

# A CRITIQUE OF THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT

by Col. Muammar Qaddafi

I came to congratulate those freedom fighters who were trained in their second home, Libya, and to congratulate the people of Zimbabwe under the leadership of Robert Mugabe. A lesson should be drawn from this, namely that colonialism is doomed regardless of its duration or the different forms and names it assumes.

I also came to meet with the Southern African freedom fighters, these militant active forces in South Africa under the leadership of the African National Congress (ANC). We met with them and charted the plans conclusive to the escalation of the fight for the liberation of South Africa.

I came to them to put the capabilities of the great Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya at the disposal of our African people in South Africa. I declare from this rostrum that Libya opens its camps, depots and arsenals for the South African freedom fighters, to arm them and revolutionary forces in South Africa which counter racist colonialist tyranny.

We also open our camps and arsenal to freedom fighters in Western Africa, Namibia, Palestine, and Central and South America.

Libya, despite the continual threat posed by the biggest power on our planet, will not give in an inch, will not back down on defending the cause of freedom in every part of the world. Libya will not give in to the brutal U.S. threat. We resist it courageously.

## TRAITORS TO NON-ALIGNMENT

Up to this very hour three U.S. aircraft carriers, more than 150 warships and

tens of thousands of American troops are confronting the Libyan shores. This build-up will not make Libya go back on mounting the liberation struggle with all the forces of freedom the world over until the final liberation of peoples and total elimination of colonialism...

I have not come here before the Non-Aligned Movement because I believe that there is no validity to this Movement. I am sure that a number of representatives in this hall are not with their peoples, nor are they with the cause of freedom. I stated in Colombo that I will expose this Movement in the next conference. Now the time has come.

We cannot deceive our peoples and ourselves assuming that all the members of the Movement are non-aligned or side with us against imperialism. In this very hall we have among us notorious agents and dirty spies of imperialism, Zionism and racism. Those who recognize Israel are enemies of this Movement, of the cause of freedom and the drive for liberation.

I did not come to desecrate myself and undermine my standing before the revolutionaries of the world, by sitting beside the presidents of Zaire, Cameroon, or Ivory Coast. It is unbecoming for a revolutionary like myself to sit with those traitors and spies who recognize Israel.

## ISRAEL AND SOUTH AFRICA: CATSPA OF IMPERIALISM

Would it be acceptable that one of us recognize apartheid in South Africa? Would it be acceptable that the Arabs recognize racism in South Africa because there are Africans who recognize Israel? We will never recognize racism in South Africa. The struggle against racism in South Africa is part of our very existence.

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What do we say about traitors who recognize Israel and South Africa? Israel and South Africa are the catspaw of imperialism. Both are the spearhead and mainstay of imperialism in Africa and the Middle East. South Africa is the dirty leg of the U.S. while Israel is its other one.

What demagoguery is this? How can we say that we fight against South Africa and at the same time recognize Israel? My country would rather withdraw from this Movement since it harbors spies and traitors who recognize racism.

I shall put this before my people; submit it to the popular committees. Power in Libya is not in my hands. It is in the hands of popular congresses and committees. Libya adopts a popular system based upon the power of the masses. Libya has reached the final stage of the struggle to achieve democracy, has surpassed the stage of the republic, and reached that of the Jamahiriya.

When my country suffered brutal barbarous aggression and my family was exposed to death at the hands of the biggest power on earth, what did this Movement do? I do not underestimate either the declarations issued at the time or the stances taken by some member countries. However, I talk here about the military and material aspects.

#### **WESTERN SOLIDARITY**

On the 14th of April, the eve of the U.S. raid, Libya attacked Lampedusa Island to the south of Italy and destroyed a telecommunications station used by the U.S. 6th fleet. I received an ultimatum from the Western European countries, that they would display solidarity in defending one another and consider any aggression against any one of them as aggression committed against them all.

Should a war break out between Libya and Italy, all Western European countries will take part in the war against Libya, despite the fact that Libya is a small country and they are big powers. This came at a time when we were engaged in fighting against the U.S. in collaboration with Israel and Egypt.

I want to say that when an aggression is committed against Nicaragua, Libya or Zim-

babwe, the aggressor should realize that 50 or a hundred countries will carry arms in the battle. Unless this is achieved, our gathering has no significance.

This forum brings together honest men side by side with spies. Would it be conceivable to consider Egypt a country joining our ranks in the fight for freedom? Egypt recognized Israel, collaborated with the U.S. in the aggression against Libya and permitted the nuclear aircraft carrier to cross the Suez Canal and bombard the Libyan coast.

What is this deception we are engaged in on the international arena? I will never deceive third world masses and peoples, if there is a third world. I do not believe in the existence of a first, second and third world. There is rather a liberation camp and an imperialist one. I pledge from this rostrum that from now onwards I shall relentlessly work for dividing the world into two camps only: one for liberation and the other of imperialism.

#### **REACTIONARY CLIQUE**

When I say that I shall divide the world into two camps, some may think I mean that the forces of the liberation among us would join the Warsaw Pact, while the reactionary clique would join the NATO. This is not my intention.

The reactionary clique is already in the service of NATO without any need to declare its affiliation. The most dangerous risk to which this Movement and the cause of liberation are exposed is the presence of this clique in this hall.

Can we consider Egypt a country that supports the cause of liberation at a time when it surrendered all its territory to the U.S.? U.S. aggression against Libya was rehearsed upon Egyptian soil.

At this moment there are 150 U.S. warships and three aircraft carriers conducting military maneuvers jointly with Egyptian forces. Land, air and sea operations were conducted to occupy the coast. This means that the maneuvers staged in Egypt will be carried out on the Libyan coast.

How can we accept the presence of this country in our ranks? What is the significance of this gathering? The puppets of imperialism

and reaction are primarily at the service of their patrons. However, the forces of liberation in our Movement should be disengaged from the dirty forces headed by Egypt, Zaire, Cameroon, Ivory Coast and other traitors, agents and spies who are the enemies of their peoples and the liberation cause.

### **INTERNATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT**

**I** can never participate in any gathering that harbors those spies. What a degradation to those freedom fighters of Palestine, Central and Latin America and Africa. How can they sit in one and the same hall side by side with the puppets of America and racism?

I did not come to sit in this degraded place. I came to absolve myself of this gathering that harbors these spies. Forces of liberation must close ranks in one international front to fight their common enemy.

As I have already stated, some may believe that this would mean affiliation to the Warsaw Pact. However, if Libya despairs in the creation of an international front, as is the case now with regard to the effectiveness of the Non-Aligned Movement, we may join the Pact. I talk about an earthquake on the international level for the creation of a world anti-imperialist front.

The Warsaw Pact will be assimilated by this front, not the other way around. Socialist countries are in need of the alliance of liberation forces in the world in their struggle against imperialism. Imperialism is the common enemy of the Warsaw Pact and our peoples. We as small militant nations, victims of imperialism and racism, need the forces of the socialist camp.

Hence, efforts of small nations outside the Warsaw Pact will be enhanced with those of members of the Warsaw Pact. We shall not join the Warsaw Pact nor the Warsaw Pact be affiliated to us. Rather, we should become allied in one anti-imperialist front.

### **NO RESPONSE TO U.S. AGGRESSION**

**W**hen the U.S. mined the harbors of Nicaragua, what did you do? What was the reaction of this Movement? I challenge you to extract a single American mine from

the harbors of that small country that is threatened by the biggest power on earth. Would you send (Nicaragua President) Ortega a message of support? What would he do with it?

When Grenada was occupied, what did you do? I saw a name plate upon which Grenada is inscribed. Would it be possible that Grenada, an American colony, become a member of the Non-Aligned Movement? Why did not you fight for the sake of Grenada? This means that our turn would be next.

What did you do when my country fell victim of U.S. aggression, which is still pursued? We in Libya still face a strong and serious threat. Our peoples in South Africa are exterminated and the monstrous whites devour the flesh of blacks there. What did this Movement do?

At the end of this meeting we shall issue a statement in support of the struggle of the people of South Africa. The U.S. provides South Africa with arms, finances and protection. Britain provides material and moral support. You are called upon to provide material support to the members of the Movement if you wish this Movement to become viable.

Britain provided the U.S. with British bases to strike my home. This is the real alliance. I challenge any one of you to put part of its territory at the disposal of my troops so as to strike imperialist forces. Let Morocco give me Tangiers to strike the Gibraltar base. I put this challenge to Morocco, a member of this Movement.

### **ISRAEL'S ATTACK ON IRAQ**

**B**ritain provided full facilities on her island to the U.S. to enable it to strike my country. Provide the freedom fighters in South Africa with bases in all African states and volunteers to carry arms with Libya, Nicaragua, Cuba, South Africa, Namibia and Palestine.

Let Jordan or Egypt provide me with a base to hit Zionism. Tomorrow, if I am provided with a base, I will destroy the Israeli nuclear reactor that produces nuclear bombs which will annihilate the whole region. Iraq is a signatory to the nuclear arms Non-Proliferation

Treaty. In spite of this fact, Israel attacked Iraq and destroyed the reactor.

What did the U.S. do? What did the European countries do? The petty actor Reagan picked up the telephone and congratulated (Israeli Prime Minister Menachem) Begin for this act.

I put the challenge to Jordan and Egypt, both members of the Non-Aligned Movement that support the cause of liberation and take an anti-Zionist stand. Give me a base in Egypt or Jordan in order to destroy the Israeli atomic reactor which is a tool of destruction and annihilation in the Middle East. Thus, I would have had my share in destroying part of the nuclear weapons which the human race calls for elimination.

### **BASES FOR IMPERIALISM**

The territories of a large number of the members of this Movement are used as American and French bases. Their territories are bridges for rapid deployment forces that crush the march of peoples for freedom. What are these courtesies and niceties? Every three years you meet, incur expenses, suffer hardships, travel long distances, exchange smiles and then part.

What do I see? This is a case that verges on treason to the cause of freedom. I can afford to be cautious and nice on a personal level. When it comes to the cause of our peoples, the case is different, because what is at stake is the future of humanity. There is no room for courtesies.

This gathering's significance is zero. The world should be divided into two camps only. The Non-Aligned Movement must be abolished. I personally am not non-aligned when it comes to the U.S. I am totally aligned against the U.S., Israel and NATO.

The term neutrality or non-alignment means to be midway between NATO and the Warsaw Pact and midway between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. This is the origin of the term. Would you accept standing at equal distance between the Soviet Union and the U.S., NATO and the Warsaw Pact, or between the imperialist camp and the socialist one?

If the answer is in the negative, your country can no longer be a member of the Non-Aligned Movement.

What does the Non-Aligned Movement do concerning disarmament? You do not have arms. What does it do in relation to the preservation of world peace? Your voice is hardly heard vis-a-vis the giants who are capable of decision making.

### **NEUTRALITY**

No matter the magnitude of sacrifices in blood or declarations for the preservation of peace or disarmament and the destruction of nuclear weapons. This will all be of no avail. All statements and declarations will be thrown in the garbage can. By whom? By those who wield power.

India, for instance, can be a neutral country because it can produce the atomic bomb and its population represents about an eighth of mankind. It will be difficult for the U.S. or any other country to entertain the idea of assimilating India as the U.S. did with Grenada.

China possesses the nuclear bomb with a population representing one quarter of the world. It can proclaim itself neutral as it is difficult to absorb a population of one billion. However, in the case of a dwarf state like ours, it would be shameful to call it neutral.

Belgium, Luxembourg and the Netherlands were swept by Hitler's troops during the Second World War so he could encircle and occupy France. All such pygmy states will be swept by American troops as Hitler did in the past.

What benefits do we derive from this neutrality? On the contrary, when detente is achieved between the big powers, wars break out among ourselves, we members of this gathering. We are a breathing space for wars and issues. The power that desires to colonize comes to one of our countries to transform it into a colony. Those who want to try a new weapon out use us as a testing ground.

### **THE GULF WAR**

The Gulf War, which is six years old, has inflicted untold sufferings and exacted huge casualties. I do not attempt to find out the aggressor and the victim or who initiated the war because this is not the occasion.

The big powers do not launch war against one another. Yet this Movement is unable to

stop the war raging between two countries who are members of this Movement. What then is the value of this Movement when it is unable to stop this war and incapable of defending a member in case it is occupied or attacked?

Imperialism recruits spies to become members of this Movement. All Francophone countries that meet annually under the leadership of France are not independent states and constitute a fifth line inside this Movement. I do not recognize these states as sovereign countries. It is a shame to Africa to have an African gathering led by France, the colonialist country responsible for all African problems.

By the same token, members of the so-called "Commonwealth" are countries which were formerly British colonies. The term Commonwealth is a very shameful one. It means the common property of Britain; thus you are the property of Britain. Francophone is also a shameful term, meaning Franco-African. Our relationship with France is but one of colonization and problems. We are African only. The whole world talks about the question of Chad. How can we possibly condone the presence of French occupying forces in Chad and call upon Libya not to intervene while the overseas power France is left to interfere in Chad? What a reversed logic!

#### NEO-MILITARY COLONIZATION

We are confronted now with a new stage where we expect re-emergence of military colonization of our countries. The signs of this are already with us. For a big power to occupy a small country with a population of 100,000 would signify neo-colonialism, not mere economic colonization. It is rather a new form of military colonization.

When two big powers, the U.S. and Great Britain, collaborate in using the most sophisticated strategic weapons to strike a small country like Libya, we are at the threshold of a new era, that of neo-military colonization.

A superpower, the U.S., mined the harbors of a small country, Nicaragua, because Nicaragua wants to live free. What crime did Nicaragua commit that warrants this American retaliation? Is it guilty of the Vienna or Rome

incidents? It is not guilty of such incidents. Then why does the U.S. besiege Nicaragua?

The U.S. claimed that Libya stands behind the operations against American soldiers. Nicaragua did not suffer the same charge. The U.S. claimed that Libya is guilty of bombing the night club in Berlin without any evidence. In the wake of U.S. aggression, evidence to the contrary transpired, and the U.S. apologized. It did not regret the aggression but the fact that non-Libyan headquarters were responsible for the Berlin incident.

#### REACTIONARY MENTALITY

Was Grenada responsible for that incident? Did Cuba, while suffering 17 years of siege, destroy the Berlin night club? What are the Syrians, Lebanese or Palestinians guilty of? Did we cross the seas and ocean to invade these Atlantic states?

Have we produced nuclear weapons and jeopardized peace? Have we made nuclear tests? We are in our homes, peaceful, and wish only to live free. They want to enslave us.

We are countered with flagrant injustice, vis-a-vis a backward colonialist mentality that has not yet managed to reach a civilized stage. Unfortunately this backward reactionary and imperialist mentality possesses all means of destruction as a result of usurping our riches.

Consequently, I say that there is no chance whatsoever to conduct dialogue or negotiations with this criminal power. They killed our children. A 16 month-old baby was killed before my eyes. What was she guilty of? Was she guilty of terrorism?

Thirty-three aircraft, F-111 American and British bombers, were assigned to attack my house. The Non-Aligned Movement did not defend me. Allah the almighty did. The almighty foiled their mission while they were on their way to Libya. Only one squadron of the F-111 bombers reached my house supported by 30 Boeing 707's to provide them with fuel.

The aircraft took off from British bases. Thirty other fighters attacked Benghazi. They took off from the U.S. fleet escorted by 80 interceptors and five jamming aircraft used for the first time. These took off from the States and flew to the Mediterranean to cripple the

giant Libyan air defense system. This is gangsterism of unprecedented proportions.

### **COLLECTIVE DEFENSE**

**W**hen Libya struck the island of Lambadosa to destroy the telecommunications station there, Europe immediately issued an ultimatum indicating that European states would fight on the side of the Italians. What has the Movement done vis-a-vis this insane gangsterism?

How can I persuade my people to continue in this Movement when my children are killed at the hands of the troops of big allied powers? Why do not we ally ourselves for our own defense? We do not want to attack Britain or the U.S.

Hence, brothers, I base my argument upon bitter reality, deep conviction and a strong will. We have to counter these evil forces. A world front, supported by its military, economic and political forces, has to be created. If big powers are not keen on world peace, then "to hell with it," as the Egyptians say. Who installed us guardians of world peace?

Our attempts are desperate. The maximum we can undertake is to create collective defense of ourselves only. This military build-up by big powers which continues unabated aims at killing me, not as an individual but as a symbol of freedom. They do not wish someone to come to this rostrum and say what I am saying. They wanted to preempt me from exposing this false world and to direct a serious call that would terminate their ambitions.

### **NON-ALIGNMENT: A FARCE**

**T**hey now rejoice in the fact that this Movement is a world farce for more than 100 countries, a fertile soil for implanting agents and spies like those traitors in Cameroon and Egypt. It is further a breathing space for conflagrations and crises. In order to avoid friction among big powers, wars and tensions were exported to our countries. Let there be wars in Chad and in the Gulf.

The Gulf War is an imperialist conspiracy. It is aimed at the destruction of Iraq, so it will be unable to participate in the fight against the Israelis, and at crippling the Iranian revolution to render it incapable of

fighting Zionism.

The U.S. is furious at the downfall of the Shah by Iranian revolutionaries. It lost a very important sphere of influence that used to besiege the Soviet Union. It is also outraged at the presence of Chad military forces in Iraq.

The U.S. hatched all these conspiracies and aims at destroying the Iraqi military capability and the Iranian revolution. This is an imperialist plot. So long as imperialism exists, you will be incapable of terminating this war.

These acts of confrontation and gangsterism are not directed against Muammar Qaddafi the man, but against an international orientation that constitutes a great danger to imperialism. I shall never go back on my courageous confrontation with the U.S. and American allies and agents even within this Movement.

### **A WORLD ARMY**

**O**n September 1, I declared in Tripoli that I stand ready to step down and leave Libya if the U.S. persists in its arrogance. I am ready to go out of Libya and declare the formation of a world army, whose members will consist of all continents to burn earth under America's feet everywhere.

I reiterate this ultimatum here from this rostrum. We have to speedily form an army of tens of thousands on a world level. Aircraft carriers which attack our cities and strike our children will be incapable of defeating the members of this army. Intercontinental missiles deployed by the U.S. to strike my country will not be able to hit any individual fighter of this underground army anywhere.

This neo-Nazi empire, this arch satan as our brothers the Iranians call it, will be defeated by this army. I am capable of crushing it everywhere. I know full well that this army will increase in numbers day after day because all peoples deplore this satan, and all peoples are aware of this danger.

The U.S. intimidates all the peoples on this earth. You have all heard that the U.S. threatened to hit my country with cruise missiles. The U.S. is a superpower. Armed with the mere threat of using such weapons indicates another dangerous policy, namely that of state terrorism on a world wide scale.

We reject such terrorism. We shall fight against the U.S. We might not fight it with tanks and guns, for our power is unmatched to theirs. We shall put up a popular resistance. This arrogance will be washed out by popular resistance.

### U.S. INTIMIDATION

**T**he U.S. aims at defeating us psychologically and intimidating us so that we cannot resist its advances. I was the first one to be subjected to U.S. terrorist attacks mounted directly against my home, my family and my country. However this plot has failed. I have not been defeated psychologically while I am convinced that the U.S. can be defeated.

That night we downed more than 15 F-14 and F-111 fighters. The Mediterranean still spits out the corpses of American pilots and the debris of their aircraft. At the time, I declared that lights should be kept on in all Libyan towns overlooking the Mediterranean, that no blackout should be observed, and the Libyan people should dance, sing and fight to prove to the U.S. that psychological defeat is impossible.

This is what happened. I have formed a Libyan army of one million soldiers of men and women deployed in all coastal towns. We put up big posters facing the Mediterranean. The posters read, "We are waiting and so are the fish." The psychological defeat of Libya would inflict great damage to all militant forces all over the world.

The heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people had and still has a great impact on the morale of all peoples. Had Vietnam been defeated and crippled, we would have been psychologically defeated by the U.S. Had Cuba given in to the U.S. and surrendered to the 17 or 20 year siege, defeat would have been inflicted on all Latin and Central American peoples and all who are struggling against the U.S. to attain their freedom.

### INSPIRATION FOR FREEDOM

**H**owever, the heroic steadfastness of Cuba is still an inspiration for all peoples struggling against imperialism. Libya's steadfastness and its valiant people struggling against the aggression of big pow-

ers have enhanced the morale of freedom fighters such as SWAPO, ANC, and those of the Palestinian, Lebanese and Syrian peoples. This has been a great asset to all peoples struggling for freedom.

We have to unite our forces in an organization that will protect our independence. . . Non-alignment has become an obsolete term, for we are totally aligned to the anti-imperialist camp. Therefore, the only option left for us is to create a front, regardless of religious, nationalistic or geographical considerations, that is founded upon common struggle against a common enemy.

Those who wail over the present bad shape of the Non-Aligned Movement and those who deem its existence necessary, should come out with a new formula which will transform this Movement into one capable of collectively defending its members. Any aggression against one of its members will be considered an aggression mounted against all. There must be collective defense not by mere words but by action.

The first prerequisite is for all of you to sever political relations with the U.S. because it attacked one member state, Libya. You have to sever your relations with the United Kingdom (U.K.) because it transformed its island into a stationary aircraft carrier for the U.S. to launch its attack, and because of the U.K.'s alliance with the racist regime in South Africa.

We must also sever our economic and political relations with Israel and South Africa.

### SANCTIONS AGAINST LIBYA

**A**ny day now the Western European countries will meet upon an order by the U.S. representative to impose stricter punitive measures against Libya. Why should stricter sanctions be imposed upon Libya over and above the military and economic sanctions already inflicted upon it? There is no justification for that. The U.S. wants us to desist from struggling, but we have decided not to give in.

Terrorism and hijacking are alien to our traditions and our morals. We do not bomb planes. We bombed the telecommunications station on the island of Lambadosa and made no secret of it. We downed more than 15 U.S. planes, and we showed their wreckage and



the bodies of their pilots on television screens.

If we are convinced that we have to counter this empire in defense of humanity with a world army, then we will stage the most horrible terrorist acts ever and declare outright that it is my own army which did so. We will not spare a single target in our attacks as they did with our lands, sanctities and resources.

What will this Movement do? What will I say to the Libyan people upon my return? Libya will be the target of new sanctions in addition to the present economic and military siege, state terrorism levied against Libya.

The Libyan people will ask me, what have you brought back from this Movement in which we are members? Have they boycotted the U.S.? have they besieged the U.S. as it has besieged us? Are they going to fight on our side?

Are they going to defend Nicaragua? Will they side with the freedom fighters against South Africa? Are they going to take up arms together with the Palestinians?

#### END OF THE DREAM

If the replies are in the affirmative, then it would be right to defend this Movement. If the replies are in the negative, then it would be a waste of time and absurd to continue to be champions who established this Movement. However, that was a different stage.

We hold in high esteem Nehru, Nasser, Sukarno, Nkrumah and Tito. They are the forerunners of our great heritage, but this phase has ended. The relationship between Khrushchev and Tito did not resemble the one that exists now between the president of Yugoslavia and Gorbachev.

The dream entertained by Nasser, Sukarno and Nkrumah that neutrality will make them respect us, has gone. We are not going to be respected through neutrality. We shall be trodden under their feet.

I came to Zimbabwe to be close to the borders of South Africa, to boost the morale of the freedom fighters of South Africa and to meet the militants from Central America, Latin America and Africa. I have had the opportunity to speak from this rostrum to reaffirm these facts, which we will at least think of during this conference.

The ministerial conference which was to be hosted in Libya will no longer be convened there for we have stepped down since we do not believe in the validity of holding a ministerial conference for the Movement. Let North Korea or any other country host that conference.

#### LIBYA'S WITHDRAWAL FROM THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT

You are welcome to Libya as friends and brothers, but as for the Movement, I no longer believe in it unless some serious action is taken. I leave this forum pledging that unless some positive measures are adopted to protect our countries' independence, that the enemy of one will be the common enemy of all.

Agents and spies should be expelled together with the puppets of racism and Zionism, such as Israel, Egypt, Zaire, Cameroon, Ivory Coast and some of the countries that recognized Zionist racism and apartheid in South Africa. Furthermore, countries where U.S. and French military bases are installed, together with those that are still Commonwealth members, should be expelled.

I leave you saying farewell to this farcical Movement. Farewell to this international club, international demagoguery and the political hypocrisy on this level.

I raise the slogan, "The world is made up of two camps: the liberation camp and the imperialist one." There is no place for those who are neutral, nor for those who are non-aligned. We are not neutral and totally aligned against the aggressor.

My speech is not a regular statement like the others because it is action-oriented. I have a program to carry out. I shall persuade all the forces that genuinely support this Movement to join the camp I am going to form. Let us move forward. Long live the liberated. Down with imperialism, oppression, and terrorism. Long live peace. □

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