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Date. 7 Jan  
Item No. 11  
Ref. No. \_\_\_\_\_

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Attached is the second of C.L. Sculzberger's report on his recent visit to Libya. Mainly about the Libyan/USSR connection.

\*FBC-SULZBERGER COLUMN 2TAKES 750\*  
\*(COMMENTARY)\*

\*FOREIGN AFFAIRS: ARMS WITHOUT THE HAWK\*

\*BY C.L. SULZBERGER\*

\*FC. 1977 N.Y. TIMES NEWS SERVICE\*

TRIPOLI, LIBYA - IT IS PARADOXICAL THAT THIS NATION, WITH ITS TINY POPULATION, SHOULD BE STUFFED WITH ARMS ALTHOUGH ITS LEADER, COL. MUHAMMAR AL-QADDAFI, SAYS "MY PHILOSOPHY" IS THAT THE "MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT OF ALL COUNTRIES CAN BE ELIMINATED" AND "WILL DISAPPEAR."

IN LIBYA'S WEAPONS STOCKPILE FOR ARMED FORCES OF 25,000 ARE ABOUT 2,500 TANKS FOR ONE FOR EVERY 10 SOLDIERS; 100 FRENCH-MADE MIRAGE FIGHTERS; TWO SQUADRONS OF SOVIET-MADE MIG FIGHTERS AND ONE OF SOVIET-MADE TU22 STRATEGIC BOMBERS. THIS IS ONLY PART OF AN ORDNANCE INCLUDING SOVIET-MADE SCUD GROUND-TO-GROUND MISSILES; ARTILLERY; SMALL WARSHIPS; ETC.

A SOVIET MISSION (MILITARY-PLUS-TECHNICIANS) NUMBERS ABOUT 1,000. THERE ARE SOMEWHAT UNDER 100 EACH IN FRENCH AND PAKISTANI MISSIONS MAINTAINING THE MIRAGES; AN AIRCRAFT PAKISTAN ALSO FLIES. WHEN I ASKED QADDAFI IF LIBYA'S RECENT PURCHASE OF 10 PER CENT OF THE ITALIAN FIAT CORP. (WITH AN OPTION TO BUY 5 PER CENT MORE WITHIN FIVE YEARS) WOULD PROVIDE ADDITIONAL AIRCRAFT HE SAID: "WE DON'T NEED ANY."

ONLY LAST WEEK THE FIRST OF FOUR TO SIX LIBYAN SUBMARINES BOUGHT FROM RUSSIA ARRIVED; ANOTHER FOUR (FRENCH-TYPE) SUBMARINES HAVE BEEN CONTRACTED FOR WITH SPAIN. ALL THIS WORRIES THE UNITED STATES; WITH ITS SIXTH FLEET IN THE MEDITERRANEAN.

QADDAFI, A HOT-TEMPERED; UNPREDICTABLE MAN, ORDERED AN EGYPTIAN SUBMARINE TO TORPEDO BRITAIN'S LINER QUEEN ELIZABETH II CRUISING TOWARD ISRAEL IN 1973 LOADED WITH JEWISH TOURISTS ON THEIR WAY TO CELEBRATE THAT COUNTRY'S 25TH BIRTHDAY.

WAS THEN STILL OPERATIVE? THE SUBMARINE COMMANDER IGNORED QADDAFI'S ORDER. NO LIBYAN NAVAL OFFICER COULD DO SO. LIBYA'S POPULATION IS UNDER 2.5 MILLION. YET IT SPENDS ALMOST \$2 BILLION ANNUALLY ON ARMED FORCES AND THE MAIN SOURCE OF WEAPONRY IS THE U.S.S.R. QADDAFI IS OPPOSED TO COMMUNISM - BUT SO WAS NASSER; WHO NEGOTIATED THE EGYPTIAN ARMS AND BASES DEALS WITH THE SOVIET UNION AFTER THE WEST REFUSED HIM HELP.

LAST MONTH QADDAFI VISITED MOSCOW FOR THE FIRST TIME AND WAS WARMLY WELCOMED BY BREZHNEV. THE SOVIET AND LIBYAN CHIEFS OF STAFF ATTENDED SOME OF THEIR MEETINGS. ALTHOUGH BREZHNEV AGREED TO SELL LIBYA A NUCLEAR DESALINATION PLANT AND A RESEARCH REACTOR; NO DEAL WAS MADE ON ATOMIC ARMS.

THERE HAVE BEEN PUBLISHED REPORTS THAT LIBYA HAS AGREED TO GRANT SOVIET NAVAL BASE RIGHTS IN THE GULF OF SIRTE AS WELL AS ACCESS TO ARMS STORAGE DEPOTS HERE. I DO NOT BELIEVE THESE TALES. WHAT DOES SEEM TRUE IS THAT MOSCOW'S SHIPS HAVE LIMITED REPAIR FACILITIES AT SOME LIBYAN PORTS BUT NO BASE RIGHTS.

QADDAFI TOLD ME: "IT WOULD BE ILLLOGICAL FOR A PEOPLE TO SACRIFICE SO MUCH TO EXPEL FOREIGN BASES AND FOREIGN FORCES (U.S. AND BRITISH) AFTER THE REVOLUTION (OF 1969) JUST TO ACCEPT OTHER FOREIGN BASES. HE SAID HIS NUCLEAR DEALS WITH MOSCOW ALL RELATED TO PEACEFUL USAGE AND THAT WHILE GOVERNMENTAL RELATIONSHIPS WERE GOOD; "THE SOCIAL SYSTEMS OF OUR TWO NATIONS DIFFER."

NONETHELESS SOVIET-LIBYAN FRIENDSHIP IS AT A HIGH WATERMARK. TRIPOLI SEES SUCH AMITY AS MILITARILY HELPFUL AND DIPLOMATICALLY A MEANS OF AVOIDING ISOLATION; NOW THAT RELATIONS WITH EGYPT; SUDAN; SYRIA; SAUDI ARABIA AND JORDAN ARE SOUR. BUT THIS DOES NOT MEAN QADDAFI INTENDS TO DIVE INTO MOSCOW'S CAMP. THE mere fact that YUGOSLAVIA'S PRESIDENT TITO IS DUE HERE ON AN OFFICIAL VISIT IN A FEW DAYS IS A SUGGESTIVE HINT. TITO IS A PAST MASTER AT THE TRICKY GAME OF EMBRACING THE RUSSIAN BEAR WHILE SIMULTANEOUSLY KEEPING HIS DISTANCE AND THE YOUNG AND STILL INTERNATIONALLY NAIVE QADDAFI HAS MUCH TO LEARN FROM HIM.

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THE SITUATION PRESENTS TWO HIGHLY PUZZLING ASPECTS; NOTWITHSTANDING, WHY IS MOSCOW SENDING SUCH ENORMOUS AMOUNTS OF MILITARY EQUIPMENT? THERE ISN'T MUCH SENSE IN THE THOUGHT IT IS BEING STOCKPILED FOR POSSIBLE FUTURE SOVIET USE. THINGS DETERIORATE FAST HERE. IS THIS SIMPLY A WAY OF THREATENING EGYPT FOR HAVING DESERTED THE SOVIET BANDWAGON?

AND WHY IS QADDAFI SPENDING SO MUCH MONEY ON ARMS HIS FORCES COULDN'T EFFECTIVELY EMPLOY EVEN IF WHICH IS UNLIKELY - HE INTENDED TO TRY? LIBYA'S POPULATION IS SO SMALL THAT IT HAS BEEN FOUND IMPRACTICAL TO KEEP MORE THAN 25,000 MEN AT A TIME IN UNIFORM. ONE EFFORT TO DO SO BROUGHT IMMEDIATE SLOWDOWNS IN THE ECONOMY AND THE FALTERING BUREAUCRACY.

IT IS ODD FOR MOSCOW TO SELL SO MUCH WEAPONS TO ENHANCE ITS PRESTIGE OR OUT OF GREEDINESS FOR LIBYA'S OIL-BASED CURRENCY. IT IS ALSO ODD FOR TRIFOLI TO ACQUIRE A HUGE ARMORY WITHOUT SUFFICIENT MEN TO USE IT.

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