken by another. That is exploitation. This is what we fight in order to eliminate: that one citizen should exploit the effort of another citizen.

As for the freedom to live and travel at home and abroad, Libyans should be free. We are proud of this because there are entire peoples who are prohibited. All the U.S. people are forbidden from going to Libya. That means a proportion of the globe, on the instructions of the dictatorial U.S. President—and for your information, the United States is living under a real personal dictatorship. All the institutions which you hear of are abolished in the face of the right of veto enjoyed by the President.

The President is the head of the government and parliament; the Senate and the House of Representatives are made up of a majority of the President's party. There is no people's supervision over the U.S. Government or over other Western governments like it. This is because the President enjoys the right of veto and overrules the resolutions of the legislature. You heard about the U.S. President cancelling Congress resolutions by using the right of veto. If he likes the resolutions, he calls them democratic, issued by the Congress. If he does not like them, he cancels them with the right of veto.

He has a law called the Emergency Law. When they announced that U.S. interests were endangered by Libya, he said to Congress: Libya is endangering U.S. foreign interests and is endangering the U.S. national interests and security. Consequently, a law should be formulated called the Emergency Law, which gives the President the right to govern the United States dictatorially as regards resolutions which concern Libya. He can wage war, kill Americans, send them, sabotage the U.S. economy. This is permitted, this is dictatorship.

U.S. citizens are forbidden on instructions from the President to go to Libya, even as tourists. See the dictatorship! Yesterday they were commenting on their radio and saying that the people of North Korea and of China are forbidden from going abroad. They said: Look at the dictatorship and the human rights which have disappeared in Korea and China because those governments are not allowing their citizens to go abroad. Look! They are even depriving U.S. citizens from the right to travel.

The rights of tourism to Libya are withheld from him—perhaps also to other areas, maybe Korea, Nicaragua, Ethiopia, and Angola. It is forbidden. They are forbidden from touring this country. Every day they comment on their radios, saying: Look at the dictatorship in Korea and China; the citizens are prohibited from going abroad. All right, Americans are forbidden from going to Libya.

If you want to fight Libya that is your affair, but I am a citizen going to that country, going as a tourist, going to work, going to do things. Thus, the American citizen needs to defend his rights. Human rights are seriously violated in the United States.

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Libyan citizens, being free, supreme, without a government, without a president, and self-governing, are free. In addition to the work which they want to do individually or with others, and in addition to being free from exploitation, they are also able to go and reside in any part of the world. And any Libyan citizen abroad can come to Libya either on a temporary or permanent basis, and go as he wants. This is the country of the masses, the state of the masses; all Libyans are free to come and go. Those abroad can enter and those inside can go according to their circumstances. If you have money and you want to leave, then leave. If you want to open a shop in Malta, then go and open a shop in Malta.

If a Libyan wants to go and open a shop in Tunisia, he is free, let him go and open a shop in Tunisia. If you have money and you want to tour abroad, then go. If you want to go and reside abroad and take out Australian nationality, then go. You are free.

These are free people who can move around the world as they wish, unless others prevent them from doing so. We said: democracy and people's rule, not people's expression, because the people who stage demonstrations are striving for power. Why demonstrate? What is it for? It is to attain power. The Libyan people have attained power. Thus democracy is people's rule, not people's expression.

The one who expresses himself is the one who is chained, the one who cannot move and who therefore attempts to express his aspirations through speech, because he cannot do so in actions. He is chained and wants the chains lifted, and consequently he demonstrates, strikes, stages hunger strikes, and commits suicide. This is what happens in other countries.

As to the one who rules himself—against whom is he going to demonstrate? Protest at what? Stage a sit-in against whom? We want to confirm to the Libyan people, while they exercise power, so that it may not be said that they are banned from doing anything, that these people who have reached the top exercise power. Its individuals can express themselves in practice at people's conferences and approve their internal and external policies at the people's conferences.

Yet any Libyan can, in accordance with the Green Book which says that the natural man is free to express himself. Even if he behaves madly he can express his madness. You are free to express yourself. The judicial person is free to express his judicial personality. But in these two cases, the first represents only himself and the second represents only the total sum of the natural persons who constitute his judicial personality. Society consists of many natural men and many judicial personalities. Thus a natural man's expression of his madness, for instance, does not mean that the remaining members of the society are also mad.

In other words, the natural man's expression means only his expression of himself, and the judicial person's expression means only an expression of the interest or opinion of those who constitute that judicial personality. The press is society's means of expression, not the means of expression, not the means of the expression of a natural or judicial

person. As for an individual who owns a newspaper, it is his newspaper and it expresses his point of view only. The claim that it is the newspaper of public opinion is a false one, because it expresses in reality the point of view of the natural man only. He expresses himself by any means, even if it was a mad one, in order to prove his madness.

The natural man has the right to express himself only, and democratically he only has the right to express no more than himself. From this premise, and in confirmation of it, any Libyan who wants to publish a newspaper is free from tomorrow to do so. Even if—how many Libyans are there?—3.5 or 4 million newspapers appear tomorrow to express the view of each free individual. Of course the expression of an opinion is to express a view in relation to an issue which concerns the life of the people. The people are in people's conferences; they discuss and approve their interests.

But the one who expresses a view in a newspaper cannot approve anything, because he is not in power and wants to protest and to express his point of view, and perhaps the authorities will adopt it. But when you are in power you do not need a newspaper to express your opinion.

Any Libyan from tomorrow, can if he wishes, or even feels like proving that he is free and wants to ascertain that he is free, publish a newspaper. If you cannot publish a newspaper, and you want to publish a leaflet, write your name on it and publish it. This is the leaflet of so-and-so. I have no money to publish a newspaper—of course you cannot receive money from abroad or at home, this is your affair and you are free; otherwise it will be considered a crime if you receive money from a foreign source and publish a newspaper with it. This becomes treason. That is not permitted anywhere in the world. But if you have the capabilities to publish a newspaper tomorrow, any Libyan can do so. We are not afraid. Any Libyan.

We Libyans are all sharing power. That is fine, everyone who wants to publish a paper can do so. If you do not wish to publish a newspaper, fine, tomorrow is 3 March, if you do not want to publish a newspaper you can issue a circular. Write your name and address on it and say that you shoulder the responsibility of what you say in it, and this is your viewpoint. This sort of thing is purely (?superfluous). If you do not wish to express your views at the people's congress or if you want to augment it, and you wish to express it in the newspaper in question, you can say it.

But printing it has no meaning at all in the state of the masses. It is meaningless for one to publish a newspaper or issue a circular in the state of the masses. It is meaningless because all the masses are participating in power through the people's congresses. What you want to say in the circular can be said at the people's congress where it can become a resolution and be adopted by the people's congresses and become part of the policy of the Jamahiriyyah.

If it is a question of challenging others, the Libyan people are free. They can publish newspapers and leaflets tomorrow. Issue circulars. If you have no paper to write on you can write on the wall. Say: I am Mr so-and-so. I have no paper or newspaper but I am writing on the wall. You can write on

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the wall on one condition: namely, after you write whatever you wish, after people have read it you erase it and paint the wall clean again. And after people read it erase it again. [applause]

We challenge them. We do not want them to say that there is no freedom of expression in this country. We challenge them in a peaceful way so that they can raise their hands high and say: This is the ideal state; this is the lost paradise; this is heaven on earth; this is the virtuous city; this is the dream of the philosophers; this is Athena reborn; this is the lost paradise.

And so that you can make sure we invite all newsmen, writers, and analysts, and those who have an association with human rights and Amnesty International to come to the Jamahiriyah and see the state of the masses where the citizen is free and in power, free at work, free in his life and in his movements, free to enter and to leave, free to express himself, and free to do what he says.

For your information, and for that of the ambassadors of foreign countries and newsmen and guests, no Libyans have had their property removed since the emergence of the revolution, except for those cases in which the wealth of the people was recovered from whom it was stolen.

I ask anybody to come from any place whatever to carry out an investigation with any Libyan who says: This building is inherited from my great-great-grandfather, or it is a result of my own sweat and toil. Or: I was walking along the road and found gold and silver, and this gold and silver legally became my property and with it I bought this building. Or: I was at home and heaven opened up on me and poured gold and silver. Or: This farm had manna fall on it from God.

I would like to see a single Libyan who can come and challenge and say: This is the result of my own sweat and toil; this farm, or land, or building, or this money in the bank, or this car, or this company, is mine. If so it will be given back to him tomorrow. All the money that was taken was stolen from its real owners, the people, from the sweat of the peasants, the workers, the small employees, and the people who were exploited.

If anyone had buildings that were recovered under the so-called Law No 4, these buildings were taken from the wealth of the people. Someone comes to the bank and asks the bank: give me 1 million. The bank gives him 1 million. He built a building with the money. We came and retrieved it. He comes along and says: They have taken my building. Afterwards he flees abroad. Why have you fled? He says: Because they have taken my building. Don't say: They have taken my building. Say: The building which I took from the people, the free people, has been recovered from me. [applause]

Subsequently you can also say: I was angry because the people recovered their money. Fair enough. He is angry because the people recovered their property. We accept this willingly. He is angry because the people have recovered their wealth.

Who owns the apartments? Who owns the fields? Who owns the companies? Who owns the land and construction sites which we took? Who? It is the unemployed poor citizens? Never, it is either a minister, ambassador, deputy, teacher, or lawyer. It is an exploiter entrepreneur, broker, prime minister, king, crown prince, or his cousins. These are the people who own Libyan land: it is those [words indistinct].

Show me an ordinary Libyan who used to own some land. This happened only after the revolution, when the law on urban construction was issued, following which any citizen was allowed to have access to a loan. A soldier who resigned from the Army got a loan and built five apartments. After that he gave them back to the people when he realized that it was not right to borrow from the bank in order to build five apartments. That person became a rich man immediately. He used to be a soldier, a humble shopkeeper, or a shepherd, then he became wealthy.

It is because of the revolution for the days we allowed you to enjoy. You were nobody and you became somebody. You should not turn your back on the revolution, saying: I managed to build five apartments. It is the revolution which told you to build five apartments. One could find that one person owns Tripoli, Benghazi, or [word indistinct], or they are shared between two or three persons. All the construction land is shared between them to the extent that no citizen is able to bury or build until he pays this exploiter.

We have recaptured the land. Go and bury, take your land, build on it, farm it, build houses. This exploiter fled the country and joined Zionism, while saying: They took my land from me. How can one say that they took your land from you. You should say that the Libyans recovered their land from you. That would be right.

I challenge any Libyan, and I am ready to open an inquiry on any case of this sort—not even an inquiry carried out by a Libyan, you may choose any world commission, neutral people that the world trusts, or you may bring a lawyer from Austria or Honduras—and come and tell me that the revolution took this land from you, or this money, or this building because it was inherited from your grandfather and was created by the sweat of your brow. He could be assured that he will recover it tomorrow. Anybody who has inherited properties, or proerties that they built themselves, or even if they believe that they have properties dating back to the days of the Ottomans, will be able to have them.

As for those properties which were stolen, they have been returned to the people. The Libyans who are on the run abroad think that they are being targeted because they were deprived of their land, their farms, their palaces, and their apartments. That is why they fled, because they thought they were criminals. No, let them come back home because the Libyan people are not after their lives, they are after their fortunes, and they have recovered their wealth. Let them come back home.

Anybody who returns is allowed to be a member of the people's congress and entitled to express his opinion. He will be allowed immediate membership in the people's

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congresses, and may say that he has a right, that he is being persecuted, and that he has opinion better than yours, and that in my opinion that a Libyan [words indistinct]. Let him come and contribute.

Anyway, we challenge, we challenge. They think that we throw Libyans out of the country, deprive them, and if they return to the country, we will kill them. I challenge them here: Any Libyan who returns to the country, and if there are Libyans abroad, will be a member of the people's congresses and express the opinions that they air abroad here inside the country. We are not afraid of them. The person who is afraid is the one who expels and imprisons people.

If we are afraid we are not revolutionaries. If you are afraid of something you should tackle it and destroy it. We are not afraid. The one who is afraid is the one who clings to power, rigs elections, and makes his son hereditary. He is afraid that the people will tell him that they do not accept his son. He can be afraid of the opposition; the one who rules is the one who can be afraid.

As for the Libyan people, it is they who rule. If anybody can oppose the Libyan people, let him come and attack the Libyan people. As for me, there is nobody who can challenge me. Can they challenge me in a place which is threatened by U.S. raids? I am wanted by international imperialism. If someone thinks he can have my position he is welcome to it, but I know that nobody is brave enough to even sleep by my side. [applause].

We invited presidents and kings, but they were afraid and said that they were unable to come to Libya. We invited them to a summit conference and they declined, because they said that Al-Qadhafi's position is targeted. Therefore, there is nobody who can challenge me. Anyone is welcome to challenge me for this dangerous position.

As for the Libyans, it has become clear that they are able to establish their state any way they want it to be. It is the right of the people's congress to dispute anybody they believe is interfering in the freedom of any Libyan citizen. Let it be clear: We have security apparatuses, we have specialist military intelligence in the army. All countries of the world will have a military intelligence until the establishment of the people's militia or people's defense, according to the law which you have created.

You have a criminal investigation body, and it is known that every country has a criminal investigation body; they are secret people searching for and investigating secret crimes. No naive person would abolish these things. The United States, which boasts about human rights, has the strongest mechanisms for controlling the citizen.

An American who was in Libya was sentenced to 90 years in prison, despite the fact that his age was 70 or so. How many years has he got to live? They still sentenced him like that. It is a complete disregard and flouting of human rights. Yes, it is disregard of human life to be sentenced to 90 years in prison because he was in Libya. And who sentenced him? U.S. intelligence trapped him and brought him to court and then put him in prison.

The American citizen is terrified of U.S. intelligence and there is no one to abolish it, although these organizations are created by governments, while here they are created by the people themselves, and you have got the Jamahiriyah Security Body [Hay'at Amn al-Jamahiriyah], which is for external security.

I know there are some complaints about these organs as they discharge their duties. They might arrest somebody, not on a mere whim, but out of a belief that he is conspiring against the people's authority. This is clear. Or they might tell someone not to travel abroad because of conspiratorial relations abroad—such cases exist in other countries. But when the Libyan people feel—and I want to emphasize this as the leader of this revolution, and you are not hearing this from someone else [applause and chants]—if the Libyan people have seen in their people's congresses that these organs are interfering in their affairs, or controlling any of their functions, or going beyond their duties which are drawn up by the people in the people's congresses, the people are capable of intervening and putting an end to their practices, and bringing those responsible to trial in a lawful way.

A people's congress or a group of people's congresses can hold a meeting and put on trial any such phenomenon. You can change them, whether you say you want Mr X, Y, and Z to be in the Jamahiriyah Security Body, X, Y, and Z in the criminal investigation apparatus, and X, Y, and Z in the military intelligence, or you can change them into a people's committee or four people's committees, or you can change them every month or bring a group of workers and peasants to head these organs, or a group of doctors and students to head them.

You can do all of this because these are organs that are under the people's masses' control. There is no ruler or head of government who appoints them behind the back of the people. They are popular organs for the interests of the people. If you want to abolish them you can do that in one day, and you have to do without them thereafter. Even if you decide to abolish them, there will come a day when you will regret it. Before even a year passes you will bring them back—not after a year but after merely a few months you would say that the foreigners have ambitions on us. There is U.S. intelligence, the Mosad [word indistinct], and espionage, and we have abolished the organs which were watching them.

These organs are under the authority of the people. After what I have said who can today come and complain that he is afraid of the body's officers, afraid of the criminal investigation officers, or afraid of other officers? There is no need for officers, you can change them into civilians. Put in peasants, as I have told you. Take some officials and workers of the cement company and make them criminal investigators. Form a committee for them.

There is nothing like this anywhere in the world. Why is it that the people today interfere in the business of the government? The government knows its spies and its secret officers who spy on the people. But when there is no government and no ruler, and the people govern themselves, they are the ones responsible for these matters. This is the

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new era which has started to emerge. Those who oppressed their peoples and ruled them by iron and fire did not create anything. They ended up in the dustbin of history and their peoples were left feeble and unable to rise again without them.

This is failure. If it had been useful one could have followed it. It is failure because he who suppresses the people and oppresses the masses and hates the masses and is afraid of them has never succeeded. If he had succeeded we would have followed him as from tomorrow, but he failed and what was the end of him? The free peoples are the creators of life and the ones who changed the map of the world. They are the victors. Therefore, anything that stands in the way of the freedom of the people must be removed.

As regards the Arabs, let all the Arabs hear: All the borders, the Libyan borders, are open without any condition or restriction to all Arabs from the ocean to the Gulf; they have all the rights enjoyed by the Arab Libyans; they can work, possess, reside, organize conferences, organize unions, and behave like the rest of the Libyans, because this land is an Arab land and we are only part of the Arab people. This applies to all Arabs.

I will strongly oppose any Libyan at border points, airports, or ports who would stop any Arab from entering. All right, let me tell you, you are afraid of Arabs entering. Before these cardboard states were created in the Arab homeland, planned by colonialism, created in this form, and with kings and presidents to rule them. Previous to this, Arab citizens could not leave Morocco for Mecca without a passport. What happened? Tell me, what happened? Nothing happened. On the contrary, Arabs knew each other and cooperated with each other. They would come to us from Morocco on foot, and we would play host to them, feed them, offer them drinks, and give them old clothes.

Now, when you enter they ask you: Where is your passport, who gave you permission, and how much money do you have?

As of today, any Arab—let Arabs from the ocean to the Gulf hear me—Libya is their country. They can enter at airports, seaports, and border points and I will oppose any Libyan who would stop any Arab entering Libya. Any Arab entering Libya is equal to the Libyan Arabs who are here. [applause] If we ever hear of a Libyan People's Bureau abroad having prevented any Arab from entering Libya unconditionally we will send masses from here or masses from Banghazi to storm them and destroy them. [words indistinct]

It has nothing to do with people's committees. I will personally wait every day—some day at an airport, some day at a seaport, and some day at a border point. [applause]

Let us see what would happen. Let us see what would become of Arabs. An Arab comes to us, whom we do not know. Just an Arab who wants to enter. Please enter. He may steal, for example. That is it; he will be treated just like a Libyan who steals. He kills; he will be treated like a Libyan who kills.

Arab workers who are in Europe and who suffer from racism—particularly in France—have the right to enter Libya as of tomorrow, and they have the right to employment, residence, ownership, travel, entry, and departure, just like the Libyan people. I hope that tomorrow 20 million Arabs enter Libya; it would be an auspicious day. This is Libya. This is Arab land. This is Arab unity. [applause]

All Arabs in the four corners of the world as they say, who have fled repression, who are persecuted by the police and tyranny, must come to the land of freedom. All Arabs from all over the world who have fled repression and injustice, who lack the freedom of expression, freedom of publishing, freedom of scientific research, and freedom of belief, must come to the land of freedom, and I will promise to the world that they can come and bring with them any neutral party to verify that when they come to the Jamahiriya they will find that what I have said is true. No one would be [word indistinct].

They will not be persecuted in the state of the Jamahiriya for the things they have been persecuted for in another Arab country. All Arab scientists, experts, technicians, ordinary citizens, traders, all Arabs who have fled repression and injustice in the Arab homeland, can come to the land of the masses, to the state of the masses, and to the free land. I make this challenge before the world.

Let them apply all the safeguards when they come here, which will confirm the truthfulness of this statement. A Libyan or non-Libyan Arab who has fled for any reason related to freedom can come to enjoy freedom in the free land. This land is determined to spread the sun of freedom everywhere in the world. It is also determined to remain free or die bravely on its feet.

Another challenge comes from the enemies of the Jamahiriya and the enemies of freedom, who doubt our ability to possess enough courage to create this state. In actual fact, the cowards are not capable of creating it. The cowards are afraid of the masses and are afraid of the fugitives. They are afraid of those who are imprisoned. They are afraid of the opposition. The revolutionaries are not afraid. They are not cowards. It is not possible for a revolutionary to be a coward.

If he is a coward it means that he is not a revolutionary. If he is a revolutionary then he is absolutely not a coward. The revolutionary does not act for his own benefit, because he is aligned with others, irrespective whether they are in prison or are fugitives abroad, or whether they are in opposition or have right-wing or left-wing views. He is not afraid of them because he is with the others.

There is a difference between the people about whom I am talking and those who are hirelings, agents, or traitors. That is another matter. Treason is condemned anywhere. The use of force and treachery against the people are condemned. Because you oppose me you try and kill me—this is condemned. I go along with you but you betray me—this is treason and it is condemned.

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As for those who betrayed—I mean the Libyans who are in prison, those who conspired with external quarters—such conspiring is inspired from abroad and is linked to foreign circles. This brings dishonor to its authors because such a person will have conspired inside his own country with someone living abroad. He loses the right to dissent and the right to the revolution when he becomes a conspirator with outside links.

Those who tried to use arms were thinking of their own purposes. These are not included in the list of traitors. With the exception of these, I declare before the whole world that these number less than 100 persons throughout the 20 or 19 years of the life of the revolution. The revolution is nearing its 20th year.

For the information of the foreign ambassadors, foreign correspondents, foreign guests, the secretaries of the external people's congresses and the secretaries of the international people's congresses who are with us here, and the secretaries of the pan-Arab people's congresses of non-Libyan Arabs, and the rest of the world that is listening to me at this moment; for your information, those who were accused of treason—those whom this description fits and who conspired with someone abroad or committed the crime of treason, and treachery—and who were not included in the pardon as a result of court sentences against their treason, treachery, and conspiring from abroad, or those whose cases are still pending before the courts, these cases do not exceed 100 persons during a period of 19 years.

They are one category. As for the rest of the Libyans who are imprisoned, they conspired to murder Mu'ammār al-Qadhafi since 1970. This applies, for example, if someone thought of assassinating me, whether he is a military man or a civilian, or he tried or thought of assassinating me. Naturally, I have not been exposed to any assassination or murder attempt which has not been announced abroad. [applause]. There are some people who have been arrested. For these you can stop the sentence against them because they thought of killing Mu'ammār.

Concerning these people, so far as I personally am concerned, I pardon them, whatever the verdict against them whether at home or abroad, whatever the sentence that was passed against them. This applies also to those Libyans who conspired at home before the rise of the Jamahiriya and before the vision became clear to them; some of them might have been sent to prison because they dreamed of the (?vengeance) of people's power and they used to think that there would be a military council and that it would establish a military dictatorship.

However, it has dawned on them that there is no military dictatorship by a military council, but it is a revolution with popular roots; we organized it when we were students in primary and secondary schools. We then formed the first cells of this revolution. It was a people's revolution from the start. But there were those who used to think that it was a military revolution and military dictatorship. They conspired and have been arrested and sentenced.

There were those who thought that the revolution was a right-wing move by nationalist officers or by officers who were in the royalist army and who, therefore, must certainly be right-wing, and consequently the revolution would be right-wing and would prevent popular and progressive movements. There were those who conspired in the name of Marxism, or communism, or Trotskyism, or anarchy.

The revolution which has now been established in the Jamahiriya is the essence of the thoughts of the communists, the Marxists, the anarchists, the utopians and the isolationists, those who believe in the virtuous city and those who are searching for the lost paradise. They have all become embodied in the Jamahiriya. This is because power, wealth, arms and all assets have fallen into the hands of the people in an organized way through the people's congresses and people's committees, and through congresses and committees everywhere.

Now they are sorry because they believed that the revolution was going to be a bourgeois revolution. We have read their circulars and literature. They reflected the military bourgeoisie. They were becoming used to the fact that a number of Arab military revolutions turned into a military bourgeoisie and then into a military dictatorship. The nationalist revolution was aborted and did not reach the stage of the social revolution.

Those who believed that a military council was ruling them—we could have established a military council in the first days, and they would not have known who was Mu'ammār, who was this or that man—they would not know that this was a revolution. They were puzzled. We were second lieutenants and first lieutenants, they said that military men, low-ranking officers seized power. How can it be? We are majors and lieutenant colonels?

Come on, let us do something. We will pardon these people. This is my own responsibility. No one can object to it. Tomorrow I will demolish the prison and set them free. [applause]

All the Libyans of this type—except those about whom I talked to you, not more than 100, those who are accused of treason and connection with foreign circles, and who tried to use force to achieve other aims—for the rest of the Libyans, and I am not at all embarrassed to cite this figure before the world, because tomorrow they will be free men—they will be free. Approximately 400 Libyans will be free tomorrow. Their relatives and families should go tomorrow and be outside the prison in Tripoli in order to demolish this prison. [applause]

As of the beginning of the people's congresses and the drafting of their resolutions all the extraordinary courts will be abolished. Only the people's court, which will be formed by the people's congresses, will remain and all cases will be referred to it. [applause]

In order that I may not be accused of being more good-natured than necessary and that I may not be accused of being naive by some people, I am fully aware of the fact that prophets, heroes, and saints have been murdered. Christ

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was crucified according to the Christian and Jewish faiths, although this is not the case in the Koran. The Koran says that it appeared to them that they crucified him; but they did not kill him absolutely.

But according to their faith Christ said: If anyone strikes your right cheek, offer him your left cheek; if anyone forces you to walk with him one step, walk 1 mile with him; and if anyone quarrels with you about a part of your shirt, give him your entire shirt. [sentence as heard]

This Messiah is unparalleled in tolerance. Nevertheless they tried to kill and crucify him. What crime is it for a man to say: If anyone strikes you on your right cheek, offer him your left cheek? Even so, they tried to kill him. Today they believe that they did kill and crucify him.

Of 'Umar ibn al-Khattab it was said: You have ruled and dispensed justice; therefore you have earned a nap under the tree, O 'Umar. Despite this, 'Umar was killed. He was assassinated while he was leading the dawn prayers. He was stabbed from behind despite that he ruled with so much justice that he was not afraid to sleep under a tree. But 'Umar al-Mukhtar [as heard] encountered a Satan, someone who was a tyrant in recent history, someone who did not uphold these values and did not appreciate 'Umar al-Mukhtar's place in history or his justice—malicious, racist, bribed, he stabbed him and killed him.

'Ali ibn Abi Talib, may God venerate him, died by assassination. He was killed while he was leading dawn prayers. 'Uthman ibn 'Affan was killed while he was reading the Koran at dawn. The three wise Khalifahs—as they are called in the history of Islam—the three of them were assassinated. And Savaranola, who turned Florence into an earthly paradise, was a saint—the revolutionary saint. They burned him at the stake. This was his end. Prophets were killed. Abraham Lincoln had no parallel in America; he liberated the slaves. But he was killed. He was assassinated.

Saint Just, the just saint in the French Revolution, was killed at the age of 27. Robespierre, one of the heroes of the French Revolution, liberator of the masses, was destroyed by the masses, who crushed his head. They killed him.

Danton, the one who stirred the French people, a hero of the French Revolution, was led by the French people to the guillotine. But when he was about to be beheaded they asked him to say his last words. He told them: I am happy. They asked: How can you be happy? He said: I want the French people to be free. As long as the French people have become free enough to sentence me to death, I am quite assured. My wish has been realized; this nation has become free; it has sentenced Danton to death.

Gandhi, Mahatma Gandhi the (?spirit), the messenger of nonviolence, was killed. Prophets, messengers, saints, heroes were assassinated. This does not mean that if one is a saint or a prophet, or if one turns his left cheek after being struck on the right cheek, he can escape assassination. No. The question of murder and assassination is something else. A person leaves prison and he is assassinated. This is another matter.

You must understand it so that it is not said that all people are good and that one does not seek revenge from wise people and that saints are revered and venerated. No. They killed prophets; I am very aware of the end of people like these. Consequently I (?do not rule out) anything. Because even if you reached the level of the messiah you can be murdered; or expelled from your country.

There are two things history can never say about me. One is that it never can be said that this man imposed on his people a certain thing. I told you last year and I reaffirm it today. I affirmed it on a previous occasion during one of the national celebrations: You are free. Tomorrow you could hold your popular congresses and decide anything. You can change the form of the Jamahiriyah, adopt any system. The important thing is that you are a free people who have made a decision. Free people executed their own hero Danton.

Free people can change the Jamahiriyah or change the form of the governing system. They could give it another name or change its contents; the important thing is that this takes place through the free popular will of Libyans who are all equal and among who there is no distinction made between an employee and an employer. No one should own an apartment building and rent apartments because then the tenant would be under the owner's control. There should not be a feudalist along with a worker on the land of the feudalist.

The important thing is that the Libyan people are all equal in power, wealth, and the bearing of arms. Your resolutions will thus be resolutions decided by masters who occupy positions and who decide whatever they wish. The only thing is that you should reach agreement among yourselves. The problem is how the masters are going to agree on one resolution.

You can decide on anything that relates to your destiny.

There is one thing history will not write: namely, that I forced my people to accept the Green Book, or the Jamahiriyah system, or the form of rule. No, it is before the world to see. It is on the record. Put it in an outside library, even outside Libya, so that no one can burn it. Do that so that it will be an undertaking and a commitment on my part that this nation is free and can tomorrow hold its congresses and decide anything and change anything, even the form of the state. You can change everything.

Second, fear can never be linked to me. Someone who imprisons people is someone who fears them. I do not fear people at all. Tomorrow, along with the families of the detainees, I will assault the prison in Tripoli with tractors and will demolish it and set free 400 Libyan detainees. I am prepared before the world to give these 400 people weapons and let them be my guards. [applause]

I can never be a jailer. I am a liberator. However, the security organs, the Libyan people, and the popular congresses might give me problems. They might say: You have released those who conspired against us and who betrayed the people's authority. However, everyone has some good hidden in him. If he can get hold of it, he can turn from a Satan into an angel. This is a historic opportunity for 400

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Libyans and for the hundreds of Libyans who are their families. I personally take responsibility for this. I am not afraid of them. I am not afraid of the jailed ones. If I imprisoned them, it was for your sake.

Or you imprisoned them later because you (?thought it was necessary). I am not afraid of anyone, whether at home or abroad. I am not afraid of the United States and its might and the NATO alliance behind it. [applause] Their bombs were falling on us and we were saying: We will never change, ever. We will continue. Would I be afraid of a handful of people who failed in their attempts? Tomorrow I am prepared to give them weapons and walk among them. Tomorrow foreign newsmen can come with me to the prison and make sure that I have demolished the prison and set free these inmates, that I am liberator of individuals and the masses' nations and can never be a jailer. [applause]

I am on the side of freedom. Tomorrow a Sudanese song should be sung which says: In the prison [word indistinct] dawn has broken; neither prison nor the jailer remained. [applause] The dawn resembles two wings which emerged from across the horizon, and the sorrow which sent tears from those eyes no more, and no more handcuffs or being scattered in every valley. [poetic verse] It is a joy that comes forth from every sad heart, O my country. Let us go forward and the struggle continues. [applause and shouts of acclaim]

Paper Reports Building of Defenses in Aozou
LD031324 Kuwait KUNA in English 1222 GMT
3 Mar 88

[Text] Geneva, March 3 (KUNA)—Libya had started building major fortifications at key points in the Aozou strip, whose ownership is disputed by Chad and Libya, the Swiss newspaper "LE MATIN" reported Wednesday.

Building work on a massive network of defensive positions started two months ago, with some of the biggest concentrations in the Korizo zone in the extreme north-west of Chad, at the town of Aozou, the air bases of Tanua in south-west Libya and Maaten es-Sara in the south east, it said.

The defences were very similar to those built by Morocco in the Western Sahara, with a basic structure of walls of rock and sand between three and five metres high and six metres wide.

These were protected by fields of mines, missiles, mobile radar systems, 122-mm artillery, multiple rocket launchers and SA-7 grail anti-aircraft missiles.

Some 12,000 men and 250 tanks manned the fortifications, and these were backed up by TU-22 bombers, 35 Soviet Hind helicopters and numerous attack planes and transporters, LE MATIN said.

The construction amounted to a defensive measure against any eventual organisation of African unity decision assigning the strip to Chad, it commented.

Brazilian Firm Contracts To Provide Missiles
NC031807 Cairo MENA in English 1738 GMT
3 Mar 88

[Text] Paris, March 3 (MENA)—The Brazilian firm "Orbita" has recently signed a 2 billion dollar contract with the Libyan Government whereby Brazil is to provide Libya with missiles of over a 600 mile range.

The Arab-language magazine "AL-WATAN AL-'ARABI" to be published here tomorrow said that American officials have expressed their dismay over the deal to the Brazilian Government.

Sudan

Al-Mahdi: Foreign Troop Presence Not Allowed
JN031845 Khartoum SUNA in English 1740 GMT
3 Mar 88

[Text] Khartoum, March 3 (SUNA)—The Sudanese Premier Al-Sadiq al-Mahdi today stressed that Sudan would not allow the presence of foreign forces within its territory.

In a statement here today the prime minister said that "in principle" the Sudanese Government would not take part in the conflict between Chad and Libya.

He pinpointed, however, that there had been foreign troops in the Sudan—a reference to the Libyan troops which entered disguised in the relief aid workers [as received], as was reported at the time—but the premier asserted that these troops were moved outside the Sudan.

He said the Armed sources [as received] would soon issue a statement explaining the whole situation, (on the Sudanese western borders). It is to be recalled that Chad is allegedly saying Libyan troops are currently stationed in western Sudan.

Meanwhile the interior minister has recently said the deteriorated security situation in Darfur, western Sudan, was not due to armed robbery but to the presence of foreign troops in the area. He did not however, spell out the nature, nor the number nor the nationality of these troops though it is believed he was referring to what is known as the Libyan-backed Islamic battalion.

Armed Forces Issues Communique on Darfur, West
JN041156 Khartoum SUNA in English 1005 GMT
4 Mar 88

[Excerpts] Khartoum Mar 4 (SUNA)—The governor of Darfur Region 'Abd al-Nabi 'Ali Ahmad has categorically denied the presence of any Libyan troops in the region.

The governor said in a press statement issued here yesterday that the current war in Chad had led many anti-government tribes to [words indistinct]. 'Abd al-Nabi 'Ali Ahmad