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Al-Qadhdhafi Speech on 1 Sep Revolution Anniversary
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[Speech by Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi at a rally held in Green Square, Tripoli, to mark the 18th anniversary of the 1 September revolution — live]

[Text] Brothers, we are pleased first of all to salute our brother revolutionaries, Jerry Rawlings and Museveni, who do not represent Ghana and Uganda, but the new African revolution, the new popular revolution. They represent the honorable forces hostile to the vile and hireling forces that have again sold out Africa and Africa's honor and resources to imperialism and neocolonialism. Cursed be the agents who, with their stooped heads and their flags flown at half mast, have built a bridge for neocolonialism to return to the dark continent. Cursed be the agents in Ndjamena; cursed be the agents in Zaire; cursed be the agents in Liberia; and cursed be the agents in any country in the African land desecrated by imperialism and Zionism.

On behalf of the revolutionaries of Africa, the revolutionaries of Uganda, the revolutionaries of Ghana, we today curse the agents who have enabled neocolonialism to become re-established on our African continent.

Brothers, we also greet our brothers, the leaders of the Palestinian revolution, and the leaders of the Lebanese nationalist movement. We salute our brothers from the rest of the Arab world. I would be embarrassed to name them because I might not be able to count them all; from the friendly states, from Malta to East Europe, to Africa and Asia, and to all the Arab countries.

Brothers, 18 years ago today, on 1 September 1969, I made my move at the head of the free unionist officers and thousands of brave soldiers. With these brave men I destroyed the agent Al-Sanusi monarchy, which was bogged down in reaction and exerting its power. The Al-Sanusi throne had a black and detested past, had achieved notoriety, was known for its hireling behavior, and had disregarded the sacrifices of our fathers and forefathers. The Al-Sanusi throne played havoc in the land of our fathers and forefathers, and like all hireling regimes, it could not govern this country except in the shadow of the bases of imperialism and the forces of occupation.

The agents in Ndjamena are doing likewise. They cannot remain in existence a single day except under the shadow of the imperialist forces of France and the United States. The Al-Sanusi throne had those who flocked in its orbit, those who were weak-willed, those who had ambitions and who sold their country -- such as ministers, representatives, ambassadors, officers, the scum of society and its remnants, and decadent tribal and reactionary leaders. Their sick minds allowed them to sell beloved Libya to the United States, the United Kingdom, and Italy. They brought foreign bases to the land of our fathers and forefathers. They behaved recklessly to remain in power to serve their masters.

Here were U.S. and English bases. Here were Italian colonies and settlements. We were foreigners in this town. You, the people of Tripoli, were foreigners in the town of Tripoli. Sovereignty was in the hands of Italian colonialists. Trade was also in the hands

of Italian colonialists. Agriculture around this town was in the hands of Italian colonialism. Here the Contessa used to rule. In this town an old Italian woman used to rule. She had the title of contessa and she colonized the soil around her. Here the Italian language used to be spoken. Here there were Italian shops. Here Italian colonialism, which killed our fathers and forefathers, used to exist. They gave their lives to expel it.

Italian colonialism settled down here in the capital of the country. It backed the hireling Al-Sanusi throne with its U.S. and British bases. The Al-Sanusi throne had a free hand in Libya, whether by land, sea, or air. It imagined that the United States was invincible and could not be overthrown.

The hireling Idris al-Sanusi used to flock from the British El-Adem base to the joint British-U.S. Al-Mallahah base. He believed that he was secure, that no one could touch him, and that his throne would not be overthrown. He believed he could leave the throne for his sons and daughters, one generation after another, as if Libya were a plantation and the people of Libya a herd of sheep. Idris al-Sanusi wanted to leave all this to his sons, daughters, and cousins in the hireling and filthy Al-Sanusi family.

reverse projection?

He ignored the fact that those who died as martyrs for Libya's sake had children and grandchildren. He ignored the fact that there were those who did not fear the United States or the UK, or any power for the sake of liberating their country. On that day I led the movement of the valiant unionist officers and the heroic soldiers. I stormed and demolished Al-Sanusi's throne before the eyes of the United States and before the eyes of the United Kingdom. On that day we rightfully shouted: To hell with the United States; to hell with the United Kingdom. It seems that the United States, which threatens us today, has forgotten that we did not fear it on the dawn of 1 September. We surrounded its bases with our soldiers and we destroyed the Al-Sanusi throne right before its eyes. We ordered the United States to leave our country immediately. Otherwise, we told them: Libyan soil will turn into hot soil upon which the frail feet of Americans cannot stand. The United States left humiliated and disgraced because of our insistence, orders, and determination. The United Kingdom left humiliated and disgraced. They experienced rancor and envy because they lost the southern coast of the Mediterranean. They lost control of over 2,000 kms of the most important strategic region in the world. They were driven out by the free unionist officers, by the soldiers.

The United States now, brothers, is the prey for deceit and distress. It wants to return to make up for the extensive damage it sustained when its bases and forces stretched along the southern coast of the Mediterranean. But, brothers, what is important is not telling this heroic story to the sons of this people on the occasion of the great Al-Fatih. What is important, brothers, what I would like to tell you, is what we brought you on that day 18 years ago. What did we bring you? Did we bring you the keys to the skies? Did my colleagues and I bring a magic wand on that day? Did we promise you that we would make everything rosy or that we would give you money? Or did we promise you that we, my free unionist officer colleagues and myself, would toil on your behalf, to farm the land and build houses? Never. Brothers, I would like to remind you after 18 years what we

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brought you. On that day we had one single thing; it was not gold, or silver, or money, or wheat, or power. It did not include either promises or time. We brought you one simple, but valuable thing; something more valuable than gold or silver -- which we did not possess -- and dearer to us than all fine empty promises. We brought the freedom declaration to you. We brought nothing but the declaration that the Libyan people became free on the great Al-Fatih 1969. [audience chants slogans]

Brothers, many have lied to their people for power. They have lulled the masses' feelings with pompous speeches full of hollow promises, which they know will not be achieved. But they are demagogic and compulsory for he who wants to rule the masses and bear the crown on his head or hold the scepter of power in his hand. We are the enemies of power; the enemies of the throne; the enemies of the seats of power; the enemies of the police systems which oppress the popular masses. We are even the enemies of laws which are fabricated by rulers and their systems in order to dominate the masses, to stifle them, and to orient them by force -- not as the masses like, but as their ruler likes. We are against all sorts of [words indistinct] moral and material, which transform the masses into a group of sheep and the homeland into a pasture for them. Consequently, we did not give promises. We did not practice demagoguery, because we do not want to stay in power. We do not want to rule. I do not want to be president of the Libyan Republic. Otherwise, I would have been president from the first day, without elections. I would have been president that second with 100 percent of the vote, and my colleagues would have been deputies and ministers, and they would have become the great of the world. I would have distributed all the state's functions among the Army officers.

But the officers who took part with me in the revolution are now dying as soldiers with [words indistinct] shoes and steel helmets in the field and on the land of Aozou. They are still protecting the revolution with an anonymous identity (?in their units). But they have the glory and the honor, not the seats of power, nor this rotten place, which the revolutionaries hate. We came as revolutionaries, not as rulers. Consequently, you will not, as you did not, hear fine empty words, or promises, or a lulling of feelings, or demagoguery, or deception.

What you hear from us might not please you, but it might be useful to you. The masses of our Arab nation have been deceived. How many coups has this nation witnessed; how many coups were claimed to be a revolution and how many revolutions were aborted?

Even the Palestinian people are being murdered now in the camps, in the name of the liberation of Palestine. In the name of the liberation of Palestine, armies undertook coups so that generals could come to power; in the name of the liberation of Palestine, the masses have been slaughtered; in the name of the liberation of Palestine, repressive rule has been imposed on the masses; and lastly, in the name of the liberation of Palestine, Palestinians are slaughtered in Sabra, Shatila, the rest of the camps, and Burj al-Barajinah.

All is demagoguery and charlatanism, in the name of the liberation of Palestine. Therefore, on a day like this, 18 years ago, we came to you with a declaration of freedom. This means that

Libyans, men and women, from the dawn of that day became free, ruled neither by a president nor a king, emperor, policeman, army or anyone else. This is what you should understand.

If you still rely on Mu'ammr, who is present, to bring you chocolate from Switzerland, then I say no, I do not bring chocolate. Make it yourself or plant something here and sell it to buy chocolate for yourself. I do not bring chocolate for you and I will not deceive you by telling you that I will bring it for you. If you believe that Abd al-Salam Jallud will look after the economy for you, with the General People's Committee, and will resolve the problems -- no, the problems are yours and you resolve them yourselves. The power is in your hands.

Any intervention on our part would harm you; it would not benefit you. We came to you only with the declaration of freedom. We now stick to it and we would die for its sake. Any intervention in the will of the Libyan people would contradict the declaration of freedom which we brought to you on the dawn of 1 September [1969], and which we were prepared to write down with our blood. It was a joke, the operation that night. It was an extremely dangerous operation. We moved amid foreign bases, police forces, and reactionary tribes -- in the wake of the 1967 setback when all the Arab nation was defeated, covered in darkness, and plunged in despair.

But we had declared that one of the peoples of the Arab nation, one of the peoples on earth, had become free. From that day the popular changes to set up the Jamahiriyah began so that the declaration of freedom could be affirmed. Brother Libyans everywhere, in this historic hour and on the 18th anniversary of the revolution, there is nothing in your hands except the declaration of freedom brought by the revolution. On that day the chains were broken, the fetters were smashed, the nightmare was removed, darkness was lifted, and the sun of freedom effectively rose.

But brothers [chanting of slogans ceases at Al-Qadhdhafi's request], freedom can be killed in the name of freedom. Many squares in the world and in the Arab homeland called freedom squares are places where free men are executed, where the masses are trampled under foot -- in freedom squares in the name of freedom. If you abandon your own affairs to any quarter, to any organ, if you seek anyone else's service -- even when you look for a house, furniture, an airline ticket -- if you seek the help of another Libyan it would mean that you have lost. The paper that I and my colleagues gave you on the dawn of 1 September, the declaration of independence, it would mean that you have torn it up. It means that you are a slave who does not deserve freedom. Do not ask for a house from all and sundry, except from the People's Committee, which you yourself made. Do not ask for a farm from all and sundry; do not ask for a travel ticket from all and sundry. Any Libyan citizen, male or female, who begs from another Libyan citizen is a vile slave who does not deserve freedom. You are the master; you are the member of the People's Congress, you make the decisions, which neither Mu'ammr al-Qadhdhafi nor others can violate. You created the People's Committee, which has to give you the house and the farm. It has to serve you. All officials employed in Libya are there to serve the free citizen -- the master. Any other idea which suggests that

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there are others beside yourselves who are responsible is wrong; it is tantamount to deceit.

Why did we stage the revolution? I did not stage the revolution in order to become a president of the republic. I would not have done so. To hell with the presidential position. Had my colleagues been after posts I would not have allowed them to stay in the movement. I gathered all those who wanted to die and not those who loved posts. I gathered those who hated power and not those who coveted it. Those who coveted power used to curry favor with the Al-Sanusi throne and its henchmen so that they would get a promotion or a post of under secretary or ambassador. We used to despise these persons. I gathered in the free unionist officers' movement those who hated power and not those who loved power. When it became apparent that I made a mistake in accepting someone and enrolled him in the movement only to find that he loved power, the person was dismissed and expelled. He was expelled because he betrayed us. He left. It became apparent who was truthful and who was not — those who deceived us and were hypocrites, saying to us: I am with you, with the revolutionaries as I am a revolutionary myself — and those who were truthful. After the Al-Zuwarah speech, when power was handed to the people, the fig leaf fell and the weak, the hypocrites, became stark naked. The revolution continued with the masses and by the masses, and by no others except the masses.

However, with the emergence of the revolutionary committees' movement, and as the need arose to form security organs to protect the security of the Jamahiriyah, my colleagues and I discovered a negative aspect, which had to be liquidated. Reexamination of oneself is what makes this reexamination possible. There used to be some among the revolutionary committees movement who believed they were supermen and more intelligent than the masses. This sort of person is sick. The masses are the teachers. The things you have said such as Mu'ammara the teacher, the thinker, are all stupid words which I do not accept. The teacher and the thinker are the people. I was taught by the people. Can I teach the people? No. The people teach me. These phrases are detested. I cannot condone them. The leader, the thinker, and the teacher are all words which I regard as insults. They are insults to me.

I have not come to obliterate the awakening of the people or falsify the will of the people. We have come in order to sacrifice ourselves. We are sacrificing ourselves every day in order to let the people take our place. If you believed that the revolutionary committees are an unintentional attempt to dismiss the will of the people, it would mean a gross malfunction has occurred. The error is not in the revolutionary committees movement or their revolutionary philosophy. The error lies with those who joined the revolutionary committees as hypocrites, and probably fools, just like the hypocrites and fools who joined the ranks of the free unionist officers' movement. If someone wants to join the revolutionary committees movement in order to gain privileges, this person is sick and an enemy of the people. He should be expelled from the revolutionary committee's movement. A revolutionary is one who revolts against the pattern of things. A revolutionary is one who rises up, just as on this day in 1969.

Imagine one of you had gone to a revolutionary committee and told them: Find a house for me or find a job for me, or move

me from one place to another. What I said about the other type of person can be said about this sort of person. This sort of person is a lowly and insignificant man who does not deserve freedom and is never a master. All the citizens are masters except this vagabond, who begs favors from the popular committee.

You, as a master, should seek the revolutionary committee as a citizen. All the employees of the popular service who are under the disposal of the popular committee are there in order to serve you, the master. They are at your service, but you must not say: I cannot build anything — you come and build me a courtyard. Everyone should do things himself. Have you forgotten when one from this very town, Tripoli, used to go to Tunisia to work as a building worker so that he could earn his living. And today, you do not wish to build your house in Tripoli, yourself. If you do not see yourself, you are a slave. The foundations of freedom are: You should serve yourself and shoulder your own responsibility.

You have become unable to pick the fruits of your own farm. Instead you say: Come and pick the dates; come and see to my palm trees; come and gather my oranges; come and peel the oranges for me. By doing this you are opening doors to colonialism. To rely on others is something that is contrary to our cherished freedom.

Freedom means self-sufficiency. We said that no people are independent if they live on imports from beyond the borders or from overseas. If you buy flour from abroad you must produce something else in the place of the flour you buy. If we barter we must produce something else in its place, like rice, wheat, animal stock, or milk from Libya. Otherwise you cannot have rice. You want rice while you are producing nothing. I am not going to bluff you. If I am bluffing I can easily say to you: You will be getting rice and there are convoys of ships full of goods. They are here, they are full of goods and they have everything. I am not giving you glad tidings. It is not so. It is not glad tidings. This sort of thing is detested. The glad tidings are only when you do things you do yourselves. As a matter of fact, there is nothing except what you yourselves produce. There is plenty if you produce.

This is what declaring freedom means. As of today collective ownership should be implemented. Brothers, a hotel which is owned by a people's committee, but managed by staff and workers from abroad, is not in your favor. Such a hotel is owned by one certain Libyan, who is an exploiter and filthy, who sucks your blood and robs you of the fruits of your labor -- one single Libyan whose belly is too fat, and whose pockets are full of money, money which does not reproduce itself. Where did he get this money? He got it from you, you naive people. He gets it from you. He exploits you. Anyone who sleeps in the hotel pays double money to the hotel owner. The same applies to the one who drinks or eats in the hotel. A worker works for 10 hours — he is only paid for 5 hours as the owner robs him of the other 5.

This exploitation is finished. Who now owns this hotel? It is owned by the state. There is no such thing as a state. This is a Jamahiriyah, the state of the masses. These are the masses. This hotel, this factory — I am not talking about heavy industries, I am talking about light and medium industries, services, economic, and productive activities — all these as of today, as of

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tonight, you should hurry to place them under collective ownership. What is collective ownership? This hotel, instead of being owned by one Libyan who exploits other Libyans to accumulate their money, so that he becomes rich and they remain poor, should be owned, tomorrow, by 50 Libyans, or 100 Libyans, or 300 Libyans, according to the size of the hotel. It should be beneficial for 30 Libyans, 50 libyans or 100 Libyans, but not 1 Libyan alone. As for what is called the state, it will no longer own these things. You should own them yourselves. You should hurry in groups, as of tomorrow, to own a clothing factory. I have in front of me a list of 20 clothing factories. They are ready tonight and awaiting those who can seize them. When I say seize, I do not mean to attack them with shouts of Al-Fatih, Al-Fatih, or to break their windows. This is not what I mean. It should be done in an organized legal way. Ten of us want to own a clothing factory which is now owned by general ownership. The general ownership does not work because it is a small and medium ownership, and will not succeed. If it were under private ownership it would be an exploiting one; it should be a collective ownership. Ten of you would come and say you would like a clothing factory in Darnah, or 50 people would say that we would like to own this factory.

There are people's committees which have laws, proposals, and arrangements that would entitle you to own the factories. If anyone benefits, you do. The same applies to the small and medium factories. They should be owned. The people should own them as of tonight in order to establish neosocialism, the Jamahiriyah socialism; to establish the Jamahiriyah, with its economic meaning whereby it destroys the unjust social relations; to establish the social system based on justice in the service of the masses. This should not be done by words but by deeds, by organized material action. As of tonight and tomorrow, in conjunction with the people's committees, the Libyan people should own the factories, the production and service institutions, both the light and the medium.

I wish you could own and manage petrochemical, chemical, iron and steel plants. But it is not possible in the foreseeable future for them to be managed by a collective ownership. They should remain under general ownership, owned by the state of the masses.

The light and medium industries and services should be owned by the people. If you open a cafe in which you yourself serve, all right — you and your family, all right. Two or three people participate in this cafe; there is no employer — partners, not wage earners. You can set it up. If you set up a restaurant, a hotel, a farm, a construction company, a services company, you are free. [chanting] You, the military police, why are you moving about? Stand in your place. Freeze. [applause]

The workers, who failed several times in becoming partners rather than wage earners...[changes thought] On such a day in 1978, this slogan -- partners, not wage earners -- was raised, and the workers marched on all the centers of production. Workers' productive and professional conferences were held, and workers' people's committees were set up to administer the factories. Management by the government and the exploitative private management ended, and workers assumed the management of these factories. But despite the fact that reports state that

industry in Libya is progressing well and that factories in Libya, contrary to the situation in all the developing countries, are not subsidized... [changes thought] But I criticize industry, because the actions I expected from the partners have not yet materialized. But from that day in 1978 until now...[changes thought] This is the ninth anniversary of the liberation of the workers, who have moved from the category of wage earners to partners. This slogan should indeed be implemented as of this night. The workers who can take control of factories and become partners in production; this is fine. Those who cannot, other masses will take control of them through their money or effort or both, to become a partner in this factory, in this establishment, in these service or production facilities. If we leave this to the people's committees, you will probably say, this is a lie, they are making fun of us. No, I am forced to say this to you, and even this is not good. You have a declaration of freedom in your hand; implement it. There is no need for me to deliver speeches and tell you what to do. But in order to confirm this, and so that you know that this is serious talk, as of tomorrow, all Libyans can become owners of production and services factories and establishments which they did not believe they owned. Tomorrow, you, the one in front of me, who has nothing, become a shareholder in one of the factories. You there, you probably wanted to make a living from commissions or the selling of frivolous things at home or in the dark — tomorrow you can become a partner in a partnership, in a factory, in legitimate and honest work, in daylight.

Brothers, this is the way to confirm your humanity and self-respect. How can you respect yourself if you are a middleman and sell in the dark? How would you look in the eyes of your sons? What is this honest story you leave for your children: I was a middleman in the market of darkness, pursued by the people's police, and I was imprisoned. Instead of saying, I was imprisoned because I used to resist the United States, you would say, I was imprisoned because I used to sell nails and pots under road bridges! This does not become a free man and prepare factories and farms for him to live off. Set up companies and hotels to live off. There are 400 unemployed educated women. They should as of tomorrow begin their march. Tomorrow, the march of 400,000 educated and unemployed women should begin.

Starting tomorrow, we want 400,000 women to go and take part in productive work. Let them go and take control of any work that they can do: run partnerships, seize factories, hotels, services, production. This is the road to dignity, pride, and honest living; otherwise, there is profiteering.

Do you have money? Why take it abroad? Fine, if you have money, give it to the people's committees to buy for you all those goods, and keep everything respectable. If you go as a tourist, be a tourist. Tourism is respectable and honest, and no one can say anything to you. You leave with a raised head and you return with a raised head. If you go on a pilgrimage, go for God's sake and no one will say anything to you. The pilgrimage has been debased. It is no longer a pilgrimage; it has become profiteering. Going abroad is no longer what it used to be. We no longer know whether the one who goes abroad for medical treatment is, in fact, ill. Perhaps he goes abroad to bring handkerchiefs, nails [words indistinct].

By God, if you take that path I will despise myself and will not

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stay with you. I will go to any another country to struggle in it; I will go to any revolutionary country. What is this? Who told you this is the right path? Why shame yourselves, you the master people, the first Jamahiriyah. Uganda has become a Jamahiriyah. Ghana has become a Jamahiriyah. Burkina Faso has become a Jamahiriyah. Suriname is a Jamahiriyah. Nicaragua is a Jamahiriyah. The world is changing from republics to Jamahiriyahs and you are the first Jamahiriyah. Like France when its revolution erupted, it was a republic and the republic spread, and the world changed from the monarchy to the republic. The first republic in fact was France after the French Revolution. You are the first Jamahiriyah in the world, the master people. (?What do you see in Turkey or Greece?) [words indistinct] You have money? Great. You are not poor; you are rich. Fine, produce here and sell the goods here and buy goods from abroad, if we do not have the goods you want. Anything you want from abroad comes to you, but you must produce here. Do not tell me about the oil. With the oil you should get other things — the atom, weapons, factories, desalinization of sea water. Never spend your oil on the purchase of cloths, sweets [words indistinct] and canned goods. This is of no benefit to you. The oil should not be touched. Leave it as an asset, and when you want an important thing, buy it with the oil. Buy with it huge machines, buy factories. Make the great artificial river with it. The other things we should produce. Head for the land. (?Let alone fishing in the sea.) All the Libyans, if they were lined on the coast, would not catch one fish. You bring people from the Philippines or China to catch the fish. No. This shall not happen. Die.

Brothers, you have jobs, work, and money which you give to other people. In the past you used to look for a job. A man from Tripoli would go to Benghazi looking for work. Now you do not want to work and you bring people from across the continents. If somebody told you there was a servant on Mars, you would say, go to Mars, sign a contract with her and bring her here to serve, clean the street, or plough the land. Oh people! There are English people in Wadi Sasu, south of Zulaytin, sheering whose sheep? The sheep of Libya.

The Chadians herd sheep and the English shear the sheep. The Libyans no longer shear sheep. It is not enough to say this. As of tomorrow you should attend to the sheep, the factories, and the services and take them over. You divide them into groups. How? The popular committees. The general popular committee is in existence, and the popular committees which you have created are in existence everywhere. The answer to the word -- how -- will be found there so that you can establish the state of the masses. The word masses is taken to mean that the masses will have to shoulder the responsibility for everything. (?What Al-Qadhafi is saying might be embarrassing.)

The United States is hell bent against Al-Qadhafi. This means there are no free men, no people exist [words indistinct]. To hell with them [words indistinct]. If the problem is centered around me then I do not mind going, to please Reagan. But the issue is with the people and the land. The United States should take into account the free people, not Mu'ammarr. [chanting]

Brothers, however, while I incite you toward making way for the emergence of collective ownership today and the emergence of

the system of partners, not paid workers, toward affirming the existence of the master people and the master citizen; and toward making way for the emergence of the state of the masses. I inform you of the emergence of other Jamahiriyahs after the emergence of your Jamahiriyah. This is not enough. If you have established a Jamahiriyah, a republic, or an empire, these moral and material gains are still exposed to danger in the absence of the unity of the Arab nation. It is not possible that in the middle of the Arab homeland we come along and create a Jamahiriyah — a small state — or tell lies to people and say: You will remain safe and secure to the day of judgment. This is wrong. You have seen Palestine. You have seen Lebanon. You have seen Libya.

Any Arab state, on its own, cannot manage to get anywhere. In fact, there is an international conspiracy to transform the Arabs into Indians, to scatter them in various regions of the earth, and to dismember them as the Gypsy and Kurdish nations were dismembered. There is no escape from this black fate except Arab unity. [chanting]

Brothers, this is not enough, however. I say to you that no matter how loudly you ask for peace, they will not respond. God said that if they ask peace, you also ask for peace. The word, if, is conditional: If they demand peace; fair enough; you also should opt for peace. The verse in the Koran means that these enemies and tyrants are not quite genuine in accepting peace. God made it a condition that if they accept peace, then you accept. This means that there is doubt even in God's mind whether the tyrants and enemies would accept peace.

No matter how loudly you ask for peace, the United States will not respond. After the defeat of the United States last year and its defeat at present in Chad, I stress to you before the world that it will attack you once again and will challenge you once more.

The United States today is annoyed because the war is with the United States — the imperialist power that wants to invade the Arab homeland and Libya and others besides Libya. The Arabs are the ones who are stupid because they think the United States is their friend. We pity them. They are fools. If not fools, they are extremely weak. If not, how could an Arab be a friend of the United States? The United States has no friends. It has a slave and an enemy. The United States does not wish the Arab nation to get anywhere, because this would be in conflict with its imperialist designs for the world.

Brothers, we withdrew from Andalusia. We withdrew from Andalusia, and we see them today in Ceuta and Melilla. They threw us out; not only that, but they also kept a foothold on the Arabian shore in Ceuta and Melilla. We left the United States alone. We withdrew from Andalusia and southern Europe, and they began to claim the gulf off Sidra. We are not that stupid. What do we have to do to the United States? The United States is in its own territory, and we are in ours. The United States has come to your homes. It wants to stay in your homes. Who cares about the United States? To hell with it. The United States has come to the Gulf of Sidra. A missile launcher was set up in the desert of Surt to defend Libyan waters. The United States attacked it. It said, you have no right to set up SAM-5 missiles.

Brothers, can you imagine this? It was as if we had turned a

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SAM-5 missile on the Atlantic in order to fire it on the United States or U.S. towns. We had it stationed in the heart of our country, to defend our territory. But they said: No, you must not defend yourselves; you have no right to defend yourselves. The United States is the one that should be God. Just look at the encroachment. This sort of encroachment cannot be countered with logic. But it should be countered with force [words indistinct] We must rid ourselves of any fear of the filthy United States. The United States is a paper tiger. We challenge it and we will destroy it on our own shores. To hell with the United States a thousand times. [chanting]

We left Andalusia for them and left them southern Europe and the islands in the Mediterranean, and in return they have come and occupied Palestine. You should see for yourselves and follow the map. Have they not occupied Palestine? Have they not come to the Gulf of Sidra? Have they not taken Ceuta and Melilla? Has not the shah of Iran taken greater and lesser Tunb islands and the Shatt al-Arab? Retreating in front of them did not do any good. We told them: Look, here, we have left you everything, but keep away. They said, No. The Gulf of Sidra, Palestine, Ceuta and Melilla, lesser and greater Tunb, the Shatt al-Arab. How much further are they going to go? They are not satisfied. They would advance still further. They said: We want only Palestine. Yet today they have taken southern Lebanon and the Golan, and Sinai is occupied. The Israelis have left, and now it has been taken over by the United States. How much further will they go? They are still after our homes. If they strike us in our homes, we will enter their homes. It is impossible to talk about peace with evil. Today, the United States and its allies are massing their forces; about 70 vessels in the Gulf and 30,000 soldiers or thereabout. The United States says this is in self-defense. The Libyans in Aozou say: No, you are aggressors. It is not in self-defense; it is aggression. The U.S. presence in the Gulf is considered self-defense. The United Kingdom's presence in the Malvinas in southern Latin America — they described it as self-defense. There should be no dialogue. There should be only one action: That is, a move toward resistance and to kill any fear in our hearts and consider this tyrant Satan, who is called the United States, a ferocious enemy of freedom, peace, and the tranquility of the nations and an enemy of all mankind.

Everywhere, the United States is disliked. This means that all mankind is against the United States. The United States will definitely be defeated. We must prepare for resistance along the coast of Libya. We must say to them: We are waiting for you, and so will the fish be waiting for you, as the British Prime Minister Churchill used to say during World War II. We say to them what Churchill said to the Germans: We are waiting for you to make you food for the fish. We need to spread this slogan. We need to display it along the coast of the Mediterranean. We should say: We are waiting for you and so are the fish.

If we were to say: America, you should be ashamed of yourself; peace, we surrender, we lay flat on the ground, the United States would take no notice. It goes on advancing. But if it sees the placard with the slogan written on it: We are waiting for you and so are the fish, the United States will then become frightened. One million fighters should be ready to confront the United States along the Libyan coast. At that time, we will say: To hell with the United States. [chanting]

Then, brothers, the United States should be resisted. It should be resisted not only by Libyans but by all Arabs from the ocean to the Gulf. We must mobilize the masses of the Arab nation; all Arabs from the Gulf to the ocean should resist the United States. Brothers, we do not recognize any U.S. interests in the Arab homeland. We should destroy the interests of the United States in the Arab homeland. Let the United States and its interests go to hell.

For the sake of bringing together the scattered people and salvaging what can be salvaged, I always say that there is a way to Arab unity; and it is the way of the revolution. But the revolution remains something that no one can predict. It is like the day of judgment, which might come suddenly or may take a long time. The revolution might come today, or it might come after a long time — the revolution that brings about unity.

There are some objective circumstances. When they are ripe, the revolution will emerge. They might become available, or they might not. Certain climates are required. They might come and go before the revolution breaks out; the revolution might break out after its conditions become available, and it might be stillborn if the objective circumstances are not there for its continuation. From this point of view, the revolution remains something that is hidden. But it remains as one of the things that must inevitably arrive, like the end of the world. A lot of hope is pinned on it, because it will be the one that destroys everything.

There is a unity that can be imposed by force. This unity also has its own conditions. The conditions might become available for realizing Arab unity by force. There is also a possibility to bring the nation together under existing conditions. I would like to bring the glad tidings to you; namely, that circumstances favor ingunity have come into being between Libya and Algeria, Libya and Syria, and Libya and the north and south Yemens. [chanting] As for our brothers in Sudan, the popular base was established on 6 April, but the dynamic Sudanese forces should see to it that the Sudanese situation becomes favorable for unity.

We hope the 6 April Revolution will move to Egypt, and thus the heroic Sudanese people would have the honor of transferring the popular revolution across the great Nile Valley from the south to the north contrary to the wishes of the Pharaohs, the rulers of Egypt, who want sovereignty to move from the north to the south; King Mina would reemerge in every place and at every time with two crowns: one for Upper Egypt and one for Lower Egypt, Upper Egypt being Egypt and Lower Egypt being Sudan. [Al-Qadhafi laughs]

I say that the objective unionist conditions now prevailing between Libya, Algeria, Syria, and probably also Yemen should not be squandered. I bring you the good tidings that the Algerian people and the Algerian leaders have resolved and decided to establish a union between the Jamahiriyah and Algeria on the 1st day of next November, God willing.

Syria is ready for unity and no Arab can outbid the Syrians in respect of the unity. The Syrians are the true advocates of unity. Damascus has always been the pulsating heart of Arabism.

Consequently, I personally cannot outbid my brother President

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Hafiz al-Asad nor his colleagues nor the Syrian people in regard to unity. Syria is ready for unity with you and with other Arabs, too, at any time. Consequently, any ripe conditions for unity should not be squandered.

For this reason, I wish to put forward a plan for an Arab union, which I wish to declare tonight to the Arabs. [chants] Unless they respond to unity willingly, they should expect uncalculated violent changes for the sake of realizing this unity. I have worked hard and I hereby put forward a plan for establishing an Arab union on the following bases. I wish to now declare it over the airwaves to the entire Arab nation so that all the unionist forces in the Arab homeland will bring pressure to bear on their parties, governments, and members of parliament to work for the realization of this unity. Anyone who lags behind will have to be trodden on.

This is because the Arab nation is in danger, and we cannot face up to this danger except through Arab unity. I ask for nothing from this Arab unity other than two things: First, that there should be a defensive capability for defending the Arab homeland, Arab sovereignty, and Arab life from outside threat; second, that all Arab economic capabilities be pooled for building an Arab economic force for realizing a better life for the Arab people. These are the two things I seek. Other than this, I do not care whether there is here a republic, a monarchy, a principedom, or even a sultanate with a crown or an authority with 40 men presiding over it who oppose each other like the popular authority at Darnah. What I mean to say is that I do not care who is at its head. What I do care about is that the Arab nation should be brought together by one political framework in which it would pool its economic and defensive capabilities. I do not care who rules this country or that country. These are matters left to the sons of each particular country: Anything they do not like, they can change.

[Al-Qadhdhafi reads the following from a document] The union aims at the following: To work for realizing comprehensive Arab unity; to bolster the ties of fraternity among its various parts; to work for advancing the Arab nation, the defense of its rights, and the protection of its interests.

In accordance with this charter, an Arab union made up of the Arab countries signatory to it shall be established; that is, among the Arab countries that approve this charter and that accept its provisions. It will be called the Arab Union [Al-Ittihad al-'Arabi]. The Arab Union will have a legal personality and will enjoy all the necessary powers for performing its tasks in the member countries, as well as in the international arena. The union's bodies will represent it within the bounds of its jurisdiction.

The objectives of the union: To pursue a common Arab policy in all fields; to protect the Arab homeland and to defend its territories; to realize Arab socioeconomic development and to establish an Arab economic unity on sound bases; to revive Arab Islamic culture; to develop scientific research; to raise the Arab citizen's standard of living, to improve his working and production conditions, and to provide him with all necessary means to keep abreast with international socioeconomic and cultural progress.

In the Arab field: To bolster the ties of fraternity and amity among the parties composing the union and to establish a close cooperation among them, particularly in the following fields:

In the field of defense: To protect the independence of the parties signatory to it; that is, the parties establishing the union, and to repel any aggression against them or against any one of them.

In the economic field: To realize economic, social, industrial, agricultural, commercial, and human development through initiating joint institutions and the preparation of common special-interest programs for realizing cohesion among its various parts.

In the field of education, culture, sciences, and scientific research: To develop education and unify curricula and methods of teaching and to protect the Arab nationalist identity; to initiate joint Arab cultural institutions to ensure the development and encouragement of scientific research.

Organs of the union: The Arab Union shall have the following organs: A Supreme Presidency of the Union to which shall be attached an Executive Council, to which shall be attached an executive committee and unionist councils, permanent secretariat, a pan-Arab congress, a unionist court, and a unionist central bank.

The union's Supreme Presidency shall consist of the kings and presidents of the member countries and shall enjoy the power to issue decisions pertaining to the union's supreme policy. The decisions shall be promulgated on a majority basis.

The presidency shall meet once every year [Al-Qadhdhafi corrects himself], every 6 months, and shall elect one of its number as chairman for the session to run its affairs, as well as run the union's affairs for that period. This means that there is no longer a chance for one to concede the presidency and another to assume the presidency. All these kings and presidents shall constitute the Presidential Council. Every 6 months, one of them becomes king of all the Arabs. There is a precedent for being the king of all the Arabs, like in the case of Governor Husayn, who was the governor of Mecca and king of the Arabs. Thus we will no longer have a king of Jordan or Saudi Arabia alone, but a king of all the Arabs, for a period of 6 months. There will no longer be a president of Tunisia or Kuwait or Mauritania, but president of all the Arabs. This is so that they will not quarrel over the presidency and over power. All of them shall alternate the presidency through the Presidential Council.

The Executive Council: The Executive Council shall consist of the secretaries of the General Popular Committees and the heads of councils of ministers or governments of the member countries. Its presidency shall be by rotation among them, as is the case with the Presidential Council. The Executive Council shall meet once every 6 months. Any Arab prime minister in any Arab country can become the prime minister of all the Arab prime ministers, once every 6 months. The Executive Council consists of all the heads of government.

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The Executive Council's jurisdictions. These are written here:

The Executive Committee: The Executive Committee shall consist of the heads of the unionist councils. Its meetings shall be presided over by one of the Executive Council's members, by rotation. It will meet at least once every 3 months.

The following are the Executive Committee's jurisdictions: To prepare the draft laws; to prepare the draft budgets; to review the plans and works of the Executive Councils and follow up their implementation; to supervise implementation of the unionist budget and the development budget; to promulgate the necessary regulations and decisions for implementing the laws.

The Unionist Councils: The Arab Union shall have the following councils: Political Affairs Council; Defense Affairs Council; Economic and Food Affairs Council; Education and Cultural Affairs Council; Scientific Research Council; Legislative and Judicial Affairs Council; Internal Affairs Council; Health and Social Affairs Council; Labor Affairs Council; Energy and Water Affairs Council; Communications and Telecommunications Affairs Council.

For example, the Council for Political Affairs is constituted of secretaries and ministers of foreign affairs in member states. The same thing applies to the rest of the councils. That is, the Defense Council is made up of defense ministers and its task is to safeguard national security and to draw up plans to safeguard the Union and its members; to unify army recruiting, training, and armament among the Union states; to establish joint and comprehensive armament industries; and to establish one single Arab general staff.

The Council of Economic and Food Affairs is made up of the secretaries and ministers of planning, economy, etc. Its jurisdiction is to unify the basic economic structure of member states; to arrange the movement of capitals; to pursue economic activity; to unify the means of exploiting member states' natural resources; to lay down a joint pan-Arab policy on tariffs; to remove tariffs among the member states; and to distribute industries among members in order to achieve economic integration. Likewise, the Education Council is made up of education ministers, and the rest of the councils are made up of the appropriate ministries.

The Council of Energy and Water Affairs, for example, is made up of the secretaries of the General People's Committees and the ministers of petroleum, electricity, energy, and agriculture from member states. Its responsibility is to draw up a pan-Arab plan for prospecting and exploiting various energy resources; to organize the use of Arab energy resources and to link member states through pan-Arab channels in the fields of crude oil and natural gas, electricity, and nuclear energy; to draw up plans for prospecting and exploiting renewable and alternate sources of energy; to set up an Arab agency for nuclear energy; to study water resources available in Arab countries that are now threatened by the enemy, be it surface or subterranean water; to try and increase the ways of exploiting water by introducing pan-Arab irrigation canals; and to link up existing canals — for example, an irrigation channel could be set up to link the Nile River to the great man-made river in the Jamahiriyah, to estab-

lish other canals like the great man-made river that would link rivers in Jordan, Syria, Palestine, and Lebanon, and possibly between Iraq and Syria. And so on for the rest of the councils.

Then there is the Pan-Arab Congress. The pan-Arab congress is the Union's supreme legislative authority. It is comprised of delegates from legislative councils in the member states, with equal numbers from each state. This means Qatar would have the same number of delegates as Morocco. The congress is responsible for issuing unionist laws, as well as for studying the legislative policies of member states in order to unify them.

The budget of the unionist development: The union will have a unionist budget for development whose limits and member states' quotas are adopted by the presidency resolution. The Council for Economic and Food Affairs lays down the development budget and other projects to be submitted to the presidency. Every Arab member state of the Arab Union commits itself to give its share to the development or ordinary budget and also commits itself to deposit the budget account in the Arab Unionist Bank in accordance with the decision of the presidency session's chairman.

General laws: Every member of the union respects the leadership of the other states and commits itself not to interfere in these states' internal affairs — obviously this point is important to those who fear the union. This charter does not prohibit members from concluding other agreements or treaties as long as these are not incompatible with the union's regulations.

This charter does not affect the right of any of its members to join with any other member or members in the union. It would mean that Libya and Algeria can unite; Syria and Libya can unite; the YAR and the PDRY, for example, can unite. This is permissible within the framework of this union. Any aggression or threat of aggression of any kind against any of the member states would be considered an attack on all the member states. Each of them would undertake to confront the aggression or the threat of aggression as if it were confronting aggression against itself.

There is nothing in this charter that affects or undermines bilateral relations or multisided relations among the member countries. [Words indistinct] unity between Libya and Algeria will not cancel or contradict the two countries' participation in this federation. In accordance with this charter, the bilateral political representation that currently exists will be abolished. The Council of Political Affairs, comprising the foreign ministers, will draft principles for relations between member states and their representation abroad.

The Permanent Secretariat will undertake the task of coordination between members until such time as the establishment of the principles referred to in the previous paragraph is undertaken.

A special committee which is to be appointed by the chairman of the presidium will undertake the task of preparing the draft resolutions, agreements, and protocols necessary for implementing this charter. [Al-Qadhafi finishes reading from document]

Also, this charter has appendices and memorandums on how to

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form a body for water and a body for grains; or providing food supplies and for the exploitation of water resources; or a body for energy and for the exploitation of Arab energy. It should be understood that (?because) the side proposing this project is revolutionary in character, conservative circles would receive it with apprehension. They would believe it contains revolution and destruction for those countries. But I would like to reassure them that this is the responsibility of the revolutionary force inside each region. No one outside any region can impose a revolution on another region. 'Abd al-Nasir was present in strength along the Libyan border but he could not impose revolution on Libya, which had bases hostile to him.

We have staged the revolution. And to 'Abd al-Nasir we were anonymous; 'Abd al-Nasir came to know us only after the emergence of the revolution. We staged the revolution. 'Abd al-Nasir could not impose the revolution in a neighboring country like Libya. We prepared for the revolution for 10 years without 'Abd al-Nasir knowing about it. After we staged it, we paid him a courtesy visit to seek support for the revolution.

Therefore, no one can impose a revolution and they thus should not be afraid that Al-Qadhafi will impose a revolution on Tunisia or Sudan or Egypt or on any other Arab country. Revolution occurs from within a country; it emerges from inside a country. I do not present them with revolution; but I present them with a charter for a union that brings together these regimes in existence today.

Consequently, the thing that preoccupies me is that our defensive force should be united since the Arabs are in danger. Their economic strength should also be united because the Arabs' living conditions are on the decline. This is what preoccupies me. What form each region or regime would take does not worry me. Anything that does not prove useful will collapse.

This will lead to the unification of alliances between the Arabs and will lead to the ending of all problems that occur on the borders — border problems — between one Arab country and another: smuggling; mercenaries; opposing camps; suspicions that this or that one is training terrorists and the military; or that this one is preparing to swoop on him. If this federation were to emerge and Arab unity were to come into being, then all these problems would come to an end. Even ordinary smuggling problems and infiltration across the artificial borders would come to an end.

We have divided a single nation. We cannot separate a single nation by creating artificial borders. Libyans infiltrate into Tunisia and Tunisians infiltrate into Libya because each have kinfolk in Libya and in Tunisia. This union also will enable the Arabs to become a force that commands respect from others. I would say on this occasion that the Arabs should possess the atom bomb. For the first time, we declare that we must not ever be embarrassed by working day and night to possess the atom bomb. While we do not want to play with the atom bomb, if others want to play with the atom, they must not play against the Arab people or the future of the Arab people and the safety of the Arab homeland.

Brothers, I say this to them because the Israelis now possess the atomic weapon, with the help of the United States and France

and all the Western states. Now that the Israelis possess the atomic bomb, the Arabs have no alternative but to work day and night to possess an atomic weapon in order to defend their existence.

I have not spoken about this before now. But brothers, in front of me are documents that confirm to the whole world that the Israelis today possess the atom bomb and that night and day they have been continuing to develop an atomic weapon. There is accordingly nothing left for the Arabs except to declare that they must possess the atomic weapon in order to defend themselves — and this is a legitimate action.

This is a legitimate action. Any Arab feeling ashamed about this is a coward who does not wish to exercise his right to self-defense according to Article 51 of the United Nations. We abide by Article 51 of the UN Charter which allows us to legitimately defend ourselves. As long as our number one enemy, who was established forcibly on our land in Palestine with the help of the United States and France, possesses the atomic bomb, we have no alternative but to work day and night to possess the atomic bomb. This is legitimate and we should not feel at all ashamed about it. We should be prepared to ratify the international treaty on the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons if the entire world destroys all its nuclear weapons and if Israel is stripped of its nuclear weapon. Otherwise, we have no alternative but to enter into this battle and throw all our capabilities into manufacturing nuclear weapons.

Brothers, when I visited China I asked Deng, the Chinese leader, about the hydrogen bomb that China manufactured. I said to him that on my way I had seen Chinese men loading stones on donkeys to remove them from a river which will be flooded during the winter and noticed that most of the transportation in the streets is horse-drawn. It appears China is a poor country, so how did you manage to manufacture the hydrogen bomb? He said: I agree with you China is a poor country; it is a Third World country, but I intend to develop and continue our nuclear program. But it is inevitable that China should manufacture the hydrogen bomb — and this is what he said — so it can tell those who had the bomb: If you want to play with nuclear bombs then you will not be able to play with them on Chinese territory. China has the ball you want to play with and is capable of entering the game. He said: We did this only to deter those who had the nuclear bomb; if they wanted to play with the atom they will not trick China because China has the nuclear bomb. He said: I did this for this purpose. He said this was legitimate self-defense. I tell them now what Deng told me: The Arabs should have a nuclear bomb, not to attack with, but to defend their existence, particularly following Israel's acquisition of the atomic bomb. The purpose is to tell them: If the game starts with atomic weapons, then the Arabs can play.

But, brothers, with regard to the task of gathering Arab capabilities, uniting the Arab nation, and realizing a dignified life for the Arab citizen by uniting economic capabilities and safeguarding the security of the Arab homeland through establishing a joint defense under this proposed union, I must admit there are problems preventing the unification of Arab ranks. Among these are Egypt's recognition of the Israeli enemy and the declaration by Al-Sadat — the entombed Al-Sadat, the Al-Sadat who is

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cursed even in his grave, and the cursed ones who follow in his footsteps along the path of treason — that there is no Palestine but there is an Israel and that there is no people called the people of Palestine, but there is an Israeli people. Al-Sadat declared in Jerusalem that the land was the land of Israel and that the people are the people of Israel and that Egypt recognized the land of Israel and the people of Israel.

This means there is no Palestine and no Palestinian people. The rulers of Egypt — voluntarily or forcibly, fearing the United States and the Israelis, or by their own free will — are still proceeding along this path, this recognition. They proceed from this point: The land is the land of Israel and the people are the people of Israel.

In actual fact the great calamity of modern history is Egypt's departure from Arab ranks. We lost Egypt with all its capabilities and ability to function. Egypt is an important Arab member. Our loss of Egypt is a great pan-Arab loss. By its departure from Arab ranks and its entry into the stable of David we lost Egypt. It is inevitable that we should work to take Egypt out of the stable and not to go to Egypt while it is still in the stable. He who goes to Egypt while it is still in the stable is an ass himself, because Egypt is in the stable and he wants to enter the stable. Stables are for donkeys only. As for the honored Arabs, they will not go to Egypt while it is in the stable. Let the Arab donkeys go to the stable: They go cursed and despised. Any Arab ruler who goes to Egypt while it is still in the stable is a donkey. We declare this here and now. Let the donkeys go to the stable. Any person who flees to Egypt should know that Egypt now is a rotten cadaver. He who flees to Egypt is a dog so let the dogs go to their cadaver. He who goes to Egypt politically and enters the stable is an ass, so let the asses go to the stable.

I am sorry to use such expressions, but there are no words in the dictionary to describe the dogs who go to their cadaver and the asses who go to the stable except these words which are in the language. Do not feel sorry for any person who flees to Egypt. He is a dog going to a cadaver. Let the dogs go to their cadaver — this is our slogan. Do not get angry with the Arabs who go to Egypt. Egypt is in the stable, so therefore let the donkeys go to the stable. Donkeys have nowhere to go except the stable and dogs have nothing except a decaying cadaver. Let the dogs therefore go to the decaying cadaver in Egypt.

However, I still keep a very narrow bridge open with the Egyptian regime. If Egypt's rulers today are compelled under U.S. and Israeli threats to remain inside the stable, then they should understand us and inform us of their position so we can extend a hand of assistance to them. I do not want to say the last word on this issue until I am convinced that Egypt's rulers are compelled to stay in the stable by the United States and the Israelis and are prepared to leave the stable but are incapable of doing so. Otherwise, they are lackeys and traitors and have not a bit of Arabism in them and no dignity, preferring to remain in the stable and sell out Palestine to the Americans and to the Israelis. Then we have other things for them, irrespective of the consequences. But let us see. This is one of the calamities which beset us — Egypt's departure from Arab ranks and its entry into the stable.

The second problem is the Gulf war — it is one of the factors that disunited and scattered the Arabs — the Iraq-Iran war. We would have liked to fight Iran during the shah's regime — the shah who was the enemy of Islam and the bitter enemy of the Arabs; the shah who was a racist Persian, who hated the Arab race. We were hostile to him and we sided with the Iranian people and the revolutionaries of Iran against the shah, the lackey of the United States. This was when Iran was a U.S. area of influence. Iran was an ally of the Zionist enemy and South Africa. It used to supply them with oil and weapons. We would have liked to fight the shah when he occupied the greater and lesser Tunb [islands]. But, regrettably, at that time all the Arab rulers were bribed by the shah. They colluded with him against the Iranian people; all save the Libyan revolution. Only the Libyan revolution stood against the shah until the shah was toppled. Also, we do not betray the revolutionaries of Iran who used to listen to my speeches while they were in prison and responded to my appeal and staged the revolution. When the Iranian revolution was threatened and the revolution was in danger we fought side by side with the Iranian revolution. We admit this bravely.

We fought for the Iranian revolution when it was in danger. If Iraq wanted to fight the Iranian revolution at that time, then it was not in the interest of Iraq or the Arab nation that the Iranian revolution should be toppled. Although Iraq was engaged at that time in a war with the Iranian revolution, Iraq's future lay in the existence of the revolution in Iran. We always looked beyond the border dispute between Iran and Iraq. We saw that the revolution in Iran was very important for the Arab nation. But danger loomed when Iran was a U.S. base and an ally of the Israelis. We defended the Iranian revolution until the danger was removed. But now Iran — the Iranian revolution — is not in danger. Hence we do not help it strike against Iraq.

Now Iran. The Iranian revolution is not in danger. Consequently, we do not help it to strike at Iraq. But we are with it against the United States. We ally ourselves with it now to face up to the United States in the Gulf, this flagrant insolent threat to world peace, to Iran, to the Arab Gulf and to the Arab homeland. The agents are those who welcome the presence of the United States in the Gulf.

Indeed, we feel that the USSR was amiss in its international duties vis-a-vis world peace, since the USSR is responsible for it before the peoples. The USSR has left the United States and the imperialist NATO to occupy the Gulf and threaten the peoples of the Gulf and world peace. The USSR should shoulder its international responsibility before the peoples and its responsibility toward world peace. The USSR should not allow the United States to do whatever it pleases in the Gulf. The USSR must put a check to this whatever the outcome. Even if the USSR fears confrontation with the United States, it is unacceptable for it to sacrifice the security of peoples and world peace in order to avoid confrontation with the United States. Confrontation with the United States becomes a humanitarian duty when the United States threatens world peace and threatens secure peoples such as the Libyan people, the Chadian people, the Iranian people, the peoples of the Arab nation, the Nicaraguan people, the other peoples of America and the rest of the world's peoples. When these people become threatened by the United States, the first

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superpower in the world, it becomes the duty of the USSR — indeed, it becomes imperative for it to sacrifice nonconfrontation in order to save world peace.

World peace is now facing a threat from the Gulf. Secure peoples wishing to live securely in their lands are now being threatened by the U.S. presence. The Arab brothers who drew the United States into the Gulf are digging their own graves. We tell them: You are digging your own graves because you have brought the United States, your bitter enemy, into your lands. We have to intervene in this problem. I personally will not retract from my principles, principles in which I believe and which I have declared.

I am now against the Iraq-Iran war. I consider it to be a filthy losing war. It has provided a pretext for the United States to enter the Gulf. It has provided the pretext for those who wish to seek U.S. protection to bring the United States into their homes on the pretext of being threatened by the Iranian revolution and the Iran-Iraq war. Indeed, the Iran-Iraq war has become a pretext used by all those who want to bring in the United States and a pretext for U.S. interference. We should work with all our might to end this war in order not to give any pretext to the United States to intervene in the Gulf. We must not provide any pretext for any trembling traitor to seek U.S. protection out of fear of the Gulf war. We cannot betray the Iranian revolution. Indeed, we will protect the Iranian revolution.

However, we do not accept seeing Iran occupy Iraqi land, despite the fact the brothers in Iran have been saying: We do not want to occupy Iraq but want to bring down the regime there. This is a complex matter: bringing down the regime in Iraq and occupying Iraqi land cannot be separated from each other. To bring down the regime you have to occupy the land. There is a contradiction between these two matters as stated by the Iranian revolution. It puts the Iranian revolution at an impasse: If it wants to advance to bring down the regime then it has to advance through Iraqi territory and this is tantamount to occupying Iraqi land. We will exert all our efforts to make our brothers in Iran understand that the war is senseless. It has become a threat to Iraq, Iran, the Arabs, and the Gulf. It must be stopped and all resources diverted to fighting Zionism and imperialism by the Arab and Iranian nations under the banners of Islam, under the banners of the revolution, under the banners of nationalism, or under any other banners in resisting Zionism, imperialism, and racism.

One of the issues that divided us was that of the international conference, which even divided the Palestinians. The international conference must be forgotten by the Arab masses, even if it was accepted by Arab countries. It was accepted by Arab countries but this international conference is dangerous. For example, it is a pretext for direct bilateral negotiations between Jordan and the Israelis. If Jordan and the Israelis reach agreement under the umbrella of the international conference nobody will be able to cancel this agreement. This is the idea behind the international conference, according to the U.S. and Israel explanation. It is an international umbrella which blesses direct bilateral negotiations between any Arab and Israeli party. The Palestinians might come out of it empty handed, as the Egyptian saying goes. Jordan and the Israelis might agree;

Lebanon and the Israelis might agree; Egypt and the Israelis have agreed; Syria cannot agree. They agree at the expense of the Palestinians. What will the Palestinians get? Nothing. Afterwards there can be no objection to any bilateral agreement between the Israelis and any Arab country because the international conference stipulates this. It blesses any bilateral agreement.

Stemming from this, the Jamahiriya rejects this international conference. It considers it a swindle, a danger to the [Palestinian] cause. The Arab masses should fight against it. This international conference has created a rift between the Arabs and has divided the Palestinians vis-a-vis the Israelis and with regard to their cause. Embarking from this, I should air my opinion regarding the international conference and explain it to the Arab masses. As for the Libyan masses inside the people's congresses, I know that they know it.

Among the issues that have divided the Arabs is the issue of the Western Sahara. I am in a better position than others to talk about the Sahara issue because the Polisario was established by us in 1972. It was us who trained it and armed it to expel Spanish colonialism from Saquiya Hamra and Oued Eddahab. We did not arm it so it would establish a state, we did not tell it to join or not join Mauritania, Algeria, or Morocco, or to liberate this Arab land from Spanish colonialism. As well as being a danger facing the Arab nation, I see the war in the Sahara squandering Arab capabilities. I know there are 80,000 Moroccan soldiers involved in continuous fighting against the revolutionaries of Saquiya Hamra; brothers fighting one another. Is it not possible to spare 80,000 Moroccan soldiers from this fighting and to transfer them to the real front to confront Zionism? Is it not possible to transfer the Polisario revolutionaries to liberate the occupied Arab homeland? Consequently, there should be an Arab and Maghreb action — Maghreb in the sense of the Maghreb states, of which we are part — to find a solution to this problem. I do not want to go into details.

On the Palestinian rift, a Palestinian told me that the rift cannot be blamed on the international conference alone. The fundamental cause is either capitulation or struggle. It is simple. We go to Yasir 'Arafat and ask him: Do you want to give up or keep up the struggle? If he says I want to capitulate, we will leave him; if he says to fight on, we will take him with us. I do not believe there is a Palestinian who would say I will give up the armed struggle and give up the gun. To realize something tangible regarding these issues I call for a conference of Arab parties that are in power to be held in the Jamahiriya. It would include these pan-Arab issues in its program. I also call on Arab opposition — the recognized and legitimate opposition, the so-called legitimate and constitutional opposition — to hold a conference of Arab opposition so it could be a pressure force on the political regimes in power to include, in its opposition programs, these pan-Arab causes. I am relying on the Lebanese national movement and the Palestinian resistance to play a decisive role because they are among the effective and free forces having no ruler or controller to oppress them.

With regard to Chad, I am not happy, like all Libyans, that Chadians should die in the hundreds every day as a result of Libyan air raids. Every day hundreds of Chadians are killed and

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injured. I consider it against my scruples and against my ethics. I have not come to fight the Chadian people; there is no problem between Chadians and Libyans. It revolves around our common history, common land. Even if it is said that Aozou is Chadian, for the sake of argument, this means that Ndjama is Libyan; we cannot put a dividing border from the demographic aspect between Libya and Chad. Suffice it to say we taught Habre in our schools for free and all the African presidents did not know this; they were surprised. They were surprised when I told them Hissein Habre graduated from (?Al-Afar) for free. We taught him and his brothers for free and we armed him when he was in Frolinat. We used to be his allies because he was a member of Frolinat, because we were allies of Frolinat, the national movement of the Chadian people.

How did matters reach this extent? The United States. The United States is not interested in Habre or Goukouni or Chad or the Chadian people. The United States wants Chadians to die for the sake of its orders. The United States wants to fight us from Chad. It fought us from the north and failed and now fights us from the south. After it has failed and has been defeated in Aozou, we will await U.S. threats in the coming days. Consequently, prepare for the confrontation. Everyone who is absent from his unit should return. I salute all soldiers whose circumstances caused them to leave their units and who returned immediately. Subsequently I issued an order [applause] — they deserve your proper applause, they have conscience and patriotism — I issued an order to pardon them and not to try them for the period of their absence because they had compelling circumstances, but when the matter became serious they immediately joined their units. I salute them, instead of punishing them, and I urge everyone who is absent from his unit to return to it and I pardon him because the Libyan Army is a huge army, consisting of 140,000 soldiers. With this size, when thousands go absent, it is like a few in a regiment. Subsequently, all those absent should return at these decisive moments to confront the United States. He who stays with his wife, mother, sister, and neighbors, deserting his unit, has no conscience, no patriotism, and no virility.

I say, dear brothers, in relation to Chad, we should have been a support for Chad, a help for Chad, and I would have liked to have seen the Libyan aircraft carrying foodstuffs and medicine, not tons of destructive bombs for the Chadians. But, dear brothers, our forces were in Tibesti. I withdrew them back inside international borders. Last March I halted the continuous strafing of Chadian regions. We believed this was enough to make Chad attend to its wounds and reconsider its aggressive policy towards its Libyan brothers and not become a toy in the hands of imperialism. But we were surprised with the aggression against us inside our territories, inside our international borders. When they entered Aozou we did not get angry; rather we laughed and behaved calmly, with the calm of someone with self-confidence. We did not drop bombs on them; rather we dropped leaflets urging them to surrender and return safely to their families. We told them the one who made them enter Aozou wanted their death and destruction and wanted to turn their children into orphans and banish their families.

Our aircraft dropped leaflets over Aozou, and we told them in the name of sacred month [in which fighting is forbidden] and in the name of Friday, and in the name of Islam, which Habre did

not respect, spare us the fighting between Muslims in the sacred months. We asked them to return from whence they came or surrender, because we have no desire to kill you en masse, because we are capable of crushing you. He told them that anyone entering the Aozou mosque is safe. We tried twice — which they called a Libyan attack, a failed Libyan attack — twice we tried to test their pulse. We sent groups to them in order to reach an understanding. Were they prepared to fight or had they responded to these leaflets? They took the group we sent; and they said we took prisoners. In addition to that group, they surprised a village which felt secure. They surprised the villagers, who were Toubou, and took them prisoner. Habre hates the Toubou, so they massacred them and took the rest away.

So far, their fate is unknown in Tibesti. They were relatives of (Goukin) and the (Goukin) tribe. When we realized that they did not want to surrender, and out of our respect for the prohibited months [months in which fighting is prohibited in Islam], out of our respect for Islam and our desire not to shed the blood of the brothers and neighbors, we submitted the matter to the OAU and notified the UN Security Council. We gave them an opportunity to go. We kept calm while they stayed in Aozou and acted as though we were not in Aozou. We waited to see what the OAU chairman was going to do, what Algeria was going to do, and what the other countries were going to do. When we realized that the matter involved greediness and that Habre was forced by the United States to attack Libya and stay there, we issued our orders to march on Aozou. In less than 2 hours, these bands were destroyed and the whole of Aozou retrieved. We brought the journalists to see this. We expressed our regret at the destruction caused to Aozou and to the remnants of the Chadians who died of thirst and those who were lost and are still roaming astray on their way to Chad. There were more who died as from their wounds or thirst than died from our bombs. We are sorry for this fate which Ndjama handed them. Who governs Ndjama now? It is the United States and France.

We were able, even using volunteers from any tribe, to march on Aozou and dismantle it wall by wall — and not even by the armed forces. We are capable of disarming the whole of Chad and marching on it and handing it to anyone we like, if we want. But we want to march on Palestine and on imperialism. We do not want to march on Chad. Chad is a neighboring country. It is the most impoverished African country. We do not feel proud in scoring a victory over Chad.

What is the value of Chad? If Chad were alone, it would be a picnic. This is the first time we have swept across the whole of Chad and arrived at Ndjama...[changes thought] This is not the first time. We have swept on to Faya and Tibesti four times. If Chad were alone, it would pose no problem. If the United States and France believe that they can frighten us, when matters become serious, by God, we will occupy the whole of Chad — we are not afraid of the United States or France. We accept confrontation with them in this desert and these mountains. A raspberry to them. [chants]

But, brothers, I would have liked to see the Chadian people and the Libyan people ally themselves against poverty, against backwardness, against imperialism, and against racism in South Africa — which we must fight — and support for Namibia. The

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Libyans and the Chadians must fight side by side in Palestine, in Namibia, and in South Africa.

Chad's interests lie in its alliance with Libya. The fate of Chad will always be dependent on Libya's attitude toward it and not on the attitude of the United States or France. The United States would sacrifice everyone and go. It recognizes no friend. The same applies to France. France has no desire to get embroiled — and it is embroiled against its own will in Chad.

If the Hebrew [play on the name of Habre in Arabic] has involved himself with the United States and France because of Libya, then Libya assures him of his safety. He knows that when Libya wants to do something, it does it — when it wanted to expel him from Faya it did so. When we wanted to expel him from Ndjamen, we did so and handed it to Goukouni. When we wanted to return him to Chad, we withdrew and told him come back, there is nobody in Chad. So he entered it. We handed him Abeche and the other regions. He knows that he only managed to get to power because our forces left these positions to him. Thus his departure from power, his return to power, his education and his life — all are owed to Libya. His family is in Ajdabia and Kufrah.

In fact, the war between Libya and Chad is a filthy war. Libya must be a prop to Chad and to the peoples. Libya could be a prop to the poor peoples such as the Chadian people. Libya must not fight in Africa but in South Africa. It must fight in Palestine, in the Mediterranean, and on the side of the peoples of Latin America. Libya is a base for the world popular revolution. Libya is an international platform for all the forces fighting imperialism and reaction and Zionism and racism and fascism. All the fighting forces in the world have their headquarters in Libya and their command is Libya.

If Chad fights imperialism, if the Hebrew fights against imperialism, then he should become a member of the international platform. The Hebrew should be, and he ought to have been, the best student of the third universal theory. He should have been one of the supporters of the Green 1st September — particularly as he had stated that he felt optimistic about the Green 1st September. He should have been a student of the third universal theory, if he was truly a patriot. But if there are trickeries, whether or not because of the United States, then we will allow no playing with fire. We can stage a march with no parallel and establish peace once and for all in Chad and strip every Chadian of his gun. By God, we would strip them of knives, if we so wished. [chants] No Chadian from the north to the south, or from the east to the west, would be able to carry a knife, if we so wished. [chants]

We will do all this if we feel that there is some trifling and flouting, or if we feel that there is an imperialist power bringing pressure to bear on Chad in order to fight Libya. [chants]

When Chad becomes a base for aggression against Libya through the influence of imperialism, and when the United States and the imperialist forces are present in it, at that time Libya will not enter the battle alone. It will call upon all the forces in the international platform and the forces of the pan-Arab Revolutionary Command to fight alongside it in Tibesti, in the Sahara, and in the forests area, because it will become a confront-

ation between the anti-imperialist forces in the world and imperialism in Chad.

However, there is a chance. If they opt for peace, then you opt for peace again. There is a chance for 'Ibri. First, as to his problem with Goukouni, Acheikh ibn Oumar [Neo-GUNT president] and Mahamat Abba Said [secretary general of the Supreme Revolutionary Council Permanent Secretariat] and all the Frolinat groups, we cannot solve it. The civil war will continue between him and them and Chad's tribes, religions, languages, and various groups. Chad does not constitute one single state, but a group of races — Arab, Toubou, (Gar'ani) Negro, Muslims, Christians, pagans, mutinous Hadjarai tribes in the center. French planes are bombing them now. Driss Miskin [not further identified] was killed; his tribes want to avenge his death. The Zaghawa, along Chad's border with Sudan, have mutinied, and the south has mutinied. There is fighting in the south. Toubou tribes mutinied, and the Arabs mutinied. They constitute one-third of Chad. Chad is not a single state. But we would like to help it dress its wounds and realize its national unity.

We cannot solve the ethnic or religious problem or the civil war in Chad. But we can, along with other African states, apply pressure in order to realize a national reconciliation between Goukouni, Acheikh Ibn Oumar, Mahamat Abba Said, and the rest of these leaders and 'Ibri. We wish that tomorrow Goukouni and his brothers could enter Ndjamen and reconcile with 'Ibri and form a joint government. Then this problem would come to an end. We do not want this country to be in turmoil along our border.

Aggression against Aozou in Libyan territory is a game that will lead to regret. The United States cannot go to the rescue of the soldiers who were killed or those who are roaming without anywhere to go. The United States cannot. We tried it. We want to explain to them that the United States cannot come to the rescue. Libya is the one that can benefit or harm you.

Generally, I am not happy to strike the Chadians. They are poor people; they are brothers and neighbors. We have no desire whatsoever to fight in Chad. We want to engage in a war to liberate Palestine, liberate Jerusalem, in South Africa, in Namibia, and in the Mediterranean against U.S. imperialism.

But today, we are exercising only self-defense. If we struck Ndjamen, Taya, or wherever in Chad, before the world it is clear that we are repelling an aggression against our international borders. Any action we undertake inside Chad is within the right of self-defense according to Article 51 of the UN Charter, because we are aborting a hostile action against our border. There are some designs which are declared along our borders, and it is an attempt to occupy our territory. The Libyan is now in a legitimate state of self-defense when he attacks any place in Chad. But we do not have any desire, in actual fact, from the standpoint of conscience, to strike Chad.

They are sacrificing Chadians mercilessly; they are being thrown into the fire, into a hell. Those we have captured in Aozou admitted that they had no desire to fight Libya, but they were threatened with death; he who does not fight a Libyan is killed. They said: We have been forced to fight Libya. We are with

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Libya, which is resisting imperialism. Libya which stands alongside Africa and wants the liberation of Africa and the unification of Africa. Libya is feeding 12 million African children.

The United States has not done this. The United States sends weapons to Chad so that Chadians die; so that we will fight each other. Who creates border problems? France and Italy. Imagine, the French and Italian colonialists left us with a border problem and left us fighting each other while they laugh at us — they want to intervene to solve the problem. They caused the problem. Look who created the problem between African states, or at least between Libya and Chad — Italy and France — not Chadians or Libyans. There are no borders between Chadians and Libyans in either Aozou, or Faya or Ndjama or Kufrah or Jdabiyah. They are two peoples intermingled and they will remain so despite the agents, despite the United States and despite France. Those who created the borders are France and Italy — now they pretend that they are worried and wonder how a war could erupt between the two neighboring countries — they were the ones who waged the war. In reality, there is no hostility between Chadians and Libyans; Chadian people are my brothers. In their capacity as Muslims I am their Imam, because Islam came to them from us, from our people to Chad. We taught them Islam; therefore, we are their Imams. I am the Imam of the Chadian Muslims of Tougou and (Gouran) and others and hence I do not fight them — they pray behind me — they do not fight me nor do I fight them. The one who will go to heaven is the one who fights the United States, this satan. We should prepare ourselves to fight the United States when it comes to us — we should be awaiting the United States, and so would the fish in the Mediterranean. You should prepare yourselves, really, and implement all the rules which call for the comprehensive mobilization of our fighting forces during the coming days, because from now on, compulsory service in the military; general military training; militarization; production; Jamahirir; collective ownership; partners, not wage-earners — all these theories should be implemented, all these visions which bring out the best of the capabilities and potentials, which mobilize the economic and moral force, require a moral spirit which will enable us to build up the material force to confront the United States. The United States will threaten you during the coming days because it has been defeated in Chad.

Hence, the war is not between us and the Chadians, and I have no desire whatsoever to fight the Chadians, who are poor and weak. If they do not approach our borders and if the imperialist forces withdraw from Chad, Libya will promise that its forces will not enter Chad; Libya will contribute to the reconciliation between the Chadians — there will be no problem. However, if anybody wants to commit suicide he is welcome to do so: If he wants to dig his own grave with his own hands we will not stop him from doing so — we will advise him and tell him not to dig his grave. But if he insists, we will bury him in it.

I would like to state that France has no reason to show animosity toward Libya. On the contrary, there are great interests which relate to Libya and France — more interests than with Chad — economic interests. France has no desire to create hostility against the Arab nation, particularly with Libya which is an effective force in the Arab nation, and which decides the fate of

the Arab future, around whom Arab and Africa's revolutionaries rally. Consequently, France does not want any hostility with Libya — I wanted to stress this to you. Its presence in Chad is a symbolic one, because Habre was the one who requested that France come and protect him in Ndjama, because he cannot rule in Ndjama for even a single month without the presence of French troops. It is a known fact. Why are they present in Ndjama? Because he can only rule Ndjama with the assistance of French forces. Alright, let's reconcile him with Goukouni, Acheikh ibn Oumar, and these people so that they can govern among themselves without any French or Libyan forces.

We have no desire to dispatch any Libyan forces to Chad, even at Chad's request. What do our forces do in this distant desert and these distant places? Our sons are away from their families, relatives, and country. We have enough desert, enough mountains, and enough sunshine. We do not need any of Chad's desert, or mountains or sun; we have no need for it. We have no colonialist ambitions in Chad at all. We would like to put an end to this game. He should understand that the United States cannot rescue him [Habre] from revenge; but if they want peace, so be it. We have with us revolutionaries from Africa: The war is not between Arabs and Africans; it is between imperialist forces and African forces. Here is Museveni, Uganda's president; here is Rawlings, Ghana's president; here is Dr Taj al-Din, member of Sudan's State Council. Let them convey my words to the OAU, Chad, Algeria or any country. Let them say that Libya is forced to fight in Chad, it is compelled to kill Chadians en masse — hundreds of Chadians are killed daily because of air raids. Libya is compelled to kill the Chadians en masse — hundreds are falling as a result of the air strikes every day. It is compelled. It is not Libya's conviction to do this. Libya wants to help the Chadian people and fight alongside them and be their ally. Chad could have entered the Arab-African Union [between Libya and Morocco].

We are pained to see hundreds of thousands of black workers from our continent — from southern Africa — being dismissed from their jobs and being trampled under foot and getting killed under the feet of the racist whites. We are pained to see our people in southern Africa and Namibia being subjected to racist aggression. It is neither beneficial nor justified for the Libyans to fight the Chadians. This is stupidity. It is no different from the stupidity of Iranians fighting Iraqis now. I say this even if I disagree with all the people. You know that there are many people who support Iran against Iraq — many people among the Arabs who support Iran against Iraq — many Arabs and non-Arabs are adopting a revolutionary stance. But I consider the fighting stupid. I consider it stupid. The war between the Libyans and the Chadians is stupid too. But if the fighting between the Libyans and the Chadians entails a ploy designed against your border and entails U.S. instigation of Chad against Libya, then you should prepare to advance on Chad, even with 100,000 Libyans, to strip Chad of every weapon, even knives. You should bear this in mind. [applause]

We should also get ready to confront the United States. If the United States would leave us alone from the north and south, then we would only want to achieve Arab unity and live in peace, farming our plantations and building our factories. War is hated. God Almighty said: You must fight even though you hate

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fighting. But perhaps you can hate something that is for your own good. A war imposed on us may be for our own good because this war will enable us to exploit our capabilities and defeat our enemies and achieve heroism and unite the nation. This war may lead to the realization of some transformations that the enemy does not want. But when the enemy carries out an aggression on us, historic events take place beyond our control which makes us reach the apex and render us triumphant. Then the enemy will regret having given us an opportunity for victory and immortality and a chance to exploit our capabilities.

The United States may regret this as it did in Lebanon. In Lebanon the United States' actions led to the creation of capabilities for martyrdom — unlimited capabilities for martyrdom in Lebanon. Girls were coming forward ready for martyrdom, such as Sana' [not further identified] for the sake of killing scores of Zionists. This would not have happened had it not been for the U.S. aggression. A 12-year-old child, a 12-year-old Arab child, detonated himself and the car he was in in order to kill 300 U.S. soldiers. The United States was frightened by a 12-year-old child. The United States was frightened and did not return to Lebanon; it will never return to Lebanon. Another 14-year-old child detonated himself and the car he was in, to kill 300 French soldiers; France left Lebanon. Italy and all the Western states left Lebanon. The United States was frightened by a 12-year-old child because he preferred to be a martyr in return for killing 300 U.S. Marines. With such examples we will triumph over the United States and make it a paper tiger — a cowardly force. But the United States may fight us and regret fighting us because it transformed the 12-year-old child into a martyr who kills hundreds. The United States may carry out an aggression against Libya, but it will regret it. We notify the Mediterranean peoples that if there is any aggression against Libya — although the last time we accepted the mediation of some people — this time we will totally destroy the Mediterranean. God willing, we will plant mines in the Mediterranean so that no ship will pass safely through the Mediterranean. On top of my head and the heads of my enemies, O God! This will be our slogan then. Our African revolutionary brothers, who are dear to us and who regard the great 1 September revolution as their own: Prior to his assumption of power, Museveni used to be with us here. We used to lead the revolution together in Uganda daily and his revolutionaries were trained here in Libya. Before you heard of him, and before he assumed power, Rawlings used to be here with me at the house of Dr 'Ali al-Turayki [Libyan permanent representative to the UN] and in the People's Palace, and we used to prepare for the revolution in Ghana. These revolutionaries triumphed, praise be to God. If Habre is within the nationalist rank, let him join these revolutionaries. I charge these African revolutionaries with the duty of conveying this advice before it is too late and before one regrets what one has done. With them they have Taj al-Din [Chairman of the Sudanese State Council. [sentence as heard]

Even so, our finger should be on the trigger, from Aozou to Mesa'id, to the Gulf of Sidra. You should never feel arrogant. The enemy will only respect you if he fears you. Peace cannot be realized unless there is force. You should all become commandos, like the brave commanders who dived like hawks on the mountains of Aozou. [applause] You should all become eagles of the sky. You should all become advancing forces, like the forces who advanced on the (Wadi Thanwah). All establishments which are

under arms should sing, dance, train and fight; all factories should work all shifts; all Libyans, males and females, should increase production and raise their heads up high. They should switch on the lights and cheer. You should dance, sing, and fight.

Glory for the great Arab nation. [cheers] Glory for the martyrs. Immortality for the martyrs. Victory for the revolution. Death to the United States. Death to the...[Al-Qadhafi's voice drowned out by cheers] cowardly lackeys. Life is bestowed by God on the brave. Those who die while on the run are lesser men than those who die standing their ground. Do not flee. Forward, forward. Let fear defeat the United States. Let fear kill...[Al-Qadhafi's voice drowned out by cheering] the United States. Do not belittle the United States. Let us be allies with the international revolution. Let us be allies with...[Al-Qadhafi's voice drowned out by cheering]. Let us be allies with the socialist camp and the progressive forces. Let us be allies of the peoples looking forward to freedom.

Let us be allies of Uganda. Let us be allies of Ghana. Let us be allies of Burkina Faso...[Al-Qadhafi's voice drowned out by cheers] within this delegation. Our brother, friend and colleague, our brother Sankara, whom we also charge with the task which we entrusted to the African revolutionaries.

We are the international center and the command of the international revolution. We are the base of the international popular revolution. All nations look to Libya. All revolutionaries derive their morale from Libya. Libya should shoulder its historic responsibility vis-a-vis the Arab nation and Africa and the international revolution.

Forward, the struggle continues.

JANA Editor Denies Shelling of Chadian Territory *LD021955 Tripoli JANA in Arabic 1900 GMT 2 Sep 87*

[Text] Tripoli, 2 Aug (JANA) — Some Western information organs today carried a statement made by Habre's ambassador in Paris in which he alleged that Jamahiriya yesterday shelled a position inside Chadian territory.

JANA's military affairs editor has commented on these allegations, asserting: On Monday, the General Command of the Libyan Arab Armed Forces issued an order to halt raids inside Chadian territory on the anniversary of the great Al-Fatih revolution. Such an order was made voluntarily; it was not forced upon us by anyone because no one can do that.

The editor continued: We are still abiding by our decision. However, we would like to point out what the 'Abre [Arabic word meaning the Jew — reference to Habre] radio has been broadcasting; namely, that the Government of Ndjama is massing its forces to attack the Libyan Arab forces. This is a matter which will prompt us to implement what we have already said: If it became obvious that Chad was going to benefit militarily from the Great Jamahiriya's decision to halt air raids on Chadian territory, the Great Jamahiriya would reserve its legitimate right to self-defense and would resume hitting the enemy's forces, wherever they may be.