



**The Road
To
People's Authority**

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بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

In the Name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful



**THE ROAD
TO**

PEOPLE'S AUTHORITY

**A Collection of Historical
Speeches and Documents**

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Socialist Peoples Libyan Arab Jamahiriya*

Contents

- Introduction
- The first historic declaration of the Revolutionary Council
- The negotiations for the withdrawal of British forces
- The negotiations for the withdrawal of American forces.
- Departure of the last Fascist from Libya
- Extracts from the historic speech at Zwara
- Declaration on the establishment of the Authority of the People
- Separating authority from the Revolution
- Political ideals of the Great Revolution
- The political and socio-economic philosophy of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya

Dedication

- *To everyone who cherishes freedom and is ready to defend it in his own land and everywhere else in the world.*
- *To everyone who believes in Socialism and who upholds spiritual and humanitarian values.*

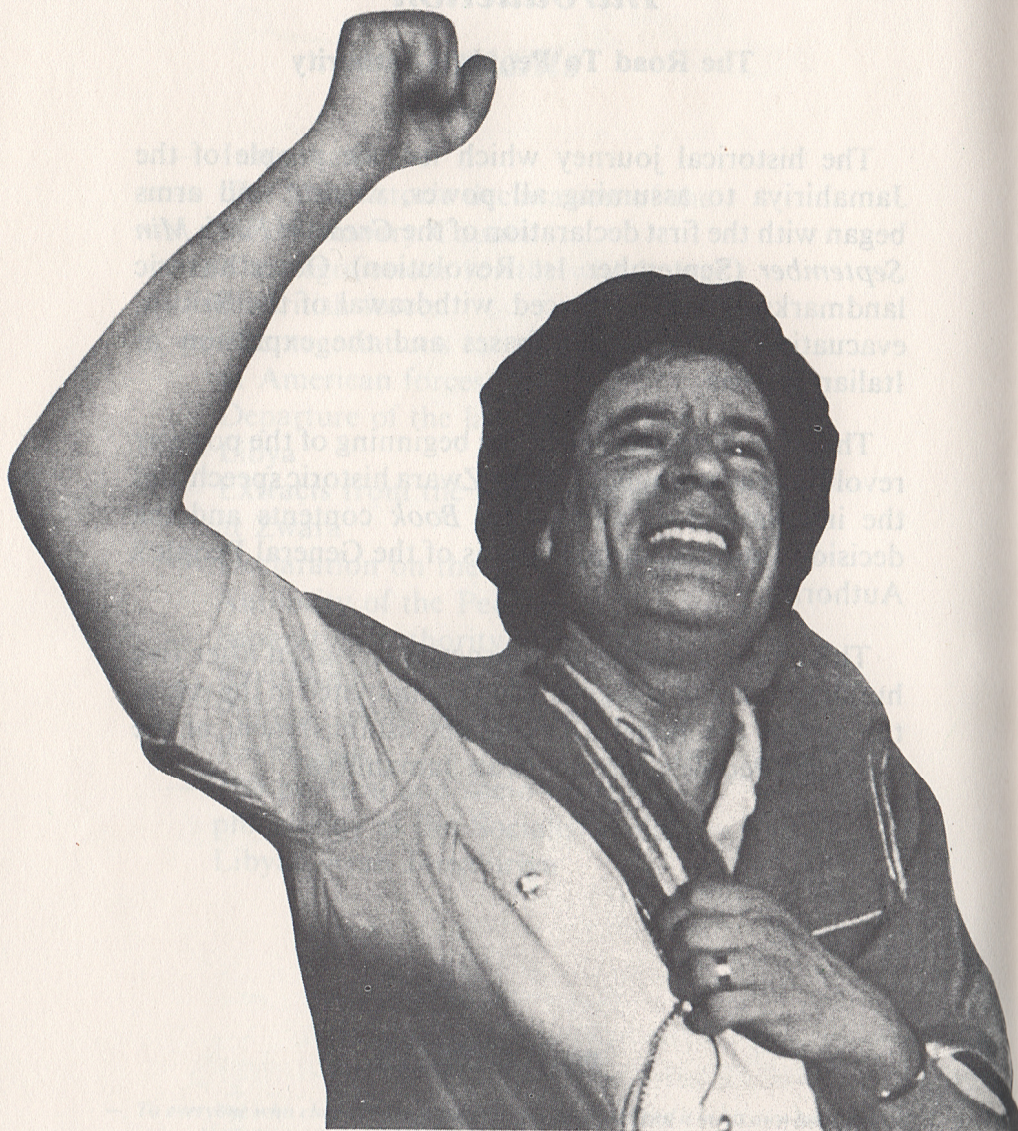
Introduction

The Road To People's Authority

The historical journey which led the people of the Jamahiriya to assuming all power, wealth, and arms began with the first declaration of the *Great Al Fatih Min September* (September 1st Revolution). Other historic landmarks were the forced withdrawal of the British, evacuation of American bases and the expulsion of Italian fascists.

The road then takes us to the beginning of the popular revolution as announced in the Zwara historic speech and the inspirations of the *Green Book* contents and the decisions and recommendations of the General People's Authority.

This is the triumphant journey undertaken after five hundred years of struggle, which culminated in the rise of the age of the Jamahiriya and the establishment of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya.



The First Statement of the Revolutionary Command Council

Reproduced below is the text of the announcement read on Radio Benghazi by Bro. Mu'ammār Qadhafi. It ushered in the Revolution. The time: 6:15 a.m. The date: September 1, 1969.

"In the Name of Allah, The Beneficent, The Merciful"

Great Libyan People:

In compliance with your free will, in realisation of your cherished aspirations and in a sincere response to your call demanding change and purging, urging for work and initiative, inciting revolt and assault, your Armed Forces have toppled the reactionary, backward and rotten regime whose stench disgusted all and whose manifestations made bodies shudder.

With one stroke of your heroic army, idols have tumbled down and were destroyed and in one of providence's fateful moments, the darkness of ages was dispersed: from the rule of the Turks, to the tyranny of the Italians to the era of reaction, bribery, intercession, favoritism, perfidy and treachery.

As of now, Libya shall be a free sovereign Republic under the name 'The Libyan Arab Republic', rising, by God's help, to work to heights, marching along the path of freedom, unity and social justice, ensuring for its

citizens the right of equality and throwing open before them the doors of honest work.

There shall be no one oppressed, deceived or wronged, no master and no slave, but free brothers in a society over which, God willing, shall flutter the banner of brotherhood and equality.

Lend your hands, open your hearts, forget your hatreds and unite against the enemy of the Arab Nation, the enemy of Islam and the enemy of humanity who burned your shrines and wrecked your honour.

And thus we shall build glory, revive a heritage and avenge a wounded dignity and a usurped right.

O! you who have shared with Omar Almukhtar a holy war (Jihad) for Libya, the Arab and Islam;

And O! you who have justly fought with Ahmed Alshareef;

O! sons of the bedouins, sons of the desert, sons of the ancient cities, sons of the pure countryside, sons of the villages. . . our beautiful beloved villages the hour of work has struck, and so let us forge ahead.

And it pleases us at this moment to reassure our foreign brothers that their property and lives shall be under the protection of the Armed Forces and that this action is not directed against a foreign state, international treaties or a recognized international law. But it is a purely internal affair concerned with Libya and its chronic problems.

Forward we go and may peace and God's mercy be with you.

*The Revolution Command Council
19 Jumada 11, 1398 H.*

(Corresponding to: September 1, 1969 A.D.)

The Negotiations on the Withdrawal of the British Forces

On Monday, December 8, 1969 (Ramadan 28, 1389 Hijra) Brother Mu'ammad Qadhafi opened the first session of negotiations on the withdrawal of the British forces from the lands of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya with a speech from which we reproduce some excerpts.

— The Libyan Arab Republic is no longer the United Libyan Kingdom, and the United Kingdom is no longer the British Empire on whose land the sun never sets. The year 1389 Hijra differs from 1373 Hijra, and 1969 A.D. is quite different from 1953 A.D.

— Foreign military occupation has been loathed and rejected since the world was created, and history tells of how all wars have been some kind of resistance to occupation and usurption.

— Pacts, friendships and cooperation between nations cannot be built by force and under the noise of war planes; that is what international law proclaims and that is what we believe.

— Libya's freedom will remain unfulfilled so long as there is one foreign soldier on its land. Freedom is the first priority of the First of September Revolution. For freedom's sake, the Libyan people fought without modern arms for a quarter of a century, against the fascist Italian invasion. The Libyan people, who inspired and urged their armed forces to the glorious First of September, refuse to stand aside before the achievement of complete sovereignty over their land after having destroyed the reactionary and backward regime.

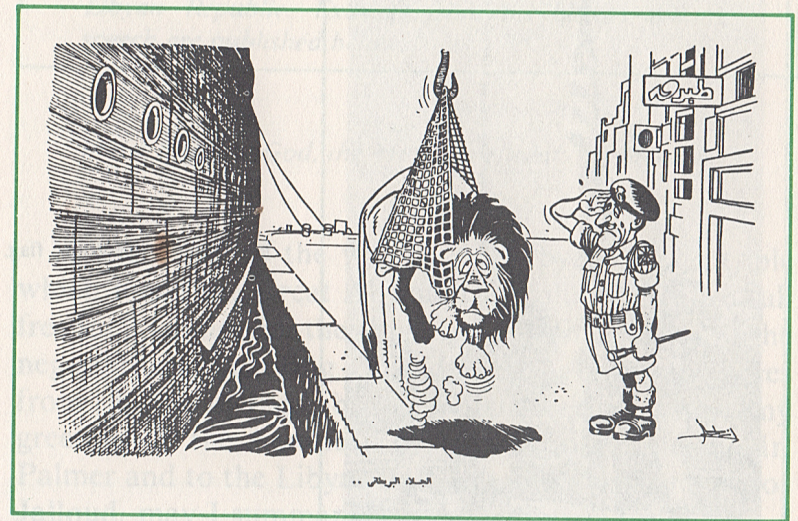
— I am certain that the English people, who have acquired great knowledge and experience from contacts with various people, appreciate and sanctify freedom and you (the negotiating delegation) represent that people.

— If it is true that the British entered Libya to help her against Italian imperialism, then it should also be true that they must withdraw now that the Libyan people, who helped them and were helped by them, tell them to do so. If this is not achieved we would be changing one imperialist for another, and one usurper for another. The English have their chance now to avoid any undesirable consequences, I am sure.

— I assert that the entry of the British forces into Libya was not only accepted but, by many, also appreciated. However, for the forces to remain here is a totally unacceptable matter.

— The Libyan Arab Republic has declared the principle of absolute positive neutrality and, therefore, there is nothing to impede the establishing of friendship and beneficial relations between the Libyan and English people, except for the existence of the British base in Libya.

— I advise the negotiators not to waste time with the legality of the matter, nor to refer to the text of the treaty, since the problem set before us today is the presence of foreign forces which occupy a part of Libya, and this has nothing to do with any treaty, whatsoever. It suffices to say that the man who signed that treaty is in exile; that the man who prepared it is under arrest; and that the constitution which licensed their actions is now in the waste paper basket.



The Libyan flag is hoisted.



On June 11, 1970, the last of the foreign flags was lowered and all foreign soldiers and sailors on the Jamahiriya's soil evacuated. Instead the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya hoisted the flags of Dignity, Freedom and Self-Respect. The will of the people and the guidance of the Leader of the Revolution have kept these flags flying high ever since.



Lowering the American flag.

The Opening Session of Negotiations for the Evacuation of American Bases in the Jamahiriya

On September 29, 1969, a bare twenty-eight days after the Revolution, Brother Qadhafi called for the evacuation of all foreign troops, the closure of all military bases and naval installations of foreigners: "Either the Revolution continues and the bases disappear or else the Revolution will disappear and the bases will continue." It was a blunt and stern notice.

On the evening of Monday, December 15, 1969 (Shawal 6, 1389 Hijra), the Leader of the Revolution, Mu'ammar Qadhafi opened the first session of the Libyan-American negotiations for the withdrawal of the American forces from American bases in the Arab Libyan Republic. Extracts from his history-making speech are published below.

In the Name of God, the Most Beneficent, the Merciful.

In the name of the will of the Libyan Arab people which made the Great Al-Fateh Revolution realize full freedom, I announce the opening of the first session of the negotiations regarding evacuation of American forces from the soil of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. With my greetings to the American delegation and its head, Mr. Palmer and to the Libyan delegation and its head Major Jalloud, may I summarize the situation as follows:

1. It is said that America is the leader of the free world. We believe that the free one is he who views as sacred the issue of freedom everywhere in the world. America should prove now how far it believes in this.

2. I wish to convey my greetings to the American people the makers of the American civilization, the conquerors of space and the pioneers of the technological age.

3. Even if the interference of British forces in Libya could be justified because of conditions prevailing at the time, the presence of the American forces has no justification whatsoever. There is no reason for their presence except treason by one of Libya's former rulers.

Whatever is concluded on the basis of fallacious hypothesis is, of course, fallacious. Wrong premises always lead to wrong conclusions.

The establishment of an American base was in no way justifiable from the very outset. How can it now be so, after the Libyan people have rejected treason and treachery on the First of September and rejected the establishment of the base on the Seventh of Shawwal 1389.

4. The Libyan Arab Jamahiriya has announced its neutrality and its nonaligned position. The existence of a military base belonging to a country which is involved in a bloody war against the Vietnamese people is contrary to our non-aligned stand.

5. We believe in a just peace, and we do not accept that our country become a launching base for aggression by Nato and the other alliances.

6. The Libyan people do not have even one single good word to say about this American base. Rather they recall

the story of the innocent girl, Moatiqah, and they also accuse the base for training zionists and attacking our sisterly Arab countries. In addition the base imposes a threat of destruction on the Libyan people because of the possible presence of the Atom bomb in it or as a result of a possible confrontation between NATO and the forces of the Warsaw Pact. The Libyan people also accuse this base of committing acts of terrorism and destruction and smuggling of a Libyan Jew in a box out of the country a long time after the occurrence of the revolution—not to mention the case of rippers guns on the issue of the Falzoon brothers.

7. Aside from all this, I thank the U.S.A. for the help it provided us in training our military, sending us experts and giving us other types of help when our people were in need.

We are a nation which forgives but never forgets.

8. Because of our desire to establish good relations with the great American people, and because of our belief that all the treaties, agreements and arrangements which came about between Libya and America as a result of the agreement on establishment of bases are entirely lacking in legality, we reject them totally now.

We therefore ask for the evacuation of the base immediately without any terms or conditions so that it becomes possible for both countries to start a fruitful relationship on the basis of friendship, equality, lack of coercion or threat of force.

9. The Libyan people, while demanding the complete evacuation of the base reserves has the right to defend itself and to exercise its freedom over its own soil. They are capable of putting under arms an army of 1½ million fighters, and Americans know well enough about the

effectiveness of a people's war and the inability of fleets and regular armies no matter how large or powerful they may be.

10. We are confident that a spirit of understanding and mutual respect is there. This confidence is further strengthened by the words Ambassador Joseph Palmer said as a representative of the American Government.



The departure of the Italian fascists from Tripoli.

An Excerpt from the Speech of Brother Mu'ammarr Al Kaddafi at the Tripoli Popular Conference Celebrating the Departure of the Last Fascist from the Libyan Land

On October 7, every year, the Libyan Arab people celebrate the anniversary of the day when the remnants of the fascist Italians were expelled from the Jamahiriya's soil.

Italians invaded the country in 1911. They were expelled on the 7th of October 1970.

In the Name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful

My Brothers,

I am addressing you on this day which is still another day of victory of the September 1st Revolution which since its birth has been accumulating triumphs, and has grown in popularity, depth and ability to foil the intrigues of its internal and external enemies. With God's help, this revolution will persevere in leading forward its people, who believe in liberty, socialism and unity. This revolution will persevere as a gigantic force destroying its enemies everywhere, and breaking the chains which have bound the Arab people in Libya for hundreds of years. My Brothers,

For four hundred and sixty years this country has been denied freedom and independence. Imperialism and the

forces of evil have, for so long, collaborated against our people, incessantly trying to defeat them, crush their will and enslave them. 460 years ago, or to be exact, in 1510 A.D., the Spanish occupied this land and attempted to colonize it and settled in it, barbarically killing and taking our people hostage. These attempts to enslave our people went on while the Libyans resisted and refused to lead a life of servitude and humiliation.

In 1530 those invaders handed our country to another group of invaders known as the Maltese Knights. History stands as a witness to what these criminals have committed in order to suppress and enslave our people. Those invaders continued to rule the country and our people continued to resist until another colonizer arrived, this time in 1551, when the Turks occupied Libya and isolated it from the rest of the world, suppressing its people and preventing it from taking part in the industrial revolution which took place at that time.

The rule of the "Sick Man", or Turkish Imperialism lingered on trying to humiliate the country and to spread superstition among its people, thus preventing it from appreciating the scientific spirit and from adopting the ways of the new era.

This period ended with yet another imperialist taking over from the Turks, namely, Fascist Italian imperialism which tyrannized our people with gallows and concentration camps everywhere in the country.

We will never forget those concentration camps and gallows in every hamlet and every town of our beloved country.

Fascist Italian imperialism attempted to colonize our land by bringing in thousands of mercenaries of the fascist scum and making them first class citizens while the Arab children of Libya were being enslaved. Our people

rebelled against this farce through which they were being replaced by intruders. As a result, our people sacrificed more than a quarter of their population during the thirty years of bitter strife they fought against the fascist Italian invasion. Our fair land was covered with the corpses and the ashes of our faithful martyrs. The tree of liberty, which we enjoy today, was given us through sacrifices and the blood of our fathers and grand fathers.

Italian imperialism kept on trying to humble this country and to settle in it, after driving the inhabitants away from the fertile land, replacing them by Italians, confiscating their property, and handing it over to the invaders. Every voice that rose demanding freedom and the withdrawal of the fascist Italian imperialism, was severely crushed. However, our people did not give in, and continued resisting in spite of the strength and of the fleets of the invading armies. For the sake of dignity, and in the name of Arabism and Islam, these people fought in order to liberate this land, using even hunting guns and swords. This went on until 1943, when Fascist Italy was defeated and this beloved land was handed over to the Allies to be divided between Britain and France and to be, one more time, under the rule of a new imperialist regime known as the British Administrative Regime.

This new camouflaged imperialism continued to rule the country intending to cheat the people into accepting this new form of rule. But the people who are known for their Arabism and their Islam, who are proud of their dignity, and who reject any form of imperialism and bondage, never ceased waiting for the opportune moment to break the chains and destroy the new imperialism of the British Administration. However, in order to contain the impending revolution against that camouflaged imperialism, they decided to deceive our

people with the myth of a counterfeited independence. They set up a king and a throne in Britain and exported it to Libya, in 1952, along with a flag that symbolizes reactionism, defeatism and backwardness. They also gave it patriotic names expecting to deceive our people and distract them, so that the imperialist and his followers could go on exploiting and enslaving our people. But our great and glorious people were not deceived, and started preparing for the day of triumph with the flame of the revolution flaring within their hearts. There were many great and brave attempts to dispense with that corrupt and reactionary monarchist regime which was supported by imperialism, and in spite of their failure, those were steps taken on the road to liberation and the revolution. The youth began to seek the road to salvation, thus paving the way for the birth of the Liberal Unification Movement of officers in the armed forces. It was incumbent on the armed forces during that period, to move forward to fulfill their sacred duty towards their people and their country, since the arms needed to face the enemy were all in their hands. Those who were ruling the country, and who were trying to humiliate this people, relied on foreign armed military bases built on Libyan land in spite of the people's will. They also relied on a sinister autocratic regime supported by Britain, America and their satellites.

When I speak of the tyrannous regime, I refer to the leaders of the security forces, the rulers of this country at that time, and their followers. The preparation for the September First Revolution continued during the sixties, and as such, it had established a deep popular movement with roots, principles and aims. The Liberal Unification officers were working, exposing themselves to danger, and aiming at the creation of a

revolution in the country and not a mere coup d'état that would be replacing a master for another master, while the people remained under the tyranny and the oppression of their rulers. The movement's aim was to destroy the chains, so that the people could be the masters, and the will of the Libyan people could prevail.

Free Brothers...

The Liberal Unification Movement of officers kept on working for a real revolution, and not a military coup. The aim of the September First Revolution was to achieve real independence for this country, along with political, economic and social freedom.

With the destruction of the reactionary dictatorship on the eve of the September First Revolution, our people destroyed the bases of the largest states, namely the bases of America and Britain. After the September First revolution, our people adhered to the revolutionary impetus in order to achieve total freedom. However, it was impossible to achieve social and economic freedom before total political freedom. This made it imperative that the foreign bases should be destroyed. And they were destroyed. Then the people directed their efforts towards the liquidation of the fascist imperialism after having discovered that there were thousands of such imperialists dominating the economy, usurping the land, and controlling trade inside and outside the country.

The real revolution and the people's free will have exposed this hidden fascist imperialism which was an army dressed in civilian attire. That was more dangerous than the military bases themselves, since it controlled everything, and spread like cancer in the body of this country. But the genuine revolution exposed this

imperialism, and our proud people rejected it. Hence, came the decision issued by the Revolutionary Council in the name of the people who stood up and demanded to settle their account with the fascist Italian imperialism. Thus, the imperialists found no other way but to leave the country where the people became sovereign. The firm revolutionary will of the people was able to settle the account with the imperialists in a short period of time, unparalleled in history. This could never have been achieved had it not been for the revolutionary will of this people.

At the time when the will was in chains, as were the people of this country, Italian imperialism was prospering. It was protected and allowed to spread in the body of our country. However, the day of the declaration of the revolutionary decision in the name of the people calling for the expulsion of fascist Italian imperialism is a great day in the history of this country. It is the day of triumph with the departure of another imperialist power that controlled this country.

What had taken place on the First of September was no more than the beginning of the Revolution; Revolution must take place in all aspects of life, Revolution in the soul; Revolution in the mind; Revolution in the field; Revolution in the street. . . Revolution everywhere. For the Revolution to be successful it must be comprehensive and all-embracing.

Bro. Muammar Qadhafi

Excerpts from The Historic Zwara Speech

On April 15, 1973 at Zwara, the Leader of the Revolution, Bro. Muammar Qadhafi delineated the basic philosophical concepts of his revolutionary theory. Implementation of this was to pave the road for the masses in Libya to assume authority, power and wealth. In his speech the Leader urged the "direct participation of the people in authority".

Reproduced below are salient features of that historic speech.

The Five Points for the Continuation of the Revolution

If we want the Revolution to continue, we have to start anew. But how?

First:

Abrogate All Laws

All laws at present should be cancelled while revolutionary work will continue to lay down new measures. The new measures will be based on laws which are compatible with what is actually taking place. This does not mean any threat to the life and security of the



people. That will never happen because we are Muslims and apply the Islamic law. If you apply the law of God, it is impossible to wrong any person or threaten his security.

Second:

To Purge the Country of the sick Persons



It is inevitable to purge the country of all sick people. Three years have gone by since the inception of the First of September Revolution, and I had forbidden the arrest of any person who stood against the people. I tried with all means not to pay attention to such persons, hoping that they might be cured naturally although they have been intriguing against the people and against the revolutionary transformation. They intrigue against the revolutionary cause in one way or another. The person who stays at home and neglects his work, and the one who is appointed to a project and shows reluctance to take up his post... those persons intrigue against the people. This is a kind of intrigue as well as a sort of hindrance to the revolutionary transformation and betrayal of the people.

We have promulgated various laws which have not been carried out for no other reason but the desire to forget and forgive the past.

What we do is different from what is taking place secretly under the Arab regimes. If we talk about Islam, it is because no other country adheres strictly to the essence

of Islam like the Libyan Arab Republic. Likewise, if we talk about progressivism, the Libyan Arab Republic is more progressive than both the East and the West. The communists themselves testified that the popular progressive rule in our country does not exist in the communist world which claims progressive, popular rule. A delegation from North Korea said on visiting us: "*Your popular, progressive rule is unique in the world. It exists neither in Korea, nor in Russia or China.*"

Third:

Freedom of the People



I think that freedom should be for all Libyan people and not for their enemies. If there are ten persons, freedom must be for nine at the expense of one and not vice-versa. This is the right rule and this is the "Shariat". One of the principles on which democracy is based all over the world is that the minority must yield to the will of the majority.

Those people whose relatives died in the aeroplane event (The Libyan civil aeroplane shot down by the Israelis) which left no less effect on us, those people started to spread rumours, curse and call bad names everywhere. The right thing for those people to do, in my opinion, is to accept the challenge. They should be trained, armed and sent to join any Arab army or front... Three or five persons can be infiltrated into Palestine. If

they want revenge, let them accept the challenge. But I know that they will not do that, for they only want to sit in cafes and spread rumours. Such logic is not accepted. I shall not allow anybody who is not able to accept the challenge to poison the people's minds.

Instructions will be given to the minister of interior to purge any group of those sick people. If a member of the Muslim Brotherhood or the Islamic Liberation Party engages in clandestine activity, his activities will be considered sabotage against the Revolution which was triggered for the people.

There are some people whom I knew and forgave what they had committed. But they will not be allowed to continue poisoning the people's minds.

Freedom should be for the oppressed masses rather than for those who look down on the people. therefore we shall distribute arms among many sectors apart from the armed forces and the popular resistance. It is for the masses that we revolted, because they were deprived of freedom for more than 400 years. Arms will be distributed among the masses who believe in the First of September Revolution. This will be a new experiment.

While regimes are usually afraid of their peoples and recruit armies and police for their protection, I, on the contrary, shall arm the Libyan masses who believe in the First of September Revolution. But whoever stands against the Revolution will not be given arms. Arms will be used against him.

The whole people will, thus, become a popular resistance. I tell you that you should not depend on the armed forces to protect the Libyan soil. Libya is only

protected when all the people carry arms and stand against any aggressor.

**Fourth:
Revolution Against
Bureaucracy**



Those who stay at home and become a barrier between the Revolution and the masses; those who leave their work if there is not a head to supervise over them; those who close the doors in the face of the citizens and put off their needs...all those belong to the bourgeois class-such a bureaucratic class necessitates the declaration of the administrative revolution. The masses whom I shall arm will destroy bureaucracy and do away with the barriers.

Every one of us is ready to carry arms, as we did on the First of September, and we are willing to take to the streets to defend the Revolution and to achieve Arab unity. We are ready to start anew so that the Revolution may continue as we planned. I do not care if all the masses become a force that destroys whatever stands in its way. I want the masses, for whom the Revolution took place, to come out victorious and be close to us.

Thus a revolution starts. Any bureaucratic person who says to any citizen, "come tomorrow", or neglects his work, should expect a man from the street to come and revolt against him. What is really important is that the masses should eventually come out victorious.

I am aware of the fact that there is an administrative organ that stands as a barrier in the face of the masses. It grows day after day. Revolution should be declared against such a structure. Accordingly whoever wants to join our march should become a revolutionary but he who stands against us will be trodden by our feet. The First of September Revolution was not triggered for the mercenaries, but for the poor and oppressed Libyan masses.

If the people's interests are lost in the offices, such offices should be destroyed for the sake of the people's interests. If those interests are threatened by the government, down with that government, and long live the people.

Fifth:



The Cultural Revolution

We declare to the whole world that the ideology of the First of September stems from the eternal message of Islam and from the Holy Quran. We are sure that we apply the sound ideology and the great humanitarian thought declared by the Prophet Mohammed, Peace be upon His soul, who took the people out of darkness and led them to the light of Faith. We adhere to the *Book of God*, as we believe that there could not be any other ideology as solemn and as profound as the *Book of God*. I do not think that there is anything more trusted by Man all over the world than the *Book of God*. That is why we

apply that Book. Any different ideology from other books is regarded as misleading.

Those who are called Beatles are sick. From where did they get the disease? From misleading and reactionary readings, be they Western or Eastern, Communism or Capitalism. The misleading reactionary readings have changed our young men into Beatles.

Those who want to stand against the revolution must be aware of the fact that the revolution will be as it was in the First of September Revolution.

This means that we can accomplish all the revolutionary projects in the shortest possible time through the working forces of the people who are really interested in the revolution. Thus, the Libyan people will be the first people in the world to have triggered a unique revolution in history to carry arms, build themselves and reorganise their life on their territory.

The masses to whom I addressed the First Statement of the Revolution will march and take over responsibility. That necessitates that you stand by the leaders of the revolution to do away with the bourgeoisie, bureaucracy and corrupt thought; to carry arms; to build factories and roads; to farm the plantations, and be ready to sacrifice everything for the revolutionary transformation. That means that the people should bear the responsibility of ruling.

Only through your efforts can all these things be achieved and the battles won. If you fail to achieve them, our main objectives will not be realized.

Rabi Alawal 12, 1393 H.

(Corresponding to April 15, 1973 A.D.)

Declaration on the Establishment of the Authority of the People

Defined in the Declaration of Authority of the People are political concepts more revolutionary than had ever been implemented in human history before.

All forms of traditional and Orthodox government ceased to function and "a new order of the people themselves becoming the only instrument of rule was born."

Three basic fundamentals are effectively stressed: The people must themselves be the only instrument of governing themselves. The people must be the possessors of their national wealth and the people must possess arms as they are the defenders of the homeland and the revolution.

"In the Name of Allah, The Beneficent, The Merciful"

The Libyan Arab People assembled in the general meeting of the People's Congresses, the People's Committees, the syndicates, the unions and the Professional Associations (The General People's Congress);

Starting from the first statement of the Revolution and



The people of the Jamahiriya exercise all authority.

the historic Zwara speech and guided by the contents of the Green Book,

Having reviewed the recommendations of the People's Congresses, the Constitutional Declaration of 2, Shawal 1389 H., corresponding to 11 December 1969 A.D., the resolutions and recommendations of the General People's Congress in its first session held between 4-17 Muharram 1396 H., corresponding to 5-18 January 1976 A.D., and in its second session, held during the period starting from 21 Zul Qida to Zul Hijja 1396 H., corresponding to 12-24 November 1976 A.D.,

Believing in what was heralded by the Great First of September Revolution, which was triggered by the revolutionary thinker and teacher-leader Colonel Muammar Qadhafi head of the Free Unionist Officers Movement, crowning the struggle of the fathers and

forefathers for establishment of the direct democracy which they see as the final and decisive solution to the problem of democracy,

Embodying the popular rule on the territory of the Great First of September Revolution, establishing the Authority of the People who alone should have the authority,

Declare their adherence to freedom and their readiness to defend it on their territory and everywhere in the world, and to protect the persecuted freedom-fighters.

Declare their adherence to socialism as a means to achieve ownership for the people and their commitment to achieving the comprehensive Arab unity.

Declare their adherence to the spiritual values to safeguard morals and human behavior, as well as affirm the march of the Revolution, under the leadership of the revolutionary thinker and teacher-leader Colonel Muammar Qadhafi, towards the complete People's Authority and the stabilization of the society, where the people are the leader and the master, in whose hands are the authority, the wealth, the arms — society of freedom, towards finally blocking the road in the face of all sorts of traditional instruments of governing, be they individual, family, tribe, sect, class, parliament, party or groups of parties.

They also declare their readiness to crush, once and for all, any attempt against the Authority of the People.

The Libyan Arab People, having regained, through the Revolution, their control over their present and future

destiny, beseeching the help of God and adhering to His Holy Book as the everlasting source of guidance and of the law of society,

Issue this declaration announcing the establishment of the Authority of the People and proclaim to the people of the world, the dawn of the “era of the masses.”

First:

The official name of Libya shall be

“The Socialist People’s Libyan Arab Jamahiriya.”

Second:

The Holy Qur’an is the law of the society in the Socialist People’s Libyan Arab Jamahiriya.

Third:

The direct People’s Authority is the basis of the political system in the Socialist People’s Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. The Authority is for the People who alone should have the authority.

The People exercise their authority through the People’s Congresses, the People’s Committees, the syndicates,, the unions, the professional associations and the General People’s Congress. The law defines their function.

Fourth:

Defense of the homeland is the responsibility of every male and female citizen. Through general military

training, the people shall be trained and armed. Law defines the method of preparing the military cadres and the general military training.

*The General People's Congress
Issued in Gahera, city of Sebha, on
12 Rabi'Awal 1397 H.,
Corresponding to March 2, 1977 A.D.*

Separation Between Authority and the Revolution

*An excerpt from the Revolutionary Manifesto of Brother
Mu'ammarr Qadhafi issued on the Ninth Anniversary of
the Great September Revolution.*

I Will Not Practise Authority

As to what personally concerns me, as the leader of this Revolution, being the one who formed the first cell in Sabha, I will not practise authority as from now, but I will be practising the revolution with the revolutionary forces, the revolutionary committees and the revolutionary groups, while the masses, alone, will practise authority.

The Role of the Revolution

When the people practise authority, opposition to authority is abolished and the revolution inherits the role of affirming the authority of the masses, of instigating the masses to practise authority, and of asserting popular authority. This is contrary to the case where the revolutionary minority practise authority, in reaction to which, the role of the masses is to oppose authority trying to destroy it, and to loathe its bearers since that is the authority of the minority. This is a natural and sound attitude of the masses.

Authority Is Solely for the Masses

From now on, authority will be entirely placed in the hands of the masses which will exercise it through the useful expediency of popular conferences and popular committees. The masses that are organized in popular conferences are then the sole source of the authority in the Socialist People's Arab Libyan Jamahiriya. The masses alone have the right to decide and to issue laws. They alone have the authority to form popular committees, beginning with local committees, up to the General Popular Committee. The masses alone have the right to select conference secretaries, beginning with basic secretaries to the General Secretary. And the masses alone have the right to dissolve these conferences and to suspend their members.

Popular authority lies in Popular Conferences. Its executive tools are the popular committees. The masses practise authority in conferences, committees and secretariats and they are the sole owners of the right to such practice. The people can select whoever they choose for the membership of secretariats, including the General Secretariat and the Secretary General. They also select the membership of popular committees, including the General Popular Committee.

From now on I, personally, will not exercise authority. Authority is for the people through popular conferences and popular committees.

My task is revolutionary... not authoritative. Authority is hated by the masses until it becomes the masses authority, which will settle the dispute. Authority is always liable to be fought against, until it is placed in the hands of the masses. It is also susceptible to deviation, and threatened by extinction, unless when it is held by all the people. I personally, will remain outside the

conferences and the secretariats, including the General Secretariat. I will remain outside the popular committees, including the General Popular Committee. I will not assume any executive, administrative or union post, but I will return to my proper and natural place which is the revolution, not authority.

Revolutionary Censorship

The masses will be urged to obliterate the mentality that existed prior to the age of the masses; this sick and rotten mentality which is unable to absorb the idea of the age of the masses nor to understand the meaning of the masses' assumption of power. This mentality which can not conceive that the masses are capable of ruling themselves and marshalling their affairs without a politician representing them.

One of the missions of the revolutionary committees will be to spot these backward mentalities, and to instigate the masses to destroy them.

We Will not Hesitate

Brothers:

It is shameful for a man to individually defend the authority he practises. It is a crime if one kills others in order to remain in power. But it is honourable to defend the authority of the people and to kill in order to make it possible for the Revolution to triumph. Therefore, we will not be ashamed when we carry our arms in the streets for the sake of the revolution, and we will never hesitate to crush any attempt that opposes the authority of the people.

No Submission Except to God

One of the most important and serious duties of

revolutionary action is to instigate the masses against the corrupt social system on which the Libyan society, and all other societies are based, and to expose its reactionary aspects, oppressive rules and exploitative practices. The masses should be instigated to rebel against such a system in order to destroy it and to build in its place a new, clean, chaste, free, progressive and socialist society in which the people are partners in wealth, authority and arms. A society where no Libyan submits to another Libyan, but all Libyans submit to God, and where all Libyans compete in getting nearer to God.

The Liberation of Human Needs

This is the new society which will not be achieved, unless all human needs are liberated from those who control them; unless the masters are defeated by the servants of the revolution, and unless firm owners, rents and wages are abolished.

The Destruction of the Society of Exploitation

The serious mission of the revolutionary committees is the revolutionary action to destroy the society of exploitation, the society of profit, of masters and slaves, the society of wages and servants, the society of class distinction and to ensure that all Libyans are equal.

Nobody will decide someone else fate and nobody will die in someone else place. Nobody will gain anything for you unless you achieve these gains yourselves, believing in your rights and in the revolution.

Revolutionary Committees

The Popular Revolutionary Tools

As of now, there will be no revolutionary individuals outside the revolutionary committees which will practise

the revolutionary action for the assertion of people's authority. The Revolutionary Committees are the tools of the popular revolution.

The future revolution will begin with individuals who have discovered, through "The Green Book", the fraudulence of modern traditional democracy and the exploitive laws of tyrannical societies. Then, and only then, will they feel the social injustice and understand the farce of modern democracy which was created by dictatorial ruling tools. They will also know, through "The Green Book" that all previous attempts have reached a dead end and can no longer advance.

The Revolution of Tomorrow

Tomorrow's revolution is the popular revolution to have authority assumed by the masses, instigated by revolutionary committees formed from individuals who have discovered, through "The Green Book", the political, economic and social reality of modern human societies.

The mission of popular committees is instigatory. They instigate the masses to rebel and grab the authority, thus destroying the ruling tool, be it a party, a parliament, or a traditional reactionary tool such as the tribe, the family, the sect or the class.

Popular committees are not to practise authority when the revolution succeeds and the masses seize power. They should continue instigating the masses to practise authority and to affirm peoples authority.

If the revolutionary committees practise authority, they will turn into a traditional dictatorial tool ruling in the name of the masses, like all modern dictatorial tools which are bound to be abolished with the rise of the age of the masses and the arrival of the people at the position of

power.

The masses that are thirsty for political and social freedom are ready for the revolution and can be easily instigated by the revolutionary committees to rebel. The mission of the revolutionary committees when their instigations bear fruit, is to organize these masses into popular conferences and popular committees, preparing them to assume complete authority after the success of the popular revolution.

This is the first time ever in the world, when revolutionary organizations that do not practise power are formed, confirming thus, the historic significance of the great September First Revolution, as well as, its honesty. Revolutionary committees will practise revolutionary action and will help and instigate the masses to assume authority. They will also carry out revolutionary censorship, which differs from administrative censorship, simply because it is revolutionary.

The most serious and most important duty of the revolutionary committees, is to instigate the masses to rebel, since the people will not have the power, the wealth and the arms in their hands without being induced to rebel. Once the revolution succeeds, and the people assume authority, the revolutionary committees will remain the honest instigators of the masses until these masses achieve complete and final authority. Even then, the revolutionary committees will continue to instigate the masses to hold on to the historic gains accomplished by the revolution, to assert the authority of the people, thus affirming the coming age of the masses.

Political Ideals of the Great Revolution

The basic ideals of the Great First of September Revolution can best be described by the slogan: Freedom Socialism and Unity. These three terms form the keystone of all Libyan legislation and policies.

FREEDOM:

Freedom for all is the basic ideal of the Revolution because it is man's natural birthright. The Revolution stands for liberation of the individual from all oppression humiliation, injustice and ignorance. Also, Freedom as seen by Brother Qadhafi, cannot accept poverty.

SOCIALISM:

Socialism as defined by the September Revolution lies in collective participation in production and work and in distribution of production with justice. It does not advocate class struggle but insists on harmonising class differences. Private property is a sacred right but should not be used to exploit others.

UNITY:

National Unity and Unity of the Arab nation is a cherished ideal. It is a basic premise of future success. Narrow regionalism and artificial borders are deplored

and regional differences, it is felt; must be harmonised. Further Unity, according to Brother Qadhafi, must be based on popular strength and not on political manoeuvres.

The Political and Socio-economic Philosophy of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya

In the Name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful

The Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya provides the Libyan individual and masses the maximum of democratic freedom within the context of socialist cooperation. By the abolition of the state and its apparatus, the Libyan people, acting collectively through People's Congresses and People's Committees, provide themselves with the liberties required for human happiness. In this process of direct democracy, they have become the owners of their society's wealth, authority and arms.

The Libyan Producer:

In accordance with the concept of the solution of the economic problem detailed in part two of the **Green Book**, the Libyans have moved from the position of employees to that of owners of their production. Factory and business production is no longer under the control of the state or capitalist bosses. Instead, it is owned, managed and controlled by the producers.

Home Ownership:

Neither the state nor the private landlord remain to control and receive rents from the homes of the masses. Instead, the home belongs to the person who lives in it. Likewise, the farm and its land belongs to the farmer. Direct democracy in Libya demands that shelter, like other human needs, must be owned by the masses. The **Green Book** emphasizes that a person cannot be free when someone else owns or exercises control over his needs.

National Security:

National security is no longer acceptable as a reason for elites or governments to maintain huge police or armed forces (which spend most of their efforts oppressing the people they claim to protect). Instead, the true democracy of Libya foresees an armed people who are prepared to protect themselves. In so doing, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya will also eliminate the exploitation of the soldier by power elites.

Education:

As with other institutions, the curricula in schools and universities are controlled by those who attend these institutions. Students are no longer at the mercy of state, class or foreign cultural imperialism.

The Libyan Woman:

Only in the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya has the woman been afforded complete freedom. She has been given her rights as a woman and mother as well as her rights as a human being. The **Green Book** calls special attention to

the equality between men and women, and notes that this equality cannot be achieved unless women are given both their rights as a female and as a human being.

The Family:

Salient importance in the Libyan society is given to the needs of the family and of the child. The Libyan Arab Jamahiriya has acted to end all forms of child abuse and exploitation. The happiness and well-being of the family and child forms the focal point of all other policies of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya.

Conclusion:

All the policies mentioned above are being elaborated and coordinated by the masses in the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya into the complete, holistic philosophy of societal development called the **Third Universal Theory**, which is derived from the **Green Book** which has rendered it accessible to the masses of the world.

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