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But the French general is mistaken. Instead of venturing into the quicksands of Chad, he should think of the fate of the Chadians suffering from the acts of the Ndjamena authorities and over whose fate Amnesty International has expressed concern.

Libya

Al-Qadhdhafi Recalls Pre-Revolution Days
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[Interview with Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi by two unidentified men and an unidentified woman in the presence of two prisoners recently freed by Al-Qadhdhafi; date, place not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Ladies and gentlemen, revolution is (?fraternity). It is the road to freedom and the result of an unlimited flow; hence, it is freedom. Since revolution is freedom it is, therefore, the state of constant departure from the customary and from stagnation. It is also the daily birth of the new and the glorious. Revolution, as the student Al-Qadhdhafi wrote on his wall newspaper at the Misratah secondary school, is a sun that shines for everyone. Let us add, however, that in order to shine for everyone, this sun had to travel a distance of 4,000 days, which is the time of torment spent by Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi, the student, who was called an agitator by the education authorities in Fezzan Province. He was also called a heretic dreamer when he arrived in one of the streets of the poor town of Sabhah and destroyed the regional map, shouting slogans in favor of a united Arab republic.

Then, the officers of the decrepit Royal Army attempted to contain his dream of a sun shining for everyone by sending him to Britain, and also by providing for him a life of luxury in a comfortable house in a barracks, in addition to other absurd and comic allurements.

In order to make this beautiful, warm, joyful, and friendly sun shine for everyone, Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi had to go through 4,000 days of tiredness, bitterness, anxiety, pain, and suffering, while others wanted no sun, let alone a sun that shone for everyone. For this beautiful and clear sun we recall tonight the memory of the 4,000 days, which lasted from 1959 to the dawn of September 1969.

[Unidentified interviewer] Welcome brother leader. Freedom has been established and with it the march of the Great Al-Fatih has been reinforced. Indeed, it has received echoes in many countries of the world where peoples are subjected to oppression and arbitrariness. Now their situation is becoming worse and there is a pressing need for these masses to rebel against their governments. If the matter concerned, let us say, ordinary sections of the population, it could be explained in terms of a revolutionary mind like yours. However, this amnesty, leniency, and action on the whole was aimed, in fact, at groups that harmed the revolution, some of

which harmed you personally. Yes, some of them tried to assassinate or betray you. In all the revolutions of the world, the conventional thinking is to make those people and those political movements that have outdated programs and thinking pay a very high price in order to allow the popular movement to progress, continue, and be enriched.

From the beginning of the revolution you have always shown leniency, even when the revolutionary ideas risked being jeopardized in the cradle of the revolution, in Fezzan, due to the tyranny of the family of Sayf al-Nasr. Even then you did not respond with the conventional retaliation which a revolutionary would adopt in confronting a feudal family and a feudal antirevolutionary program. You did not take revenge. Why did you not think of revenge and why did you not take revenge? We are discussing this matter because we are confronted with a situation in which you have released various prisoners, some of whom tried to rob the revolution and harm the Libyan people, the Arab nation, and the history of this revolution, which our colleague has just discussed and which was 4,000 days of suffering and torment.

Those people tried to rob you of your efforts; they tried to liquidate you. They, therefore, tried to undermine the march of the Arab people in Libya. You personally knew of these attempts to rob you of your efforts. We would like to hear something about the history of the revolution in order to see whether those people played any role in the revolution or had any credit for the liberation of the people, or if they had any right to claim that they could guide the revolution or that they could express their views about it. Why? What have we done to them? Why did you grant them pardons?

[Al-Qadhdhafi] [laughs] This is a multifaceted subject, and somehow (?complicated) in parts [words indistinct]. What we can affirm is that we will find difficulty in moving these contradictory things. Indeed, all these facts and proposals contain some opposing, contradictory elements. What we can say regarding the [word indistinct] of the revolution, which I have announced, is that none of the people who were arrested after the revolution were remotely related to the founding of the Free Unionist movement, which subsequently became the Free Unionist Officers movement. This was founded in 1959. No one who was imprisoned after the revolution had knowledge of this action, and none of them took part in beginning that movement. The Libyan people as a whole were not aware that a revolutionary movement for the liberation of Libya was founded in 1959-60.

Proceeding from this, the attempts made after the revolution, the attempts aimed against the revolution, were not operations to liberate Libya because the liberation was carried out by the revolution. The revolution liberated Libya from the reactionary monarchy and foreign forces. It also destroyed tyrannical relations. There was

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(?no justification) for the second operation, after which people were sentenced to death, to life imprisonment, or detention, without investigation.

What was the reason for this? In reality, those people were trying to claim the revolution for themselves after it had accomplished its national mission. That is why their punishments were execution, imprisonment, or life imprisonment because this was not like stealing a loaf of bread or [words indistinct]. They were stealing a sacred, historic action that concerned a futuristic revolutionary program with a direct impact on generations of the Arab nation and on the world, especially the Third World—Africa and Latin America—in the same way as you see the effects of the Libyan revolution on the world liberation movements.

A historic schedule was about to be stolen. Those who steal material things have their hand cut off according to the Koran. According to the laws of revolution, those who steal the revolution itself will have their head chopped off. I had a great role in postponing the chopping off of the heads of those who attempted to steal the revolution. Those who were permitted to live were released (?this time). I do not believe that anyone knows...[sentence incomplete as heard] We used to hear about [word indistinct] in Egypt or something like this, or its tyranny and injustices, but all the people, the Libyans who were in prison, many of them did not know what was taking place in Egypt. [Words indistinct] the tyranny. This is not because I am who I am, but because of the revolution. I had a revolutionary schedule that opposed [word indistinct].

I had to undergo much suffering in order to establish the revolution at the beginning. I made it a reality that began to appeal to the youth who joined it in groups and as individuals under circumstances that [words indistinct].

No one knows about this. None of these people had knowledge of this. That family's tyranny and ruthlessness were not directed at me. They were only threatening the revolution. Of course, it was possible for them to destroy the revolution at the beginning. However, in fact, Libyan tribes, groups, and individuals suffered from that family's tyranny. It is important that we use this occasion to end this subject. It should be explained and ended.

First, this family which [words indistinct] and which attempted to destroy the revolution from the beginning, attempted to eliminate it—but it is not the whole family. [Word indistinct] that this family does possess arrogant thought or haughty spirit or [word indistinct]. They were, of course, living and being blessed at the expense of others. But not [words indistinct]. Only one of that family bore Muhammad in the era I observed. He was the [words indistinct], the one of arrogance and of [word indistinct]. He inspected the regions and [word indistinct]

This family had some mujahidin; one of this family was called Ahmad. He was a mujahid, but he was smeared by the French [words indistinct] as a result of shortsightedness or [word indistinct]. He was not an opponent of the people nor was he a tyrant; he was an ordinary person [words indistinct]. Another one was called (Omar Abd al-Mighwani). Poor man, he minded his own business [words indistinct] this last group; there is one called Muhammad. At first he was a (?spy for the Italians), but [words indistinct] good people. [Words indistinct] some of them are still working in the Jamahiriya; working diligently.

They do not have all this [words indistinct]. They mind their own business [words indistinct]. I do not [words indistinct] that he must then be on the blacklist. No, no, [words indistinct] those whom we put in [word indistinct] the blacklist and on the firewood of hell are those like Muhammad Sayf al-Nasr and Abd al-Jalil Sayf al-Nasr. It is possible that these two can be considered tyrants; as the ones who [words indistinct]. They conspired against all the residents of Fezzan, what they call Fezzan. They [words indistinct] people on a wide scale. That means that the inhabitants of Fezzan were all under the control of these people.

Take a tribe like the tribe of (Hissun). The truth is that it was alike [words indistinct] United States. By God, it was [words indistinct] and they are a small tribe. And [words indistinct] this family, and this family, in fact, was (?controlled by) the Italians, and it was called [word indistinct] Al-Nasr, in the old days.

In the [word indistinct] latter period the Italians [words indistinct]. As for the other tribe, not all of it was, in fact, as I told you. There is a tribe, the tribe of (Milaha). The same thing happened. The Italians aimed at it [words indistinct] and living under terrorism, under repression. The revolution, in fact, rid them of this yoke and of this control over them. And [word indistinct] it rid them of [word indistinct] Muhammad. If the monarchist era had continued, somebody else like [words indistinct] could have come up.

Thus, in reply to some of the questions, I was not [words indistinct]. I did not think of arresting any of this family. Until 8 September 1969, when my name was mentioned on the radio, this [word indistinct] Muhammad himself came to the radio station to congratulate me when he heard my name. I heard [words indistinct]. I did not want to give him importance. I did not want to go and see him or to give him importance. When they told me about him, I laughed and that is it. But afterward, officers came and arrested him. They said [words indistinct]. So, I did not even know of his arrest until later, after he (?contacted me, my father told me). He said: Let Muhammad Abu Minyar come! [words indistinct] Afterwards, my father came to me. He said Muhammad [words indistinct] is in jail, under arrest. He is [words indistinct] and afraid [words indistinct]. I told them to transfer him to the hospital. They transferred him to the

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hospital and I think he died there. He collapsed, I mean, as a result of the revolution; he had a breakdown. [words indistinct] The pillars of the former regime collapsed. [words indistinct]

This family (?in fact, are tyrants). They mobilized tribes with them, like (Awlad Sulayman) and [words indistinct] in order to fight [words indistinct] (Awlad Sulayman) and the (Hissuns) are brothers and neighbors, and they are in one district, the district of Surt. They are (?intermingled) and they are all Muslims. I mean [words indistinct] they are brothers and close to each other. Their interests are mutual and their interests require that they cooperate.

However, because his family was hostile to Hasun, it mobilized [words indistinct] against these tribes [word indistinct] against the Garha tribe, while the Garha are brothers of these people [words indistinct]. This meant dividing brothers in order to control. Afterwards, it tried to make them hostile to the people who were not from its ranks and divided the people into ranks—a higher rank and a lower rank. All of this because of [word indistinct] in reality.

Not all of those who came to serve [word indistinct], such as the tyrants Abd al-Jalil, Muhammad, [words indistinct] participate in the era as far as I knew. Not all the members of the family said bad things against the Garha or Hasun. They did not even know them; their relatives might have known them. Afterwards, I did not see direct enmity between the sons of [word indistinct] (Salman), Hasun, or Garha as it was not their interest and they did not have bad intentions towards each other because they were brothers and neighbors. In order to exploit them, the chauvinism of the Za'rawa tribe and the racism of one member of this tribe was activated. [words indistinct]

[Unidentified interviewer] (?What is the date) of your release of those who stole the revolution.

[Al-Qadhdhafi] How can you say such things? [laughter]

[Interviewer] Take the case of (Shaykh al-Nasr). Why did you not take your revenge on this family? All right, why did you not take your revenge on Muhammad?

[Unidentified woman] Despite the fact that he was directly responsible for expelling you from Sabhah.

[Interviewer] It was possible for the revolution to be finished, and it was possible that it would not take place at all. It was possible for them to prevent the leader from studying and there was a possibility that they would destroy these ideas, this freedom. It was possible that the monarchy would have remained, together with the foreign bases, the underdevelopment, the reaction, and everything else and prevent you from studying [word indistinct].

[Al-Qadhdhafi] As a revolutionary, it is not possible for me to take revenge [word indistinct] at all. In reality revenge, malice, (?egoism), and the desire for power or any other desire is a disease and it is not possible for the revolutionary to be sick. If he is sick, has one of these sicknesses, it means he is not a revolutionary. Personal revenge is not compatible with being a revolutionary. It is not possible for me to take revenge for personal reasons.

Naturally, (Bey Muhammad) [word indistinct] prevented me, expelled me, and caused me a great deal of family and personal trouble at an early age. It was possible that this would have an influence on the revolution, and it was possible for us to be in a position where we could not build the revolutionary cells [word indistinct]. However, after the revolution triumphed he was not important. He had no arms and I did not even think to arrest him because he had become an ordinary person. He got this [word indistinct] from the monarchy and when the monarchy was destroyed he became nothing. I was not interested in him at all or in arresting him. [words indistinct] Some members of this family are friends [words indistinct]. He was a police officer and I saw him after the revolution. I told him: Continue as a police officer. However, he joined a conspiracy; he admitted it and was sentenced to death. But, I intervened and stopped the death sentence and he is now free, knowing [words indistinct] he was lured. A relative of his lured him and escaped. The one who lured them ran away, like one among the Muslim brothers. I do not know his name [word indistinct] lured the people and is still abroad. Under the protection of U.S. intelligence he trains some people [word indistinct] enter Libya. They will either die or be arrested and he is staying abroad. He has companies and (?is protected) by U.S. intelligence.

[Interviewer] If we go back to the dangerous liberation operation which you led step-by-step before the revolution, you mentioned at the beginning of your speech that those who were arrested after the revolution or who had conspired had no role in the liberation of Libya; that their aim was not to liberate either the Libyan land or the Libyan citizen, as the revolution was based on these supreme goals. It implemented a dangerous program: the expulsion of foreigners, the elimination of the monarchy, and the building of a free national economy. It is enough that the revolution of [word indistinct] expelled the Italian fascist community which was settling in Libya.

Leader, is it possible to give us a few details of some of the events and suffering you had to personally undergo while building the movement before the revolution? Is it also possible to tell us about some of the prisoners who have now been released? What was their position regarding the revolution? Did they have revolutionary fervor before the revolution? This may be of interest.

[Al-Qadhdhafi] Thanks be to God we were able to overcome difficult circumstances. [passage omitted] In my second year at the secondary school there was revolutionary activity and the class deliberately participated

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in demonstrations in order to get to know the revolutionary elements who constituted the revolution, which liberated people from [words indistinct]. From that day on, activities were concentrated on getting to know revolutionary elements, setting up revolutionary cells, and planning the revolution.

The government of Fezzan became concerned about the revolutionary activity and demonstrations, and Mahmud [words indistinct], in particular, became upset because our activity was threatening their sultan. They expelled me. [words indistinct]. I was not prepared to confront any hard or severe [word indistinct] because the family was poor and I could not afford to be away from it. I was living with my mother. She was staying in Fezzan because of me and had left my father in Surt [words indistinct]. She stayed with me so that [word indistinct] Sabhah. She was staying in the house, which you have seen [words indistinct]. We stayed in that house. Naturally, they thought I was preoccupied with [word indistinct] getting a job and money [words indistinct], but my main preoccupation was planning the revolution. I submitted a petition explaining that I was a poor student and did not even have a relative who was educated and had a job who could help me. [Words indistinct] question marks regarding us, on my fate as a student [words indistinct].

The first strike directed against me on a personal basis and against the revolutionary action, on the family side, the first harmful action. [incomplete sentence as heard] It is known that I did not even have [words indistinct] Sabhah or anywhere I studied. Moving from Sabhah, I found that in the army I had a relative, a soldier in that army. [words indistinct] I went to Misratak. The army was moving toward Tripoli, but they sent me to Misratak. I only had a suitcase and a bag for my books. I stopped at a gas station and left the suitcase—it was a large one—and my book bag there. I walked to [word indistinct] and went to Uncle Khalil and told him the story. I told him that [words indistinct], but keep it to yourself because we do not want anyone to hear of this and [words indistinct].

I entered the school [words indistinct]. An Egyptian teacher helped me and wrote down my grades so that there was no objection to my transferring to another school. [passage indistinct]

There was nothing, but I was determined to study. I went and, by God, I had it in my mind to sleep under a tree and go to school in the morning. It was in my mind to study, but how [words indistinct]. [passage omitted]

[Interviewer] Were you ever detained?

[Al-Qadhdhafi] I was arrested twice in Sabhah when I was a student. This study is known. They brought me before the court, but the court in its turn said I was only a small student and innocent [words indistinct].

[Interviewer] And when you became an officer?

[Al-Qadhdhafi] Of course the criminal period was between March and September 1969. An order was issued for my arrest. There was an officer in the military police named Al-Masri, and he is still serving in the military. He wrote to (Al-Shuqayfah) and (Al-Shilhi). He wrote them an arrest warrant in my name. I was on leave at the time. Then, after they were given the warrant, the two fell out with each other. One said: Arrest him! And the other said: No! One said: If we arrest him maybe it will lead to pressure and a revolution in the army, and the king will be angry. He will say: You assure me of the army's loyalty and here is the army (?taken) by junior officers behind your back!

That was the opinion of (Al-Shilhi). He said [words indistinct] those are junior officers and I am a colleague of some of them. We will disperse them! Send them on 7-, 5-, or 4-year courses. (?Send them) to the air defense section. We were all candidates for the courses. The first batch was sent to Britain; the second batch was scheduled to leave on 1 September. In it were about 25 lieutenants from the movement, and 12 lieutenants from the movement went before them to Britain. [words indistinct] The other said: No, he must be arrested. They fell out with each other. [words indistinct] It would have been serious if the order had been carried out. I mean, people were not aware when we used to meet at [word indistinct] Sabhah and the village of Hajarah. [Words indistinct] meetings at night, meetings during the day; the leaflets we used to write; and the books which we used to steal from the library and distribute. [words indistinct] I remember going to inform the group in Misratak, when I was a student in Sabhah, of the shape of the organization, how separate cells begin [words indistinct].

I saw a car halfway between Sabhah and Misratak in the winter, and its occupants gave me a lift to Abu Qurayn. I spent the night there and stayed somewhere between Darnah and [words indistinct] until the car arrived. They said: The boy who was with us wants to volunteer. [words indistinct] In my case, I reached Misratak after much pain, and there I met the group and they saw that I had suffered. It was Ramadan, and I was walking to organize the free officers from Banghazi to Al-Khums, Misratak, Tripoli, and back, about eight times on Thursday and Friday.

I used to travel all this distance in such a short time, and I used to go to that small cafe which opened at 0500 in the morning to have a coffee in order to wake up a bit. Sometimes the car would drop me on the road, and on one occasion when I got to the cafe I saw a bus [words indistinct], and I met a U.S. soldier named Pomegranate. I asked him where he was going. He said that he was on leave and was going to take the bus. I told him to forget about the bus and drive with me to Tripoli; just forget the bus. I had to get to Tripoli that night to secretly meet with officers and return to Gar Yunus without anyone

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noticing my absence. If I had travelled on my own, I would probably have fallen asleep in the car because I was extremely tired. In fact, these revelations are known to no one, and then somebody comes and tries to [word indistinct] from the person who spent sleepless nights and suffered from exhaustion.

When I was a student at the military academy, they used to keep me from going on leave by punishing me, charging me with insubordination and rebellion. So I was banned from leaving the barracks on Thursdays and Fridays. But, I used to go over the wall wearing my military uniform, not civilian clothes, so as not to show that I was banned from leaving. Any student banned from leaving who put on civilian clothes could not go out, and if he was caught they shaved his head to humiliate him. Therefore, I used to wear my uniform [words indistinct] and go out in all kinds of weather and head for Banghazi to meet with students from the military academy. If I wanted to meet with them I told them that the meeting was set for Thursday and Friday. Even if I was banned, I went ahead and met them and then returned to the academy secretly. This happened on many occasions at a time when the officers were trying to launch the revolution. Those were memorable years. [words indistinct]

[Question] How did you spend your leave after you graduated and after you became an army officer, especially since we know how life was then and that leave was only rarely granted?

[Al-Qadhdhafi] I did not have any ordinary leave after I graduated in 1965. I grouped all my leave together prior to the revolution. During those leave periods I was under arrest or made to repair cars [words indistinct]. We used to meet only on festivals and anniversaries. After many months I would meet them for about 5 minutes, on the occasion of a feast [words indistinct]. We were deprived of all these things, feasts and our parents, and we could not have the pleasure of their presence nor could we live with them. It was a painful time [words indistinct] and then some people come to...[changes thought]. In any case it is the revolution, and we are stronger than those who try to (?achieve something great).

And then, the question of amnesty has a different status. I have said that a human being who has a good side, if we [words indistinct]. I am sure that a number of those people who were reprieved will undergo a complete transformation and become guards of the revolution and become [words indistinct]. If it is a matter of treason, they have paid the price. I was moved when I saw people who were [word indistinct] and were in good health, and yet I found them destroyed. I even asked them: Why have you done this to yourselves? There were those who, when they came [word indistinct], the first word to come to my tongue was: Why have you done this to yourself? I found him very...[changes thought] having done to himself, I mean, weak like this and broken down, and I nearly failed to recognize him. I was very moved. I did

not think that people could change in prison in this way. [Words indistinct] the price of treason. He who has a good conscience and wants to do something good, now (?has the chance) to build the Jamahiriyah. He who used to say freedom to the people; he who used to say democracy; he who used to say socialism; he who [word indistinct] things more than Trotskyism, more than Marxism, more than communism, more than anarchism, more than [words indistinct].

There is he who wants Arab unity; there is he who wants a pan-Arab party like the Ba'th party, and so on and so forth. [words indistinct] I mean, I kissed Bourguiba's filthy head because I want Arab unity and [words indistinct]. I kissed Al-Sadat's head and [words indistinct]—all this because [words indistinct] because Bourguiba or Al-Sadat's dirty and rotten heads. What are they that I lay my hands on them, or touch them with my mouth. By God I kissed them all because of this unity. We eliminate borders, barriers; we remove them with bulldozers and [words indistinct]. It will not benefit us. I [words indistinct] with every Arab country. Thus, the Ba'thist and [words indistinct] something in Iraq and something in Syria, so what, apart from unity. That is (?an aberration), even though he is Ba'th and (?loves) Arab unity and thinks that we are not unionists. And then there is another side; there are other people who were wronged. I do not say that all the people who were in prison, from those who had the death sentence passed against them to those who were arrested and interrogated—sure, these represent the people who were wronged because the presumption in those periods [words indistinct]. At times of transformation many innocent people are sacrificed. Sure, it is possible that there are people whom we consider traitors that are not traitors. It is possible that they did not betray us. It is possible that [words indistinct]. It is possible that there was a wrong name; it is possible that there were suspicions; it is possible [words indistinct]. And then the [words indistinct]. We were with Egypt when we used to say that. At that time those who used to utter words against Egypt, those who used to say the Egyptians come [words indistinct] when we open the borders, it was said [words indistinct] you became isolated from the Arabs and [words indistinct]. [passage omitted]

[Interviewer] All right, let us return to the beginnings of the revolution and the beginnings of your work as a caller...[Al-Qadhdhafi interrupts with words indistinct followed by laughter]

[Interviewer continues] Tell us now about the propaganda side. At the time of (?our revolution) did you speak about the paper in which you drew a picture of the sun [word indistinct]? Did you issue any revolutionary newspapers before the revolution, and at what stage? Was it when you were a student or when you were an officer?

[Al-Qadhdhafi] There was a newspaper at Sabhah school. I issued a (?war) newspaper, which I called THE CHALLENGE to draw the attention of students to its

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name. My intent was to attract revolutionary people and bring them with me. In Misratah school, as we said, a newspaper [words indistinct] a (?war) newspaper called THE SUN. I called it THE SUN because it symbolizes freedom, and I wrote that the sun shines on everybody. With regard to publications, when I was an officer, and also when I was a student, I used to write them with my own hand—especially when I was an officer—first, so that the officers to whom I handed the publications would be reassured, and second, so that I personally assumed responsibility. I did not want (?others to assume responsibility) because responsibility is a serious matter. How can you when you are an officer? They might arrest you for carrying out a secret action. This means a death sentence or life imprisonment, first, and expulsion from the army. Thus, I wanted to assume the responsibility personally because I was the one carrying out this action. I assumed responsibility in case there was any danger in it, just as is the case now [words indistinct]

Responsibility is still like this. And then, in order to encourage them and give them confidence, I personally, an officer, wrote the publications with my own hand and made copies (?with a stencil duplicator) and distributed them. This gave them confidence.

[Interviewer] The suffering and pain which you sometimes recall and suffered for long years, you and the soldiers you organized into the movement of free unionists, do you not fear that their goals will now be eliminated due to occasional unconsidered tolerance? And somehow, some people who are not generous and kind might appear? Do you not fear for our achievements and acquisitions as popular masses, which have achieved the revolution for which you worked hard and made, for its freedom, its glory, its progress, and its march on its land?

[Al-Qadhdhafi] There is no fear. It is as if the great slogan put forward now in Libya is: Laissez-faire; laissez-passer. [Let it go; let it pass.]

[Interviewer] That means: Let it go and let it pass. [words indistinct]

[Al-Qadhdhafi] That is a famous slogan in a foreign language, (?known to) all the educated: Let it go; let it pass. Even so, it does not mean that the results ensuing [words indistinct]; let someone exploit the others; let him strip the others of their freedom. Others have the right to (?commit injustices). Let them rule over others. And others have the right to stage a sit-in or strike in protest. But, here one can only operate without exploiting others. In fact, one should not fear this. It confirms the new jamahiri theory, the era of the masses, and the new socialism. There is no fear for the gains of socialism. One might think that this is a relinquishing of socialism or of the revolutionary program. No, no, on the contrary, what happened before was not an implementation of the Green Book. I think that what is taking place now is implementation of the Green Book.

Before, we used to imitate traditional forms taken from the nationalist regimes—in the Third World in particular—which had failed. State capitalism has failed; private sector capitalism of the superpowers, which are currently suffering a crisis, has failed. The Third World used to have a form of socialism under the shadow of nationalist rule [word indistinct], but it was stumbling and did not solve the problem. When its [word indistinct] to capitalism fails once and for all, [word indistinct] state capitalism.

Now, the practical implementation of the Green Book is taking place. It is the fear of the private supplier, for example, or this small merchant. Someone would say that this is commerce and exploitation, and you would say about commerce what Malik [founder of one of the four Islamic denominations] said about wine. It is true that commerce still equals exploitation and profit is exploitation too, and admitting it is the same as admitting exploitation.

But, what is currently taking place is not at all alarming. Nor does it lead to (?exploitation). First, the people's markets exist and will prove their worth in the future. The merchant being next door, people will understand the meaning of the voice of the people. The customers exist; they will be laborers; they will have socialist interests.

In addition to the people's market there are quality consumer associations belonging to their founders only. These do not involve any exploitation. People gather money, purchase (?goods), put them in a place, and sell by themselves.

There are markets or stores belonging to public institutions, such as, say, the Jihad Fund, which invests our money in a market, and the income from this goes to the Jihad Fund. The Islamic call, for example, founds [sentence unfinished]. The international platform sets up a market and the income from this market belongs to it. Any institution sets up a market and the income of that market belongs to it. This does not involve any exploitation or any profit going into some private person's pocket.

Last, there are the private suppliers, whose number is limited in every municipality depending on need. This will naturally be limited as long as those institutions are beside the private suppliers. External trade is in the hands of society, and so is internal supply. This did, in fact, solve a bottleneck situation because people used to stand in line in public markets, which do not cover all the Jamahiriyyah. The private supplier is everywhere now. There are no longer any goods which [words indistinct].

Then, let the Libyans who want workers from Tunisia or Egypt on their farms [words indistinct]. What matters is that your effort is not lost. There is no fear. Your effort is not lost. Even if you set up a cafe—I know that work

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in cafes is nonproductive work; a hairdresser is nonproductive; a baker is nonproductive. I have mentioned this so many times. What matters is this: If it is a compulsory service, it means that the bakery does not work for someone else; that the cafe does not work for an owner who is staying at home. [passage as heard] No, the cafe is yours and the work is yours. The most important thing is that you yourself should have the fruits of your efforts. The producer should be able to consume his product; you should have the fruits of any effort which you have exerted to produce goods or services. This is the new socialism because anyone would have the fruits of his efforts. This is justice and equality. This is also socialism, without a doubt, as here there is no place for exploitation. Furthermore, the basic people's congresses have adopted and will adopt bills against exploitation. It is not possible for someone to rent out a house to someone else because he would be breaking Law No 4. Also, if someone with a farm hires a wage earner to cultivate instead of having a partner, the latter can always seek a writ against the former and his right as partner should be accorded to him. Thus, if you have a farm and I join you in order to work with you on it, I should be considered as your partner [words indistinct]. Your house should be returned to you.

[Interviewer] It seems to me that within the framework of the need for continued coexistence between the old culture and the new culture of the jamahiri society—as well as what one can say given that the old culture is still stronger than the new jamahiri culture—the aforementioned might lead to an attempt to distort even the procedural forms which have so far been adopted. However, your excellency has already stated that what is now being implemented is a true and correct embodiment of the Green Book. On the other hand, given the prevailing cultural situation, this might jeopardize a number of society's revolutionary orientations, particularly those related to the transformation of society to a producer society, from a consumer society to a producer one. We can see now a frenzied envy of the position of the individual distributor. It is taking place to the detriment of the innovations which the Libyan is beginning to show in various artisan and producer occupations. Many people are now leaving artisan occupations for services, particularly the distribution service.

[Al-Qadhdhafi] Well, well, I know what you mean. I had in mind that we set up a producer state and an exemplary producer society. [words indistinct] so you may now do whatever you wish in a country in which freedom prevails. You are free even from exploitation. There is no exploitation, no repression, no abuse, no government. The people govern themselves. Whether the people produce or not, I myself had hoped that all of us would go into production and learn to be craftsmen. I have, however, found that it is difficult for some people to plant a tree and wait for it at least a full year [words indistinct]. Social backwardness is of a subduing nature, like senility, which is hard to overcome. It has to go full cycle. Social backwardness cannot be ended by decree. It will not end with time.

I have already spelled out everything that can help in creating a producer society; how the family should gain self-sufficiency from its own garden and not buy anything from the market, and I have even told how the relevant institutions will furnish the necessary tools to plant trees and for husbandry. You just have to go to these institutions for your needs to be met. This provided new orientation for production at the beginning, but at the same time it was accompanied by shortages, scarcity, lines, propaganda, and people who would only look after their own interest. [words indistinct] [passage omitted]

[Interviewer] What is the function, in the current situation, of the movement, the movement of the revolutionary committees?

[Al-Qadhdhafi] It has not changed. It is pro-people, safeguarding their freedom (?so that it becomes) a popular revolution. We are now more in need of the revolutionary committees than ever before. The need for the revolutionary committees is more than ever before. We even want to prove, as the revolution—which is pro-freedom—proved to us. We want to prove that the revolutionary committees are the allies of the people, that they are biased toward the people...

[Second interviewer interrupts] They become allied...

[Al-Qadhdhafi interrupts] They are not, as the people in prison and the people abroad say, the enemies of the people, and the...[changes thought] If there are excesses like this, and it is possible that some people may have been imprisoned and [words indistinct] and they may even have died because of this. This is not revolutionary. Perhaps this is the first time that this has been said: For your information, the revolutionary court sentenced to death, and the sentence was implemented, a number of revolutionaries because they damaged the message of the revolutionary committees. Possibly this is the first time that such talk has been heard. As far as we [words indistinct] revolutionaries, we consider them revolutionary, but they deviated in conduct or in ideology, especially their conduct.

[Interviewer] The movement, the question of movement...

[Al-Qadhdhafi interrupts] Deviated—they deviated, harmed, tortured; they did...[changes thought] and the revolutionary court sentenced them to physical liquidation. They were liquidated in accordance with Leaflet No 1.

[Interviewer] Leaflet No 1?

[Al-Qadhdhafi] It suffices [words indistinct] Leaflet No 1. No one has immunity [words indistinct] at all if he deviated. The revolutionary does not practice repression. On the contrary, I want to prove that the committees—the movement of revolutionary committees—are

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lovers of the masses, that they are biased in favor of freedom and they support my resolutions. They should now sharpen and prove their presence more than at any time in the past.

[Interviewer] The revolutionary committees cannot be biased in favor of tourism abroad. What is their relationship to freedom?

[Al-Qadhdhafi] First, tourism (?internally). If tourism were, if tourism were...

[Interviewer interrupts] (?Not internal tourism).

[Al-Qadhdhafi] Oh, abroad, you mean? Libyans go abroad? Not only [words indistinct]. It is a question of consciousness, as they say, social consciousness. When Libyans take their money and go abroad, causing a loss to their country as a result, and when they should not go abroad so as to save hard currency they themselves [word indistinct]. But, if the consciousness of Libyans has not reached this degree [words indistinct]. The Central Bank (?does not want) tourism abroad. [laughter] [Words indistinct] revolutionary committees. [laughter] But, this is a question of consciousness. [passage omitted]

[Female interviewer] [Words indistinct] measures of the people's congresses. [Words indistinct] direct something to the congresses as regards the process of legalizing what has happened [words indistinct] the issue of freedom. [words indistinct]

[Al-Qadhdhafi] [words indistinct] It has been confirmed that the revolutionary resolutions which I drew up have become legal [words indistinct], freedom, in a permanent form. It is possible that a document could be drawn up about this in the era of the masses, which shows human rights, its sacredness, freedom. We will prove to the world that it is the revolutionary committees which defend human rights and that whoever (?parts with) Libya is not a true revolutionary. Not everyone who belongs to the revolutionary committees is a revolutionary. Not all of these people who are present are necessarily revolutionaries. But, that does not mean that the philosophy of the revolutionary committees is wrong. The philosophy is 100 percent correct. The revolutionary committees movement is like the Free Unionist Officers movement. I would not have been able to [words indistinct] before 1969 without the committees of free unionist officers, which were in every military division. Likewise, we cannot now continue with the revolutionary program without a revolutionary committee in every basic people's congress. It is not possible if somebody says [words indistinct] revolutionary committees. This is (?deception). It is not possible. You cannot go ahead without revolutionary committees. If somebody says that the revolutionary committees are an assault on people and are...[changes thought] that is also incorrect. Never! That is not [words indistinct] an assault on people.

[Interviewer] Leader, the congresses might meet and, for example, might see it in their interests not to fully obey your request to completely cancel the death penalty. And they might consider it in their interest to restrict the freedom of some people once they, I mean, begin to do a particular harm to the masses, to their interests, or the interests of...[changes thought] How did this issue (?come about)?

[Al-Qadhdhafi] Freedom is to the masses. [words indistinct] The first time [words indistinct] it was a long time ago, some years, when I suggested to the people's [words indistinct]

[Interviewer] And they rejected it.

[Al-Qadhdhafi] I believe in the saying: Only the Creator has the power to end life. This saying [words indistinct] who created life has power to end it. I was disgusted by the death penalty when I saw the people's congresses during the month of Ramadan some time ago executing [words indistinct] with ropes and things. The truth is that I was disgusted by it. [words indistinct] The method used by the people's congresses to execute [words indistinct]. They had committed crimes and they did, indeed, deserve to die. But, when I saw how the masses just came along like that and executed, hanged, somebody with a rope at a soccer stadium in...[changes thought] I was indeed disgusted by it and I surely ceased to believe in it. I am against this penalty. Execution by firing squad—military style—is more honorable, but it all interferes in the life...[changes thought] What I can see for a particular period, of course, is that it might not be acceptable to those who carry arms, those who are under arms and fighting. The truth is [words indistinct]. It might not be acceptable that when a soldier runs away or [words indistinct] he is not executed, according to military laws [words indistinct]. But, I know there could be some issues which affect the congresses—conspiracy or clandestine activity [words indistinct] U.S. intelligence, Egyptian intelligence, which is tied to the Israelis. The penalty for that is death. It is treason. I think that treason should always carry the death penalty. But he [as heard] is against the death penalty.

[Interviewer] Because it is a threat to the life of others; it damages life itself, the value of life per se. But the death penalty remains necessary when the life of others is endangered?

[Al-Qadhdhafi] By God, I do not know [words indistinct]. I am suggesting the cancellation of this penalty. I am against it and disgusted by it and...

[Interviewer interrupts] Always!

[Al-Qadhdhafi] But the congresses are free to decide what they want. It is not the first time that I have suggested something that was then rejected by the people's congresses.

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[Female interviewer] Do you not think that an historical fallacy has begun to reverberate in one way or the other, that is, the claim that the day of freedom is 3 March?

[Unidentified voice] No, the day of freedom is [words indistinct].

[Al-Qadhdhafi] [words indistinct] The day of freedom is 1 September 1969. [passage omitted]

[Female interviewer] [words indistinct] March 3, the historical event of liberating the prisoners and demolishing the prison, as an explosion in the revolution. What does an explosion in the revolution mean?

[Al-Qadhdhafi] [Laughter] It is a military expression. [passage omitted] These activating charges mean that each time one explodes, then another...

[Interviewer interrupts] Is it in order to increase the speed or increase the force?

[Al-Qadhdhafi] Yes, yes, especially [words indistinct]. This operation is like the operation of the revolution, but has activating charges one after the other. It is one of the stages of the escalation of the revolution. This means that the students' revolution is an explosion; the workers' 1978 is an explosion; the 7 April is an explosion. The explosion of activating charges in order to escalate the revolution. What took place on 2 March is [words indistinct].

[Interviewer] This means that the successive cries for freedom which you used to make at every stage of the revolutionary escalation indicated your determination, and indeed your attachment, to the principles which you set out to achieve 30 years ago. But, as a person, I still need many clarifications in order to know what these political forces are that you pardoned? How did you know them and what is your knowledge of them? Are they indeed forces which indeed deserve pardon?

[Al-Qadhdhafi] No, no, they cannot be called forces. The group which we saw in prison was brought together by the prison only. At times, they were three people who conspired together, or two who conspired together, or one person got ten into trouble, a confused person on his own. No, they are not political forces categorically: one who uttered a curse; another who [words indistinct]; one who wrote [words indistinct]; one who took money from a party abroad, from a foreign state; one who deserted from the army. Indeed, one of them was a deserter.

[Interviewer] But there is a group which had conspired against you personally; conspired to kill?

[Al-Qadhdhafi] Yes, but this is not politics. We do not consider this a political action. These are not political forces at all. This is an assassination plot and I pardoned them, and I am confident that they will not try to kill me. Even when I came they did not kill me. This is a known

incident [words indistinct]. One had a handgun and he had several agents who had knives. He told them when he arrived at [words indistinct] at night: I will shoot him and you attack the guard accompanying him with knives. I entered. He had his gun and he [words indistinct]. He forgot himself and said he did not come on a mission. [laughs] The matter was discovered and he, an officer, deserted the army and then he himself came and said: I (?plotted) and got some people into trouble with me. Who are those people? He said so and so and so. They were arrested.

[Interviewer] He voluntarily admitted this?

[Al-Qadhdhafi] He himself did this. Indeed, this is a trivial matter.

[Interviewer] But Leader, this has never happened in history. Even if it is compared with the Al-Tulaqa [citizens of Mecca who remained heathen] incident, I do not believe it is true. The Prophet, God's peace and prayers upon him, when he conquered Mecca he pardoned the people of Quraysh who were hostile to him, and this happened even when the Al-Fatih Revolution took place. The royalist regime was not brought to account. We spoke about Sayf al-Nasr. The period after the revolution can be considered a stage of the Al-Tulaqa. None of the men of the royalist era, despite their misdeeds, whether general ones against the Libyan people or against you personally, were brought to account for them. They were told: Go, you are free, whether it was Sayf al-Nasr or others. But this incident did not take place: A strong revolution decided to free those people. It is possible that the great majority of them [words indistinct], but the great majority indeed conspired against the revolution, against the people's authority; conspired against you personally. This has not come out of a vacuum. Leader, is it possible for you to explain to the masses of the people's conference how to prevent a recurrence of this action. The people will not need someone to pardon—a free people who have founded the Jamahiriyah and established the authority of the people's conference. How can it prevent people from hatching plots in this or that manner against them, whether on their own or in cooperation with the outside, and this is [word indistinct]?

[Al-Qadhdhafi] The guarantees should be constitutionally confirmed. The Libyan people will sit during the month of Ramadan and write the guarantees of its individuals [words indistinct] and incriminate unacceptable actions. These include secret actions, the resort to force, dealing with the outside, treason and plotting, the exploitation of religion, because some of these newspapers exploit religion. Religion will be endangered if it becomes like a football game, with various groups exploiting it. One group is called Muslim Brothers, another the Islamic Liberation Front, another Al-Jihad, another [word indistinct]. Suppose I am a politician. Let it be said I am a politician and I have a political dogma. As for religion, no! Religion belongs to all of us. But

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political dogma concerns you alone. You believe in it. As for religion, and Islam in particular, it concerns us all; do not play with it. Make it a party and exclude me. And you, in the name of Islam, can go and make... [incomplete sentence as heard] Among the things that should be banned is the encroachment of religion. He who encroaches upon religion is a sinner and punishment of the sinner is stated in the religion. He who employs religion in politics exploits it, encroaches upon it. Religion is the dogma of us all and we do not allow anyone to play with it.

I see freedom as the guarantee because when people become free, and are certain of it, they become good people and crimes, even ordinary crimes, disappear. But this does not mean that all people become angels. I have said that even 'Umar al-Khattab had ruled justly, but was later killed. Even if 99 percent of the people were with him, it was still possible for the 1 percent to kill. They killed 'Uthman; they called Ghandi; they killed Robespierre; killed Danton; killed [word indistinct]. Those were all [words indistinct] important killed. Christ [words indistinct]. There was no one more prominent than these people. They were all messengers.

Evil exists. It is in conflict with good. We are not so naive as to say that evil no longer exists. But, because of this we should clarify the acts of evil and that the one who commits them is evil, and what punishment the jamahiri society will impose on him. Each one can be responsible for his own actions. If we catch someone tomorrow we apply this punishment to him. We gave you freedom and we said: This is an evil action. You committed it, thus you are an evil person. We said: This is an evil action. You committed it, thus you are an evil person and this is your punishment. Go and appeal to any court and say this man committed an evil action. Everyone is free to defend himself. It was not confirmed that he had committed an evil act. We incriminated him and he seems evil. So, what is the punishment for this evil man? What is the punishment for this traitor? Because we said: This is treason, and the one who commits it becomes a traitor. What is the punishment for the traitor? It is so and so. That is it [word indistinct] one is free afterwards. This is like hell and paradise. You can take this path or you can take the other path.

Take any political action, what does it mean now? It is meaningless. One takes authority from the people. Well, the people decide on the punishment of whoever tries to steal authority from them. As for the previous attempts, I considered them to be attempts to steal the revolution. As I have told you, I built the revolution brick by brick, with sweat, sleepless nights, study, tears, and suffering, and consequently I pardoned those who tried to steal it because it is now no longer in danger of being stolen. It has now become the people's authority, the Jamahiriyyah. He who steals it now steals the Jamahiriyyah, steals the authority of the people, and this has now become the responsibility of the people. He who steals the people's authority steals the Jamahiriyyah. The people will decide

his punishment and will decide the way he should be arrested and the way he should be treated. But, today we consider the past and the people I freed are my personal responsibility. I felt they had tried to steal my effort, to steal the work which I and my colleagues did without the Libyan people knowing about it. And they themselves did not know about it. Some were in the United States, others were in Egypt, some of them were [words indistinct], some were drinking alcohol, some of them used to sing, some did not know and hoped that the monarchy would continue. They spent the nights with the Americans, with the Italians, while we were working for the expulsion of the Italians, the Americans, the English; the end of arbitrary rule; the elimination of the monarchy; the restoration of the oil to the Libyans; raising the price of oil from \$1 to \$40; to build homes, farms, schools, hospitals; and to allow the people to carry arms.

This is the revolutionary program, the result of the revolution about which I spoke. When the rain fell on me in the back of the vehicle, when I used to fall asleep while driving and the vehicle would overturn in a ditch, when they brought the arrest warrant for me without my knowing of this, when I was deprived of my family and they were deprived of me. And instead of spending the holiday with them, I used to go and plan the revolution, organize cells, and write the leaflets with my own hands—actions which lead to execution. All of this suffering was for the sake of the revolution, which has achieved the revolutionary program. And we feel those people tried to steal this action on which I used to work day and night. And none of the Libyans were aware of it. Even those people were not aware of it. Subsequently, I pardoned them because they tried to steal my effort and I was able to defeat them, thanks to God. They were sentenced to death or life imprisonment. They paid the price of treason. I was sorry that they had wronged me, wronged themselves. They even wronged Libya.

Now we have corrected this as though nothing had happened. A new page was turned as far as I am concerned. You were on the verge of falling into the fire, but God has saved you from it. I consider them to be born again, and, in fact, they have recognized this and have said: We are born again. I consider them to be newly born. And I consider them to be close to me and I know that if I give weapons, by God, to all those I freed, it is still possible for a person not among them to assassinate me. Even to those who want to assassinate me, I am willing to give weapons and [words indistinct]. I would have liked to give them arms and live ammunition on the day I freed them from prison and walked in their midst.

[Interviewer] What is the source of this confidence?

[Al-Qadhdhafi] I am confident of myself, confident of the measures I have taken, and I am confident that if you reach the positive side of man, he becomes a great man. But sometimes, authority, the individual, and circumstances destroy the positive side of man and encourage

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the negative side. Man is pushed sometimes. Man can be deceived or misled. Many of them were misled. By God, many of them were misled. [passage omitted]

[Interviewer] Leader, during preparations for the revolution, before the Great Al-Fatih, did you contact any of those who later tried to usurp the revolution and try to draw up a program with them?

[Al-Qadhdhafi] Of course, earlier I gave for you three examples of people. One category is those who were arrested after the revolution and because I knew them I freed them and told them: Go, you are free. This concerns a group of officers. Regrettably, they plotted again afterwards and I recently freed them for the second time. I would like to say to you: Did I not release so and so after the revolution while you were in prison? He was arrested after the revolution, one of the officers who were arrested. And I heard of this after a period and freed them and told them: Go, you are free; consider yourselves with us in the revolution. You were with me at Gar Yunis. After a period of time they plotted again and they are still paying the price of that conspiracy. Now, I have freed them for a second time so that [words indistinct].

Another category is of one who knew me before the revolution—how I used to plan and what I did when the Libyan people were not aware of what I was doing—although he was not with me in the movement and I was not with him. But we talked and I proposed to him what he planned to do, what I was planning. But he did not join me for political reasons, which concern him alone.

Another category is he who took part in the revolution, but had prior knowledge of this historic action only from [words indistinct] between [words indistinct] September 1969. And perhaps he did something against the revolution, but he says: This story from 1959 to 1969, all this suffering, this rain, this torture, the sleepless nights, [words indistinct]—I did not know of this and indeed it seems that I was trying to steal something very serious to which, perhaps, I have no right. [words indistinct] And how he was trusted and how he then failed himself and failed us. Maybe you could add something we do not know. I recall when I got in touch with you in 1967. I do not know who introduced you to me.

[Interviewer] Dr Madani.

[Al-Qadhdhafi] Which Madani? Madani Siddiq?

[Interviewer] Yes.

[Al-Qadhdhafi] I see, Madani Siddiq. Did you come to see me or did I go to see you?

[Interviewer] Do you want me to remind you?

[Al-Qadhdhafi] Yes, please remind me: I remember I was in your car and I drove you out of the barracks at Gar Yunis, and we sat. It was a stormy day.

[Interviewer] Dr Madani arranged the meeting. It was the first meeting which you attended at the Damascus Cafe. Then I waited for you at the cafe and the doctor came and told me that you were not coming because I believe there was a state of alert at the barracks. He also said: Brother Mu'ammarr will meet you behind the wall of the barracks. He gave me the description of the car and its registration number. That is how I met you. I sat next to you in the car and you took me on a ride.

[Al-Qadhdhafi] In my car?

[Interviewer] Yes your car. It was a VW.

[Al-Qadhdhafi] I remember what I told you then. I told you: I know that you are a member of a party and the issue is not about the party and it has nothing to do with what I am going to ask from you. Where you work is not my concern either. I told you: If there are youths with you, bring them along and we will train them because we, as military people, would like to carry out operations against the British troops in Banghazi, at a barracks called [name indistinct] and at another barracks called [name indistinct]. These were all British barracks. So I told you: If you have youths in your group, bring them to us and let us train them in the use of weapons, and we military people will be behind them to prepare them to carry out operations against the British forces. I told you: I see no objection in receiving support from a political group, but this talk had nothing to do with a party. [words indistinct]

I will tell you my side of the story and what I know of the (?operations). I was later informed by (Muhammad al-Tabu) [words indistinct]. I told them that there was a lieutenant and would you please take him in [words indistinct]. The person who was carrying the note you had written was searched on the road between Sabhah and Juhrah. When he saw that the cars in front were being searched he tore up the paper. [words indistinct]

[Interviewer] I would like to briefly add something. In reality we were not organized. We were individuals and, though we knew one another, there were no links between us. The party was in a state of disintegration. The organization which existed had dwindled for a number of reasons, one of which was the fact that some of those who were in the party leadership undertook liberal professions and gave up their jobs when the oil wealth arrived. [words indistinct] Of course I was not in that group, but I was still an employee.

[Al-Qadhdhafi] No, there were people like Sharaf al-Din and the man who was under secretary at the Oil Ministry. What was his name? [words indistinct] One was

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made under secretary at the Oil Ministry and another was under secretary at the Housing Ministry. Yes, it was at the time of the monarchy in 1967. It was a Ba'thist party group.

[Interviewer] I did write, but Dr Madani had given me a clear idea about you. Among the things he told me was the fact that you were indeed organizing something. Once he visited me at the radio station in March, as I remember, and I explored the radio station at Banghazi. Even after the outbreak of the revolution, he was still in Banghazi and he told me that the banner of this revolution was brother so and so. In other words, I had prior knowledge of you and your activities and so on. In fact, on our part at least, we were very anxious not to implicate you in anything so as not to put you in any danger.

We were under suspicion and the intelligence service, in small numbers, was concentrating on some people and was following their activities. We did not want our connection with you to put you in any danger from the security forces of the monarchy. When I said that so and so got in touch and he wants such and such, I was all in favor of the idea. But you were transferred to Tripoli and this is what essentially broke the link between you and me.

[Al-Qadhdhafi] Yes, it is true what he says. Yes, they transferred me to Tripoli and they contained me, and consequently the program failed.

[Interviewer] But I was personally enthusiastic about the whole thing because you said: We military people are prepared to supply you with the ammunition and weapons and to train you in order to carry out operations against British barracks.

[Al-Qadhdhafi] Yes, I was a second lieutenant.

[Interviewer] And I even opposed the stand of the monarchy then with regard to the aggression.

[Al-Qadhdhafi] Indeed. Musa was a Lieutenant Colonel and I was a second lieutenant, and officers of the Military Academy were training me.

We planned to execute the revolution in March 1969, but this was postponed, as you know. After the postponement of the revolution, I became more daring and began to speak to other ranks, to get them to join the revolution, expecting good from them. Among those from whom I expected good was brother Musa. I knew him at college; he was an officer and trained us. I knew his inclinations in general, despite the great difference in rank between him and myself: lieutenant and lieutenant colonel. I went to him and spoke to him. I do not know whether the meeting took place in Susah or at [words indistinct]. We had lunch with him at home. Indeed, he told me: Despite the fact that I am a lieutenant colonel, since you are in this I am with you. He feared the late

Muhammad [name indistinct] and said: He is related to [words indistinct]. Then I said to him: No, this brother is a revolutionary officer and he is with us. I remember he said: The world is fine [words indistinct].

Then I contacted him again in Al-Marj, until one day I told him that we had an important meeting in Tripoli and after we finished it, I would come to him and tell him about it. They put him in the compulsory service committees at Al-Bayda. I came to him on Friday, together with Mustapha al-Kharrubi, at his home at Al-Bayda and he said: Did the meeting take place? I said to him: We met. What happened, he asked? I told him: We decided on the revolution. He thought that the matter was in its beginning stages and that the revolution would take place in 5 years or so. But the revolution was scheduled for the day after, Sunday. Indeed, Brother Musa was surprised. He said: How come? I said: This action was planned years ago, 10 years ago, and we planned to stage the revolution last March. [words indistinct] He said: Is it certain that the revolution will take place? What is your strength? I told him: We have committees in all units and we have total control of the enemy. There is nothing to fear. Be assured that we will carry it out. He was touched and [words indistinct].

We are talking as an introduction to the emergency meeting of the basic people's conferences in order to confirm the revolutionary decisions which I took, to make them permanent, to safeguard freedom and confirm it, so that people will no longer fear for themselves and [word indistinct]. So that the people themselves will decide on the criminality of these actions. Why should the revolutionary committees incriminate people? Why should so and so incriminate people; or the army incriminate people; or intelligence incriminate people? The people should decide if this is treason, if this is a crime, if this is so and so, and the punishment for this is so and so. That is it. Decide who should follow it up and its legal procedures so that the people may feel assured. [words indistinct].

Another category was all the people who did nothing. We used to struggle against British imperialism, American imperialism, even before the revolution. We used to carry out operations of this nature, and Brother (Farid Ashrafah) is a witness. [words indistinct] Brother Musa used to be a very senior officer in the army with the rank of lieutenant colonel. He entered the action with us toward the end, but he had no knowledge that the story began in 1959, or of our suffering [words indistinct] and how people thought of usurping this action; how they tried to jump on the bandwagon of the revolution. I do not know how some tripped and how things happened. Some people harmed themselves, harmed their health, their age, their families. They left nothing positive. They left pain for us and for themselves. Indeed, anyone who did anything after the revolution in order to usurp it or harm it, left nothing positive at all but suffering for himself, for us, and for his relatives. He obstructed himself and was destroyed in prison. What positive

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action is there in conspiring against the revolution? [Word indistinct] there are three types of people, each type different from the other. However, they are useful as far as [word indistinct] we are concerned; we who are talking about them. If you were not present it is possible that some people would say there was no one who was released from prison, and then conspire against those who freed them [words indistinct] I recall Azuz, Husayn, Saddiq, Makki, and those who were with them. I released them from prison. They were under detention and I freed them. And I told them [word indistinct] with this same expression and afterwards they conspired [words indistinct]. (?If you were not present) some people might say there were not such things, that there was not such a background or story.

[At this point Al-Qadhdhafi apparently addresses somebody who presumably participated in the revolution] Do you not recall anything? Do you not recall when we came to you [word indistinct], Mustafa and me?

[Unidentified person] Is it the Mustafa who killed Kharubi just a day before the revolution?

[Al-Qadhdhafi] Yes.

[Unidentified person] Because it was only the day before the revolution that you informed us of the movement.

[Al-Qadhdhafi] That is what I was talking about.

[Unidentified person] When you talked to me after 28 March, you talked about who was in the group of 28 March. I asked you: What is the reason, because (?there must be) some people with you who are not serious or not this or not that? I remember you told me: Even if there were two people and we are [words indistinct]. Naturally, at that time I had confirmation that the operation was not easy. One might [words indistinct]. He told me: No, there are these two whom we have discarded and that is it. I continued with them. [words indistinct] Several meetings in fact. However, in 1969, I do not know anything before that. Even if I was in some organizations, they were failed organizations. Previously [words indistinct]. However, the movement, [words indistinct] in reality and I went along with them and played a modest role. When you found me in (Sousse) I told you [words indistinct]. This is the whole reality. I do not claim that [words indistinct] never. This is the reality.

[Unidentified speaker] Leader, I have a simple comment to make here. I was hoping that you would be our president or our secretary when you fully believed in the ideas of the Ba'th Party. It does not matter if I say that to you now. [laughter] I hoped that you would personally lead us, despite the fact that I was in another organization. I hoped that a person with dynamism, with creative thinking, with all the (things) which you enjoy, would lead this organization—not only at the Libyan level, but even at the pan-Arab level because several members of

the Ba'th Party that I knew, young honest people, most of them making sacrifices, whether they were in Jordan or Iraq, during the days of...[sentence unfinished as heard] Afterward, the deviation or the mistake which occurred was a clash with the late Jamal 'Abd al-Nasir in reality. I tell you the truth. You might be surprised [words indistinct]. When we were working we were not...[unfinished sentence as heard]

[Al-Qadhdhafi] Has anybody else got anything to say?

[Female interviewer] On the occasion of the presence now of Brother [name indistinct] and Brother Musa, let us recall what took place on 3 March and ask: Was there anything which had an effect on you the day the prisoners were freed, especially since there were among them people with whom you had some link? [laughter from Al-Qadhdhafi]

[Al-Qadhdhafi] I cried just like others when I heard. And as much as I suffered, that suffering that I told you about, my will power was affected when I was a student [words indistinct]. This standpoint had an effect on me. I remember really that the song had an effect on me. [sentence as heard] Whenever I read the words of this song I feel tears coming to my eyes.

One of the prisoners, Musa, in fact—when he left prison he came to the tractor and came to greet me. This had an effect on me as I did not recognize him because his face had changed. I was very touched. I had expected to see him just as I knew him before. When Abdallah told me this is Musa, I was really very touched. I was very moved, in fact, and I embraced him. [passage omitted]

[Interviewer] [words indistinct] Sorry for bothering you. We have bothered you a little.

[Al-Qadhdhafi] No, no, you are welcome, and all the best. [words indistinct]

Sudan

SPLA Criticizes Government on Famine Relief

LD0300191800 (Clandestine) Radio of the Sudanese
People's Liberation Army in English 1300 GMT 3 May 88

[Excerpts] The Sudan is virtually daily in the world major news media. The reason is that most of the news items are bad ones; namely, war and its attendants—death, political instability, the economy at the brink of total collapse, and wooing of the country by foreign countries in the Arab world.

These misfortunes afflicting our country and its people, as expected, constitute the stock in trade of journalism. No doubt these problems are real and immense in magnitude and cause suffering to human beings, mostly innocent ones.

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However, one of the most outstanding tragedies facing our country is the plight of the citizens fleeing from famine caused by drought and death and death from the Khartoum government-sponsored tribal militia.

In the face of these serious calamities, the able-bodied citizens trekked to safety in places to find shelter and food outside their country. The last 3 years have witnessed an unusual exodus of the people from the southern Sudan to the western part of Ethiopia where the UNHCR and other humanitarian organizations have tried to minimize the suffering of these innocent citizens of the world.

Certainly, there is abundance of good will on the side of some countries' nongovernmental organizations and individuals, but there are serious obstacles to grapple with.

The influx of the refugees is on the increase and there is no sign of decline in sight since the solution will come when the root causes, specially war, are satisfactorily removed. [passage omitted]

How could the suffering of these people be mitigated? In nearly every human activity there is direct or indirect involvement in politics. While accusations and counter-accusations from the warring parties are difficult to avoid, countries' nongovernmental organizations of goodwill are asked to come to the rescue of these unfortunate Sudanese.

As far as SPLM-SPLA is concerned about this issue to help the famine victims is clear [as heard]: channel relief items to the needy through those in concerned areas.

For instance, relief supplies donated to the victims in areas controlled by the SPLA should be channeled through the SRRRA—Sudan Relief and Rehabilitation Association—while the starving in towns under the Khartoum government could pass through government agencies, provided that coordination is carried out between concerned bodies prior to the ferrying of relief items.

The reason is purely the security of the personnel conducting relief operations. The movement is also willing to permit independent bodies to check that the relief supplies so donated do not go to any of the warring Sudanese Army. If the issue is approached realistically, then it is not as very complicated as some are tempted to think.

It is only Khartoum which has turned this tragedy into a political instrument. The argument that by sending food, clothing, and medicines to the needy in SPLA-held areas would morally strengthen the movement is understandable.

The SPLM-SPLA does not trade on human misery, otherwise it would refuse granting permission to the delivery of food to the starving in the government-held towns.

The government is aware of the fact that the policy of starving the citizens under government-controlled towns is a wrong weapon. It is Khartoum which stands accused for obstructing the effort of relief agencies which intend to supply the people under the SPLA-controlled areas.

Khartoum's insistence on sovereignty is another way of saying: talking with the rebels even to save the lives of the people will diminish national sovereignty. It is a fallacious argument. It is the very starving people who are suffering.

Government Troops Kill 21 'Outlaws' in Clash
EA0305194588 Omdurman National Unity Radio in Arabic 1400 GMT 3 May 88

[Text] A large number of outlaws infiltrated into the Khawr al-Dhahab region of the Qaysan rural area last week. They clashed with a unit of the Armed Forces, which inflicted heavy losses on them.

Twenty-one outlaws were killed and 4 were captured. Many of the outlaws were wounded. It is known that the outlaws infiltrate to carry out armed robberies on the property of innocent citizens in the area.

200 Rebels Killed Near Waw
JN041205 Khartoum SUNA in Arabic 1059 GMT 4 May 88

[Text] Khartoum, 4 May (SUNA)—More than 200 rebels were killed recently by the Armed Forces when the outlaws attacked an Armed Forces convoy on its way to Tonj, 18 km south of Waw. Twenty members of the Armed Forces, including a major, were martyred.

Citing unidentified sources, AL-AYYAM today reports that the Armed Forces convoy was proceeding toward Tonj with supplies for troops stationed in the area. They were suddenly attacked by a full battalion of outlaws that intercepted them.

The sources added that the Armed Forces inflicted heavy losses on the outlaws and compelled them to flee leaving behind 200 dead.

AL-AYYAM reports that the supply and food situation in Juba, Equatoria Province, has become bad and that minor skirmishes and looting have broken out on the city's outskirts.

Authorities Investigate 'Terrorist' Group
JN041205 Khartoum SUNA in Arabic 1030 GMT 4 May 88

[Text] Khartoum, 4 May (SUNA)—In accordance with information from leaders in the Islamic National Front [NIF], the security authorities began investigations yesterday, Tuesday, of four Arab citizens with Syrian passports.