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Routouang Yoma Golom is appointed minister of labor and employment.

(Ider Oumar Mahamed Sale) is appointed minister of livestock and water supplies.

Pierre Tokinon is appointed secretary of state for public works, housing, and town planning.

(Vamou Moussayi) is appointed secretary of state for public health.

Article 2. The present decree will be registered and published in the Official Gazette of the Republic.

Issued in Ndjamena on 14 April 1988.

[Signed] El Hadj Hissein Habre.

**Israelis Reportedly Training Troops in Zaire**  
AB150947 (Clandestine) Bardai Chadian National  
Radio in French 1800 GMT 14 Apr 88

[Text] According to first-hand reports, Israeli military experts are training Chadian troops in Zaire in order to send them to Chad. The mission assigned to these troops is to assist the Ndjamena forces.

### Libya

**Al-Qadhdhafi Addresses Terrorism Seminar**  
LD141241 Tripoli Television Service in Arabic  
1645 GMT 13 Apr 88

[Speech by Mu'ammr al-Qadhdhafi to a terrorism seminar in Tripoli—live]

[Text] In the name of God. Ladies and gentlemen, I welcome you to the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah, the permanent headquarters of this organization, the Permanent Secretariat of the Progressive Socialists Organization, and other fighting organizations in the world.

Let me express my gratitude for your decision to hold this conference. As is customary on such occasions, this conference should be opened by the head of state. However, as you already know, I am not a president. Nevertheless, because this meeting is important and because I highly appreciate it, I am opening it. In the name of the international center, the pan-Arab command of revolutionary forces, and the 1 September Revolution, I welcome you.

Along with you, I am attending on the basis, as I already said, that this conference is (?a militant one). It performs one of the international activities which we try to do in order to guide, (?exploit), and create an international

basis for the creation of an international, popular, anti-imperialist, antiracist and, anti-Zionist front—one opposing all forms of persecution, injustice, and high-handedness.

We are standing on the soil of the Jamahiriyah over which the outlines of the international movement began to take shape for the purpose of fighting the common enemy of freedom and the enemy of people who aspire to freedom. For this reason, these anti-people forces have emerged as forces which are bent on domination, high-handedness, and exploitation. Two years ago—on a day like tomorrow—these forces gathered all their evil powers and carried out a tyrannical aggression on this base in an attempt to strike at the center of the international struggle, which is forging its way forward without having been affected by these ferocious and failed attempts.

The air and naval aggression carried out 2 years ago tomorrow by the Atlantic alliance, led by the United States, was not directed against me personally because I am so and so, or against my family because it consists of a group of children, or against families that reside on Ibn 'Ashur Street, or in Benghazi. It is clear that the aggression was directed against all people that struggle against this fierce enemy.

It was an attempt to abort the international action whose labor pains began on this soil. The U.S. aggression, which relied on the Atlantic alliance and into which Europe and Britain channeled all their resources for its success, was in actual fact directed against all of you; against peace; against freedom; against every nation struggling for independence, freedom, and liberation. If the modern U.S. planes and the laser-guided bombs were directed at my bedroom, or tent, or office, or Ibn 'Ashur Street and the streets of Benghazi, it is because they believe that here there is an embodiment of the international struggle. By striking this base, the people and their aspirations to freedom are hit everywhere. The proof of this is that all the people who staged demonstrations, who were angered by this aggression, who revolted and embarked on the killing of U.S. and British soldiers and attacked their bases on a number of continents since that day, and who still pursue them, felt that that blow was directed against them.

All the liberation movements took part in military activities against imperialism on that day and they still do because they believe that that aggression was directed at the international liberation movement. Individuals of unknown identity—we did not know them at all—carried out revenge operations against U.S. and British imperialism and the NATO alliance. Throughout the last 2 years the imperialists have not escaped the vengeance of these unknown individuals. Even though we do not know them and we have no direct connection with them, these unknown individuals believed that this aggression was directed at them.

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What we conclude from this is that no matter how much they try, our struggle continues and the mad attempts that violate international law and that themselves represent terrorism cannot end what they hope to see end. On the contrary, this is fuel poured on the international revolution that wants to put an end to despotism, exploitation, and domination.

Even if they had been able to kill me that day; even if they are able to kill me or others in the future, this does not mean they have achieved what they want. On the contrary, this baptizes the internationalist struggle with blood and victims. Our bodies will build a bridge for the advancement of our historic struggle because we are fighting for a just cause, the cause of freedom.

We are fighting so that we can live in peace and security in our homes and on each continent of the world, so that values, ideals, morals, and principles may prevail instead of madness; anarchy; terrorism; deliberate subversion by imperialism, aides to imperialism, and the subservient forces; Zionism; fascism; and reaction.

This meeting is one of the internationalist battles. Respectable and effective activists of the Mediterranean meet on this day to decide our fate and to struggle for this right, the right to self-determination. We want the Mediterranean to be a sea of peace, a sea of trade, tourism, and safety. They want it to be a region of military maneuvers, a region of pollution, and a bridge for military force. We, the people of the Mediterranean in particular, and all the people of the world do not want this. We do not want this sea to be a bridge for aggression. We do not want it to become a region of military maneuvers. Thus, the confrontation between us and those enemies is inevitable and we should not retreat or be lax in tightening up the battle march to achieve this objective.

Our struggle and our voice were not lost in the wind. We should have confidence in our activity. Once our voice was heard our struggle intensified. Positive results began to emerge after getting ourselves ready to pay the price for this goal with our blood and our lives.

A few days ago, the Soviet leader declared that in this climate he is speeding up the withdrawal of Soviet fleets from the Mediterranean, and asked the United States to agree with him on the withdrawal of its fleets as well. A short while ago, the situation was different. There was competition to bring in the largest number of naval vessels and to hold the largest number of military maneuvers in the Mediterranean. But now the language is different. A move toward the withdrawal of fleets from the Mediterranean and toward the restriction of military maneuvers has begun. The Soviet proposal even spoke clearly about limiting maneuvers and reaching an agreement about it because there is a mad race to hold the largest number of military maneuvers in the Mediterranean.

The aggression against the Gulf of Sidra, which ended with the shooting down of a number of U.S. aircraft on the Line of Death in March 1986, was intended to benefit military maneuvers with the waters and climate of the Gulf of Sidra. This was not because the Gulf of Sidra is Libyan or so sensitive to this country, and not because everyone who had colonized this country had imposed their influence on the Gulf of Sidra. This includes the United States itself. When it used to occupy this country with its military bases, it used to include the Gulf of Sidra in Libyan territory and impose its influence over it, preventing others from entering. This is what the British did after World War II and what the Ottomans did for some 6 centuries, not to mention the Romans, the Byzantines, the Vandals. This was not because the Gulf of Sidra is not a Libyan gulf and part of Libyan soil, but because they want to annex it for military maneuvers to prepare for war. We cannot contribute part of our territory to facilitate war and training for war, especially since the coming war is one of annihilation of all mankind.

Our struggle for the removal of U.S. military fleets from the Gulf of Sidra is a struggle for peace, a big contribution on behalf of Libyans to the cause of peace, because it deprives imperialism of the benefits of the Gulf of Sidra and its climate, and prevents it from preparing for the coming war. All people should appreciate the Libyan struggle for control of the Gulf of Sidra because it is in the interest of peace. We, the sons of the Mediterranean, are most concerned, more than others, in asserting Libyan sovereignty over the Gulf of Sidra because this deprives imperialism of preparations for the third world war.

As for terrorism, this talk was not outside the framework of terrorism. Rather, it was at the core of official state terrorism. We, the sons of the Mediterranean, and all peace-loving people declare to the world that we are totally opposed to terrorism and resist it. We do not glorify those who commit it; rather, we despise them. Killing innocents, taking hostages, and attacking civilian targets are acts of cowardice that no one, other than those who carry them out, welcomes.

This is taken for granted and we say it in all frankness. It is irrevocable. We are against terrorism, all these terrorist acts, anywhere in the world. But, forgive me, we would be stupid to say these words and keep quiet. Terrorism is a phenomenon that imposed itself. There is no doubt about this. To loathe it, hold it in contempt, and condemn it alone cannot solve the problem. It cannot solve the problem on its own. There is a reason for everything. Terrorism is a phenomenon; something that exists. It is a nuisance to the whole world. Everyone is exposed to the possibility of being a victim of a terrorist operation, intentionally or otherwise.

If we are going to restore rationalism in the world and confer some sort of sanity on international ethics, we must hold meetings like this, sit quietly and resolutely,

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and define or search for the cause of this dangerous phenomenon that terrifies all people. Proving the existence of this phenomenon does not mean approval of it. When we search for its justification this does not necessarily mean we support terrorism. This is taken for granted. We have said first thing that we oppose terrorism.

However, we must not be afraid to discuss the reasons behind terrorism. We are against terrorism. Consequently, we should hold a session like this to discuss the reasons for its existence. Any analysis will show that colonialism is the cause. When I say colonialism, I mean old neocolonialism and colonialism in all its forms. It is the cause. I will try to have the moral courage to discuss issues ordinary people would not dare to mention.

For example, IRA operations. These operations in themselves might be terrorist acts, and all of us are against them. He threw a bomb at a funeral in Northern Ireland. This is an act we all loathe and condemn. This is one of many examples of IRA actions. But what is the reason behind a group of people carrying out this action of which no one approves? The reason is clear. Britain colonized Northern Ireland and it refused to leave. It behaved in Northern Ireland like a feudal lord in his fiefdom.

These are reasons, if we live in a rational world, which cannot be tolerated. They are sectarian reasons. We reject the idea of the world being divided on religious or sectarian bases. This would cause anarchy and destruction beyond the control of all sides. Northern Ireland is Protestant, Britain follows this church, and would colonize the Irish because their church is Protestant.

This is extremely absurd. How can this justify Britain colonizing Northern Ireland for hundreds of years? The issue is a just one: liberation from British colonialism. The long and bitter struggle by the Irish is a just and legitimate struggle. It is also in self-defense.

The British prime minister has been the target of several assassination attempts. There was an attempt to kill my children and me. The whole world demonstrated, became angry, rose up, criticized, and disapproved of this barbarous act. Consequently, we disapprove of such operations, like the killing of a lady in her home or office. Or of trying to kill her.

Now, the British prime minister lives in real fear because death at the hands of the Irish lies in wait for her everywhere. In Britain itself and outside Britain they tried to kill her. But were they the ones who started it? No. Britain was the one who went to Northern Ireland and persecuted and colonized it. Consequently, this justified the Irish going to Britain, to the British Isles, to carry out the same action. This is the reason. When we search for the reason for terrorism in Northern Ireland,

for example—not because we support IRA terrorist operations—the cause must be removed to end this terrorism. The basis of the issue is just.

Another example is that the Palestinians carry out acts of revenge against Zionism and imperialism. These acts are considered terrorist operations. They might attack civilian targets or try to hit a hostile target, but its victim might be a civilian target. If we view this action in itself and in its bare form, it is a form of terrorism. And we condemn it. But what made the Palestinians become terrorists and seek revenge? Colonialism took their country. The one who colonized Palestine is the one responsible for the terrorist acts of Palestinians everywhere in the world. The one who colonized Ireland is the one responsible for the terrorist operations by the Irish.

Filipinos today are imprisoned and on trial because they carried out terrorist acts against Americans. They rose up against officials in the Philippines. What made a Filipino kill an American? Did the Filipino go to Washington or New York? Or is it the American who came to his village, his country, and town and set up military bases? Who is the culprit? The culprit is the imperialist, the colonialist, that has set up these bases on his land. This is what turned him into a terrorist.

He is now being tried as a terrorist, but what is the cause? What made him a terrorist? Who turned good people into terrorists? Who made a maiden in the age of roses—Sana Haydali in Lebanon—kill herself with explosives in order to slay a number of Israelis? What pushed her into doing this and made her decide to abandon life altogether and meet martyrdom? It is the Israelis who killed her parents, who came to her home and village and destroyed them. She saw them in U.S. tanks driving over civilian cars containing families and children in Lebanon.

These are quite clear examples. If we want to condemn terrorism we condemn terrorism, but this is not enough. We must know the cause and after identifying the cause we must eliminate it. Therefore, we must fight colonialism. If Palestine and Northern Ireland are liberated, and the imperialist bases leave the homelands of others, then terrorism will come to an end. If, after the liberation of his land, a Palestinian undertakes what is now called an act of terrorism, then he is demented. Besides, I am convinced that he would not do this; that the most formidable terrorist would become a peaceful man once he reclaims his rights. But, the most peaceful and good man may now turn into a terrorist due to colonialism.

I for one carry the banner of peace in the Mediterranean. I want peace for my country and I want peace for the whole world. But sometimes it occurs to me that I should leave this country and set up a secret internationalist army, a real terrorist army, to terrorize the imperialists, because they have killed my children on Ibn 'Ashur

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Street in Benghazi, in Bab al-'Aziziyah. If I ever turn into a terrorist, who would be at fault? The one to blame would be this criminal aggressor.

This is the logic of peace, the logic of people, the logic of rational forces in the world, the logic of the triumph for which we must fight. But the logic now prevailing is that of terrorism, arrogance, of imperialist logic that wants to seize other people's lands and resources. Terrorism is growing day by day because encroachment increases and because imperialist greed grows and expands. The point has now been reached where Zionism wants to control heads of state; to prevent the Austrian people from electing Waldheim. Things have reached this point. This will breed a violent reaction called terrorism.

When they wanted him to become UN secretary general, they did not talk about him, and files were there already. But when they did not want him to be the president of Austria, they objected, saying: He is a Nazi. Was Waldheim a Nazi before or after becoming UN secretary general? I believe World War II, Hitler, and Nazism were already there before Waldheim became UN secretary general. This is an accusation. This means that we, the United Nations, had been trusting a Nazi.

This means that all the years of the United Nations under Waldheim were ones of aggression, Nazism, and racism. This is the Zionist logic, imperialist logic. In Panama, U.S. imperialism wants a leader to resign. They said: Noriega must resign. Is this reasonable? Orders: This one must resign; this one must not be a candidate.

Panama and Austria are told this. The same thing was desired of Libya, but they cannot tell the Libyan people that Al-Qadhafi must leave or resign, leave Bab al-'Aziziyah. No, since this is not possible, he must be killed. He must leave Bab al-'Aziziyah in a funeral procession. It is desired that he leave.

But Panama, they perhaps think they can terrorize it and just say: This one must leave; he must resign—hoping that he would do so. They tell Austria: Do not elect Waldheim, hoping that Waldheim would resign, or might resign. But concerning Libya, this would be rejected and, therefore, he must be killed. In Nicaragua, they want Ortega to resign. The Nicaraguan people elected him and the United States said he must resign. But it cannot tell the revolutionary and armed people of Nicaragua that Ortega must resign, so it became aggressive: the mining of the ports of Nicaragua. It imposed an economic blockade and armed the Contras.

It cannot tell the Angolan president to resign, so it armed UNITA. It deals by force with whomever it asks to resign. If he refuses to do so; they kill him. This important meeting of yours is held at a time when the International Court of Justice is looking at the case of the PLO office at the UN being closed by the United States. This disgraceful and crude act by the United States was

a catalyst that accelerated the convening of this conference, because the resolutions and ethics of this conference must be put before the International Court of Justice so it can take them into account in a very important case: the unreasonable and unjustified intervention of the U.S. Government against the United Nations just because the UN is on U.S. territory.

The U.S. Government has the right to close down any embassy, including that of Palestine, when such an embassy is accredited in Washington, the [word indistinct] capital called Washington, but it has no power over the representatives of states at the United Nations. And since the United States has exploited the presence of the organization on its territory, and taken this action violating international law, among other decisions, we must work seriously for an immediate transfer of these headquarters from U.S. territory, since this step will be followed by other steps. The U.S. Government now has the right to interfere with the UN for the simple reason that it is in its territory.

Therefore, let us withdraw this distinction and transfer the UN Headquarters to another country, a neutral country; one which does not suffer from megalomania and is not mad about power. This is something which is required, but should be decided by the people. We decide it. We are one of the important active parts of the international community. It is inevitable that we should exert pressure in this direction—the withdrawal of the UN Headquarters, the transfer of the UN Headquarters from the United States. Otherwise, the presence of our representatives—we who constitute the United Nations—may be threatened and result in their absence from the international organization.

Among the consequences of such action is the demand, year after year, that the United States be deprived of its right to veto. So long as that power is mad and aggressive, as well as a danger to security, we should not provide it with this weapon. The United States itself is to be blamed for this. Instead of using its wealth and capabilities in the interest of mankind and participating in the preservation of world peace, it uses its wealth and capabilities in the interest of Zionism and racism in southern Africa and Palestine.

Therefore, the terrorism we are now facing is not only what the United States talks about—the hijacking of aircraft or the detention of innocent hostages, although we oppose this and deplore it because it does not lead to a decisive result and we have come to know the reasons. The United States is detonating these smoke bombs in order to create a screen to blind us, so that we will not see the real terrorism, the state terrorism being practiced by the United States and Zionism. This is the most dangerous type of terrorism. The terrorism carried out by an individual may kill a group of people and at the most may cause the explosion of an aircraft or a building, but the United States can kill a people, a nation, and can

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cause the world, the globe, to explode. The most dangerous kind of terrorism is the one coming from the United States: official terrorism. This is followed by Zionist terrorism, particularly now that it is able, thanks to imperialism and Western colonialism in general, to manufacture the atomic bomb.

They introduced atomic weapons into the Middle East for the first time. This will lead to an Arab need to possess the atomic bomb, even if their policy is peaceful and opposed to atomic armament. But this will be a reaction. It will become a right as far as the Arabs are concerned—a right recognized by Article 51 of the UN Charter—the right to self-defense. Who is responsible for introducing destruction into the Middle East? The Israelis and those who are behind them. In order to clarify the language which is continuously used by the U.S. Administration and the forces which it dominates and uses to carry out imperialist policies, we can say that it is the language of blockades, sanctions, air raids, exercises. It is exactly the same language of Hitler and Mussolini. The language which used to prevail during the days of Hitler and Mussolini was the language of the preparation of military force, the staging of military exercises, carrying out aggressions, crossing borders, demanding lands belonging to others, dominating others, controlling straits, crossing seas, manufacturing tanks and aircraft—this is how the Nazi and fascist terror began. Now the language is being repeated.

The United States is Hitler and Mussolini. Zionism is Hitler and Mussolini. Now we must recognize that things have been turned upside down. If after World War II the prevalent concept was that the Jews were the victims of Nazism and that all those opposed to them were opposed [as heard] to another cause, then the victims now are the Palestinians and all those opposed to the Palestinians are opposed to another cause and all those who support the Israelis behave as if they are supporting Hitler and Mussolini. This is what we are going to establish as our policy because the Palestinian cause is a just and convincing cause and everyone will be convinced of it. Work must start on this basis, on the basis that all those who are biased toward the Israelis are behaving as if they are biased toward Hitler and Mussolini. When you speak of the Israelis, it will be as if you are speaking of Hitler or Mussolini. When you speak of a Palestinian, it will be as if you are speaking of a Jew during World War II.

Today, the Palestinians are being buried alive by the Israelis and with the support of the United States. Hitler might have killed the Jews, but he did not bury them alive. In my analysis, this is the beginning of the end for the Zionist Israeli phenomenon and, unfortunately, Judaism will also fall victim to this as a result of the racist policy of Zionism. As of now, the countdown will begin for the Zionist, Israeli, and Jewish phenomena. We support Judaism as a religion, but it will fall victim to the racist policies of Zionism. From now on, all those who

have a rapprochement with the Israelis will be hated and fought for it. They will be criminals exactly like those who had a rapprochement with Hitler and Mussolini.

The International Court of Justice, which is looking into this disgraceful action that contravenes international laws, ought to benefit from the literature of this symposium. At the end of this symposium, its literature will have to be quickly transmitted to the International Court of Justice and to all its judges, even if we have to hand it over to them personally or deliver it to their homes. [Al-Qadhafi pauses for about 10 seconds.]

There must be a demarcation line between fighting and terrorism. The Palestinian people are engaged in a holy fight. If this engenders terrorism, the Palestinians are not responsible for it. Those who have colonized Palestine are responsible for it.

The responsibility for every terrorist operation carried out by the Palestinians should be placed on those who occupy Palestine and those who are helping those who occupy Palestine. The responsibility for every terrorist operation carried out by the IRA should be placed on British colonialism. The responsibility for every terrorist operation carried out by the blacks in South Africa should be placed on the racist whites and Western colonialism. We should struggle for the sake of these issues because we all agree they are just. They should become a cultural, educational, as well as ideological, program for the Mediterranean, progressive socialists, the peoples of the Mediterranean, the international popular front, and the peoples of the world. Otherwise, we will once again take a step backward and go for limited operations, casting aside the original aim.

We do not have other symposiums or gatherings to define terrorism. We condemn every terrorist operation—if it is actually a terrorist operation—but we should know the reason behind such an operation. We should put an end to the reason. Our struggle now should be directed toward the reasons, to put an end to the reasons behind such terrorist operations, putting an end to colonialism in Palestine so that the Palestinian terrorism—as they call it—will end.

The PLO in the eyes of the United States and Israelis is a terrorist organization. Why is it terrorist? Because it causes fear among the Israelis and the Americans. Why? Is it because they are Israelis or Americans? No. It is because they have occupied Palestine. Therefore, the reason is the occupation of Palestine. The world's peoples have no time to waste in believing what the Americans, the Israelis, and the racists say. They should follow up each limited operation by itself, separate from others, and avenge such an operation. We should seek revenge from the one who caused such an operation. Our struggle will continue in this manner and will find positive response. We will find that there is an effective force to

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back it until the unjust and hostile forces are compelled to stop within their limits, and this is what we ultimately want. We want each party to stop at its own limit.

We did not attack the United States inside its own 51 [as heard] states. But the United States wants to transform all of us into U.S. states and we resist this. If the United States returns to inside its own borders, we will not pursue it. Who went to the United States and bombed it? It is the United States itself which deployed its fleets, aircraft, and intelligence-gathering apparatus. It committed crimes; it killed people and detonated bombs. The basic issue is human rights. Colonialism is a direct aggression on human rights. Imperialism crushes human rights. Exploitation is against human rights.

Today, I was interviewed by a U.S. television station. I expressed my strong anxiety over the fact that human rights are threatened in the United States. The United States stands condemned because it is threatening the human rights of Americans; never mind the other peoples who are not human beings in its eyes. They are other creatures which should be crushed or annihilated by small pox or mass killings, as was the case with regard to the Indians, so that the United States could take away their wealth and land. The rights of Americans are trampled underfoot. The basic rights of the human being, brothers, concern his own effort, his sweat and toil; this is a natural right. However, exploitation in the United States does not recognize the right of the individual to reap the fruit of his sweat and toil.

For example, in the United States they take the earnings of 5 hours from a worker working for 8 hours, or the earnings of 3 hours are taken away and the worker is allowed to keep the earnings he gets for 5 hours. This is a violation of a basic human right. Every individual should reap the fruit of his sweat and toil. Every individual who produces should reap the fruit of his production. This is what the Green Book—which was written by mankind as a result of experience gained from the struggle of mankind; I only collated the known facts in the book—acknowledges. The American is being exploited. The fruit of his sweat and toil is being plundered. This is a basic human right, and not the claim of the U.S. Administration that human rights are violated in this or that country. Why does the United States not talk about its own violations of basic rights? The other natural right which a human being has concerns his dwelling. The place in which he lives should be his own property.

Millions of Americans are homeless. You should search for and provide this right for the U.S. citizen, first of all. These days thousands of babies are born on the sidewalks in the United States. They have a right to a house, which they should own. This is a basic right. One's effort, work, production should belong to the person himself. [applause] Your house should be your own property. You should decide your own destiny. Deciding one's own destiny is a natural right. As an individual and as a people you should decide your own destiny. The United

States denies mankind this right. The United States denies the people the right to self-determination. It denies the Panamanian people, the Angolan people, the Afghan people, the Libyan people, the Palestinian people, Nicaragua, and Grenada the right to self-determination. The United States uses the (?veto) against the right of self-determination for the Latin American people. The United States denies the peoples and the individuals the right of self-determination.

The decision, in America now, is not made by the U.S. people. The American people are a simple and peaceful people. All these people want is to live, to reap the fruits of their efforts. They want a house to live in and they want peace.

However, imperialism exploits this effort and takes away these possibilities which can provide a house and a dignified life. Imperialism uses these possibilities toward its imperialist policy. The United States denies citizens the right to self-determination. Had it been left to the Americans to decide their own destiny, the United States would not have been an oppressive, aggressive, and imperialist force, as is the case now.

Why not let the American people decide their destiny? Ordinary Americans do not know [word indistinct] of the world. Consequently, they will not choose the Philippines or Diego Garcia or any other location to decide to build a military base, or choose Al-Mallahah in Tripoli for the same purpose. These people do not know where these places are; they do not need them. This is the citizen's essential right: to decide one's own destiny. However, he is denied this right. Americans dodged military service during the Vietnam war. These were ordinary people, and in this instance they decided their own destiny. However, American citizens were denied this right and were forced to fight in Vietnam, despite the fact that they did not know where Vietnam is.

During Al-Sadat's era, an Egyptian soldier was taken prisoner by the Libyans. He was asked why he was attacking Libya. He replied: Is Libya near Kuwait or where? Here we see that this soldier did not even know where Libya was. He had no motive whatsoever for attacking Libya. He even thought that Libya was near Kuwait. This indicates that this person did not have chance to decide his own destiny; he was forced to carry out this action.

On the other hand, and so that this statement will not be exploited, if Libya undertook military aggression against Chad, it would be considered a type of terrorism. I told you at the beginning that we must have the necessary moral courage to admit the truth. As far as Libya's position in Chad is concerned, Libya always supports a legitimate government. Goukouni is president of Chad in accordance with an African agreement made in Lagos. This legitimate government is called the Transitional

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Government of National Unity. National unity means it brings together all the Chadian factions. It represents the Chadian people. This is a legitimate instrument backed by Libya.

Whoever fights against it and wants to impose a party that is not representative of Chadian national unity is the aggressor. But even so, if Libya invaded Chad with its military forces this would be regarded as a kind of terrorism. Therefore, Libya—and we are here speaking as an effective, internationalist, peaceful power belonging to all the Mediterranean; we must not be biased toward Libya or Greece. We must say to Libya: If you undertake a military invasion of Chad, this will be considered official terrorism. It would be that Libya had engaged in the state terrorism practised by the United States and Israel.

Effectively, Libya must not engage in a direct armed action against Chadian territory, but it has the right to support the Chadian side that represents national unity.

The United States is now protesting against the Government of Afghanistan, saying it is an unelected government backed by foreign forces, and that there is an armed resistance to it. Why does it say the same about Ndjamenah? [as heard] That there is there an unelected government, backed by foreign forces, and that there is armed resistance against it?

Therefore, for us it is not a matter of logic and right. It is a matter of colonialism and imperialism. In fact, it is true to say this, and it is a waste of time to debate U.S. policy because it is an unreasonable policy that can be confronted only by struggle, and the struggle must be a collective one.

First, we begin with the people of the Mediterranean. They must struggle to make the Mediterranean a sea free from foreign fleets, free from nuclear arms, free from military maneuvers. The islands of the Mediterranean—like Libya and Malta—must be evacuated by foreign bases. Crete, Sicily, Cyprus, and the Spanish islands—Palma de Majorca and so on—Lampidoza, must be immediately freed from foreign bases, because peace in Europe, the Mediterranean, and Africa is a single issue, a single bridge, three links in a chain that cannot be separated.

This is not because we are friends of the Soviet Union. We are a free, independent, nonaligned state that would have wished to have the same relations with the United States as with the Soviet Union. The United States was the one that lost this type of relationship due to its imperialist policy. I tell you this is not because we are friends of the Soviet Union. We would like to be the friends of all. The world, and we in the Mediterranean, must benefit from the Gorbachev phenomenon and the existence of the new Soviet leadership. The emergence of this leadership is important because it did not appear in a country of small importance. It appeared in one of the

superpowers, and is ruling one of them. Therefore, one must benefit from the reasonable and peaceful policies that are moving quickly toward the achievement of unexpected tasks. We must exploit this.

We in the Mediterranean are very much interested in this, more than others, because this sea is full of fleets, U.S. and Soviet fleets. Since the Soviet Union is now seriously and quickly moving toward real peace, nuclear disarmament, and the withdrawal of fleets, we must exploit this trend in the era of the Gorbachev phenomenon. We must put pressure with all our forces on the United States so that it responds to the Soviet proposal.

With consideration to logic and love for peace we are obliged to back the Soviet proposal because it is one that can attain our goal of peace. The Soviet Union wants a withdrawal of the Mediterranean fleets, but it cannot leave the Mediterranean to the United States alone; it too must leave.

Because this is the gist of the subject of this meeting, this conference, and the struggle of the progressive socialist organization, the struggle against terrorism, and because we are now meeting on terrorism, we see that fleets in the Mediterranean constitute great terrorism, direct terrorism.

Here we live under the threat of U.S. fleets, in this very place. U.S. aircraft flew over this room and shelled Bab al-Aziziyah [words indistinct]. The states of emergency some governments impose on their people represent a serious kind of terrorism. There is a nation in this region which has lived under a state of emergency for 7 years, and in the past 2 weeks this state of emergency was extended for another 3 years. These people have been living under a state of emergency for 10 years. This is an ugly kind of terrorism. Do you know what a state of emergency means? It means the suspension of rights and liberties. It means violation of these rights at any time through emergency apparatuses, suitabilities, and rules.

This is because the United States has an interest in terrorizing these people by way of the state of emergency. Because the United States uses it as an area of interest, it does not talk about the situation. If such a situation was to develop in Libya or Ethiopia, or Angola, Nicaragua, or Afghanistan, the United States would have been violently agitated by this, and would have said that this was a violation of human rights. The United States would have labeled any such person as a dictator, and any such regime as an oppressive regime. It has imposed a state of emergency for 7 years on its people, extended by another 3, and added another 9 years [as heard].

This is terrorism. I am not saying this in order to criticize anyone, but I mention it so that this point will be included in the file of terrorism. The state of emergency rule is a serious kind of terrorism.

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As for what is taking place on the soil on which you now are, it has been accepted to be so, because this land hosts the international forum. It is a place of gathering for all world movements of liberation, and plays host to the leaders of pan-Arab revolutionary forces and to this organization. Consequently, this land, on which human rights are firmly established, should be free. The house belongs to the tenant; production is consumed by the producer; representation is veneration; authority, wealth, and arms are in the hands of the people. The people of this country are free; can go to any area in the world and come back whenever they wish; there is no black list. The last list I destroyed was one on censorship, on the liberty and rights of any individual of our people. All emergency matters have been cancelled. This proved that people's authority has been established and confirmed in the Jamahiriyah.

Anyone who has an opinion has the right to come to the People's Congress and air this opinion. There is no one who would harrass or prevent him from doing so. This person should convince the people of his opinion. Secret actions, detection, and surveillance have been abolished. When secret action is publicly forbidden, one takes up secret action. Even secret action has its justification. However, now you can express your views, however serious, on television and radio, and you should persuade the people of your view. Let us assume that you want to impose the veil on women in this country and deny them the right to education and work; let us just assume. This was not available in the past and would have been seen as contradictory to freedom and human rights. Then one resorted to secret action in order to convince the people that women should wear the veil because God said so. Now, you may come to public meetings, the People's Congress, television, and radio and try to convince the people of your point. If the people are convinced they can decide; it is their right. This is a human right.

This land has been freed. The position of this land suits its international ranking. This land paid a high price for its international position. It has sacrificed its dearest sons and has firmly established its international leadership by blood. My house, Bab al-'Aziziyah, the tent, Ibn 'Ashur Street, Benghazi, were attacked by 170 aircraft. Yes, this is a price. Who paid this price in the world? Who was attacked publicly by the United States in this way? The Vietnamese people paid the price for their freedom through bloodshed. The Vietnamese people have a right to live as a free people because they were not given their freedom. On the contrary, they won it.

Vietnam's unity was achieved with blood. The Vietnamese people paid their price against the mightiest of the world's imperialist forces. Who says that Vietnam must not unite or become free? Of course it should be free and raise its head high, because it paid the price. This soil is the base and the headquarters of internationalist struggle, that is, half the world, and of the pan-Arab struggle, that is, half of all Arabs. It earned it by paying the price. [applause]

What took place here, we are pleased to say, was not limited; it had international echoes. Yesterday, even South Korea decided to allow its citizens to travel abroad. This was inspired by the revolutionary explosion which took place in Libya. [applause] As a result of 7 November in Tunisia, and through organic, time, place, and spiritual interactions between what has been taking place here and on Tunisian soil, there has been an extension of the same thing. Thousands of prisoners of the era prior to 7 November tasted freedom under the new era. Thousands who had been under restrictions also regained their freedom. All political prisoners in Burkina Faso have been freed. [applause]

We hope there will be a tidal wave beginning here and traveling to many areas of the world for the benefit of human rights and against terrorism, against imperialism. The aggression against us 2 years ago tomorrow was a failure. However, its positive aspect was that it gave us an example of terrorism for which we were searching—official terrorism, terrorism of the state, an example of which is clearly before us now. What is official terrorism? Had there been no aggression against us, there might not be examples before us that give the meaning of official terrorism, state terrorism. This aggression took place with fleets outside the borders of the transgressing state, and from bases situated in territories of others, in the Mediterranean in particular. We are affected in the shadow of this painful anniversary, which at the same time frustrated the hopes of the imperialists, because they failed. We in the Mediterranean are affected by the need to struggle against and speed up the closure of U.S. bases in the Mediterranean by applying pressure on European governments to close their bases to the U.S. fleets.

Not all those 170 aircraft took off from the United States. There were a number of strategic aircraft—whose job it was to jam [as heard]—which actually took off from the United States, from their U.S. bases to here. But the rest took off from Spain, Italy, Britain, Germany, occupied Palestine. The U.S. 6th Fleet sailed from bases in Spain and Italy, so pressure must be applied to Italy and Spain to get rid of the U.S. fleets.

Has the aggression been confined only to Libya? We would have borne it so that you could live in peace, but all of you, your countries, your sons, are targets of this aggression by the very same instruments to which we were subjected. All your sons are subject to becoming victims like our sons. Your homes might be destroyed in the same way as our homes were destroyed. Aggression might take place against your countries by imperialism, like the aggression against us. Consequently, the one who has not been attacked is more affected. He is more afraid because he expects his turn will be next.

There is a psychological element affecting all these nations. It drives them into collective struggle and into applying pressure on European governments to expel the U.S. fleets and to work so as to turn the Mediterranean into a zone of peace.



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I rely on this seminar because it is not an ordinary seminar. It is urgent for us to have an influence on the International Court of Justice, which is investigating U.S. violations of international law, UN laws, and the UN Charter. We must do this for the benefit of a persecuted and homeless people—the Palestinian people. Our words will be like bullets against Zionism and imperialism because they will inflict on them a political defeat.

I wish you success. Our struggle continues. [applause]

### Morocco

**Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda Arrives-13 Apr**  
*LD131804 Rabat Domestic Service in Arabic*  
1600 GMT 13 Apr 88

[Excerpts] Mr Kenneth Kaunda, president of the Republic of Zambia, began a 24-hour working visit to our country today. [passage omitted]

The official cortege headed toward the residence of the Zambian president, who was received by His Majesty King Hassan II, may God grant him victory, who was accompanied by His Royal Highness Crown Prince Sidi Mohamed. The guest then introduced the members of the delegation to his majesty the king.

### Sudan

**Al-Mahdi Government Submits Resignation**  
*JN141307 Khartoum SUNA in English 1024 GMT*  
14 Apr 88

[Text] Khartoum, Apr. 14, (SUNA)—Prime Minister Al-Sadiq al-Mahdi has submitted resignation of his government to the Supreme Council of State which is expected to meet today so as to discuss the resignation, the daily AL-AYYAM today reported.

The Constituent Assembly "parliament" will today hold sitting during which Al-Mahdi is to expose the resignation of his government.

Leader of the Democratic Unionist Party Muhammad 'Uthman 'Ali Mirghani and leader of the Al-Ummah Party last week reviewed the current political situation.

On the other hand the committees assigned to prepare the charter and the administration structures are still resuming work and they will soon submit recommendations to enable Premier al-Mahdi expose the charter and form the government.

**State Council Supports Reconciliation Plan**  
*JN141314 Khartoum SUNA in Arabic 1040 GMT*  
14 Apr 88

[Text] Khartoum, 14 Apr (SUNA)—In a statement published today in AL-USBU', State Council Chairman Ahmad al-Mirghani declared that the State Council will support and back the national reconciliation program approved by the Constituent Assembly the day before yesterday. Al-Mirghani paid tribute to the patriotic role of the political figures. He said that what has been achieved is a historic agreement that underscores the nation's determination to have peace.

Al-Mirghani said that the reconciliation is a good step toward a peaceful solution to the problem of southern Sudan but one which does not undermine the homeland's sovereignty or imply complacency with outlaws.

Al-Sadiq al-Mahdi had briefed the State Council yesterday on the measures and arrangements for drawing up and implementing the national reconciliation charter in light of the developments that occurred at the Constituent Assembly yesterday. These developments have culminated in the approval of the national reconciliation bill by an overwhelming majority.

**Al-Mahdi To Meet Ethiopia's Mengistu in May**  
*JN131809 Khartoum SUNA in Arabic 1740 GMT*  
13 Apr 88

[Text] Khartoum, 13 Apr (SUNA)—Prime Minister Al-Sadiq al-Mahdi will meet with Ethiopian President Mengistu Haile Mariam at the beginning of May to continue bilateral contacts.

This was announced by Prime Minister Al-Sadiq al-Mahdi here today following his meeting with the State Council chairman. He added he also apprised the State Council of the latest developments in the peace march and Sudanese-Ethiopian relations. He said conspicuous developments have recently been witnessed. Al-Sadiq al-Mahdi voiced Sudan's welcoming of the agreement and understanding reached by Somalia and Ethiopia and added this agreement is a positive step on the road to establishing peace in the region.

He said Sudan has always called on the region's leaders to hold dialogue and reach an understanding among their countries. He added that the Somali minister who is currently visiting the country is here to brief the Sudanese leadership on the details of this agreement.

**Somalia To Mediate in Ethiopian Relations**  
*JN141402 Khartoum SUNA in English 1026 GMT*  
14 Apr 88

[Text] Khartoum, Apr. 14, (SUNA)—The daily AL-USBU' newspaper today said that there is a Somali mediation to improve the Sudanese-Ethiopian relations and to find a peaceful solution to the southern Sudan problem.

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Member of the Council of State Mirghani al-Nasiri said that the visit of the Somali minister of state at the Foreign Affairs Ministry to Sudan has come to expose what had been agreed upon between Somalia and Ethiopia and to seek normalization of Sudanese-Ethiopian relations.

**Tunisian Prime Minister Arrives 14 Apr**  
*JN141504 Khartoum SUNA in Arabic 1430 GMT*  
14 Apr 88

[Text] Khartoum, 14 Apr (SUNA)—Tunisian Prime Minister Hedi Baccouche arrived here at 1400 today for a 3-day official visit to the country. In a press statement, Baccouche said there is room for further deepening the close Sudanese-Tunisian relations in various domains. He said he was bringing a letter from Tunisian President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali to Sudan's State Council chairman. Baccouche hailed Sudan's democratic process as a unique Arab and African experience.

Given Sudan's distinguished standing in the Arab and African arenas, it can potentially play a major role on both fronts, the Tunisian prime minister said. Pooling the country's national efforts should help it overcome economic challenges and remove lingering vestiges of the dictatorship, he added.

**SPLA Says 44 Government Troops Killed**  
*EA120911 (Clandestine) Radio of the Sudanese*  
*People's Liberation Army in Lutuka 1100 GMT 11 Apr 88*

[Excerpts] SPLA forces of Mazlum [Oppressed] and Zalzal [Earthquake], under the direct command of Captain John (Kuten Ngok) and the overall command of Commander Lam Akol Ajawin, ambushed Army and militia forces who tried to venture away from Galhak [Upper Nile] on 26 March. A correspondent says that 12 enemy soldiers were killed and others were seriously injured. Two G3 rifles were seized by the SPLA forces. [passage omitted]

The second and third units of Mut Battalion, under the direct command of (Elijah Wantop) and the operational command of Commander Kuol Ajak Deng and the overall command of Riak Marchar Teng, on 2 April clashed with Army and militia troops at a swamp near Bentiu town [western Upper Nile]. Thirty-two enemy troops were killed and the rest fled toward Kaljak. [passage omitted]

#### **Denies 600 Rebels Killed**

*EA120504 (Clandestine) Radio of the Sudanese*  
*People's Liberation Army in English 1300 GMT 11 Apr 88*

[Excerpts] Member of SPLM/SPLA political-military high command and chief of staff, Commander William Nyuan Bany, in a statement to Radio SPLA, has refuted

the allegations made by the chief of staff of Al-Sadiq al-Mahdi's Army that their forces killed over 600 SPLA troops in Nasir. The following is the full text of the statement:

In an address to soldiers in Juba town on 27th of March 1988, Lieutenant General 'Abd al-'Azim al-Siddiq, chief of staff of Al-Sadiq al-Mahdi's Army, claimed that their forces killed over 600 SPLA soldiers in Nasir during their fruitless attempt to relieve their besieged garrison town of Nasir. This statement, which contradicts the earlier one made by Major-General Al-Amin Abu Shawq, the commander of the enemy forces in Upper Nile administrative area, on 23d of March 1988 that their forces have killed 516 of our soldiers, is not surprising because they have lied to the Sudanese people and the world about their imaginary war victory many times before.

In the battles between our forces and the enemy on 13th, 14th, and 19th of March 1988 near Nasir, the facts are clear enough and (?) challenge Colonel Muhammad Ahmad al-Rifi, the commander of the reinforcement code-named national defense, and Colonel Arnold Mamur, the commander of Nasir garrison, to deny that 60 men of their forces have been killed against only 13 heroes on our side. The two colonels will also never deny that 95 of their soldiers, including Major Muhammad Adam, were also wounded in that battle, against only 31 heroes on our side. [passage omitted]

The Khartoum military leaders claim to have killed over 600 of our men, but have failed to capture the arms of the of the SPLA soldiers supposedly killed.

How can Col Muhammad Ahmad al-Rifi know the number of SPLA soldiers they claim to have killed when he ran away from the battlefield leaving his dead colleagues unburied? If the forces of Col al-Rifi have killed any people of that number, they must have been innocent citizens on the way from Nasir to Malakal and within Malakal itself.

I would like to tell my friend and former colleague, Lt Gen 'Abd al-Azim al-Siddiq, who used to be one of the honest officers in the Sudan Army, that I am sorry to learn that you have sold your honor to the gangsterous mobs which have killed and heartlessly robbed our people for decades and decades. I am more than astonished that a man like you who prevents exploitation of the Sudanese people can allow himself to repeat like a parrot the lies concocted to perpetuate the group of thieves' hold on power.

I would like to inform you that the notorious Abu Gurun, Abu Shawq, and other rough ones to whom you have now added your voice, have subjected our people in the south to unheard of tortures and murders. These thugs supply you with lies on the war in an attempt to conceal their own cowardice, incompetence, and criminality. This is a blot on your uniform and you are shamelessly condoning it.