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# Near East/North Africa Report

(FOUO 15/81)

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NEAR EAST/NORTH AFRICA REPORT

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INTER-ARAB AFFAIRS

FRANCE, MOROCCO ALLEGEDLY CONSPIRE AGAINST MAURITANIA

Paris AFRIQUE-ASIE in French 30 Mar 81 pp 6-8

[Article by Simon Malley: "Giscard Gives Hassan II The Green Light"]

[Excerpt] When King Hassan II of Morocco departed Paris last March 8th he had good reason to be confident, even optimistic. Those escorting him in the airplane carrying him back to Morocco were all agreed: the king appeared radiant. He has just held several hours of discussion, shrouded in complete secrecy, with Valery Giscard d'Estaing who had been assured from Rabat that such talks could prove a real boon for his presidential campaign and enable him to strengthen his position vis-a-vis the superpowers, the United States in particular, but also vis-a-vis the African countries that were starting to have misgivings about the Elysee's consistency in its African policy, especially its loyalty to governments it was supposed to defend.

Valery Giscard d'Estaing agreed immediately to the meeting in Paris with Morocco's sovereign. He listened at length while the latter outlined for him a "bold, risky" plan of action. Afterwards d'Estaing gave Hassan II the "green light." After thinking it over a while d'Estaing is supposed to have told Hassan, "Go ahead. Even if the operation flops it will produce valuable side-effects..."

The operation that King Hassan II and his political and military advisors had been working on for several weeks had a well defined objective. But its farther-reaching goals were more significant, more diabolical: a plot to topple the government of Khouna Ould Haidalla in Mauritania and set up in its place a group fully dedicated "to the protection of the vital interests of Morocco, of France, and of the free world in North Africa and in Black Africa, and dedicated to the struggle against Algerian and Libyan hegemony, Polisario terrorism, international communism..." As he detailed at length to Valery Giscard d'Estaing, "all of the preceding were a Gordian knot. Cut it and the whole situation would resolve itself..."

Valery Giscard d'Estaing supposedly confronted him with several questions. For instance, what would be the reactions of the Algerians, the Libyans, the Senegalese, even the Tunisians and certain of the Gulf kingdoms, some of which backed Nouakchott? What would the Americans and some socialist countries say? "We gave him every assurance possible," King Hassan II confided to some of his close associates. "We 'proved' to him that Algeria is too taken up with its domestic problems to be able to take action if the operation was successful. It would

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limit itself to a number of purely formal protests, nothing more. Anyhow, we'd be in a position to intensify its domestic concerns. As for the Libyans, Sadat is standing by to discourage any attempt at rescue by Qadhafi. As far as the Senegalese go, [some circles obviously were going to get it involved in the operation], President Leopold S. Senghor assured us that Dakar wouldn't press its reaction too far, despite President Diouf's desire to restore normal relations with Algiers and Nouakchott. In Washington, where the Reagan administration is engaged in labeling all liberation movements as "terrorists," there is no problem classifying POLISARIO among the latter.

#### All Planned

No mistaking the calculations of the king and his strategists: Nouakchott would fall in a few hours and the new administration would immediately seek military assistance from France under the cooperation treaties in force between both countries, and from Morocco, in its right as a sovereign nation able, like Dacko in Central Africa, to call for direct intervention by Morocco (or any other country), under the UN and OAU charters, etc. How could it be refused what was allowed for Tanzania in Uganda, for Libya in Chad, for Vietnam in Cambodia, and within the Warsaw Pact countries, for the USSR in Afghanistan... This was the question put to the French president by the Moroccan monarch. As regards "our friends from Tunisia, Saudi Arabi and elsewhere, Black Africa above all, we can guarantee you that they prefer to have in Nouakchott a government that favors Rabat and Paris rather than Algiers, an administration that is opposed, not friendly, to POLISARIO." And if the operation flopped? Wouldn't it be wise to contemplate such an occurrence and anticipate its consequences? Optimism notwithstanding, Hassan II had to assert that he had planned for any eventuality. Here's how:

1. The "liberator" commandoes (sic) would not cross any Moroccan borders anywhere. Morocco's troops and aircraft would intervene only at the specific request of the new Mauritanian government. In less than 72 hours there would be 10,000 Moroccan troops position inside Mauritania. Complicity on the part of certain political and military groups in Senegal would enable the commandoes to penetrate into Mauritanian territory across the Senegal river. In the event of a flop the groups in Senegal that were involved would immediately disavow their role and not implicate Paris or Rabat.
2. The commando leaders solemnly swore not to be captured alive "under any circumstance." No matter what, the Mauritanian officers would in no way implicate Paris, Rabat or Dakar in arranging or carrying out the plot.
3. If the operation failed and Mauritania's government appealed for Algerian forces to intervene, Algeria would automatically become a party to the conflict and its direct role in any POLISARIO action originating on Mauritanian territory would be clearly established. Algeria would be almost exclusively responsible for the danger of a Moroccan-Algerian military showdown that would be almost unavoidable. World public opinion would see Algeria as the one responsible for the military showdown(!).

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4. No doubt Algiers and maybe even Nouakchott would hurl charges at Morocco and probably also at France. That would inevitably result in worsened relations between France and Algeria. The upshot would, first, benefit our vital interests in the area, and, second, give a boost to our propaganda directed toward highlighting Algeria's and Libya's "hegemonistic designs" in Africa, north and south of the Sahara, just the way we succeeded in propagandizing during the time of Boumedienne.

Hassan II also confided to one of his associates: "I told Giscard what a feather it would be in his cap to outwit his political opponents [critical of his foreign policy] by showing them a major diplomatic coup in a region of strategic importance for France's vital interests. He nodded. He saw what I meant."

"Hot Pursuit"

So "D" day for the operation was set for 16 March. President Haidalla was away from the capital touring the north of the country. The prime minister and members of the Military Committee of National Salvation (CMSN) were scheduled to meet on that day in the office of the president to discuss nothing other than what action to take to confront the constantly growing threats from Rabat to Mauritania's national independence and sovereignty. No one doubted but that Morocco was getting ready to attack Mauritania. Various military units all across the territory had been put on alert.

Accident, coincidence, watchfulness? The fact is that at the last moment the prime minister and his colleagues had decided to adjourn sine die the meeting of the CMSN. As a leading member of the CMSN was to confide later, "We knew what our jobs were. Danger seemed imminent to us. So we decided to beef up our defense preparations...The ministers, the leaders of the political parties in Morocco, after all, had given us their warnings and threats vis-a-vis alleged POLISARIO actions originating in our territory. They did allude to 'hot pursuit.' But basically it was all an attempt to distract us from the actual plan of attack. We had our eyes on Morocco's borders, whereas our opponents' plan was to assault us with commandoes across the Senegal River, i.e., from the south. It was our watchfulness, and our sense of loyalty most of all, it was our mobilization and the awareness of our people that made the operation a miserable failure."

Actually, when Lt. Col. Ahmed Salem Ould Sidi, one of the two commando leaders, had his men charge the buildings housing the office of the president, where the members of the CMSN were scheduled to meet, he encountered only a handful of gendarmes on duty. He mowed them down in cold blood. As he was in the Nouakchott radio station appealing to Rabat to dispatch its aircraft the national guard arrested him. The other commando had the same fate. In an attempt to take over the army headquarters it was forced to surrender to loyalist elements of the Mauritanian armed forces.

The operation was a complete fiasco. But its side- and after-effects were unexpected. Contrary to the Moroccan king's assurances and promises, Algiers' reaction was swift, vigorous and decisive. Neither Rabat's efforts to keep France out of the fracas, nor Dakar's categorical denials, as well as those of Morocco's leaders, won over third world public opinion, especially in Africa,

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as to the innocence of the criminals who armed and remote-controlled the attack on Mauritania and the plot aimed at plunging it into a bloodbath and dragging north Africa into a fratricidal war from which only imperialism, neo-colonialism and zionism would benefit.

#### A Sorcerer's Apprentice

The meeting of the political bureau of the FLN on 16 March resulted in Algeria's most vigorous official position against Morocco's expansionist and aggressive designs since President Chadli Bendjedid came to power. Despite his own scepticism about the intentions of Morocco's royal government vis-a-vis Algeria, President Chadli Bendjedid, shortly after his election to occupy the presidency, had to adopt in his relations with neighboring countries, especially Morocco, a posture strict in principle but flexible in form. The search for a solution to the POLISARIO conflict based on the Saharan people's national aspirations was a standing aim of his foreign policy, albeit never to the detriment of the higher and vital interests of the POLISARIO fighters.

Neither the vicious propaganda of some political and diplomatic groups nor Rabat's tendentious "leaks" to newspaper people supporting its cause or in its pay caused Algiers' determination to waver: it was opposed to any compromise likely to undermine its basic positions.

It was a miscalculation to believe that the people of Algeria and its leaders would stand with arms folded when faced with the attempt by Rabat and its accomplices, especially those hiding behind declarations of 'good intentions' on the Elysee, to destabilize Mauritania and topple its government to set up in its place a neo-colonial puppet government in the pay of French-Moroccan imperialist and capitalist interests.

"Hassan II is a real sorcerer's apprentice," I was told the other day by a leader who is quite knowledgeable about Morocco and its leaders. "If Algeria has sided with the Saharan people, sometimes sacrificing some of its economic and diplomatic interests, how can anyone think one single moment that we would remain inactive if it should occupy Mauritania directly or by proxy? Our independence, security of our entire national territory necessarily entail the security of our borders, of all our borders. Infringing on the independence and the security of Mauritania is the same as encroaching on Algeria's. No Algerian could tolerate that...."

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EGYPT

NEW ROLE OF POLICE VIEWED AS STEP IN ESTABLISHMENT OF CAPITALISM

Paris AL-WATAN AL-'ARABI in Arabic 27 Feb-5 Mar 81 pp 24-26

[Article: "A New Egyptian Army--From the Police Forces!"]

[Text] On 25 January, President Anwar al-Sadat watched the first review of the Egyptian police forces.

The celebration on this occasion was unlike any in past years, since a holiday was given to some police workers, an allowance was paid to those assigned to work that day, and symbolic awards were distributed to several officers. Then commemorative pictures were taken, and a soccer match was held between the police team and one of the major Cairo clubs.

However, things are different this year, when Cairo witnessed the biggest review of its type of the largest police force in the region. Naturally, the Egyptian president was seeing the results of 3 full years of continual, secret preparations to form a new police army of the sort he wanted and which he had personally outlined, which was implemented by Interior Minister al-Nabawi Isma'il under the name "Central Security Forces."

Without going into too many details on how these forces were established, their sole, main purpose, naturally, is to strengthen the grip on the domestic front, and to react to any activity which might take the form of a threat to the regime, especially in areas having a mass character, such as university youth organizations, religious societies, and soccer matches.

However, after the incidents of 18 and 19 January 1977, and the popular uprising which threatened the Egyptian regime to the core, al-Sadat was forced to refigure all his calculations. Instead of resigning himself to the failure of his policy in all fields--social, economic and foreign--he deluded himself into thinking that what had happened was only an "isolated uprising," and that the people were unaffected by and unconnected with what had happened.

Al-Sadat tried to pretend that he believed this, but in fact he was looking at matters in an entirely different manner. Even though he was the one who ordered the payment of damages to the owners of the nightspots and cabarets along al-Haram Street (compensations which Egyptian embassies had obtained from Egyptians working overseas in the form of stamps and additional fees for every kind of transaction), the matters which were subsequently revealed to the Egyptian president had far-reaching implications.



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First of all, he discovered that his regime was really being threatened from within. Secondly, he discovered that the domestic security forces, as represented by "central security," were unable to preserve the regime's safety, after several Cairo streets were set on fire and his residence in Gizah was besieged by demonstrations, which even extended to Aswan, the southernmost city, where al-Sadat would go swimming in the sun. The army had to be called into the streets, and tanks were actually brought into the streets and stormtroopers occupied the public squares. However, what was new about the matter, and what al-Sadat was well aware of, was that the army was issuing directions to not fire a single shot at the people, while the police forces fired on the citizens in the streets for 2 days, wounding and killing many people.

The Army Is On the People's Side

Al-Sadat was well aware of this lesson, and perhaps for the first time sensed that the army, even though it was standing still, or "observing," or "being controlled," would never take his side against the people if matters came to that.

At just about the same time, preparations were being made with America to eliminate the Egyptian military organization, to the benefit of Israel and the purposes and goals of the "coming regional peace." Here, plans had to be made on two bases: firstly, eliminating the Egyptian armed forces and transforming them into a sort of civilian or "functional" organization, i.e. an army composed of employees or civil servants, and, secondly, making the police replace the army as an alternative for protecting the regime, under such pretexts as the claim that the peace phase does not need increased military expenditures, which could be spent on more beneficial and useful civilian purposes, and the claim that changes had occurred which necessitated an increase in the number of police forces and the improvement of their training and armament, the chief change being that the greater part of Sinai would be occupied by forces subordinate to the police, not army forces.

As for the first point, the Egyptian military organization's elimination, its draining of all substance, and its deflection from its particular purposes, in implementation of the Camp David agreement, several steps were taken.

First, senior army officers were given free rein to take over "new" territory in reconstruction areas, and they were enabled to establish new "fiefdoms" in the form of hundreds of feddans of gardens and farmlands.

To this end, President al-Sadat issued his recent decree, declared at the end of his speech in the al-Salihyah area near al-Isma'iliyah, which provided for raising the maximum farm land ownership to 200 feddans, thereby superceding the agrarian reform law, the first fruit of the July revolution, which limited ownership to 100 feddans per family, not per person.

The important thing here is that a new class of large landowners arose among the senior army officers, who consequently became more covetous of their private interests and more concerned with and attentive to looking after them. They also came to believe more in the new society, or the capitalist society which was being created under various names, the latest being "food security."

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As for the other class of senior officers, the stormtrooper officers in particular, the greater majority of them were also managing the new "openness" offices, and were engaged in extensive import, export and middleman operations. In fact, some of them, especially the stormtrooper officers, benefitted from their knowledge of an experience in Egypt's mountains and desert areas to acquire some marble mines in these mountains, extract this raw material, and deal in it extensively.

As for the new officers, or the young officer generation, their preparation in this direction is beginning early now, since it has been decided that as part of the War College curriculum they are to take a complete commercial course, so that the officers will ultimately acquire a baccalaureate in commerce and another in military arts. Then, after graduation, each will find himself a position in one of the openness companies or the other foreign companies and offices now so widespread in Egypt.

Naturally, studying these commercial sciences will doubtless be at the expense of the military sciences and will take time away from them. The natural place for whoever remains "zealous" or enthusiastic about military traditions after all of this will be the Egyptian-Libyan borders, where he will not be a thorn in the side of the regime. Besides this, the rest of the army will be transferred to purely civilian sectors, where the members of the military police, for example, would direct street traffic, other units would work in bakeries making loaves of bread, and still other units would pave streets and plant new land to achieve "food security," as well as build the al-Qasr al-'Ayni Hospital!

Special Training

The second point--the new police forces' replacing the Egyptian armed forces--has actually taken place. The "police army" of Egypt has now become one of the central security forces, comprising 160,000 enlisted men and officers armed with all sorts of modern and heavy weapons, from artillery to machineguns to mortars. Members of these forces are chosen from the young people being drafted into the army, and the young Egyptian is now permitted to spend his conscription period in any agency subordinate to the police instead of the army. Thus the number of police forces has increased, at the expense of an obvious shortage in the number of armed forces conscripts. This year's budget for this new army amounts to 100 million Egyptian pounds, as opposed to 78 million pounds last year. These forces number 100,000 enlisted men and officers, whereas in 1977 they numbered 50,000 enlisted men and officers, with a budget of 20 million pounds. This means that the number of police army forces has more than tripled in only 3 years. It has been decided that by next year the number will reach 250,000 enlisted men and officers well trained in acts of repression and the use of violence!

Consequently, it has become only natural for the police to completely control the various Egyptian domestic utilities, and for permanent assembly centers and posts to have sprung up in the streets and squares, along with other mobile positions such as roadblocks and vehicles patrolling the quarters night and day.

While this phenomenon has attracted the attention of the man in the street, it has also attracted the attention of military personnel. The armed forces members feel that a substitute army is being prepared. Some inflammatory acts have actually been performed by some police officers; one of them arrested the wife of an armed forces

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(stormtrooper) officer. She was badly treated by police personnel, being detained for 3 days without being permitted to contact her husband or family. After that, she was charged with "indecentcy." Once news of this spread through the army, the tension reached its peak and rumors flew that the stormtrooper units, which would be participating in the military review on the occasion of the 22 July holiday, might make a move to occupy the capital. Therefore, the region was besieged by large military intelligence forces and other combat units. However, Officer Nabil Shukri, then commander of the stormtrooper forces, did not want matters to come to this, so he purposely attacked and kicked a senior police officer in the street, in plain view of the citizens, when the police officer tried to prevent him from parking his car at the side of the road. Because of this incident, and because of reports that several stormtroopers, acting on Nabil Shukri's orders, had demanded an interview with then Defense Minister Kamal Hasan 'Ali to frankly declare their inability to protect the honor of the Egyptian military forces, Nabil Shukri was finally removed from the ranks of the armed forces and sent into retirement.

The second incident which was sure to cause an explosion between the police and the army took place in the Jabal al-Ahmar area. An armed forces truck was en route to this area to get some sand, and some "central security" soldiers from the police forces tried to prevent it from doing so. The army men then demolished all central security camps in the region, and if the military police had not stepped in at the right time, the explosion would have spread much further.

Returning to the Past

This new phenomenon--the formation of a new Egyptian army from the police to replace the Egyptian armed forces, which are being wiped out at top speed--is only one of many steps being taken across the board in Egypt, in an attempt to return to the pre-revolutionary years and to reshape the Egyptian manner of thinking and psyche by creating new customs and values which will serve the new capitalist society being planned.

They are trying to transform young people into new landowners, merchants, smugglers and middlemen, by means of concentrated American propaganda to which an entire television channel has been devoted (Egyptian television is broadcast on only two channels), which attempts to deepen these new concepts, values and ideas. The most dangerous aspect of this lies in the attempts to convince the young people, by means of information media, of the uselessness of education and the failure of educated people and intellectuals in their lives--as opposed to the success which uneducated merchants, middlemen and professionals achieve. In several programs, these information media simplify the comparisons between the garbage collector and the university professor, stooping so far as to tell the young people that the university professor has failed in his emotional and family life because he has no money, while the garbage collector disregards these obstacles and lives a happy married life because he can fix up his home, which the university professor cannot do himself.

In no case can what is going on today within the Egyptian regime be separated from the nature of the Egyptian ruling organization, which holds all the key positions through its principle leaders, such as 'Uthman Ahmad 'Uthman, Sayyid Mar'i, and Mansur Hasan, who have become widespread throughout all decisionmaking agencies

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such as the executive agencies, the party, the army and the government. Their main purpose is the creation of a new capitalist society in Egypt and the restoration of capital's dominion over all aspects of life.

The news has been confirmed that the limited cabinet change which the president effected in the cabinet last month, when he appointed 'Uthman Ahmad 'Uthman deputy prime minister and gave Mansur Hasan unlimited powers, is intended to pave the way to a more important step: the appointment of 'Uthman Ahmad 'Uthman as prime minister in the next cabinet, preparatory to becoming vice president of the republic, and the appointment of Mansur Hasan as deputy prime minister, in preparation for the position of prime minister after that. These two model citizens have found the favor, liking and intense concern of the new American administration.

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LIBYA

OPPOSITION TO AL-QADHDHAFI MOBILIZES

Libyan Opposition Struggle

Paris AL-WATAN AL-'ARABI in Arabic 13-19 Mar 81 pp 14-15

[Text] The worshipers wound up the Friday prayer at the central mosque in London, and they walked out to the courtyard of the mosque, greeting each other. Suddenly a professional killer fired four shots into the chest of one of them. [The victim] fell dead while the killer tried to escape.

Why was the Libyan journalist, Muhammad Mustafa Ramadan killed?

The only answer [to that question] is because he was [a member] of the Libyan opposition abroad.

What is curious is that Muhammad used to present his ideas clearly, as he understood them, in a general and comprehensive manner. He was not a member of any group or organization that was seeking to overthrow a government or a regime. But in spite of that, they killed him.

What baffles one is the fact that the killers who ganged up on him later confessed that they worked for the regime of Col Mu'ammr al-Qadhafi; that they had come to the British capital specifically to kill a few Libyans; and that Muhammad himself was among those.

Muhammad is one of a group of Libyans who lost their lives. Libyans have been dying one after the other in Rome, London and other capitals according to orders from Col al-Qadhafi himself. This is because Col al-Qadhafi wants no political opposition to his government.

And so Libyan intellectuals die one by one in public purges while the Arab and the world press print pictures of bodies in the streets, one body after the other.

And the regime persists in the series of "purges."

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The Libyan president himself declares on behalf of his people and in front of his people, "The revolutionary committees have another task inside the country pertaining to the Libyan Revolution. It follows the new national task which defines and explains the form of unity so that the masses can fight for it. The other task--and we have to say this quite frankly--is to kill the opposition. If the counter forces want to stand against the revolution, this is their business; if they want to surrender, escape or not join the revolution, this [too] is their business; but if they want to resist the revolution, we have to attack them inside the country and abroad. Let every member of these lifeless, collapsing and defeated forces know--and they are few and limited--that if he were to go to the North Pole or to the South Pole, which is as far as any one of them can go, we will go after him and we will mount an attack against him because he is the one who perpetrated an injustice against himself. It is inevitable that we will follow anyone who goes to any country in the world and works against the revolution, and we will attack him anywhere in the world. This is the law of war. He who wants to fight the revolution has to bear the consequences [of his actions], whether he is a student or a member of a reactionary Arab intelligence body."

The Libyan president adds, "We have to challenge every enemy of the revolution, and we have to go to him. If the counter-revolutionary forces are found inside the country, their position must be attacked and destroyed even if it were a mosque. If a person anywhere in the world has been sentenced to death because he deserves to be executed, you have to carry out that sentence."

This is exactly what Col al-Qadhdhafi said in his address on 8 March 1979 at the meeting of the Revolutionary Committees in the city of Benghazi.

On 28 April 1980 the Revolutionary Committees announced that the physical elimination of the enemies of the revolution had actually begun and that "Not Britain, which had failed to protect its lords; not Italy, which had failed to protect its prime minister; and no power on earth will be able to protect the Libyan opposition." The same committees explained that the [members of the] opposition who will be eliminated will not be buried in Libya. "The graves of Libyan Arabs will not accept vile bodies reeking of vileness."

On 5 May 1980 the Revolutionary Committees threatened to kill every Imam who prays for the body of a Libyan [member of the] opposition. Why? The statement said, "Because praying behind such an Imam is basically impermissible."

580 Million Dollars for Foreign Repression

Nevertheless and in spite of all this the Libyan opposition does exist, and it has become effective. It can be found in all the Arab capitals except Aden and Damascus. It can be found in all the European capitals

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and in other Islamic and non-Islamic capitals. It is making itself heard in its own way in weekly and monthly magazines, in secret periodical publications and in personal communications. If it has been cautious so far, it has observed caution so that innocent blood would not be shed. The Libyan regime designates 580 million dollars every year--some observers say more --for repression and murder abroad.

It may be said that from now on and until the Libyan opposition [groups], which are scattered in the form of movements and communities, come together as a single political entity--at least this is what the leaders of the opposition are affirming--the Lebanese scene will have been prepared for the occurrence of a major change on the popular scene. For the first time in its ancient and contemporary history, Libya is experiencing a drain such as the one that is occurring now in its intellectual capabilities: 50,000 Libyan citizens have immigrated for political reasons. For the first time the various sectors of production--agricultural, vocational, commercial and industrial--are seeing a decline in production such as the one they are seeing now because of the peculiar 1st of September laws which enlist almost all the manpower in the service of President al-Qadhdhafi and his expansionist, military ambitions abroad. [These laws have put Libya's manpower to work] to protect the regime from its adversaries inside the country on the basis of the fact that the revolution cannot actually exist and be strong unless it eliminates its opponents completely.

Who are the Libyan [members of the] opposition?

They are a group of movements, communities and fronts distributed among Egypt, Sudan, the countries of the Arab Maghreb and the Gulf and even Lebanon. In addition, there is a league of secret offices in Europe and in some of the Islamic capitals under the following names:

--The Democratic National Movement which publishes the magazine, SAWT LIBYA.

--The Libyan Community which publishes the magazine, AL-JIHAD.

--The Libyan National Movement which publishes SAWT AL-TALI'AH.

--The Democratic Libyan Front which publishes AL-'URUBAH.

--The Islamic party which publishes AL-MUSLIM.

Recently, a group of Libyan intellectuals joined these movements, and they took it upon themselves to publish a series of pamphlets entitled, "All the Truth for the People." The group began this series of pamphlets with a set of statements and letters by Dr Muhammad Yusuf al-Maqrif, former director of the Libyan Accounting Office and Libya's ambassador in India until May 1980. The second pamphlet was devoted to Muhammad Mustafa Ramadan and was entitled, "Who Is the Killer and Why?" The same group

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is preparing a series of studies--about 10--on the following subjects: al-Qadhdhafi: how did he ruin Libya's treasury; al-Qadhdhafi: how did he ruin Libya's economy; al-Qadhdhafi's experience in the context of Islamic balances; al-Qadhdhafi in the eyes of the West; ideas on revolution; the legislative chaos in al-Qadhdhafi's government; administrative chaos; the magnitude of cases of bribery and financial corruption; views on the foreign policy of al-Qadhdhafi's government; and the social changes that are being sought by the government.

Dr al-Maqrif was in fact the first Libyan diplomat who called openly for the overthrow of the regime. He combined this appeal with calling attention to the following data:

The speech which Col al-Qadhdhafi delivered in the city of Zawarah in 1973 abolished all the laws and suspended all the platforms and organizations, replacing them with the chaos of "the revolutionary committees." Ever since that day al-Qadhdhafi has involved the Libyan people in imaginary battles whose purpose appears to be [to establish] "the authority of the people" but whose actual purpose is "to control, stifle and humiliate the people."

Libya's innocent sons have been hung on the gallows; bullets have penetrated the chests of scores of Libyan officers inside the camps; many people wasted away in prison cells; and bullets spared none of the cream of [Libya's] intellectuals abroad.

The Libyan opposition is striving to establish a developing, sensible, democratic state, wherein every citizen can feel safe about his human dignity, his freedoms, his inviolable rights and the objects he holds sacred, a state where human capabilities and energies can be utilized in a way that would benefit all the people of Libya and its neighbors and brothers.

After Dr al-Maqrif two Libyan diplomats announced that they were joining the opposition. The first was Mr Ahmad Ibrahim Ahwas, who wants to be an independent and a cooperating voice. The second was Mr 'Abd-al-Salam 'Ali 'Aylah, the Libyan charge d'affaires in India. Both want to put an end to political murder inside and outside Libya, and they want to make preparations for a new democratic formula that would be based on responsible, popular choice and contemporary constitutional principles.

Opposition Leader Predicts Victory

Paris AL-WATAN AL-'ARABI in Arabic 13-19 Mar 81 pp 16-18

[Text] The Arab countries welcome our movement, but it is unfortunate that Europe is bowing down to circumstantial interests.

I had to go to Rome during last week's holiday to meet three men I did



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not know in a place I did not know. I boarded the airplane with the telephone number of one of the friends of AL-WATAN AL-'ARABI in Italy in my pocket. This telephone number was my only guide. In Paris I had been told that the men were three leaders of the Libyan opposition; that they were preparing for an internal movement in Libya; and that "the telephone number would lead you to them."

On the way to the airport unpleasant thoughts crowded into my head: Rome, the Red Brigade, al-Qadhdhafi's brigade, Aldo Moro's body, a U.S. jumbo jet burning in Fiumicino, the body of a Libyan, another body of a Libyan and yet another body.

I closed my eyes and I reopened them on another scene: thousands of Libyans in Green Square clapping for Col al-Qadhdhafi; some 10,000 soldiers filing by in an armed parade. The man talks about his accomplishments; everybody cheers; and shouts of approval are heard in the square. Under the lights of "the conqueror" everything has been considered; everything indicates that al-Jamahiriyah is devoted to its leader.

[I see] another scene [in my mind's eye] before I reach the airport: several hundreds of Libyan soldiers going to Uganda and not coming back; 1,000 Libyan soldiers (the figure is endless) storm into Chad and are buried there; a Libyan pilot escapes with his MIG airplane to Greece because he wants to join his sweetheart--this was the official explanation; Libyan camps for volunteers from all over the world [are being set up] for a major mission: al-Qadhdhafi's expansion; 12 billion dollars for tanks, airplanes and missiles; and hundreds of millions of dollars to kill people for a fee.

The airplane takes off. The man sitting next to me is a French businessman going to the Italian capital for rest and recreation over the weekend. The woman sitting next to him was only his wife. I asked her if she was going to vote for Giscard in April--I did not find another question to ask her. She smiled and referred me to her husband who gave me a lecture on Giscard about which I remember nothing. However, I still remember that he and most French businessmen favor another term for Giscard.

#### Three Faces

At the Fiumicino Airport the driver of the taxi who drove me to the hotel in one of the suburbs of the Italian capital told me that two Libyans had fired shots at a civilian airplane 2 weeks ago. [The driver gave me this information] when he found out from my accent that I was an Arab. He did not forget to offer his services as he bid me farewell. I understood from his looks that he liked Arab clients because he was convinced that they all carried an inexhaustible supply of oil in their pockets.

I contacted the man who knew the secret of my trip, and I told him that I had arrived. He told me that the appointment was [set for] 1100 hours

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the following morning and that I had to stay in the hotel until he contacted me again. At 1000 hours the following morning I had a telephone call from [this] friend who said without explanation that the appointment had been postponed to 3 pm. I was in my room when the phone rang a few minutes before 1500 hours. I understood that they had arrived, and I suggested that we meet in the hotel where I was staying, but my conversation partner said he would prefer a quieter place.

In a circle that brought me together with the three men I found myself in front of calm Libyan faces. One of them declined to mention his name. The second, for security considerations, preferred to give me his action name, Brother Yusuf. The third was Ahmad Ibrahim Ahwas with whom we had this interview.

[Question] Ahmad Ibrahim Ahwas, who are you?

[Answer] I am a Libyan, born in 1938 in Benghazi. I graduated from the Military College in 1962, that is, 8 years before the revolution. After military courses in Britain and in the United States in the area of my specialization, the corps of engineers, I was appointed upon my return instructor at the Libyan Military College for 1 year. Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi was one of the students I taught in the final year.

After the revolution I was placed under house arrest. Then in 1970 I was sent away to the diplomatic corps. I moved from Copenhagen (1970-1972), as second secretary at the embassy, to Djibouti (1972-1973), as first secretary, to Aden where I was charge d'affaires until late in 1975. From there I went to Singapore as adviser on Islamic Affairs until late 1976 and then to Guyana as charge d'affaires. On 18 January 1981 I submitted my resignation to declare my opposition.

[Question] Are you from a wealthy or a poor Libyan family?

[Answer] I come from an average family that is closer to poverty than to wealth. My father is a simple merchant. I attended the official Libyan schools, and I remember that I excelled in my studies.

[Question] In the Military College too?

[Answer] I was first among my colleagues and a master sergeant in my graduating class. Besides military affairs I took evening courses in Islamic culture and Islamic thought.

He Was Sluggish

[Question] What about Col al-Qadhdhafi, the student at the Military College?

[Answer] He was not one of the outstanding students, and he did not excel in his studies. I recall that he did not come to the graduation

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ceremonies, claiming that he was sick that day. I remember that he was physically sluggish, and sluggishness is one of the major flaws in the military.

[Question] Were the Free Officers superior [in their studies]?

[Answer] The Revolutionary Command Council is a group of very ordinary officers.

[Question] Do you consider yourself more devout than al-Qadhdhafi?

[Answer] After we graduated from the Military College, I recall that al-Qadhdhafi and I were in the same camp. I noticed [then] that he was somewhat devout, and I tried to establish a special relationship with him, but it soon became evident to me that underneath his obvious devoutness lie much malice and a complex, diseased disposition, so I turned away from his friendship.

[Question] What is it that made you discover what you call a "diseased disposition?"

[Answer] It was the violence that he practiced and his foolish behavior. I recall that he worked as a duty officer. When one of the soldiers made a mistake that he did not like, he ordered the officer tied to a vehicle and dragged for a long distance. When the soldier lost conscience, al-Qadhdhafi ordered his soldiers to run him over. But then another officer came, gave the soldier first aid and took him to the hospital. The soldier had been lying motionless on the ground and had remained so for a short period of time until the officer arrived. I still remember the name of that soldier. It is 'Uthman al-Najjar. There are many who remember this incident with me.

This conduct did not go unpunished. A military court then sentenced al-Qadhdhafi to jail. This caused a delay in his promotion. (Al-Qadhdhafi says that the delay in his promotion was due to his political ideas.)

[Question] Is it possible to find a psychological reason in Col al-Qadhdhafi's childhood for this disposition?

[Answer] Al-Qadhdhafi had a deprived childhood in the desert. He is known to have been a troublesome and an unpleasant child, and he was not popular among his peers. I do not remember much about him in the Military College because I went there to teach only. But I still remember quite well that he felt isolated. He did not take his meals with his colleagues; instead, he used to eat by himself after they would leave the restaurant. I still remember that as an instructor I used to defend him. I felt that his colleague's treatment of him could add to his complex. I felt some responsibility towards him when they used to make fun of him and to laugh at his clothes. Today, contrary to what was his custom, he makes himself elegant; he lets his hair grow; and he wears large glasses. There is no doubt that he has his own barber.

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[Question] What leads you to believe that his devoutness was not sincere?

[Answer] He killed scores of officers, civilians and intellectuals. He set the committees and the regions up against each other and his understanding of Islam is very superficial. At any rate he is not prepared for any dialogue. He practices vanity as a denomination, haughtiness as a religion, and this has nothing to do with Islam.

They Usurped Power

[Question] However, al-Qadhdhafi did succeed. How do you explain the reasons for his success?

[Answer] After the 1967 war the Arab homeland was in turmoil. The changes were rapid, and everything indicated that, because of his age, the end for King Idris, was approaching. The king was powerless and the crown prince was weak. A group of nationalist officers was prepared to take action to help hand over the power legally to a democratic authority through the two houses of parliament. The coup occurred during that period. Ever since the first weeks of its occurrence it was confirmed that a number of junior officers had usurped power with the help of a superpower with interests in Libya and that foreign intelligence had made their mission easier. Civilians and officers who were arrested later provide proof of this. There is an outside power which found that al-Qadhdhafi would defer to its interests. Thus, it placed power in his hands before the good nationalist forces were able to ensure a legal transfer of power [to them]. This is the power that is still protecting al-Qadhdhafi's regime today, [allowing it] to commit offenses right and left; to strike in the east and in the west; and to enter Chad and threaten that it would enter other countries.

[Question] How do you explain the popular support for the movement?

[Answer] The Libyan people are few in number. Before the coup they used to live in a state of expectation. They felt that state agencies were corrupt and that an uprising of some sort would not be delayed. The people were prepared to support any action, and so they supported the action of the junior officers, thinking that the change they were calling for was the change that was hoped for. The Libyan people have no experience in military coups and in the army's interference in politics. It was this that enabled a very limited number of military sectors to take action in Tripoli and Benghazi without any problems to speak of. The elements that used to protect the former regime knew that change was coming. Foreign intelligence agencies interfered at the proper time to enable al-Qadhdhafi and his group to gain control of the situation.

[Question] You have had a diplomatic responsibility ever since the revolution. How do you describe your relationship to al-Qadhdhafi throughout the last 10 years?

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[Answer] I have been careful of not having a personal relationship with al-Qadhdhafi ever since the coup that was called a revolution occurred. A few days after the coup while I was still under house arrest, al-Qadhdhafi sent me one of the members of the Revolutionary Council who is my relative, to ask me whether or not I wanted to leave the military. I told him, "I don't want anything. I leave the whole matter up to you." My intention was not to be tied at all by any obligation to the new regime. What happened was that they classified the officers into groups, and they turned those who had intellectual or political affiliations over to the diplomatic corps. In their opinion this was a kind of banishment or exile. Later, one of the members of the Revolutionary Command Council told me that al-Qadhdhafi wanted me to stay outside the country.

[Question] In the end, however, you were cooperating. Did you not stay in the diplomatic corps for years?

[Answer] The chaos that al-Qadhdhafi created in the official institutions enabled me [to pursue my convictions], just as it allowed many others to pursue their intellectual convictions wherever they were. In numerous situations I used to declare that I did not represent al-Qadhdhafi, but rather my country. [I used to say] that al-Qadhdhafi was a temporary disturbance in the history of Libya; that he did not represent its true role, its ambitions or its hopes; and that the appearance that he wanted for Libya was an evil one.

Muhammad Is My Example

[Question] Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir was an example for the Free Officers. Was he an example for you, and were you one of his admirers before the revolution?

[Answer] My example is the Prophet, may God bless him and grant him salvation. He is example enough for me.

[Question] We come to Col al-Qadhdhafi's regime. What faults do you find in it? (And here I looked at the three men.)

(They all took part in the response and made the following observations.)

[Answer (1)] Col al-Qadhdhafi's regime is a one-man, tribal regime that is closed upon itself and upon a group of al-Qadhdhafis in addition to a few profiteers. It is not a popular regime at all.

[Answer (2)] Al-Qadhdhafi claims that his Green Book solves the problems of the world. Then he claims that power and wealth are in the hands of the people. As intellectual, political substance, the pamphlet is worth nothing. Furthermore, power was not handed over to the people or to the revolutionary committees. These committees are a cover for autocracy, a cover that does not do its job in the absence of strong institutions. Those who are governing Libya today are the few profiteers. Chief among

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them is Ahmad Qadhdhaf al-Damm, Col al-Qadhdhafi's cousin. He is responsible for the assassinations and terrorist operations committees. Among his recent actions is one when he was in Paris: he asked one of the officials of the al-Jamahiriyah News Agency for a sum of money. The official declined to give him the money pending sending a telex to Tripoli to ask for permission. Four days later an airplane with four or five Libyans arrived in the French capital. In the name of the revolutionary committees, the Libyans went to the offices of the news agency and replaced that official who was returned with his children to Libya. The revolutionary committees are a tool for carrying out the wishes of al-Qadhdhafi and his men.

[Answer (3)] Al-Qadhdhafi's regime has destroyed the Libyan economy completely. It has amassed weapons that Libya does not need and that the Libyan army cannot take in. Under a democratic regime, Libya could have been the Switzerland of the Arab Maghreb or rather of the entire east. Until now there are still areas in Libya that do not have fresh water, and there are still Libyans who live in tin homes. The national wealth is squandered to satisfy the whims and desires of Col al-Qadhdhafi and the group around him. The projects which they are talking about were not set up on scientific bases, and popular management means the absence of technical abilities or specializations from these organizations. The directors are people who sing the praises of the regime and glorify it. They are henchmen, not people with qualifications. Libya does not have a private sector any more. Even grocery stores have been shut down. Selling and buying take place in the public markets according to standards of favoritism and influence. The people who clap their hands for the regime have priority, but [the rest of] the people do not find basic goods when their turn comes.

[Answer] (4) Al-Qadhdhafi has imposed mandatory military service on all young men born in 1942 and after. These people are the real productive force [of the country]. Their conscription means paralyzing business facilities whose productivity has declined to 10, 20 or 25 percent. Al-Qadhdhafi is preparing a huge army, and he believes that "he can conquer the world."

[Answer] (5) The judiciary in Libya has been suspended since al-Qadhdhafi has completely abolished the legal profession. This has never happened in ancient or modern history. The revolutionary courts do not rely on any texts, and they issue free, groundless sentences. A short time ago a student in the Girls' College tried a senior officer, and the trial was shown on television. She was heard telling the officer in the indictment, "A bullet would be wasted on you!"

[Question] Who puts a murderer on trial in Libya?

[Answer] The regime is killing everybody, and the killers are "innocent" people who are not pursued by anyone. Today, Libya is experiencing a case of genocide and the first mass immigration in its modern history. Fifty

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thousand Libyans who are the best intellectuals, businessmen and students left their country after al-Qadhdhafi's address at Zawarah in 1973 and after the economic chapter of al-Qadhdhafi's booklet was published and put into practice (1976-1977). Immigration then increased since February 1980 during the open season on political assassinations and public purges. The regime is killing scores of people abroad, and it is killing them by the hundreds inside the country. The victims are officers and intellectuals who "are being wasted" by the committees. The authorities may send an assassination team for a specific mission, then they would send another team to kill [the first], and that group too would not come back to Libya.

[Question] What about the regime's foreign policy?

[Answer] Foreign policy is tantamount to a set of "diplomatic" pouches filled with dollars for mercenaries who work in al-Qadhdhafi's service. The money is spent on the Arab and world media. These pouches represent al-Qadhdhafi's real power in the world. It is evident that Libya's temporary relations with Syria and South Yemen are due to the difficult economic situation, the isolation and the need which the two countries are experiencing, as well as to the isolation which al-Qadhdhafi himself is naturally experiencing.

[Question] But the Libyan regime is helping Islamic revolutions, is it not?

[Answer] It uses Islam. Today, the good people of Libya are convinced that al-Qadhdhafi is an apostate. He desecrates people's graves; he exhumes the bodies; and he throws the bodies into the sea. He takes the prayer leaders from the mosques to kill them, just as he did with al-Shaykh Muhammad al-Bishti and al-Shaykh Lutfi Qaya, who is the brother of one of the officers. This officer did not dare accept condolences for the death of his brother. The other proof that al-Qadhdhafi is not a Muslim lies in the fact that he did not attend the Islamic Summit Conference in al-Ta'if. Islamic revolutions are a card al-Qadhdhafi plays and then drops under the influence of Soviet strategy. This is what happened in Eritrea, for example; and this is what is happening today on the borders of Niger, Sudan and Mali. He establishes a Polisario everywhere in addition to the well-known Polisario.

The Tobruq Incident

[Question] How can al-Qadhdhafi's strategy be described in general?

[Answer] He sells oil, and he buys weapons, experts and clients with the money he gets for the oil. The Soviets have taken considerable advantage of his propensity for destruction [by using him] against the neighbors of Arabs and Muslims and sometimes against the Palestinian question. In the final analysis, al-Qadhdhafi is helping Israel in his own way, and he is trying to have the Islamic minorities work for him, taking advantage of their difficult financial conditions. When he attacked the

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Kingdom of Saudi Arabia on the last feast of Bairam, he sent telegrams to all the Islamic societies and organizations which he funds and asked them to support his position publicly.

[Question] What is his future in Africa?

[Answer] He has no future in Africa or in Libya itself. His end will come soon, God willing. We are not ignoring the international conditions that helped him take action in Chad and in some other places, but we are hoping that the concerned outside forces will realize that their support for him means that they are helping him destroy the world. The popular turmoil that Libya is experiencing inside the country will take care of the rest.

[Question] Was the Tobruq incident a plan for a coup?

[Answer] This was not the first incident, and it may not be the last. There was a similar attempt in the al-Kafrah camp. At Benghazi Airport several bombs exploded mysteriously. In Sabha there was an attempt to blow up a podium for public events. All this is nothing but the beginning.

[Question] What is the actual size of the opposition?

[Answer] Between 90 and 95 percent of the Libyans reject al-Qadhdhafi's conduct. These people are the silent majority. Those who can act and who can take the initiative were able to leave the country, and they are waiting to organize themselves into capable movements. Some of them have declared their names and are issuing periodical publications. The good national elements are increasing. Along with the leaders of these movements, they are trying to establish a unified political entity for the Libyan opposition. We are grateful for Dr al-Maqrif's July initiative because it gave the opposition a strong, new impetus. It came immediately after the assassinations and political purges campaign inside the country. It was al-Maqrif who was the target of the recent assassination attempt at Rome's airport. His name was on the list of names of those who were sentenced for execution 2 days after the incident.

Libyans inside the country and abroad are determined to overthrow al-Qadhdhafi's regime by the various means that are available, no matter how much it costs them in loss of lives and in sacrifices. A regime whose survival depends on mercenaries and foreign intelligence will not be destined to live.

[Question] Who guarantees you protection?

[Answer] The communities that can be found in the Arab countries and which reject al-Qadhdhafi's regime do not in practice have any security problem. But in the European countries there is courageous cooperation between students and some members of the popular committees in the embassies for the purpose of keeping track of the activities of the assassination teams and limiting their ability to strike.



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It Seems Strong

[Question] But al-Qadhdhafi's regime seems strong, and most people do not dare oppose it, [is not that right]?

[Answer] It seems so, but it is not strong. Al-Qadhdhafi controls people's livelihoods after he suspended their sources of earning in the private sector. [He controls] government agencies, monthly salaries and barracks. It is 50 to 60 percent of those civil servants who come to Green Square to clap for his speeches every year. At festivals a group of soldiers in civilian clothing are given chants which they repeat in return for rewards. This is a Nazi system in the field of psychological action.

We realize that the overthrow of al-Qadhdhafi will not come about from abroad unless such an effort has close contacts inside the country. I was in Libya a short time ago, and I found out for myself the tremendous disgruntlement among the people. This is what is encouraging us to continue in our action.

[Question] What about the Arab regimes?

[Answer] The Arab officials we have contacted welcomed us. All the Arabs are welcoming us.

[Question] Will you resort to violence?

[Answer] We will utilize all legitimate means to overthrow the regime.

Lebanese Died in Libya

[Question] Did Lebanese [citizens] die in Libya?

[Answer] Lebanese citizens did die in Libya. (This was a reference to Imam Musa al-Sadr and his two companions.) But I do know that there were volunteers who took part in the fighting with a Palestinian team in 1972. Among them were those who were charged to assassinate Mr Hedi Nouira in Tunisia. They may have gone to Lebanon to receive training in special operations and not to fight against Israel.

[Question] How do you explain al-Qadhdhafi's position on the invasion of Afghanistan?

[Answer] The Libyan regime is not Libyan. It carries out the wishes of Moscow, no more and no less.

[Question] Is the regime cooperating with the Americans?

[Answer] There are U.S. experts who were working as mercenaries in the Vietnam war. Al-Qadhdhafi has engaged them in his service at high salaries.

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[Question] What about the point of weakness in al-Qadhdhafi's security system, where is it?

[Answer] The regime is based on one man. If we were to get rid of him, the regime would come to an end.

Who Is Helping You Financially?

It was almost 6 pm. About 2 hours had gone by since we had begun the interview when my conversation partner excused himself to perform the afternoon prayer. When he returned, he showed me a collection of statements that were issued by Libyan intellectuals. So I asked, "Who is helping you financially?"

[Answer] We rely on Libya's own capabilities. So far, these are enough even though the Arab brothers are prepared [to give us] every assistance whenever that is necessary.

[Question] In addition to coordinating the opposition, what are the questions that you are interested in?

[Answer] Everything that happens in the Arab and Islamic worlds is of interest to us. However, at this stage Libyan questions have absolute priority. The Libyan people have had a role in the question of Palestine since 1948. No one can deny the Libyan people that role. We are hoping that the Islamic delegation will be successful in stopping the fighting between Iraq and Iran, and we are surprised at what some of the media are saying regarding cooperation between Iran and al-Qadhdhafi's regime. There is no doubt that the Islamic countries are a major asset to the Arab nation. They help the Arab nation in every pan-Arab victory. When Libya goes back to its natural role, it will perform its duty fully in serving all Arab and Islamic questions.

[Question] What are you asking for now?

We are asking the European countries and the United States to work for the protection of Libyan citizens in their territories. We are asking them to stop their cooperation with a regime that does not respect human rights. At the same time we are warning those who have enlisted in the battle of purges that the day will come when they will find themselves without al-Qadhdhafi's protection. The Libyan people will then punish those hired criminals. The population of Libya is small, and people in Libya know each other. Those people must not assure themselves of al-Qadhdhafi's protection.

To be a declared political assassin openly is a blatant violation of all the principles of contemporary civilization and all the teachings of the divine religions. What is curious is that more than a few European regimes have knuckled under such killings for the sake of circumstantial interests. Our mission is to work for the stability of the Arab world so that Israel would not remain "the flourishing garden" in the Middle East.

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Diplomatic Resignations Signal Awakening

Paris AL-WATAN AL-'ARABI in Arabic 13-19 Mar 81 pp 18-19

[Text] 'Abd-al-Salam 'Ali 'Aylah Says Diplomatic Resignations Are Sign of National Awakening. Revolutionary committees open secret accounts in European banks.

The resignation of Libyan diplomats and their [subsequent] association with the opposition movement is a growing phenomenon. It may be an expression of the awakening of Libya's intelligentsia. Mr 'Abd-al-Salam 'Ali 'Aylah, Libya's charge d'affaires in India was the last diplomat to submit his resignation. We met him by accident in one of the hotels in Athens, and we had this interview [with him].

[Question] What are the foundations of the Libyan opposition, and why did it come into existence?

[Answer] Col al-Qadhdhafi did not come to power by accident. He came to power in accordance with a well-considered plan. The forces that plotted the coup chose him as a young officer who speaks about Arabism and unity to abort a national movement at the height of its activity in opposition to the royal age. That national movement had honorable positions. The role that the Libyan regime is practicing today is nothing but an affirmation of this.

If other proof has to be provided, that proof lies in the fact that al-Qadhdhafi has not yet touched U.S. interests. After 11 years of the revolution, 49 percent of Libya's oil is still being exported to the United States. It was the United States that gave al-Qadhdhafi the winning card of "liquidating foreign bases" when U.S. strategic experts decided that the United States did not need these bases at the time of naval fleets, intercontinental missiles and rapid deployment forces.

The People Are Capable

[Question] How do you see the future of the Libyan regime?

[Answer] The regime of the Libyan president has been able to divest unity, freedom and socialism of their meaning so as to traffic in them. The regime is pursuing those who are fighting, and it is fabricating civil strife and disturbances to tear up the Arab rank. The best example of this [can be found] in the events of Gafsa and the Egyptian-Sudanese borders. The Green Book is full of fallacies. It contains theories that the age has gone beyond. In this case the crisis of the regime is the crisis of the Arab regimes that are cooperating with it. These Arab regimes are well-known.

The Libyan people who were able to overthrow the bygone royal regime and

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to overthrow Italian Fascism before it are capable of settling their battle with the new dictatorship. The Libyan National Movement includes educated, revolutionary and progressive nationalist cadres. It can restore to Libya its radiant Arab appearance.

[Question] How does the Libyan opposition view the plan for unity between Libya and Syria?

[Answer] The Libyan president is manipulating the most sacred slogan, which is the slogan of unity. The purpose of this manipulation is to divest unity of its true content. Al-Qadhafi tried to establish unity with Egypt, Sudan, Tunisia, Malta and Syria at a time when the Syrian regime is being subjected to painful blows from the Syrian National Movement. The outcome of that is well-known.

The Libyan regime is bankrupt of people, nationalism and pan-Arabism and so is the Syrian regime. It is a plan for unity between two bankrupt [states]. There is no doubt that the Syrian and the Libyan peoples will settle the battle with these two regimes.

[Question] Why is al-Qadhafi interfering in Africa?

[Answer] The Arab nation was able to gain much support in Africa, and many African countries cut their relations with Israel. However, the Libyan regime's blatant military intervention in the Black Continent will bring back the African nations to a position that we do not wish [for them]. The Libyan regime's interference serves international interests that want to see the Libyan army depleted, and what is happening in Chad confirms this.

Internal Struggles

[Question] What is the story about the revolutionary committees' takeover of the embassies?

[Answer] Ever since the Libyan regime wanted to keep the people pre-occupied with internal struggles. At first it utilized the popular committees. Then it brought other committees: the revolutionary committees which took over the embassies abroad. These and the other committees have no relationship whatsoever with the people and with the real revolution. Those who took over the Libyan embassy in New Delhi committed fatal mistakes of which I mention [the following]:

First, they opened personal bank accounts in Germany with large amounts of money in Deutschmark.

Second, they gave themselves salaries that come to 8,000 Deutschmark per month; that is more than an ambassador's salary.

Third, they bought the most modern and the most luxurious automobiles

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for themselves, and they dispensed with the automobiles that used to belong to the embassy. They used the embassy's budget to pay for their new automobiles, and they attached to all of this the purchase of certain electrical and electronic luxury items for their hours of leisure.

These are the revolutionary committees that claim to represent the Libyan people. In the name of the people they are stealing the people's money.

[Question] How do you see the unification of the Libyan opposition rank?

[Answer] Today, the opposition is very strong. Its circles and bases have expanded considerably inside the country and abroad. It is making preparations for unifying its groups into an aligned front. The overthrow of al-Qadhdhafi's regime would be the first stage. That would be followed by a second stage which is that of building a modern state that would achieve the aspirations of the Arab citizen for united pan-Arabism and socialism and would impel the Libyan state to play its role in the Arab revolution any movement. Today, the Libyan people are isolated from their nation.

[Question] But is the series of purges continuing?

[Answer] This does not scare us. We are fully aware of the fact that we must sacrifice and offer our lives. Let everybody know that our reach is long and that we are capable of "dishing out" twice as much as what was "dished out" to us. I do not wish to reveal our military hand inside the army, but we do have great hopes in the civilian and military national elements.

[Question] What is your opinion of al-Qadhdhafi's relationship with the Palestinian Revolution?

[Answer] He tried to use his funds to retrench this revolution and to impose his guardianship over it. Everyone knows that he sent his men to occupy the offices of the liberation organization in Tripoli and to expel the officials who were there.

[Question] Did you submit your resignation for all these reasons?

[Answer] I was charge d'affaires in Delhi, and I had to take a position on these deviant practices. I was convinced that continued cooperation with this regime would be high treason and that it was the duty of every honest Libyan to assume a clear position on this. I was convinced that pursuing the course of opposition was the right course and that it would achieve the aspirations of the Libyan people.

I am also convinced that there is increasing vigilance in the Libyan diplomatic corps. The resignations will come one after the other. Our people support this uprising. It is a phenomenon of health and patriotism.

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