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LIBYA

JANA Reports Libyan C-130 Lands in Egypt
LD030725 Tripoli JANA in Arabic 0700 GMT 3 Mar 87

[Text] Tripoli, 3 Mar (JANA) — JANA has learned that a Libyan Arab plane C-130 type has made an emergency landing on Egyptian territory as a result of bad weather.

JANA sources have stated that if the plane is not returned, the Egyptian authorities will have seized it, and no other justification can be believed.

Al-Qadhdhafi Speech at General People's Congress
LD021404 Tripoli Television Service in Arabic
1258 GMT 2 Mar 87

[Speech by Colonel Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi, leader of the Libyan Revolution, at 2 March session of the Sabha General People's Congress — live]

[Text] In the name of God. Brothers: First of all we thank the delegations which have come from all over the world to participate with us and to commemorate with us the 10th anniversary of the establishment of the state of the masses, the Jamahiriyah. [applause] I also congratulate the Libyans whose long and bitter struggle, through generations, was crowned with the excellent and final victory of the establishment of the Jamahiriyah, that is, the state of the masses. It means that the Libyan masses have established a state in which no other power is in conflict with the masses. Only the masses, on Libyan soil, have responsibility for all the affairs of the state which has become a state of the masses. It is an excellent, historic, and great victory for people who were subjected to invasion, to aggression, to persecution and destitution, mass detention and mass executions from the time of the Romans in the 4th century BC; they were set up by the Vandals, the barbaric people of Europe, the destroyers of North Africa and the enemies of civilization; they were set up by knights of St John — who came from Rhodes, in fact, and were wrongly attributed to Malta as they are called the knights of Malta. But Malta was a victim of the knights of St John like Libya, because the pope gave Malta and Tripoli as a present to these pirates who made Malta a base which they stepped on with their hostile feet and turned into a base for piracy against North Africa.

These people have been subjected to all kinds of invasion, coercion, and hate meted out, regrettably by Europe. After the Romans, the Vandals, and the knights of St John, these people were the target of Spanish invasion and were subjected to ugly devastation beyond description by Spanish imperialism. Then came Byzantine imperialism and invasion, and in modern times came Italian imperialism which set up scaffolds everywhere and extermination camps in vast areas of the Libyan territory and which moved thousands of Libyans to Italy. To this day we do not know what happened to them, their children, and grandchildren. We still demand to know the tragic end of thousands of Libyans and even to know where they are buried.

Then they were a target for American imperialism which repeated its earlier attempts in the 18th century. These attempts failed when the United States tried to occupy the Libyan coast. During the treasonous, reactionary, and subservient reign of the monarchy, which was destroyed by the revolution on 1 September 1969 [applause], the United States managed to reach Libyan territory and build five bases there which were demolished after the revolution. It is still trying to return yet again and it will not hesitate to do so except for reasons beyond its control.

This people are still being subjected -- and quite recently -- to barbaric Atlanticist aggression by the superpowers that occupy permanent seats at the Security Council, by the Atlanticists who overlook the Atlantic Ocean from the north and who seem to be lagging behind modern man so that they are a species situated between monkeys and men.

The Atlanticists have no morals. They are extremely destructive to the future of mankind and human civilization. Regrettably, they possess a power that is capable of destroying the civilization that man has built with untiring efforts.

The Yankees have no morals; they have no conscience. They should not be treated as humans. They are a threat to the future of mankind. They will be using nuclear weapons in the future to destroy mankind. They are irrationally and carelessly siding with the racist, barbaric, and extremely savage Zionist camp whose tanks run over Arab families in the Middle East in their own homes and in civilian cars. The Yankees laugh because this barbaric act arouses their feelings, and accords with their character -- vile Yankeeism.

These people are still being subjected to aggression and rancor. Yesterday they were subjected to it from the north and today it is subjected to it from the south. Now the forces of the United States and France get together to attack these people from the south after they failed to attack it from the north. Despite this tragic stage that the Libyan people have experienced as a victim of aggression — and the colonialists and transgressors believed that they had managed to control Libyan territory and this people — these people have been able to triumph and to set up a state of the masses. They are purposefully declaring challenges and their shining victory.

The authority which is established on Libyan soil is not a regime in the hands of a tool that might be subservient to some quarter or that might deviate or betray. If so, this would be an incomplete victory and an incomplete freedom. The emergence of the state of the masses is, however, a great declaration that the masses for whom the scaffolds were erected and for whom extermination camps were built and who have been persecuted throughout the ages and who have been successively invaded by Europe, have not been annihilated and their will has not been defeated. They have triumphed and established a people's authority.

I can say today that 10 years have passed since the people began to exercise power without middlemen or someone to act for them. I would like to say that what has happened in the last 10 years has been your responsibility. What will result in the future from these 10 years also rests with you and will be through your own arrangement and planning. You — the people's congresses — the

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people who are in front of me here, the secretaries of the people's congresses and the people's committees, you are the people's congresses and all the Libyan people stand under your banner. The secretaries of the people's committees, the congresses, and the committees are the ones who are responsible for exercising power, political, economic, or administrative, and even military effectiveness.

This is because the Jamahiriya requires the people to carry out the task of defense so, if there is any complacency or shortcoming in the defensive capability, it falls on the Libyan people. This is because they have declared that they will shoulder the responsibility of defending themselves, by themselves, without a regular army because a regular army is not part of the state of the masses. The masses, in their own state, are the ones who carry out all the tasks. They pledged in this place 10 years ago to defend freedom anywhere in the world.

It should be made clear that the masses are accountable for any positive or negative events that might have occurred in the last 10 years and any which might occur in the future. The people's congresses and the people's committees are answerable for them.

There is no quarter we might thank or blame outside the people's congresses and the people's committees. Anyone who is looking for a quarter outside the people's congresses and the people's committees is ignorant, a fool, and stupid. He is illiterate from the political point of view. There are things I would have liked to do personally, but during the past 10 years I had neither the political nor the administrative power to issue a law or resolution. Even I sometimes cannot implement something because I need a resolution or a law. This is in the interest of the people. Any other quarter can then act in accordance with laws or measures so that we can blame it or thank it, even if there is some slackness from a people's committee, which is of the making of the people.

You are the ones who set up the people's committees. I do not know these new people's committees, I do not know the names or numbers of those who have become secretaries of the general people's committees or members of the General People's Congress; you are the ones who know them. Last night you nominated people I do not know, you submitted statements about them. There were those who wondered who they were, and those who answered that this one is called such-and-such, his age is such-and-such, his experience is such-and-such. Who knows them and accepts them? It is you. Therefore, these people are accountable to whom? They are accountable to this congress. These committees, of which you are secretaries, are accountable to the Basic People's Congresses.

I have followed a number of affirmations that this is in the Green Book, or this might contradict the Green Book, or this does not exist in the Green Book, or this is compatible with the Green Book. I wish to say that after 10 years of people's authority, you now understand what people's power is. It might be (?bad), it might be difficult, it might be nonbeneficial.

There is nothing in the Green Book that compels Libyans to set up people's authority of the masses. The Green Book does not talk about the Libyans at all. The word Libyan is not mentioned

at all in it, nor are the words Arab, Muslim, or Christian. Are these words in the Green Book? They are not. The Green Book is like Al-Suyuti's book. Anyone wishing to do such-and-such a thing should take such-and-such medicine; anyone wishing to grow his hair should use such-and-such methods. If you want to do something, you do it; if you don't, you don't. One wishing to whiten his teeth should use coal and salt. That is what Al-Suyuti's book says, but that is not something compulsory that one has to do. It is not compulsory. Anyone, anywhere in the world wishing to use salt and coal, can do so, that is all [Al-Qadhdhafi laughs]; it is simply a medical prescription from Al-Suyuti.

The Green Book is not about Libyans. It sums up the suffering and struggle for salvation by all people. If the struggle for power anywhere in the world is to end, power should go to all the people. Indeed, the struggle for power in Libya ended when all the people assumed power. The Green Book explains words uttered by people. They spoke of democracy [demokarasi] meaning the people in the chair. So democracy means the people occupying the chairs of power. If these chairs are not occupied by the people, then it is not democracy. It may be rule by a party, individual, class, sect, or tribe. There is naturally an evident worldwide fake democracy at present, but true democracy is the democracy of the people's congresses and people's committees. There can be no democracy without people's congresses. People's congresses and committees are everywhere. Anyone wishing to have democracy — which philosophers, intellectuals, and the whole world are talking about, looking and struggling for — should have the people in the chair — demokarasi, originally an Arabic word — meaning permanent occupation of the chairs of power by the people. It would not be democracy if the chairs are occupied by someone other than the people. You can call it what you like, but it would be false if the people are not in the chairs. [cheers]

That is people's power — rule of the people by the people. This might complicate decisions, waste time, exhaust people with daily meetings of people's congresses discussing every detail. Someone might, with some reason, say it has exhausted everyone because all the people are rulers and all the people are responsible. One might say: I do not want to take responsibility. Let someone else think for me and determine my fate because I would like to till the land or tend to my sheep's grazing. One could say: I have no time to exercise power and (?I cannot be of use) to the people's congress; so you come and rule and determine the country's fate. People used to know about their fate from the radio. A law or a decision that concerned the fate of the people, their food and drink, and their future: people would only hear about it from the radio without themselves having anything to do with it. You would be tried and executed in accordance with a law you had no part in drafting, a law you knew nothing about, not even those who drafted it.

Even the family is subjected to personal status laws, to marriages and divorces and relations of this kind; it is subjected to these laws on personal status but it did not make the laws, nor did it participate in their making or give its views on them or agree to them. They were made on their behalf. Now the Jamahiriya says that it is the entire people that issues the laws which it observes, the decisions which it abides by. It is the people who decide its own fate, defines what it wants, carries out what it

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wants.

This may be an addiction. Generally speaking, you have already experienced it. He who wants to be free should set up a jamahiriyah, then he will be free without the control over him by a government, a party, or a class; no pressure or yoke whatsoever. He who wants to be free sets up a jamahiriyah. There are people who want to hand over their freedom to others. After 10 years of experience of people's power you are free — you can choose any form of government. What matters is that you have become free.

The point is that I want to affirm on the 10th anniversary of the setting up of Jamahiriyah, 10 years after the people began to hold power without representation, intermediaries, or government — despite the fact that the world, out of ignorance, an ignorant world, is still saying: Al-Qadhafi the Libyan president, and things of this kind. And quite recently they said 'Abd al-Salam Jallud was the Libyan prime minister, because they know that at one time 'Abd al-Salam was prime minister before the setting up of people's power. They still use the appellation at a time when there are no ministers, no council of ministers, or even the word minister. But ignorant radios and newspapers in the world say: 'Abd al-Salam Jallud, the Libyan prime minister. They are ignorant of the facts; they speak of a Libyan minister or the Libyan Government. We have neither government nor ministers in Libya because every one of these men is a secretary of a people's committee; he cannot make a decision without the authority of the committee and the committee can make a decision only if it is implementing a decision made by the people's congresses.

What I would like to emphasize is that the aim of the revolution is that the Libyan people will be free. That is all. I did not come to tell you to carry out the revolution so that I can rule over you. I have no specific vision which I would like to impose on you. I acknowledge before you that I have no vision nor conception. I compiled this Green Book from the conclusions of mankind while it is suffering from persecution and exploitation, and while it is searching for final emancipation. Communism was an attempt at the final emancipation; anarchism was an attempt at the final emancipation; the Fourth Internationale was an attempt at the final emancipation. Then came the Jamahiriyah and it was considered an action directed along the same line but it has surpassed these serious and great attempts at the final emancipation.

The Jamahiriyah is not the opposite of communism, anarchism, or the Fourth Internationale. But it is the end of the path; it is the final formula. Even if we drift toward communism we will find the Jamahiriyah is a possible, practical, and reasonable reality which can be achieved immediately without having to go through stages. Even if anarchism is doomed to vanish we can turn to the Jamahiriyah and find that it is the solution. Anybody who considers that the Fourth Internationale has died and who has begun to look for the Fifth Internationale has automatically ended up at the Jamahiriyah.

But, it will be impossible for history to record that I imposed on my people some kind of regime or a certain mold in which I implicated the Libyan people. I am still saying that I have carried out the revolution with my colleagues so that the Libyan people

will be free and can decide whatever it likes. I have told you that I admit that I did not carry out the revolution because I had specific conceptions which I wanted to impose on the Libyans. I have no party; I have a program and I have enabled the Libyan people to impose this program on the Libyan people. I have no ideology or religious movement which seeks to impose its ideology on the Libyan people. Even the other free officers have no program or ideology. Freedom, only so that the Libyan people will become free! Let the monarchy be destroyed! Let the foreign military bases on Libyan soil be evacuated! The exploiting force which belittles the power of the Libyan people should be smashed! This force was embodied in all aspects of the private sector such as private trade, agencies, brokerage, businessmen, exploiters, feudals. These forces monopolized the economic capabilities.

These forces had held the economic capabilities. Now the masses cannot be free if their capabilities are in the hands of others. We destroyed these classes, if one can phrase it like that. We distributed the capabilities among the people. The thing that draws attention here and which I can record as a historic economic action is that this country did not resist someone for selfish reasons. The merchants used to number 50,000. The truth is that they came to an end without resistance.

The conviction is that the time of exploitation and private trade which broke the back of the consumer and imposed on him a high cost of living has gone. The merchants abandoned exploitation without resistance. This is a good thing for the Libyans. It will stand as a moral wealth which should be appreciated. [applause]

The employers also abandoned exploitation without resistance. Hundreds of thousands of Libyan workers were liberated. Bourgeois classes like agencies of various types, and lawyers and notaries public, and their like have abandoned these positions which had become trivial. They rejected futile exploitationism without resistance.

The important thing is that what I want to stress today is that you are free men. I would say that I have not imposed the Jamahiriyah on you, or the Green Book, and I do not expect it. In affirmation of what I say, jamahiriyahs will be established in remote areas of the world, (?similar) to the Libyan Jamahiriyah. (?You should be proud of it). [chants]

I know that the world is bound to turn into a jamahiriyah system. The scale of opposition is widening every day and so does the scale of participation in power, and this will not stop in the middle of the road. This march will continue until the pyramidal form of power will take on a horizontal form when everybody will attain power.

But, historically, it cannot be said that I have imposed a form of government on the Libyan people that I had chosen, because this, in itself, I consider to be a form of repression — and I, for one, oppose repression from individual to international level. Ten years after you first experienced people's power, you must realize that you are free, and from the reality of this experience you can change your regime in any way you agree upon. One thing should be resisted; that is, if I say that he who wants to form a party is free to do so. In such a case the clever people, the quibblers, and

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the licentious and those dabbling in philosophy could form parties and the masses would again fall under their rule. [chants]

The Libyan people will resist the usurpation of their freedom. No group will be permitted to dominate the Libyan people, because it will be regarded just the same as a foreign base, a monarchist government, or one of the forces of exploitation that have been destroyed. If we guarantee that all Libyans are free, that they are equal as far as opportunities are concerned — the opportunities of power — then you can do what you want. The Green Book should be regarded as a universal book which could be implemented in Bangladesh even if it were not being carried out in Libya. [chants]

I know that in the beginning many Libyans or even a large segment of the people entertained doubts as to whether we were actually free or whether we were actually ruled by Mu'ammar al-Qadhafi or by the Army or by a hidden force; and whether we were actually capable of issuing laws and whether these laws would be upheld by the courts because they were not issued by a parliament or a government or a king or a president but were issued by the people's congresses, issued by the ordinary people. The ordinary man doubted that he had become a master and become a ruler. Was this a trick or something serious, and would the Libyan people actually be the master without having another master disputing their sovereignty over Libyan territory?

There were some who said that this was an experiment and that the leadership of the revolution was testing the Libyans. Others said this was a trick, and others said this was throwing dust in the eyes, and still others said this was a lie and that the people could not rule themselves, and how could those who carried out the revolution voluntarily give up power and surrender it to ordinary people while in the Arab countries and in the world at large there was fierce fighting between those military officers who carried out the first coup and those who carried out the second or the third or the fourth or the tenth to abort the revolution, and between one party and another, and between the Left, the Right, and the center of the party. Everyone wanted to rule society and dominate it.

They referred to all this and raised the question: How can the people's authority be established unrivaled? However, 10 years later, thank God, we have persevered. It has been confirmed even to the outside world that the people's authority is a solid truth, and that the state of the masses has been established over Libyan territory. Even the adversaries who, years ago, used to speak of the Libyan dictator, the Libyan dictatorship, and the dictatorial regime, are ashamed now to repeat these words and have opted for the negation; now they speak of the Libyan anarchist, Libyan anarchism, and the anarchist regime. This is an admission that the masses are now the masters because anarchism is a jamahiri ideology; that is, the nonexistence of control over the masses. It means the disappearance of all organs or apparatus that organize or control the masses.

They have moved to the other extreme. Even those who used to describe us as dictators have begun describing us as anarchists. Now you will rarely find the words: the Libyan dictator of dictatorial regime used, although these were the words used to describe us in the past, even after the declaration of the people's

authority. But now almost no one in the whole world believes that there is dictatorship in Libya. On the contrary, they might use the word anarchy. It is a people's rule of the masses.

So, the people's authority has been confirmed but I want to say that you are free to change this anyway you like, even the Jamahiriyah. If you do not want to call it Jamahiriyah, you are free to call it something else. I only told you in this hall 10 years ago that if talk about the word jumhur [singular of masses] and link it to the state we would add Arabic letters ya and ta so it becomes jumhiruyah [republic] but jamahir [masses] becomes jamahiriyah. If this is a state of jamahir then it should be called jamahiriyah. I did not impose the name.

If the jumhur elects a president then naturally we call it republic and if the jumhur is owned by one person then it is a monarchy, because whoever rules owns the people and the land and hands them down to his children, whether males or females, sane or insane, generation after generation. The proof is that most of those controlling the people in royalist lands are deranged. Our own crown prince in the past was deranged and was to be king, despite the Libyans, because the king owned Libya and everyone in it, and had the right to hand it down as an inheritance to his nephew, even if he was deranged, in spite of the Libyans. This is the tragedy of kingdoms which still exist — in Jordan, Morocco, or anywhere else. Deranged people are now either crown princes or kings.

I think that when the king of Morocco calls on his people to establish unity with the Libyan people, and when he holds a referendum on that, and then a year or 2 later renounces the union himself personally without seeking the opinion of the people on the abrogation. [unfinished sentence as heard] The people set up the union through a referendum. If he was sensible he would have sought the people's opinion once again on abrogation of the union. How can you seek the people's opinion in the beginning on the creation of the union and then renounce the union on the radio on your own. This is insane. I do not think that this is the work of a sound mind. It definitely is the work of an unsound mind.

I do not impose any form of rule on the Libyan people. I say this publicly and for the record, before you and before history. Nobody will oppose what is decided at this hall and at the people's congresses. You can do anything new [words indistinct] The important thing is that you remain free. Neither myself nor anyone else will intervene. We will, however, intervene if you rob the masses of their freedom. If I see anyone who wants to dominate the masses and rule them we will intervene, even if we have to use the rifle. But if the masses are free they are free to do whatever they wish.

If you want to stop the circulation of the Green Book in Libya, you are free to do so. No one will object. Who will object? You are the police. You are the government. Even those who might object do not have the machinery with which to impose their objection. Stop the circulation of the Green Book in Libya. It is banned in Arab countries and you are an Arab country. It could be banned even from circulation in Arab countries. Let the Green Book be banned in all Arab countries. [applause]

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The issue is clear. Freedom means the state of the masses, that is, the Jamahiriyah. It has negative sides and problems, liabilities, responsibilities. This may be so. Anyone who wants to get rid of the liabilities and problems might have to abandon freedom.

Thus, I would like to stress that even the Green Book cannot be imposed on Libyans. The Green Book is being read and understood and studied secretly in places where it has been banned. Yet it might not be studied in the manner that it should be studied where its circulation is permitted. Nowadays, it is being secretly studied more extensively in other places than in Libya, because it is banned in those countries. It means nothing to me if the Green Book is circulated in Libya or banned or destroyed.

If you change the name of the popular congresses or the people's committees and call them whatever you like, it will mean nothing to me. As long as you are free, you will remain free. I tell you the truth. I cannot bring you, by revolution, anything greater than proclaiming freedom.

When we moved with a few soldiers and rifles, we had neither keys from heaven nor keys for the treasures of earth, nor had we a program of ideology. We had only a declaration of freedom of Libyan land for all Libyans, and it could have been an example for all the people looking for salvation everywhere. I am convinced that there is nothing in Libya — from the Nile valley to Mauritania — for us to rely on except freedom. You could be free people, free even to migrate from this desert to anywhere. I think that the radical relation between Libya and the movement, from Ndjamen to Tripoli, progresses according to natural attitudes. When Europe colonized this Libyan land, the Libyans spontaneously rushed to Chad. They settled there up to the present. There are Arabs who rushed from the Arab peninsula, North Africa, and Sudan and went to Ndjamen; and now they constitute more than one-third of Chad. They are Chadians.

I think that people, when they are free, look for survival. When the Italians invaded us, those who wanted to survive went spontaneously to Chad. Now, if we are thirsty, we spontaneously go to Lake Chad, Chari River, to the regions of summer rain. The Chadians now want the sea, they want to breathe the sea air, they want to look at the sea. They spontaneously came to Libya. Now, I tell you that there are more than 500,000 Chadians in Libya. They marched from Chad to Libya. Anybody in the world can visit Libya and can see for himself the Chadian towns and Chadian camps with women and children. The Chadians wanted to (?taste) petroleum. They came spontaneously to Libya. How can they taste petroleum? In the form of food, money, or electricity? There is no electricity in Chad. There are no paved roads in Chad. There are no cars, buses, or airplanes to transport people; people cannot get into cargo planes to go from one airport to another. There is no sea. They came spontaneously.

This is the fuel. We did not stop them. We did not fight the Chadians when they marched group after group toward the Libyan sea and Libyan petroleum. We considered that a natural matter. Now we might get thirsty and go to Lake Chad. Yes, we have no water. There are no survival sets between the Nile and Mauritania except for small oases with small populations, not more than their current population — this is provided that the

engines are destroyed and replaced by buckets, sprinklers, or fans, and provided that the tractors are destroyed and plowing is carried out using animals. Only then will these oases be reserved with a limited number of people. There is no water. If we get thirsty, we should go to Lake Chad. Why would they fight us? [Words indistinct] fight the French and Americans.

Is this an aggressive aim? We would not fight the Chadians if they come in millions to Libya. I mean that at this spot, in which the Al-Fatih revolution occurred, there is no chance at all. Anyone who claims that there is a chance is a charlatan and liar, and this is the deception practiced by the reactionary governments before the revolution. We came and decided to end this deception and charlatanism so that the people know their destiny. There is no future at all for the people who live between the Nile valley and Mauritania, except in a limited coastal strip where the rains fall, or at coastal points, where there are ports and services, or at oases, the population of which should be limited, and which should never have modern machinery, otherwise all this will get dry. Definitely all the palm forests will become dry in the future because of the engines and the exhaust of the surface layer on which these oases survived.

The biggest conspiracy against life is that the factories of Europe brought a machine that did not suit this environment, and the naive, ignorant, backward people used it. The sane man in this country is the one who plows using a donkey, and the crazy man is the one who plows using a tractor. The one who brings water using his hand, or a fan, is the one following the right path. He will succeed. The one who brings water using an engine is digging his own grave, and the grave of his farm, his family, and the following generations. They will never survive.

In fact, when we carried out the revolution we had nothing to present except a declaration of freedom, that these people would be free. Free to go to Lake Chad. Free to go to Sicily, so that we occupy it. If you have the ability to occupy it to live in it, and this land has become uninhabitable, this is normal, because they occupied us. When they thought that they had an interest in the Libyan people they occupied them and considered them the fourth shore of Italy. Free to go to the Nile valley. You are free. It will not be the first time that the Libyans felt thirsty and went to the Nile valley and established the 22d and 23rd of the Pharaonis dynasties, and the Libyan [word indistinct] rules Libya. Not by war, but by going to the water.

He who says to you: I will do this for you; I have this and I have that; such a person is a liar. There is no potential hidden from anyone. There is only oil in this desert, extending from the Arabian peninsula to the Algerian Sahara and perhaps to Mauritania. But this will be depleted in a number of years and the palaces of Riyadh will know the fate of Irama Dhat al-'Imadi [an omnipotent ancient figure used in the Koran to illustrate inevitable decline after power] who was second to no one in the world, just ruins. Here there was a King Khalid palace and there was a King Faysal palace in times past, which were illuminated by huge candelabres imported from Europe and built by Western companies. You might then find remains of gold or silver under the debris. The bridges now being built will become like the stone-strewn roads one passes on in the Tibesti Mountains.

*Chad
indiscriminate
bombing*

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The sole potential is oil and we have turned it into candelabres, palaces, huge cars imported from Europe, and even weapons. Either you are a target and it is then necessary or there is no need to purchase arms. For how many years will these states maintain aircraft squadrons or submarines? Their cost is extremely high. America is now incapable of maintaining its military equipment, and this one of the reasons for its failure in Vietnam, a failure that still haunts it. Weapons are only for extreme necessity, but they are now acquired for parades. How would Bahrain not have a military parade on its national day? But what is Bahrain doing?

Every state, even if its troops ride donkeys, wants them to be paraded on its national day. This is ridiculous. Thus, these weapons are for parades. Arms were necessary when we were attacked by the Romans, the vandals, the Byzantines, the Italians, the Americans, the French, the English. They were necessary to resist them. Weapons are now necessary for the forces of the Chadian national government because it is resisting the new French invasion of Chad, and the American invasion. Then I consider that this is the real feast, the Jamahiriyah day, the anniversary of the emergence of people's power. Why? Because it reflects the contents of the revolution.

The action that took place on 1 September 1969 [applause] is practically reflected by the emergence of the Libyan people's power. I mean that the freedom of the Libyan people was affirmed. Not freedom from foreign colonialism; no, a freedom from inside as well. There is no government. So it is a social freedom: there is no exploitation, no class that impedes the strength of the masses, sucks their blood, steals the product of their sweat.

There is no employer, there is no private businessman who buys at 5 and sells to the people at 20, making 15 as profit, which he pockets and claims to be rich through his work. Where is your work? Where did the 15 come from? Money does not give birth. This is the money of the needy consumers. You have monopolized this commodity according to the exploitative law that states you are, for example, a canned food retailer or cloth retailer. If we were in need of a certain cloth and this merchant has the permit to import this kind of cloth for which he pays 5 and sells for 20, we are forced to pay him 15 unwillingly. The principle says: Let it be an operation of trading with your willingness.

This has no consent. Who would be willing to buy an article worth 5 for 20, giving 15 to the merchant who describes it as profit and considers it legitimate? This is a bitter fruit. This is unlawful, this is infidelity in all ways and religions — the heavenly and the man-made. How is it that one man is given permission to enslave the rest of the people: an employer. He calls 1,000 slaves from the street and employs them for 10 hours, gives them the pay of 5 hours and steals 5, which he calls the firm's profit. Where did this profit come from? It is the sweat of those slaves and their efforts. He who worked for 10 hours must receive the worth of 10 hours.

These forces of exploitation have been destroyed. Oppression has been destroyed. The foreign power which was colonizing the Libyan land by its bases has been undermined and expelled. The true festival is in fact the festival of freedom; the Libyans, men and women, have become free. This is the objective of the

revolution. The revolution cannot plant palm trees for you, or wheat or barley, because there is no water. Those you must plant yourselves. You are free and you know how many children you have and you have to manage how to feed them. Do not depend on anybody to bring you a thing from abroad.

The crime was to import rice for you, to import flour from Australia and to import bananas. The one who imported these for you was a criminal. It emanated from the speculators and the agent merchants and exploiters who sought to purchase rice for 5 and sell it to you for 20, buy bananas for 5 and sell it to you for 20. This is exploitation. They sell you things which are not of your own making or the product of your own sweat in order for one single merchant to make a profit. Who is it who introduced to [words indistinct] Australia, or [words indistinct]? Who is it who introduced us to them? Was it the [words indistinct] Libyan people who did this?

The broker merchants imported these goods for us to eat and to give them our money to put in their pockets and be rich. This is colonialism. Rice is colonialism; bananas if imported from abroad is colonialism; Europe's canned food is colonialism; Europe's cars is colonialism; airplanes and engines is colonialism. This is colonialism. You can see that the palm trees have dried and withered [words indistinct].

What difference is there between the European tank and aircraft that destroys your land and the engines they have sold to you? [passage indistinct]

In this place the buildings used to be cool in summer and warm in winter because they were built with the sand of this land. Now you cannot live without an air-conditioner in summer and in winter. Why? Because the European companies have built the European designs for you. For God's sake! A design from Scandinavia is built in Al-Kufra! Buildings with the same specifications as in Sweden in the North Pole where the temperature is below zero are built in Al-Kufra, where the temperature is 50 degrees Centigrade!

How on earth can we build Scandinavian modelled houses' in Al-Kufrah? Swedish modelled buildings — Sweden is in the North Pole where freezing temperatures prevail — are being built in Al-Kufrah, the temperature of which is more than 50 degrees! This is colonialism and destruction. How could you be lusting for European products and simultaneously think you could liberate Palestine? How could you liberate it? Should you not first liberate your stomachs, your hands, and soil before thinking of liberating Palestine or confronting America? How could you confront America if you are yourselves its slaves to whom you are begging; begging even wheat from it? Is there any colonialism worse than this? Is there any crimes worse than this?

Is there a worse crime against the Egyptian people than this? Make the Egyptian people kill their land and halt its development to such an extent that it needs wheat from America, instead of the Nile?

Thus, they have managed to colonize us, so why should they use their armies? What matters to me most is the proclamation of freedom as I have already told you; I am proudly stating today

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that we have succeeded in this. We have subjected ourselves to dangers. We carried out a daring act so as to be able to propagate freedom even if only through the radio. [applause] Even if we had died or the revolution had not succeeded, they still would have listened to me over the radio, even if only for a minute, which is just what is needed to proclaim freedom. Libyans are equals, under no foreign domination or local oppression; free men to take your luggage and go to Chad, if it is what you want! You may go to the Nile; to Tanganyika Lake, to Italy, as I have told you, or to Greece.

The important thing is the fact that you are free men. Join in any grouping and govern yourselves by yourselves. Do not say: If we change the congresses, Mu'ammar will be upset. Me, upset? This will mean that I am an oppressor. Nor must you say we should adhere to the Green Book so as not to upset Mu'ammar. If you are not convinced with it, do not implement it; apply instead the Black Book; it is not necessary to implement the Green Book. The Green Book is being implemented in Nicaragua, Bangladesh, Uganda, Burkina Faso, Ghana, and Yemen; and it is not necessary that it should be implemented by you. But if I impose the Green Book upon you, the Jamahiriyah, and a particular form of rule, this means that I have imposed some kind of oppression upon my people, and I am like all dictators who have oppressed their people. Some imposed on their people a monarchy, some a president for life, some an uncrowned king, some a party, and some imposed a particular ideology for which they would slaughter their own people.

You are free to follow any creed. Change your legislation. The Green Book did not say that you must have the Koran for legislation. You are a Muslim people, your book is the Koran. Change it when you want. Who is imposing the Koran on you? The Green Book does not speak about the Koran. The word Koran is not mentioned in the Green Book. It says that the book of any society in the world is customary law or religion, that which everyone agrees to. I mean when one is executed he would be satisfied because he would have been executed based on something in which he believes.

As for the law made by a government with a representative council, you would die without being satisfied with the sentence because it was not you who made the law; you do not respect this law. Where did such a law come from? A legislative committee makes a law saying he who insults the king will be executed. I die; I insult the king if he deserves insulting, and I would be executed. But I would not be satisfied. I would die without being satisfied about such a law, because I would not have issued it — a law that is not sacred because it was made by the king.

The Green Book says that the legislation of any society is the customary law or religion. The religion of any nation always contains its customary law. I did not speak of Islam or Christianity. Some states have atheism as religion; atheism is sacred to them. In the Soviet Union, atheism is sacred and there are calls for atheism, and it is considered one of the duties of the Soviet citizen to call for atheism. This is Marxist ideology. To them this is not shameful; they do not regard it as such. Your creed is Islam. The Soviet Union respects your Islam; it does not tell you that you are wrong. We respect their creed. We are not going to ask them to become Muslims. This is their view and God

is the master of human beings. Perhaps he who is unaware of and does not believe in religion is better: God will not bring him to account. He would be better off than someone who knows religion and acts against its teaching. The latter is the one who would be brought to account.

Religion, any religion — but as I told you, in the Soviet Union atheism is sacred. If somebody is executed there for the cause of atheism he would be satisfied because he would say: Atheism is the creed of my own society. Here, if somebody is executed for the cause of the Islamic religion in accordance with the Koran, or if you whip him and so on, he would be satisfied because he has accepted Islam. So long as one has accepted Islam, one accepts everything resulting from one's religion, one's creed.

Customary laws, the traditions to which people are accustomed, are sacred and respected: If one is stoned to death, or deported, or punished because he has violated traditions and customs of society, he would be satisfied. He would not ask: Why have they wronged me? No. He would say: I am the wrongdoer; I have done something unusual, contrary to customs. Or he would say: I have violated the teaching of religion — God forbid: I believe in this religion; I bear all the consequences; I have violated its teaching.

What I mean is that this is the real Shari'a, the real sacred Shari'a, the religion of any society and its customary laws, even atheism. You Libyans should not say: He has imposed the Koran on us. Who says that the Koran has been imposed on you? The word Koran is not mentioned in the Green Book. You can change your legislation tomorrow for any other legislation. What matters is that you are free, that is all. No one has deceived you or forced you into changing any form of your life. As long as you are free, you are free to change your legislation, the mode of exercising power, the system. You can change anything. But this must be in complete freedom without pressure.

This is a historic occasion. I tell you I am not responsible for imposing any form of government or regime on the Libyans. I am only responsible for freedom. I am actually responsible for it, and I shoulder that responsibility before my colleagues. We revolted for it, for freedom. Be free, then. Now we want to correct any misunderstanding, such as I imposed the Jamahiriyah or the Green Book on you; or I imposed [words indistinct] in society; or I imposed socialism on you; or I imposed partnership on you. All these things stemmed from the establishment of a Jamahiri regime. If you want to change it, then change it. The only thing that concerns me is that you become free. You can say we are free and we refuse until we die of hunger [words indistinct] until you all die of hunger. As long as this is of your own free will, and nobody forced you, then this is all right. If you say we are free, and we will buy bananas with the oil money, (?and become a laughing stock), and after the bananas finish we will die, — all right, go buy bananas. For 40 years buy bananas and sell oil, and get nothing but bananas. All right. As long as you are free and this is your decision, this is the best thing to me.

What stemmed from this freedom is the fact that you are now free to choose. What happened after that in Libya, after the establishment of the Jamahiriyah, is that several jamahiriya were established. Now Burkina Faso cannot be considered anything but a jamahiriya. Ghana is considered a state of masses,

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a jamahiriya. Uganda is considered a jamahiriya. The YAR is now on its way to becoming a jamahiriya; the people's congresses and the General People's Congress have been established in the YAR, and you have seen them and visited them. In fact, Grenada was considered a jamahiriya; but it was toppled with the death of Bishop. Then the U.S. invasion took place. Nicaragua is considered to be on its way to becoming a jamahiriya; it is a semi-jamahiriya, but it is facing pressure. It needs to create (?forms) to face up to the imperialist storm. Suriname is considered a jamahiriya. [passage indistinct]

Any other country can become a jamahiriya. Even countries with other regimes might change. China might become a jamahiriya. It absorbed a certain regime, and might seem [sentence not completed]. I consider Maoism to be an early sign of a jamahiriya. Any progress after Marxism is definitely a jamahiriya. The whole world is going in this direction. [Words indistinct] the total number of existing establishments, the existing tools, and the existing [words indistinct]. I am not responsible for them. You put an establishment here, a company there. Where did you get all this? I am not responsible for them. You are free. You made markets, cooperative shops for the consumers. You are free. [passage indistinct]

The world has progressed. The world has actually progressed after the establishment of a jamahiriya in Libya and the establishment of various jamahiriya's around the world. The creeping [al-zhaf] of the masses continues. I am certain that all the people will establish a jamahiriya regime in the future. [passage indistinct] The people will not continue to be in a vicious circle. [passage indistinct] There is no democracy without the people's congresses. Congresses and committees everywhere. [passage indistinct] We are a poor and small people from the countryside, living in the desert. But the theory that will change the world will emerge from this country. [passage indistinct] A quarter of the whole world believes in the religion of Muhammad. Who is Muhammad? He was a shepherd. These small, weak, and bare-footed people and their sufferings and plights make the theory that can change the world, because it is the truth, the suffering, and hardship. The one who is bare-footed, the hungry, and the one who is in pain is the one who can express the real feeling, because he cannot joke; the one who has enough to eat is the one who can joke, laugh, and dance. Joking comes from those who are not hungry — the rich. Look at this farce: fleets, shelling the innocent, making nuclear bombs, and controlling space — this is foolish and ridiculous and comes from the rich and the strong. But the ones who are looking for peace are the very ones who are suffering from these plights.

As for those who are searching for peace, they are the ones who are enduring these calamities. Those who live the reality are the ones who are enduring these calamities. Those who live the reality are the ones who live in pain. Consequently, the Third Universal Theory was born in the poor, forgotten, neglected, and oppressed society. Therefore, it must be the expression of deliverance. It is the theory of deliverance and salvation.

Naturally, this small nation cannot be compared with any great power in the world. Nor can we say that we can make aircraft carriers or the atom bomb or conquer outer space. But we can only place complete faith in this theory, that it is the one that will

change the world. This is because theories that emerged from such environments, theories of the neglected and oppressed and needy were the ones that changed the world.

The greatest man in the world today believes in the religion of someone who was a nonentity, bare-foot, and a shepherd. All the empires believed in the religion of either Muhammad, Jesus, or Jacob. Who is Isaac, Jacob, Israel? Who is Muhammad? Who is Jesus? These people used to herd sheep, carry water to their homes from the well. They were pursued. They had no palaces; they had no planes. They had no gold or silver.

Today, there are churches and mosques everywhere. They proclaim the names of those unknown and nonentities who emerged in poor and oppressed lands and who were hunted down. Jesus was hunted down by the Jews and they wanted to crucify him. Muhammad was stoned until his feet bled. He fled on foot from Mecca to Medina. The story of Joseph or Isaac or Jacob is very well known. Also Buddha, Sardasht. Marx: his sons died of starvation. He had no influence or wealth or anything. [sentence indistinct]

The greatest power on earth, imperialist America, is afraid of the Marxist theory. Who is this Marx, who terrifies America? Did he have missiles, aircraft, gold, huge armies? No. All he had was a booklet comprising 10 papers: The Manifesto, the Communist declaration, *Das Kapital* or something like this.

Jesus left four [figure as heard] books: the Bible. Muhammad left only one book: the Koran, which is God's word. These are the things that have changed the world. However, if we move on from the holy books to earthly books, whether they be Marx's books or the Green Book, Zoroastrian or Buddhist books, these are the things that are going to change the world in the future. Therefore, your task should not be too difficult for you to carry out, to change or even to believe in. But one thing stays the same: This kind of work is based on one fundamental and inevitable thing — freedom. Freedom is fundamental because everybody seeks it; even animals need freedom, not just humans. And it is inevitable that it will succeed because it is based on the notion of the search for freedom.

I must tell you that the waters of this giant artificial river might dry up; and if your water dries up who will bring you good water? Who would bring you water if this river of yours dries up? It is a project that might fail, like an industrial venture that might fail, like an agriculture project that might fail, a house that might fall, and a road that might fracture. We build a road for only 10 people, but 15 use it and destroy it. When we make an exit for you to leave the road, you take one look, and because you are an underdeveloped man, you do not use the exit. Thus, the whole road is destroyed. Only freedom will remain with us. [passage indistinct] This is an achievement and we are marking today the day we achieved it. All other achievements are surrounded by dangers. There may even be mistakes. There may be mistakes in their planning, their design, their implementation, their execution, and their maintenance — something that might render them useless. Any one of these industrial, agricultural, or processing projects can be a mistake and therefore may fail. Someone may build a bridge for you. He may make mistakes in the design and the bridge collapses. Although the bridge appears to

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be a great achievement, it collapses on the 2d day. [chants]

Thus, Libya has become an example for other countries; liberated people have chosen the jamahiri system. The creep is continuing and Libya has become an international platform. Libya has gained, thanks to this transformation, a worthy place and become an international platform for the search for emancipation: all blacks, who have been suffering from apartheid in South Africa, are looking toward Libya, which calls for emancipation. Those people are thirsty for freedom. People back in their countries have despised them, abused them, slaughtered them, and tortured them. When they hear the words equality or emancipation they come looking for those words, and they realize this country advocates emancipation. Thus, it has become an international platform. All blacks, who have fought for equality for all colors, have made Libya their Mecca. Workers, who wanted to become partners instead of salaried men, have made Libya their Mecca. Thus, Libya has become the Mecca of all people who are struggling for their freedom from colonialism — from Caledonia to Martinique, from South Africa to Chad and Palestine. Libya is their Mecca.

Libya is considered a natural ally of the people who fight tyranny and exploitation at home; it expresses their aspirations. It is true they come here because you have oil and you have money, but if the oil is with someone who does not believe in these sacred issues, they do not go to him. There are some countries that people do not go to, like Venezuela for example. Have the national liberation movements gone to Venezuela or to Dubayy? They have oil. (We have seen) the liberation movements go to Riyadh in search of socialism and [words indistinct] or freedom. Riyadh has much more oil than Libya.

It is the question of the society, the place, the headquarters, what sort of place is it. It is a country that believes in freedom. Fortunately, they have oil. Very well, we were delighted — we, the oppressed and freedom fighters — that there is an area having oil, and it became one of us. This is our good fortune — we, the fighters in Palestine, South Africa, Nicaragua, Latin America, Ireland, Chad, in any place in the world fighting for freedom. We were delighted to see that it belonged to people who are on our side. We felt sure they would share this oil with us, divide it with us, because these issues are common and we believe in them as they believe in them. This is the good fortune of this movement.

Accordingly, you have become responsible for defense; this is a great responsibility. Perhaps you might say that one in five should be recruited into a regular army, and leave the other four to rest. Fine, but if you want to be free, freedom has its price. It has responsibilities. Jamahiriyah means there is no army. The masses defend themselves. The army defends a government or a class or a specific regime. It defends it because it is mercenary and because there are salaries to be given to the troops or an army through compulsory national service, because troops are recruited against their will. As for the Jamahiriyah, there is no compulsion or a regime or a government that has an army to defend it or (?suppress) the people with the army. The Jamahiriyah has people who defend themselves; they bear arms. This is a great responsibility; it might burden you. Then you can say, no. You can say: To hell with our freedom. We do not want to

defend freedom.

You confront America? Who confronts America? It is you who confront America. America and Britain came and attacked you from the north. It is you who confront them. Today America and France attacked from the south. It is you who confront them. You are 3 and 1/4 million people, and there are at least 1 million among you who bear arms. Mobilize half a million for Chad, or a quarter of million for Chad and confront America and France. I do not think they would remain on the continent of Africa if we confronted them with a quarter of a million in the Sahara, and the jungle.

The result of this is that you became responsible for security. There is no longer any police. Every street plays the role of the security forces and polices itself. Every city polices itself. You have people's committees for security, which you formed, and you have put yourselves at their disposal on a rotational basis. That is it. There is no police to fear or to arrest us. It is now in your hands. You are the police. All people are now oppressed by the police. You are now the police.

The result of this freedom is armed duties, similar to security duties, guard duties, and police duties. You police yourselves. A group rests and another watches the coast, the south, anywhere. For the armed duties, you have formed people's committees for defense. From the beginning of this summer, duties will begin under the supervision of these people's committees for defense — armed duties. You will take 100,000 Libyans, and they will carry arms for several months, for as long as you decide — 1, 2, 3, or 4 months — then they go back to their normal work, and they will be replaced by another 100,000 Libyans. That is it. Try it for 1, 2, 3, or 4 years, then it will become normal. Are you not proud of your weapons, keeping them although you are afraid that the government might find out that you have weapons — and anyone who has an Italian rifle locks it up in a box? All right, now you can carry it publicly; not only a rifle, you can carry a gun. You will not be shaking as if you are riding a desert donkey, or something large, like a horse. Now you can ride an aircraft and tank and parade in them. Be proud of this, you can remain in it for 1, 2, or 3 months, as you wish, as you want, and as you all decide.

From now, from this session and from the formation of the people's committees for defense, you will start armed duties. There is no regular army. I have no regular army for you. Even the persons who were regularly under arms should take a rest. A large number of officers who were in the military academy in 1965 have been sitting with their feet in the [words indistinct]. They carried out the revolution, [words indistinct] the revolution, fought, and [words indistinct]. No. Why? They should take a rest. Any one of you can [words indistinct].

This jamahirization is the result of the establishment of the Jamahiriyah, which you accomplished. I did not do it for you. If you are a state of masses then you should jamahirize, you should establish the jamahiri suburb [as heard]. You are forced to become the professional revolutionary because you are free and this is your responsibility. The professional revolutionary is the revolutionary teacher, the revolutionary doctor, and the revolutionary guide. These are all connected. You should carry out

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all these missions. A doctor should not wait in his office for someone to treat in the hospital. In addition to this job, you have a circle to which you should personally go. You should knock on the door and treat them. God bless you, anyone sick whom I have not seen and who has not come to me at the hospital. The illness might be contagious, and might be caught by the family, then by the neighborhood. I do not (?wait) for you to be sick and come to me at the hospital. This is the revolutionary doctor. This is an inevitable stage, because we are doing the jobs by ourselves for ourselves. To plan for your day and your future is your responsibility.

But until now, I see you as I have told you at the beginning. [as heard] What we have now is not planning. There is no assessment of the consequences at all.

What I am saying to you — and you are free — is that the Arab world cannot support more than 50 million people. It is said that the population numbers more than 150 million people. More than 50 million is weakness, not power. They have nowhere to live. This nation is situated in the great Sahara. Libya is situated in the heart of the Sahara. But this nation has no future if we exclude the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers or the Jordan River — which is occupied by the Israelis — or if we exclude Lebanon and Palestine where there is rain and natural precipitation, the Nile River, these rivers in the plateau of Morocco, the Green Mountains and the Atlas Mountains, where it rains for only one season. Without this, life would inevitably disappear from this great Sahara.

The Italians would inevitably reoccupy Libya. There is no question that these Italians are not like the former Italians. Not at all! This is an industrial and military force. They inevitably count on using the southern coast of the Mediterranean. The American raid and now the invasion of Chad and what is happening in Lebanon — these are all challenges. The raid on the PLO Headquarters in Tunis, attacking the Palestinians, and threatening the Syrians — this is but the beginning of a new military occupation. One should remember that they are invading space, arming galaxies. Is it logical that they will spare the Mediterranean or the southern Mediterranean coast, which is empty? They will inevitably occupy it.

The government will change in Italy and be succeeded by a fascist government. It will be told to return and reoccupy Libya. The French will be told to retake Algeria and the Maghreb. The English, the Americans, all of them will go back to their old colonies. France has now returned to its old colony, Chad. It has not left Central Africa, Senegal, the Ivory Coast, Gabon, the Comoros Islands. These colonies are independent states but France has not left them. Its military bases are still there. France left Chad, as you know, after the fall of Tombolbaye and the fall of Malloum, and after the arrival of Frolinat members, including Habre and Goukouni. The French forces left. They have now come back. They have not returned because of Libya or because of the conflict in Chad; this is only an excuse to return because it has lost its colony and now it can return to it again.

I thank the GUNT and we must all admire them because they have accepted the cease-fire yesterday, today, and tomorrow out of respect for establishing a jamahiriyah [applause], declaring the

establishment of the jamahiriyah and the people's power. On this occasion, as I speak about the return of French colonialism to Chad, we can expose the French and expose the Americans so that the world understands clearly that they are colonizers and seek to remain in Chad.

We would like to tell them that we have no problem. There is no conflict with Chad at all. Even with Habre, we have (?no complaint against him). Habre had never been on the side of those who are against us. Never. We should understand the circumstances that made him stand behind the barricades. Habre was one of the Frolinat leaders — alongside Goukouni, Mohamed ibn Said, Al-Bokolani, Asil, Madais, and Ben Sadiq. All these were Frolinat leaders; and Habre was one of the Frolinat leaders, and he used to be in Libya. He was living in Libya; he was brought up in Libya; he studied in Libya. After the revolution he was part of the Frolinat's leadership that was set up in Libya. He could not be hostile to us and Libya could not be hostile to someone who has a history like that.

But what happened? What happened was that Libya supported Frolinat in its capacity as a real revolution — a revolution of Muslims and the other oppressed Chadians against French domination and French colonialism. This is the reason for Libya's relationship with Frolinat. We were supporting the Chadian national liberation movement. The translation of Frolinat into Arabic is: the Chadian National Liberation Movement, or the Chadian National Liberation Front. We were giving support to the Chadian National Liberation Front, and not to Shaykh Ben Omar, Goukouni, or Habre. These people were members of Frolinat. Against what? Against colonialism and against racism, and they were dominated by Tombolbaye and the French. They were crushed and oppressed. They formed this front. Habre left Frolinat, he split from Goukouni and formed an independent movement. That is all. We did not expel him; he himself chose to go to the other side. And even this is all right. The dispute was between him and Goukouni; we had nothing to do with it. But after he reached power with Libyan support they quarrelled among themselves. Habre staged a coup against Goukouni. Goukouni was still leader of Frolinat. We supported him and we still support him.

What resulted from this was that Habre sought the assistance of the French and the Americans. Who chose the other side? It was Habre. We had no desire to antagonize Habre. Habre is a Chadian, a Muslim, like Goukouni, Shaykh Ben Omar, and the other Chadian brothers. He chose the other side. Fine, but why was Goukouni fighting Habre? Why was the government of Shaykh Ben Omar fighting Habre? Because Habre is a Chadian who joined the ranks of colonialism. He joined the French and the Americans. That is why.

In this case, Libya should continue to support GUNT as long as it is fighting the side that joined and allied itself with the French and Americans. [applause] We are not hostile to Habre himself. What is our hostility to him? First of all, if there is a government in Chad headed by Habre — a true government, a Muslim government, an African government — it would please us, and most certainly there would not be a problem between us and it.

But then why there is a problem? Because there is no govern-

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ment. If there were a government it would not have called upon the French forces. Why did he call upon the French forces to rescue him from his opponents? What does this mean? It means that there is no government. If there were a government it would prove its credibility in Ndjama without French and American forces.

This is a challenge: Let this government prove its credibility. If the French and Americans leave tomorrow, and if it becomes clear to me that there is a government in Chad that is not hostile to Libya, then tomorrow I would invite its president to come here and I would have discussions with him — no problem. If Habre drives the French and the Americans out and if, as far as we are concerned, he is not hostile to Libya, then there is no problem for us; we are not hostile to him just because he is Habre, because he is called Habre.

This is the question of liberation. Forces of colonialism have returned to Africa and we must fight them. It is in fact a question of liberation; a man putting himself in the colonialist camp, calling French and U.S. forces to his rescue, cannot expect me to give clemency to him. How can I show clemency to him? If somebody resists another who has allied himself with French and U.S. colonialism, and asks me to support him, then I must support him; this is the right attitude. If Habre fights the French and the Americans then I would support him like Shaykh Ben Omar, like Goukouni. We do not discriminate just because of names, because this one is called Omar, and the other is called Hissene or Goukouni.

No, the political position is one for forces hostile to freedom and hostile to Africa. I greatly regret seeing the president of the government of national unity announce to the world today that U.S. military personnel with dark skins have arrived at the 16th Parallel to fight against the government of national unity. Why? If there were a government in Ndjama it would not fight with U.S. military personnel at the 16th Parallel, nor would it remain under the protection of French Jaguar aircraft. If it fears Libya, then here before you and before the respected heads of delegations and popular delegations — the biggest popular delegation here is from Sudan — I declare before the respected popular delegations, before our Brother Museveni, one of the revolutionaries of Africa, that if he [Habre] gets rid of the French and the Americans, then there would be no problem between him and us, between him and Libya. Quite the contrary, Libya would then help him, and there could be a reconciliation between him and Shaykh Ben Omar, between him and Goukouni, and so on. But there can be no accord in the presence of imperialist forces on our borders.

They have not come to support Habre; not at all. They have come to occupy Chad and turn it into a base to fight our country. This infringes on our security. Chad's destiny is linked with Libya, and not with France or the United States across the Atlantic Ocean, because I have told you that there are more than half a million Chadians in Libya. Even members of the Habre family itself are living in Libya. There is a Goukouni family living in Libya, and the [name indistinct] family and Shaykh Munawwar living in Libya. These are families of leaders. Even those fighting us — perhaps they have families living in Libya.

Our forces have entered Tibesti in search of the prisoners who were previously pro-Goukouni and who have been made prisoners in Tibesti. We gave orders to military units to encircle the areas where there may be Libyan prisoners because the latter were supporters of friends and allies. How could it be that these friends and supporters are arrested, their destiny unknown, and no one looks for them?

We now declare that if they release the prisoners, then there would be an end to the attack [ta'arrud] in Tibesti, and the Bardai population would return. As of today we would guarantee their security; they would return. We are not looking for civilians. We are searching for Libyan prisoners. When we began searching Tibesti, we came under fire, so we were obliged to resist. If somebody hides in a house and fights, then the house is hit. I greatly regret that homes have been destroyed, and that Libyan military personnel have been tried.

However, the fighting is now from trenches. It is unjustifiable fighting. The arms are ours, and they are our allies. However, they have sheltered some 20 or 30 Libyan collaborators with the previous National Unity Government. We made every effort to find them and to reach them, but they refused. We were obliged to deploy military units in Tibesti to surround the areas where they are. And now we are present in Zouar: We are not interested in Zouar; there is nothing we want in Zouar; there is not even water there. Zouar, as you know, is part of a mountain and there is nothing there. A mountain is called Zouar; it has only four palm trees. There is no water, they bring it from far away. However, we are there to finish the mission, and that is all.

Therefore, it is not our mistake; it is the mistake of those who used Bardai to resist us. Why did they resist us? We were asking for the Libyans who are hiding there. From today, 2 March, and on the occasion of this festivity, we tell the population of Bardai that they can return in peace and no one will challenge them at all. They can go back to their country, their oasis. The population of (Jibi Bou), Zoumer, Zouar if there were any people there, can return. All of them are assured of peace, and no one will come near them or the people of Mouni Kordomi Kelek — all of them should return and no one will touch them. The population of greater (Wajang) and of minor (Wajang) and Faya and Gourou are all there, and no one has even touched them. Why? Because they have nothing to do with the captured Libyans. The captured soldiers disappeared between Zouar and Burda. There is no justification for any fighting between Goukouni's men and Libyan forces, which are an ally and had armed them. The fighting must stop immediately, however; the captured Libyans must be freed — those who are present in the Tibesti Mountains and were collaborators with Goukouni's government.

The confrontation is with French and U.S. forces. We are forces of liberation, and they are forces of colonialism. The forces of liberation can never retreat before the forces of colonialism at latitude 16 or 17 or any other line. [applause]

And if France accepts the confrontation in Chad, we accept it and welcome it. Chad is on our borders and is our country — we constitute an extension of each other, and they are in need of petrol and we are in need of water. We and the Chadians have no contention whatsoever. [chants]

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(?We know the capability) of the French and the U.S. forces. However, we will do our utmost to reconcile all Chadians. I do not believe that Shaykh ibn Omar or Goukouni are seeking power; they are seeking peace for Chad, unity for Chad, and for the Chadian people to be free in their choices. They can choose Habre or Omar or Goukouni. They are free. We will contribute toward that end.

However, we would only accept this if the Chadian conflict had not become a French-American-Chadian conflict. This confrontation must lead to the defeat of colonialism even if I must mobilize a half million soldiers: between a quarter and a half million Libyans must be ready to confront colonialism. Colonialism has certain definite ambitions in the Arab world and wants to make Arabs like the Red Indians. In fact, I find it hard to distinguish between the various onslaughts from everywhere against the Arab world, whether they be Israeli explosives using U.S. powder which are destroying the Arab world from within, or onslaughts against the Arab world from without. I mean I find it hard to distinguish between them: They are all onslaughts against one nation; onslaughts that might turn the Arab nation into Red Indians. Arabs will be turned into Red Indians, dispersed to the four corners of the world or turned into an immigrant people dispersed in the world's continents — although their original homeland is in the Near East — like gypsies or Kurds. Kurds have a homeland, but the Kurdish nation is dispersed, scattered, and dismembered. Arabs might become like Kurds or gypsies or Red Indians. We must not belittle this confrontation as it is a confrontation aiming at colonializing the Arab homeland.

I was surprised that Garang, who is considered to be a revolutionary and our friend, continued fighting even after the toppling of Numayri. Thus, he has made us wonder if there is a racist motive behind his action. In the same vein, we also cannot say that hitting Baghdad with missiles is an act that would topple Saddam Husayn; these missiles are falling among the Iraqi people and are not hitting Saddam Husayn. However, we are not trying to defend Saddam Husayn: we are defending the Iraqi people in the same way we defend the Iranian people. We are compelled to defend the Iranian revolution, but it is not possible to defend it by hitting Baghdad or Tehran. It is inconceivable for us to change our principles. Our posture toward the Iranian revolution is unshaken. We are with the revolution; we were against the shah and we were instigating the revolution with our speeches while today's Iranian leaders were in prisons. They are our allies, our brothers, and we respect them. They answered our call. The Iranian revolution has been a triumph over imperialism. However, when the matter concerns shelling of Baghdad with missiles, this is a (?shame) and we cannot accept it, nor can we consider it as an act necessitated by the revolution. If Saddam falls, let him fall; but when it is Iraqi houses that are falling, this we cannot accept. [applause]

At the same time, I am against the shelling of the homes of Iranians. This is a barbaric act. Only Americans and Israelis carry out strikes against homes and families and destroy them. They hit cities. I am against the shelling of Tehran, Tabriz, Esfahan, Dezful, and Qom. At the same time that we cannot tolerate the shelling of Tehran and Qom, how can we, as Arabs, tolerate the shelling of Basra and its streets? How can someone

portray this as a revolutionary act?.

We were against the exit of the resistance. How can we fight against its return? If the Jews have evicted us from Beirut, we have returned through the window. This means that the aggression in 1982 by the Israeli Army has done nothing. To hell with it. The fighters have returned. If this is something you do not know, then you ought to know it. We cannot say that the shelling of the camps is aimed at toppling Yasir 'Arafat. The same applies to the shelling of Baghdad with missiles, as it is wrong to say that the purpose of shelling Baghdad with missiles is the toppling of Saddam Husayn. No one can hear this. No one can understand this. No one can believe something like that. My views on this are known and you have heard me. There is no need to repeat it.

As you know, 'Abd al-Salam [Jallud] stayed there [in Damascus] for 2 months. The conspiracy was bigger than the efforts of 'Abd al-Salam and bigger than...[Al-Qadhdhafi changes thought] But I would not be a hypocrite toward President Hafiz al-Asad or Syria; that is, we have been assured about the issue. But really, my stance is quite clear. The Libyans are free [to do what they want].

We can no longer legislate what is permissible and what is forbidden with regard to the Palestinian resistance. If meeting with King Husayn has become permissible, how can we? That is it. Then meeting with Yasir 'Arafat becomes permissible too. [Words indistinct] in the Sabra and Shatila crime. What logic is that? It means that we have made everything equal. There is no longer any difference between Sharon and Husayn. [Words indistinct] that is it — the door is open for 'Arafat and for Abu Jihad [Khalil al-Wazir] and for Abu Nidal [Sabri al-Banna] and for Abu al-Hawl [Hayil 'Abd al-Hamid] and for Abu Mazin [Mahmud 'Abbas] and Mayzar and all of them. [applause]

As a matter of fact, the one whom I regard as a traitor is King Husayn. He is the actual traitor. He is a king who has a country and adjacent to occupied Palestine, preventing its liberation, banning the resistance, and secretly contacting the Israelis. He has been contacting — without the knowledge of the Arab nation — the Israelis all his life. He contacted Moshe Dayan, Golda Meir, and all the Zionist terrorists, up to this time. This is treason. He secretly meets with them at Aqaba, the Jordan valley — he is a traitor. As for the Palestinians and even the Christians of Lebanon, you compelled them sometimes to go along the path of treason. Yasir 'Arafat and his group, who were fighting even after their departure on ships, were attacked by Israeli aircraft in Tunis. They were compelled sometimes to treason. An Arab joining the Israelis (?because of) the Arabs [words indistinct] I have a psychological analysis of some of the stances which [words indistinct]. Even the (?question) of terrorism and the Red Brigades and the like — when we talk to the Europeans we tell them that there is a psychological reason behind this — in the society which gave birth to this terrorism [words indistinct] Why? Because there are reasons. Even the Lebanese Christians go to Israel because they are compelled; they go over the Red Line and are sometimes compelled to do so.

What is this call for jihad in Lebanon, and the Islamic Republic in Lebanon, and the Soldiers of God in Lebanon, and Hizballah in Lebanon? What do these things mean? They mean the crush-

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ing of the Christians. These are very frightening calls. If I were a Lebanese Christian, by God I would be frightened by this call; it would make me go to the devil! The slogan of the Islamic Republic of Lebanon ignores one-half of the population — who are Christians; what kind of nonsense is this? [passage indistinct] I am an Arab. [Words indistinct] in pan-Arabism. There should be no Sunnis, no Shi'ites — all this is blasphemy and heresy; we do not need such sects or their principles. [applause] There should be no banner hoisted over the Arab homeland except the banner of pan-Arabism. Religion is for God.

Everyone worships whoever he wants, but this is a nation which has nationalism and a homeland and which is threatened. It must hoist the banner of the nation. He who creates Hizballah should go and set up such a party in the United States. Is not the United States the arch Satan? Go set up Hizballah inside the United States. [Unidentified person in the audience makes an indistinct remark; Al-Qadhafi laughs and then continues] It is now fighting with it, that is right. Let them go. That is it.

I am glad today that there are Palestinians from all [affiliations]. They are present here from all the organizations. At least their meeting in this hall represents Palestinian unity. The Palestinians need unity. [loud applause from audience; slogans chanted: One Arab people] Outside the Arab world we are part of the Islamic world, and yes to the hoisting of the banner of jihad throughout the Islamic world. This homeland [Libya] is threatened, and we have here with us mujahidin from Pakistan, India, and the United States. Here are the mujahidin. They meet with us in jihad as Muslims in all parts of the Islamic world. But inside the Arab world we do not accept this. Just one banner must be hoisted, and we invite all the Arab youth to respect such a banner and fight only under the banner of Arab nationalism. All the rest is empty talk; it should not continue, nor will it be supported. Sectarianism must be shunned.

There can be only one Arab youth. Why is one called Shi'ite and the other called Sunni; what is the difference between Shi'a and Sunni? If Shi'a is the religion of our Persian brothers, then all right; it would be a special religion, a religion fraternal to Islam and welcome. I do not know this; all I know is that there is an Islamic religion. What is Shi'a? Has Muhammad spoken about Shi'a, Sunni, Malikites, [words indistinct], Kharijites [various Islamic sects after Muhammad's death]? All these are heretical novelties that came after the Prophet. If somebody chooses a religion then he is free to do so. Perhaps our Persian brothers have chosen a religion called Shi'a. But there are 60 million Arab Shi'ites who must fight under pan-Arabism and not under Shi'a. Then sectarianism would find itself an impasse, in a crisis. Its banner must fall and be trampled under foot.

As a matter of fact I have greeted and now greet again the struggle of the Lebanese Communist Party [applause] led by Brother George Hawi, and also the Progressive Party led by Brother Walid Junblatt. [applause] These are Lebanese forces, but matters reached a point when they had to fight with the Palestinians in the camps, because there turned out to be a conspiracy.

The situation has not been resolved yet. The Arab nation and its dynamic forces are still responsible for resolving this grave

problem because it touches upon an essential question on which we Arabs can come together or disperse; namely, the question of Palestine. If we were liquidating the Palestinian resistance and the Palestinian camps, then definitely we are on the other side of the trenches, we are with the Israelis and the Americans.

While I am confident of the attitudes of President Hafiz al-Asad and the stand of Syria and while we actually support them, however, closing the offices of the militias in West Beirut and disarming them poses a danger. On balance, this might cause a disturbance posing an extreme danger in the national ranks, because on the other side of Beirut, East Beirut, the Phalangists and the separatists are still armed. Therefore, all the militias must be disbanded, including the Phalangists. This would be a great action. However, we hope, God willing, that the disarming of West Beirut is the first step which will be followed by disarming the Phalangist militias in East Beirut. We hope this will happen.

I would like to stress in conclusion that after 10 years of exercising power you should not depend on anybody but yourselves. You are still exposed to danger. Do not be delighted with your achievements, namely, facilities, highways, bridges, and factories and the cities — those are not a source of pleasure at all. You are still lacking water, and I tell you that you should search for it peacefully or by war. And I still say that Europe and the United States wants to again colonize Libya and the Arab countries. However, in your search for water for your offspring, and your search for stability and strength to confront the expected European military invasion, depend only on your freedom, not on Mu'ammar al-Qadhafi or anyone else.

And I find myself free to move outside Libya. I might travel anywhere, stay wherever I like, or live at any place — you have no relation with me. I might be here a day and 10 days at another place. [chants]

Further Reportage on Events at Sabha Congress

Al-Qadhafi Meets With Jallud
LD030215 Tripoli Television Service in Arabic
0138 GMT 3 Mar 87

[Text] The brother leader of the revolution received Staff Major 'Abd al-Salam Ahmad Jallud after his return from Damascus concluding the pan-Arab mission that was commissioned by the brother leader of the revolution to stop the Palestinian bloodshed and to lift the siege of the Palestinian camps in Lebanon. [Video shows Al-Qadhafi and Jallud sitting indoors opposite each other talking — no sound]

USSR's Solovyev Addresses Congress
LD021606 Tripoli Television Service in Arabic
0946 GMT 2 Mar 87

[Speech by Yuriy Felippovich Solovyev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, at the Libyan General People's Congress in Sabha; in Russian with passage-by-passage translation in Arabic — live]

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[Text] Dear friends: The friendly Libyan people are today celebrating the 10th anniversary of the proclamation of people's power. Permit me to convey to you and to the Libyan Jamahiriya's leadership and people, congratulations on this occasion from the Soviet Communist Party and the Soviet people. [applause]

The 1 September revolution dealt a strong blow to imperialism in this part of the world. It opened up to the Libyan people the road to true political independence, and to the elimination of the imperialist yoke from Libyan territory, and enabled them to carry out radical internal changes for the good of the broad masses. The establishment of the popular authority's bodies, through whom the participation of the people in the running of the country was guaranteed, undoubtedly constitutes an important landmark on the road of Libya's independent development.

Libya's departure from the sphere of imperialist political influence, its active support for national liberation movements and its struggle for the creation of a just international economic order against the neoglobalist course of the United States and its allies — all this evokes the hatred of its enemies. That is why the Jamahiriya has become the target of unceasing threats, intimidation and armed provocations by imperialism.

Today, the Libyan people are facing new hostile intrigues. The imperialist powers, led by the United States, are stirring up the internal conflict in Chad. The Soviet Union strongly condemns this imperialist interference and advocates a peaceful settlement of this conflict by the people of Chad without foreign interference.

The Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya is not alone. Today, we wish to strongly assert that Soviet people are deeply aligned with the Libyan people against imperialism [applause], for the sake of bolstering the sovereignty of their homeland and their continued march along the road of progressive development.

When the U.S. war machine dealt its barbaric air strikes at Libyan territory last spring, the USSR expressed clearly its solidarity with the Libyan Jamahiriya. This was openly declared in the message of Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to Mu'ammar al-Qadhafi, leader of the Libyan revolution. Our attitude has manifested itself in the moral, political, diplomatic and military support to friendly Libya. The Soviet people expressed their anger through mass demonstrations and rallies, held to support Libya in our country.

Soviet-Libyan relations have witnessed tangible progress during recent years in the various spheres. Cooperation between us is based on the principles of equality, respect for each other's sovereignty and noninterference in internal affairs.

The visit of our friend Mu'ammar al-Qadhafi to Moscow in 1985, and his talks with Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev — which resulted in the signing of the long-term program for the development of economic, scientific, commercial, and technical cooperation between our two countries — has played an important role in increasing this cooperation.

Dear friends: This year, the Soviet people and all progressive mankind celebrate the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Republic. This revolution, led by the great Lenin, not only opened the way for the building of a socialist society in our country, but also provided a strong impetus to the struggle of the oppressed peoples on the road to social and national liberation — a struggle which eventually led to the collapse of the colonialist system and the emergence from the debris of scores of independent countries.

Since the establishment of Soviet authority, which reflected the radical interests of the people, our country has achieved great successes, including the creation of a powerful economic capability, and the guaranteeing of continued growth in the people's prosperity, and the Soviet man opened the way of mankind into space.

Our successes are beyond all controversy. However hard our enemies in the imperialist camp try to fabricate things, they cannot belittle our achievements. In our homeland, Soviet society is now entering a new watershed, essentially based on the mobilization of all the great capabilities of socialism to intensify as much as possible the course of social economic growth and political development. This constitutes the basis of the strategic course drawn up by the 27th CPSU Congress, which aims at rebuilding all aspects of life in the society of our country. For this reason, the party has embarked on a deep analysis of the great experience we have gained to derive lessons from it and to criticize the errors that have been committed. Our party is capable of undertaking this step because of its strength and its strong ties with the people, and because of the unlimited support accorded to it by the people.

The January 1987 CPSU Central Committee session constituted an important point along the road toward the implementation of the resolutions of the party's congress. During this session, discussions covered ways to develop Soviet democracy and the people's effective participation in the running of the country, within the framework of the rebuilding operation.

Our internal policy and our creative constructive work for the development of socialist society dictates and defines Soviet foreign policy.

The USSR fights a constant battle for halting the mad race in nuclear armaments in which imperialism took the initiative, for preventing the transfer of this race into space, and for the realization of total nuclear disarmament. It also works for the rectification of international conditions and the peaceful settlement of existing conflicts.

The USSR proposes the establishment of a general system of international security. Our firm position is based on the fact that our own security cannot be founded at the expense of the security of others.

For 1 and 1/2 years, the USSR refrained from nuclear tests. The whole world expected the United States to follow suit. But once again the U.S. Administration thwarted the peace-loving peoples' hopes. But it was not possible for us to permit imperialism to achieve military superiority over the USSR and the world of

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socialism. For this reason, we were forced to resume nuclear tests.

Let the imperialists know that the USSR will never concede its own security and that of its friends and allies. [applause]

For decades, the Middle East has been the center of dangerous tension. Blood is being shed there. Acts of violence and the violation of laws and traditions have become the order of the day. Supported by imperialism — above all, U.S. imperialism — Israel continues to occupy Arab territories, carries out new acts of aggression, and refuses to recognize the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian Arab people.

The United States and Israel have been obstructing efforts leading to a just solution of the Middle East conflict and have been utilizing the disunity of the Arab world to impose on the Arabs unilateral agreements of the Camp David type.

The U.S. aggression against Libya, U.S.-Israeli pressure on Syria, and the amassing of the U.S. fleet in the Mediterranean in such open hostility to the Arabs indicate that imperialism is trying to impose its domination over the peoples of the region and that it is pursuing a neo-imperialist policy. Imperialist intrigues can be aborted if they are faced by unified Arab willpower, and if the Arab countries overcome their present division and pool their efforts on the basis of the unity of their radical national interests. Only through collective efforts can a just solution be found to the vital interests of the Arab peoples, including the releasing of the Middle East conflict from its present impasse.

We are totally confident of the need to make new efforts for finding ways leading to lasting peace in the Middle East through the convocation of an international peace conference. This is the objective behind the formation of a preliminary committee with the participation of the permanent members of the UN Security Council.

Because of imperialism, the question of security in the Mediterranean remains tense. While supporting the transformation of this region into one of constant peace and cooperation, our country has proposed, on more than one occasion, the implementation of a complete package of measures, including the withdrawal of vessels equipped with nuclear weapons from the Mediterranean, and abandoning the deployment of nuclear weapons in nonnuclear countries bordering on this sea. In this regard, we note with satisfaction that these proposals have met with the understanding of the Libyan leadership.

We, in the USSR, support a speedy halt to the Iran-Iraq war, which conflicts with the radical interests of the two peoples of Iran and Iraq and benefits none other than the imperialists who are trying to utilize it to widen their military presence in the Middle East. The quicker the two warring sides agree to sit at the negotiating table, the better this would be for the peoples of the two countries and for the cause of regional and international security.

As is known, to justify its imperialist policy against the progressive movements and countries, the United States brands these movements and countries as terrorists. It is well known that the

United States and its strategic ally Israel are the ones who have adopted a policy of state terrorism.

Dear friends, I wish to take this opportunity while in the land of friendly Libya, to affirm to you once more that the Soviet people hold feelings of deep sympathy with the Libyan people. I wish to affirm to you that we will not abandon our efforts to continue the development of cooperation between our two countries for the sake of the victory in the causes of general peace and social progress. We wish the Libyan people further successes in the struggle against imperialism, for the strengthening of their national sovereignty, and for the continued development along the road of democracy and progress.

In conclusion, permit me to read to you the cable of congratulations addressed to Comrade Mu'ammr al-Qadhafi, leader of the Libyan revolution, from the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium:

To Comrade Mu'ammr al-Qadhafi, leader of the Libyan revolution, Tripoli.

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium congratulates the leadership and people of the friendly Libyan Jamahiriyah on the 10th anniversary of the proclamation of people's power in Libya. That event, which became a major landmark in the history of the struggle by the Libyan people, lies in the mainstream of the transformations which were initiated by the September 1969 revolution. The achievements by the Libyan Jamahiriyah to overcome the burdensome colonial legacy and build a new life, created the basis for its further advance along the path of social progress. The country's development in accordance with its independent choice meets with bitter resistance from the aggressive circles of imperialism which strive to foist their will on the liberated states. A concentrated expression of that policy was the U.S. attack on Libya last year. Repelling that imperialist sortie with the support of the world's progressive forces, the Libyan people demonstrated tenacity and staunchness. Over the past decade Soviet-Libyan relations have developed considerably and have become enriched with fresh content. The Soviet Union intends to continue strengthening the bonds of friendship and mutually advantageous cooperation with the Jamahiriyah in the interests of the peoples of our countries, to frustrate imperialist intrigues, and for the good of universal peace. We wish you personally, and all the Libyan people, success in the fight for peace, progress and consolidation of national independence.

[Signed] The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, Kremlin, Moscow, 1 March 1987

GUNT's Oumar Declares Cease-Fire
LD022019 Tripoli Television Service in Arabic
1140 GMT 2 Mar 87

[Speech by Chadian GUNT President Acheikh ibn Oumar, to session of General People's Congress held in Sabha — live]

[Excerpts] In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate. By extending this invitation to the Chadian GUNT to participate in the celebrations of the Libyan fraternal people, you brothers