

GADHAFI, MU'AMMAR

# Gadhafi, Troubled by Series of Setbacks, Acts to Repair the Damage

LIBYA Wash Post 19 Mar '87

By Jonathan C. Randal  
Washington Post Foreign Service

CAIRO, March 18—Libyan leader Col. Muammar Gadhafi, stung by a military defeat in Chad and diplomatic setbacks throughout the Arab world, is seeking to improve relations with former enemies in a bid to end Libya's growing isolation. Analysts and diplomats familiar with the 44-year-old leader's mercurial temperament are convinced his moves are motivated primarily

by concern about deepening domestic problems. This winter Gadhafi reshuffled his government and allowed the execution of several fundamentalist opponents on state television, an act apparently intended to warn Libya's 3.5 million citizens about the risks of political dissent. Moreover, major fence-mending this month with Libya's moderate pro-western neighbor Tunisia and with Yasser Arafat, the longestranged chairman of the Palestine

Liberation Organization, reflect Gadhafi's perceived fear of threats from those quarters, according to informed sources. Libya's reconciliation with the PLO—and active sponsorship of efforts to end Arafat's differences with Syrian-supported Palestinian dissidents—apparently caused further strains in Gadhafi's rapidly cooling alliance with Damascus. Major reverses in his unpopular desert war in Chad were underlined by an embarrassing defection to

Egypt of Air Force officers aboard a C130 aircraft earlier this month and by Libya's persistently delayed counteroffensive to retake the northern oasis of Fada, captured Jan. 2 by Chad government troops. Nor are relations with his Moscow superpower ally considered close, despite his trumpeting of Kremlin support in the event of fresh U.S. military attacks. Gadhafi was so irritated by the poor performance of Soviet-supplied air defense systems during the U.S. air raid on two Lib-


yan cities 11 months ago that he pointedly refused to receive Moscow's new ambassador for six months, according to diplomats. On paper, neither the badly divided PLO nor Tunisia, a small state weakened by the vagaries of aging President Habib Bourguiba, constitutes an obvious danger. But highly placed Palestinian sources insist that Gadhafi's decision to improve relations with the PLO is largely motivated by his mistaken conviction that Arafat is in

league with largely ineffective Libyan opposition groups in exile. Similarly, Gadhafi is said to fear that Tunisia's intelligence service—considered among the most reliable on Libyan affairs by many professionals—could initiate trouble for him. The transfer to Chad of many Libyan troops previously stationed on the Tunisian border diminished his ability to intimidate his neighbor and  
See GADHAFI, A34, Col. 1

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SECOND EDITION

## Shamir to press Soviet FM on ties, emigration

By WOLF BLITZER  
Jerusalem Post Correspondent

NEW YORK — Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir yesterday said he would press two issues with Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze during their meeting here today: the restoration of Soviet-Israeli diplomatic ties and increased emigration to Israel for Soviet Jews.

Shamir told a small group of American editors that he was anxious to discover for himself whether the Soviet Union had genuinely moderated its stance towards Israel.

The prime minister acknowledged that the tone of recent Soviet statements had changed. What was now important, he added, was to learn whether the substance had also improved. (See Peres on Soviets, page 2.)

Shevardnadze told reporters in New York that the Soviet Union was prepared to take a more active part in Arab-Israeli affairs.

Shamir and Shevardnadze will meet at the UN, in the office of the president of the Security Council.

Israeli officials yesterday expressed the hope that the Soviets,

following today's meeting, would finally grant entry visas to an Israeli consular delegation to visit Moscow in the coming weeks.

They said they were also seeking assurances that more Soviet Jews would be permitted to leave for Israel in the coming months. Israel is pressing for flights between the Soviet Union and Israel via Romania.

Shamir, together with other visiting world leaders, attended a luncheon yesterday with UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar. Israeli officials later said that the prime minister had rejected a proposal from the secretary-general to have the UN extend formal guarantees to Israel following the achievement of an Israeli-Arab peace settlement.

"What is needed is not a Big Power guarantee but an agreement between Israel and its Arab neighbours," an Israeli official quoted Shamir as having told the UN leader. Shamir reiterated his position that only direct negotiations — and not an international conference — could advance the peace process.

Shamir also recalled Israel's "unfortunate experience" with external

(Continued on Back Page)



One of Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi's woman bodyguards sports high heels and a pistol as she stands guard in Algiers. (AFP)

## Dismay at Rabin ban on visits by rabbis

By HAIM SHAPIRO  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

## Tadiran's claim to big U.S. order premature

By JUDY MALTZ and  
KENNETH KAPLAN  
Jerusalem Post Staff

Only a fraction of the multi-billion dollar U.S. Army tender awarded last week to Tadiran Ltd. and General Dynamics is a guaranteed order, executives with the two com-

The press release put out by Tadiran's publicity agents gave no hint that the order was still in contention.

But, said the General Dynamics source, the Tadiran-General Dynamics team is in fact a "second-source producer" for the army. The

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THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

LIBYA jk

INTERNATIONAL

# US pressure on Libya strains ties with Western allies

## Qaddafi uses Western concerns for foreigners' safety to undercut unity

By John Cooley  
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

Tripoli, Libya

Libya's Col. Muammar Qaddafi is waging an all-out information war to deter any new United States military action against him.

He is doing this by playing up US fears that American workers in Libya could be casualties and by highlighting disunity among Western allies over how to deal with Libya.

Tripoli was calm and without any visible defense preparations Sunday as the US Sixth Fleet was reportedly in a "holding pattern" in the Mediterranean.

While Vernon Walters, the US ambassador to the UN, traveled around Western Europe trying to convince US allies to support further US action, Colonel Qaddafi's personal campaign of deterrence took several forms.

In a statement to Western news agencies, Qaddafi said he had pulled Libyan troops from "15 military camps" that the US news media had named as prospective targets for American planes and warships. Foreign workers, including about 1,000 American oil workers, would be moved from their homes to the camps and would live there, Qaddafi said.

However, Western diplomats representing US interests here said there was no sign Sunday that Qaddafi had begun moving anyone.

"It might just be a bluff, but you can't be sure with Col. Qaddafi," one longtime foreign resident here said.

A serious incident heightened nervousness among foreigners here yesterday. The British Broadcasting Corporation reported Sunday that Msgr. Giovanni Martinelli, a Roman Catholic Church leader, and four others were arrested Thursday night by armed men. The incident reportedly took place in Benghazi. Italian Ambassador Giorgio Raitano is heading

**Tripoli was calm and without any visible defense preparations Sunday.**



Libyans hail Qaddafi last month: Europe fears another US strike may boost his hero status

efforts to locate the five, the BBC said. The others missing were identified as three priests — from the Philippines, Malta, and Poland — and an Italian nun. Government spokesmen had no comment.

Libya's foreign minister called in Western diplomats over the weekend to protest statements by the NATO Secretary General, Lord Carrington, and Supreme NATO Commander Bernard Rogers, a US Army general.

Lord Carrington has supported the principle of US retribution against Libya for its alleged connection with terrorist incidents, including the April 2 explosion aboard a TWA jetliner over Greece, and the bombing of a West Berlin nightclub on April 5.

General Rogers said there was incontrovertible evidence of Libyan involvement in the West Berlin bombing.

"These declarations," said JANA, the official Libyan news agency, "represent

the attitude of the [Western] alliance concerning the aggression which the US is preparing against Libya."

By threatening to use US and NATO bases in Britain, Spain, Greece, Italy, and Turkey, other Libyan statements added, the US is dragging the Western alliance into what began as a bilateral US-Libyan confrontation.

Qaddafi has repeated several times that any such bases would be susceptible to Libyan attack. Foreign observers here say the main candidates are Sigonella Air Base in Sicily, US air and naval facilities in Spain, and Souda Bay on the large Greek island of Crete.

Libyan newspapers and radio and television programs constantly warn the Europeans and Libya's Arab neighbors not to get involved in US action. They echoed a weekend warning from Qaddafi that Libya might have to call for military aid from the Soviet Union and East bloc.

Mr. Cooley, the Monitor's former Middle East reporter, is an ABC staff correspondent.

Qaddafi, Muammar, LIBYA 18 April 1986

# Political temperature lowers in Libya

CSM



Qaddafi slept here, bodyguard says, as bomb exploded 100 yards away during US raid

## But Col. Qaddafi makes it clear that his messianic devotion to world revolution continues

By John K. Cooley  
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

Tripoli, Libya

Col. Muammar Qaddafi's escape from the American air raid Tuesday and his subsequent television broadcast have lowered the political temperature here.

Libyan radio and TV have moderated somewhat their strident anti-Western tone. People ignored or even smiled at a foreigner in Tripoli's streets Thursday, rather than muttering insults as on the previous day. Western embassies continued to discuss plans for evacuating more than 40,000 Western citizens in this country, but without the urgency of the first day of crisis.

The United States and Britain, however, still face a mounting wave of terrorism and protests by the East bloc, third world, and even West Europeans.

Colonel Qaddafi made it clear in his broadcast Wednesday night, from a new and apparently safer base somewhere in Libya, that his messianic devotion to world revolution continues.

In his speech, Qaddafi accused President Reagan and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher of being "child-murderers." Qaddafi's 15-month-old adopted daughter did not survive the bombing of Qaddafi's family home. His two young sons, Saif Arab and Hamis, were wounded and remained in hospital.

At the same time, Qaddafi said he was ordering no further military retaliations against southern Europe. His only known attempt to retaliate so far came Tuesday, when two long-range missiles were fired at the small Italian island of Lampedusa. Italy said the missiles fell short.

### Europe feeling the aftershock

European foreign ministers repeated their call for US restraint in dealing with Libya; but recognition is growing that concerted allied action against terrorism is needed. **Page 9**

### Britain in the firing line

Days after US jets took off from Britain to strike targets in Libya, a spate of incidents makes it clear that the British face the same level of threat as Americans in the Middle East. **Page 11**

### Interview with Weinberger

On Libya strike, he says: Qaddafi himself was not targeted; Libyan reports of casualties should not be taken at face value; with allied help, sanctions could be more effective. **Page 6**

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## QADDAFI

from front page

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"We decided to respond" to calls of "friendly countries urging us not to escalate the military situation against south Europe," Qaddafi said.

[The United States said Wednesday the murder of three Westerners in Lebanon bore the marks of Abu Nidal, a Palestinian guerrilla with close ties to Libya, and that Libyan involvement was also suspected in the shooting Wednesday of an American diplomat in Sudan.]

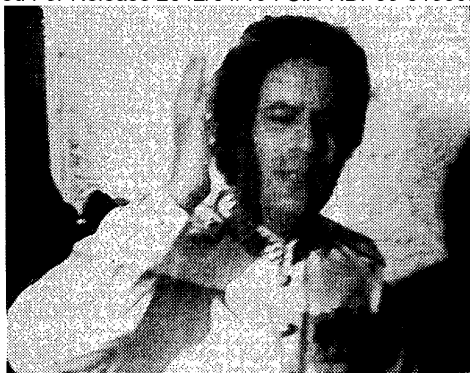
Qaddafi praised France and Spain for not permitting British-based US F-111 fighter bombers to overfly their territory. Malta won his approval for "exerting sincere efforts to end Mediterranean tensions."

Qaddafi urged all Arab states to sever diplomatic relations with the US. Conservative Saudi Arabia, a longtime adversary of Qaddafi, led the Arab states in protesting the US action in the UN Security Council.

Earlier Wednesday, a reporters' tour of Qaddafi's bombed-out home and headquarters disclosed craters from at least eight high-explosive bombs, apparently meant to kill Qaddafi. The US denies it tried to kill him.

His office and home, where from a balcony he promised to continue confronting the US after his forces skirmished with the US Sixth Fleet March 24-25, were demolished. His wife, Safia, who survived, was inside that building with the Qaddafi children when it was hit.

Bodyguards showed the reporters Qaddafi's Bedouin



Qaddafi on TV: no more reprisals against south Europe

tent, where they said he was sleeping after working late, when one bomb exploded about 100 yards away.

Shortly before this, the reporters' bus had been turned away from the compound gate by apparent panic firing as a new US air raid was reported. One foreign businessman said he saw a plane high over the harbor. From the ABC News bureau in the seafront Grand Hotel, reporters were sure they could see Libyan gunboats and

nd missiles firing into the air.

Late at night, the harbor below the hotel again erupted in wild firing, apparently in a new air raid alert.

Libyan Information Minister Muhammad Sharif Din Fayturi told reporters that the afternoon "raid" — denied by Washington — involved a pass by a US SR-71 Blackbird reconnaissance plane. He claimed US fighter bombers tried to "infiltrate" Libyan airspace from the direction of Tunisia to bomb several places near Tripoli, including Tarhuna, about 30 miles southeast of Tripoli.

Reports from Washington, unconfirmed in Libya, claim the Libyan Air Force joined in factional fighting between pro- and anti-Qaddafi forces at Tarhuna. Some Western embassies here claimed they heard small-arms fire in Tripoli near Qaddafi's former headquarters, but could not explain it.

Finally, near midnight, Qaddafi's speech relieved suspense here. After he ordered an end to Tripoli's three-night blackout, pro-Qaddafi demonstrators with bright lights serenaded newsmen in the Grand Hotel with shouts on loudspeakers and the beating of large drums.

"One of the most spectacular days ever in the ongoing 'Qaddafi Show,' with Qaddafi himself still directing," remarked one rather cynical Western correspondent. "But what will the next act be?"

There was no immediate answer as night fell April 17 over a more relaxed but still worried city.

Mr. Cooley, the Monitor's former Middle East reporter, is an ABC staff correspondent.

## INTERNATIONAL

### TRIPOLI from preceding page

that Colonel Qaddafi is either dead or out of the country." Asked about this, Presidential spokesman Larry Speakes said, "I really wouldn't go that far. I'm not sure it's an accurate intelligence conclusion."

At press time, there had been no sign of the Libyan leader, who failed to appear for a promised news conference. Libyan officials and state-run media insisted that he is alive, unhurt, and in control.

About 70 reporters in a bus were nearing Qaddafi's sprawling headquarters compound for the news conference when small-arms fire started about 500 feet from the vehicle. The bus then turned back. Libyan officials reacted angrily, when they heard radio reports relaying the journalists' stories of street skirmishes. Journalists also saw a Libyan patrol boat fire cannon rounds along the Tripoli waterfront, but it was not clear who was firing or what their target was.

After the shooting ended, the reporters again were put on a bus to Qaddafi's compound. An official said, Qaddafi "is in Libya," but refused to elaborate. The Qaddafi residence, a two-story, blue-and-white cement building, was peppered with shrapnel from a bomb that left a large crater 10 yards away.

Western diplomats estimated the death toll from Tuesday's bombing at 100. Libyan officials would say only that many people were killed, and hospitals said up to 100 people were injured in one residential area.

Libyan television broadcast a film clip that it said

showed Qaddafi meeting Soviet Ambassador Anatoly Anissimov after Tuesday's bombing. A Western diplomat, who spoke on condition of anonymity, confirmed that the meeting took place.

Meanwhile, in neighboring Sudan, a US Embassy employee was shot in the head and seriously hurt late Tuesday in the capital city of Khartoum. US officials said they had no information directly linking the attack to Libya, but an official at the US Embassy in Khartoum said the attack occurred near the Libyan Embassy. The US Embassy in Khartoum was closed Wednesday after it had been ordered to a "a high state of alert" for fear of trouble because of Tuesday's US bombing raids on Libya.

A State Department spokesman said the victim was leaving the US Embassy in his car, when another car drove up beside him and shots were fired. The employee, a communications technician whose identity was withheld because his relatives had not been notified, was flown to a hospital in Jiddah, Saudi Arabia, a State Department official in Washington said Wednesday.

US Secretary of State George Shultz, asked about the shooting during a satellite news conference with reporters in Europe, said there was no evidence Libya was behind the attack. He said, however, that there have been previous threats against US diplomats in the Sudan.

Meanwhile, in England, a British politician said that some US jets returned to their bases with bombs still aboard. According to Sir Eldon Griffiths, a Conservative parliamentarian who supports the US action and who was briefed by senior US officers, Libyan ground defenses forced some planes to abandon their mission.

17 April 1976  
LIBYA

# Conflicting reports, skirmishes fuel tension in Tripoli

## Qaddafi's failure to show up at news conference sparks rumors

By the Associated Press

Tripoli, Libya

The atmosphere in the Libyan capital remained tense Wednesday, amid conflicting reports about alleged renewed United States attacks and uncertainty about Col. Muammar Qaddafi's whereabouts and condition.

Libyan officials claimed that anti-aircraft fire that broke out for a half-hour in Tripoli yesterday was aimed at a US reconnaissance plane. Libyan radio also claimed that US jets raided, but failed to hit, targets in two areas 40 miles outside Tripoli.

In Washington, a Pentagon spokesman denied the Libyan claim, saying, "There is no US military activity in Libya." Other

Pentagon sources, speaking on condition of anonymity, said efforts have been made to survey Libyan targets using satellites and reconnaissance planes.

Journalists in Tripoli heard small-arms and mortar fire and saw apparent street skirmishes near Colonel Qaddafi's headquarters. These incidents led to reports such as one aired at noon yesterday by ABC television. The report said, "American intelligence sources believe

**Japan has tightened security for next month's summit because of the US attack on Libya. Japanese terrorists have ties with Libya. P. 11.**

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# US picks at the puzzle of terrorism

## Qaddafi grip on Libya seems secure despite jolt of air raid

By George D. Moffett III  
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

Col. Muammar Qaddafi's grip on Libya remains firm, say some experts. The hope of American officials that the April 15 bombing raid by United States warplanes would help topple the Libyan leader seems unlikely to be fulfilled.

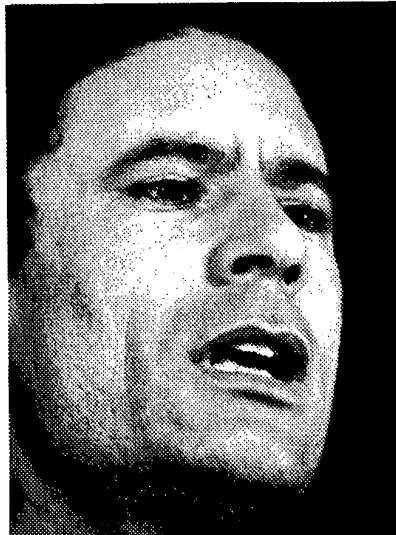
There are factions in Libya itching for a coup. But the opposition to Qaddafi's 16-year rule is weak and fragmented. Besides, any successor to Qaddafi might be more pro-Soviet than the US would like.

If Qaddafi were to go, "you could have a more independent leader ousted in favor of a more compliant leader," says Clement Miller, an analyst at Wharton Econometric Forecasting Associates.

Reagan administration officials were buoyed last week by reports of sporadic fighting between rival Libyan factions, indicating what Secretary of State George Shultz described on Thursday as "considerable dissidence" within the Libyan armed forces. US officials say one purpose of last Tuesday's raid was to help topple Qaddafi by strengthening the hand of opposition forces inside the country.

The US has tried for years to abet the process of political change in Libya, working to undermine

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His elite guard quells discontent

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- West Berlin on high alert as anti-US protests continue **Page 26**



**FROM PAGE ONE**

**PUZZLE** from front page

Qaddafi's power through measures ranging from economic sanctions to clandestine contacts with members of the Qaddafi opposition. While US officials insist that Qaddafi was not a "direct" target of last week's raid over Libya, the Libyan leader's residence and headquarters were targets of the bomb attack.

"I think the world would be a great deal better off if Libya were in different hands," said Defense Secretary Casper W. Weinberger in a recent Monitor interview.

Experts outside the government say the US raid may have hurt Qaddafi somewhat, giving disaffected elements within the military a chance to feed on any popular discontent with the Libyan leader. But so far an effective surveillance system, which relies on the penetration of army units by members of Qaddafi's elite revolutionary guard, has been sufficient to quell discontent, they say.

One reason for Qaddafi's ability to maintain control has been the decentralization of political power and

patronage through numerous "people's committees," councils in various towns and regions, loyal to Qaddafi, that monopolize local judicial, legislative, and executive authority. There is thus no obvious alternative locus of national power in Libya outside the army and the elite, 2,000-man revolutionary guard.

"Qaddafi has deinstitutionalized government in Libya. If he disappears, what do you rely on next?" asks William Louis, professor of political science at George Washington University. Leaders of various exile groups, such as the London-based National Front for the Salvation of Libya, appear to have little appreciable political support inside Libya. As a result, says Professor Louis, Qaddafi's departure could lead to low-level chaos as in Lebanon or outright civil war, as in Chad, between various tribal and regional groups. In either case, the presence of 6,000 Eastern Bloc advisors in Libya could provide opportunities the Soviets could exploit.

In the case of a military coup against Qaddafi, the alternative for the US could be little better. The most likely successors — including Qaddafi's heir-apparent and head of the revolutionary guard, Maj. Abdul Sallam

Jalloud — may prove more pro-Soviet than Qaddafi.

Despite the sizeable East bloc commitment to Libya, Qaddafi has refused to grant base rights to the Soviet Union in Libya. Major Jalloud, who warned Friday that the matter of the bases was being reopened following last week's raid, is believed to favor extending such rights, highly prized by the Soviets because of Libya's strategic location.

While Qaddafi still appears in firm control in Libya, analysts describe factors that could weaken the Libyan leader's 16-year regime. One is the impact of collapsing world oil prices. Libyan oil revenues have dropped from \$22 billion to less than \$9 billion in just six years with no bottom in sight. Experts say that's likely to tear at domestic unity by sharpening competition for scarce budgetary resources among consumers, the army, and local government councils.

More serious is resentment within the army over privileges extended by Qaddafi to the revolutionary guard. He has drawn many of the guards from his own tribe in Libya's Serte region, in the process exacerbating old tribal animosities.

# Qaddafi Seen Reining In His Army

*Libyan Leader's Ruling Tactic: Keep Power Centers off Balance*

By Christopher Dickey  
Washington Post Foreign Service

TRIPOLI, Libya, Jan. 13—On the night of Nov. 23, Col. Khassan Ishqal was taken to Enas Hospital in the Libyan capital with six bullet wounds in his body, according to diplomats here citing hospital sources. He died shortly afterward.

Ishqal was "an extremely powerful man," as one European diplomat put it. He was part of Libyan leader Col. (Muammar Qaddafi's own Qaddafodam clan from Surt, where Ishqal served as military governor. He also played a major

role in the country's oil industry and held senior intelligence posts, according to various diplomats.

"A lot of people hated him," said one source who looked closely into Ishqal's background. He reportedly had imprisoned some officials for corruption. His oil dealings brought him frequently into contact with westerners, and, as a result, he was considered to be pro-West. Ishqal was "one who dared to tell Qaddafi a lot of the truth—about economic policy, for instance," said the diplomat.

Ishqal is believed to have quarreled frequently with Maj. Abdul

Salaam Jalloud, Qaddafi's closest aide and now the head of the revolutionary committees, a confrontation of the sort that Qaddafi is widely believed to have nurtured as a way of keeping competing centers of power off balance.

Ishqal was believed by diplomats to represent those Army officers who favor improving economic conditions before pushing ahead with the revolution, while Jalloud prefers increasingly radical revolutionary measures.

In Qaddafi's dream of the world, there is no army, and Qaddafi is a man determined at whatever cost to make his dream a reality. He has

# Qaddafi Seen Keeping Army in Check

LIBYA, From A1

used the rather loosely defined revolutionary committees as a way of controlling various elements of Libyan society, including the Army. He has used this network of ideologically indoctrinated groups to sustain intelligence inside the walls of the Army's compounds, organizing the committees or imposing them in virtually every barracks, according to diplomats and Libyan officials. They are a parallel and often hostile authority within the Army itself, these sources said.

Qaddafi "has tried to organize disorganization to keep himself alive, so nobody could oppose him," said one diplomat.

But in the process, the Libyan leader may have created more dangers for himself. Several European diplomats interviewed this week contend that Qaddafi has turned the institution that he used to gain power 16 years ago into the institution most able and likely to bring him down.

Even as he faced the possibility of a U.S. or Israeli air strike during the past three weeks, he continued to speak bluntly about wanting to abolish the traditional armed forces and officer corps.

"The masses must replace the Army," the Libyan leader told reporters on Friday. "The regular Army will disappear, and armed citizens will replace it."

Asked if this would create resentments and problems with the regular armed forces, Qaddafi said, "Obviously, because they would like to have power, and when we dismantle it and give the people power, they can no longer do so."

But Qaddafi said, "It would be difficult to have a coup because the authority is in the hands of the people, and they would refuse. No one will obey."

## State Department Dispatches Whitehead To Urge Sanctions

Associated Press

Deputy Secretary of State John Whitehead is to visit nine North Atlantic Treaty Organization allies starting Wednesday in hopes of persuading them to reduce their ties with Libya, the State Department announced yesterday.

Whitehead plans to begin consultations in Canada and also plans stops in West Germany, France, Turkey, Italy, the Netherlands, Greece, Belgium and Great Britain.

The Reagan administration, accusing the government of Muammar Qaddafi of engaging in state-sponsored terrorism, last week imposed an embargo on all trade with Libya and froze Libyan assets in the United States.

The administration also asked Europeans to apply sanctions against Tripoli but has received only limited support.

State Department spokesman Bernard Kalb reiterated yesterday the U.S. view that Libya is the leading supporter of Palestinian militant Abu Nidal and that Qaddafi has backed other recent attacks such as the hijacking of an Egyptair airliner last fall.

Since he has acquired billions of dollars' worth of sophisticated weapons systems from the Soviets and other countries, moreover, his undermining of the professional military establishment may have worsened problems of maintenance and training and made Qaddafi even more dependent on foreign advisers—particularly the Soviets, Czechoslovaks and East Germans—to keep his arsenal functioning.

"This is the limit of [Qaddafi's] system," said one diplomat. "It is fine to have people be self-sufficient and able to do everything, up to a point. But when you have things like tanks and planes, you cannot improvise."

U.S. presidential "findings" for covert action against Libya last fall suggested that Washington hopes in part to lure Qaddafi into a foreign adventure or terrorist exploit that would give what the Central Intelligence Agency considered a growing number of Qaddafi's opponents in the Libyan military a chance to seize power.

Three times since August, Qaddafi has faced military buildups on his borders that may have increased tension among the leaders of his armed forces.

In early September, after Qaddafi expelled thousands of Tunisian and Egyptian workers, Algeria took Tunisia's part and moved troops to the Libyan frontier.

After the Nov. 23 hijacking of an Egyptair flight ended in Malta with at least 60 persons killed, Egypt blamed Palestinian terrorists backed by Libya. No clear proof was presented to establish the charge, but for several days Egypt reinforced air bases near Libya's eastern border and maintained its troops on a high state of alert.

In the aftermath of the Dec. 27 Palestinian attacks on airports in Rome and Vienna that resulted in 19 deaths, the United States and Israel once again accused Qaddafi of backing the terrorists, and both countries hinted at reprisals.

In addition to these acute problems, diplomats cite several chronic sources of discontent in the armed forces.

"This is not an Army isolated from the people. It reflects all the problems in the general population," said one senior diplomat. "If there are tribal problems in the civilian population, there are tribal problems in the Army."

Economic cutbacks have caused perquisites for Army officers to be curtailed or eliminated and salaries are low.

Other diplomats cite Qaddafi's military adventures in Chad and in Uganda in 1979 as causes for irritation among the officers.

But Qaddafi is no stranger to plots, including attempts on his life, and he has proved a resilient survivor.

In March or early April 1985, according to reports based on U.S. intelligence sources, Army officers were involved in two attempts to eliminate Libya's leader. As many as 25 officers were believed to have been executed when their efforts failed.

Since then, the power of the revolutionary committees inside the barracks has increased further, and diplomats say they believe the committees control most or all of the available ammunition.

Some diplomats suggest that

Qaddafi often seems to be playing the revolutionary committees and the Army against each another. In November, for instance, the military chief of staff appeared prominently and frequently in the press, and the Army found itself once again in a favorable public light. But at the end of the month, Ishqal's mysterious killing raised fresh questions about the loyalty even of the officers closest to Qaddafi.

Despite some dramatic published reports of Ishqal's death, however, including one where he allegedly tried to kill Qaddafi, and another in which Qaddafi was said to have shot him, most of the usually well-informed European diplomats here insist that they have no idea of the actual circumstances.

They point out that if Ishqal had been killed under what they call "the usual circumstances" for Qaddafi's opponents here, Ishqal never would have been taken to a hospital staffed by foreign personnel, who subsequently revealed his death and its cause.

The official version was first that Ishqal died in a car accident, but government spokesmen faced with reports of his bullet wounds now say that he committed suicide.

Whatever the true circumstances, Ishqal's death may have opened up still more problems for Qaddafi. In a country where information is tightly controlled and rumor quickly takes on the aspect of truth, "the suspicion is that Jalloud felt threatened by Ishqal and persuaded Qaddafi to kill him," said one European diplomat. "Not all the officers are happy with this solution. But the worst thing is that Khassan [Ishqal] came from Qaddafi's tribe."

"Of course, the vendetta principle is still alive in Libya at the tribal level," said one diplomat, so "now Qaddafi really has to watch out for his own tribe, which, before, he could blindly trust."

## Norway Accepts U.S. Appeal for Curbs on Libya

United Press International

OSLO, Jan. 13—The Norwegian government announced today its backing of President Reagan's appeal for international sanctions against Libya, offering the strongest endorsement of the sanctions from any European nation.

Government spokesman Nils Morten Udgaard stressed that Norway had so far made a decision only in principle. The government still is studying what kind of concrete measures should be taken and has set no timetable for applying the sanctions.

Udgaard, who works in the office of conservative Prime Minister Kare Willoch, said the Norwegian government considered Reagan's call for concerted action against international terrorism "fully justified."

"It is an established fact that Libya is actively supporting terrorists," he said, adding that Libya must share responsibility for the airport attacks in Rome and Vienna last month.

Observers noted that Norway has only minimal trade with Libya and few investments or personnel in that country.

# Qaddafi Says Libya Will Prepare Arabs For Terror Missions

By Christopher Dickey  
Washington Post Foreign Service

BF

TRIPOLI, Libya, Jan. 15—Libyan leader Muammar Qaddafi stepping up his challenge to the Reagan administration, declared publicly tonight that he will train and equip Arab guerrillas for "terrorist and suicide missions."

Libya, he said, is "a base for the liberation of Palestine," and, he added, if Israel or the United States attacked it, he would "use all forms of violence in self-defense."

Although Qaddafi spoke mainly of the "unconventional" weapons at his disposal, his remarks came a day after Soviet warships arrived in Tripoli harbor. A fleet of U.S. warships, meanwhile, is deploying off the Libyan coast.

Appearing tonight for two hours in the hall of the National People's Congress before a crowd of about 2,000 madly cheering, olive-uniformed high school and college students and a handful of radical Arab figures including dissident Palestinian leader Abu Musa, Qaddafi abandoned completely the conciliatory tone toward the United States that he had used in interviews with western reporters during the past week.

In the face of repeated charges by the Reagan administration that Qaddafi already is training and supplying terrorists, including the group headed by Palestinian radical Abu Nidal that is blamed for the Dec. 27 attacks on the airports in Rome and Vienna, Qaddafi had taken pains until now to deny direct complicity with these groups or their actions.

But for much of this month, Arab People's Congresses have been meeting here. These groups of radical Tunisians, Egyptians and Palestinians, among others, passed resolutions vowing to form suicide squads and do whatever is necessary to free Palestine from what is called Israel's "Zionist" occupation.

Last night Qaddafi had chided

THE WASHINGTON POST

## Qaddafi: Libya Will Arm, Train Arab Terrorists

LIBYA, From A1

these groups, openly wondering whether they would act on their motion.

Tonight he took the occasion of the anniversary of the birth of his idol, Egyptian president Gamal Abdel Nasser, to declare that "these Arab congresses should be in permanent session" here.

"I accept all their resolutions," Qaddafi said. "I announce that they will be trained for terrorist and suicide missions. We shall allocate trainers to train them and place all weapons needed to perform these missions at their disposal."

Qaddafi said he would offer, to the best of his ability, personal protection "to these volunteers, with the Palestinians at their vanguard," because "Libya is a base for the liberation of Palestine."

He told Western European diplomats and a group of reporters last week that he would encourage Palestinian guerrilla groups to confine their attacks to Israel and the occupied territories.

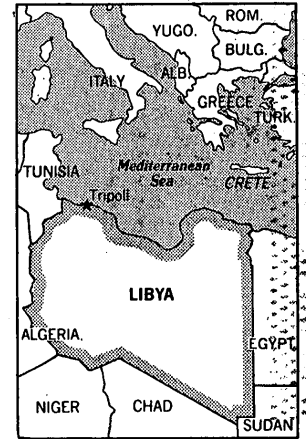
But one of Abu Musa's top aides in the audience tonight said that the Palestinians here had rejected this advice. "Qaddafi can say what he thinks, but the Palestinians will do what they like," he said.

Palestinians present included mainly guerrilla leaders opposed to Palestine Liberation Organization Chairman Yasser Arafat. In addition to Abu Musa and his aide, Abu Ali, who led a 1983 rebellion within Arafat's Fatah faction, there was also Abu Farras, of the dissident Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command. Abu Nidal apparently was not there.

Tonight Qaddafi said, in an evident reference to Israel's Oct. 1 raid on PLO headquarters in Tunisia, "If the Israelis pursue the Palestinians outside of Palestine, it is the right of the Palestinians to pursue the Israelis anywhere in the world. The Rome and Vienna attacks targeted the Israeli airline counters."

"America's fleet, its threats and economic warfare—neither this nor that will make us give up our support for the Palestinian cause or keep us from supporting it with everything at our disposal, because the Palestinians are fighting for a holy cause," Qaddafi said.

His remarks came as more U.S. and Soviet warships were gathering in the Mediterranean. Pentagon



BY LARRY FOGEL—THE WASHINGTON POST

officials said a U.S. task force—the aircraft carrier Saratoga, a guided-missile cruiser, a destroyer and an ammunition ship—were steaming through the Suez Canal for the Mediterranean, where another carrier group headed by the USS Coral Sea is already deployed.

A Soviet guided-missile cruiser and frigate passed through the Bosphorus strait early today and they will bring to 28 the number of Soviet vessels in the Mediterranean. The Soviets have stationed the flagship of their Mediterranean fleet, a submarine tender packed with electronic gear, in Tripoli harbor.

Qaddafi, readying his country for a possible violent U.S. or Israeli reaction, repeated a call for volunteer soldiers from all over the Arab world to join his armed forces.

"Libya is a base for confrontation, expressing the pride and the nationalism of the Arabs," he said.

But he appeared to put his main hope for defense in unconventional forms of warfare, acknowledging that his regular armed forces would be a poor match for the full might of the United States.

Qaddafi cited the plot of "Fifth Horseman," a 1981 novel about him by Larry Collins and Dominique LaPierre, as a "symbol" of the power represented by the guerrillas he supports. In the novel, Qaddafi provides Palestinian terrorists with a nuclear device that they nearly succeed in exploding in New York City.

Qaddafi dismissed as impossible the nuclear aspects of the plot but he said it represented the fear America has of the kinds of fighters he uses.



UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL/REUTERS

Muammar Qaddafi, right, embraces dissident Palestinian leader Abu Farras as another dissident, Abu Musa, looks on.



ASSOCIATED PRESS

A group of Libyan soldiers trains with submachine guns at the Women's Military Academy in Tripoli on Tuesday.

## U.S. Makes New Bid for Sanctions

By Lou Cannon  
Washington Post Staff Writer

Deputy Secretary of State John C. Whitehead met yesterday with President Reagan, then departed for Canada and Europe on a trip aimed at persuading U.S. allies that Libya was involved in terrorist attacks at airports in Rome and Vienna last month.

Deputy White House press secretary Edward Djerejian said Whitehead is taking with him "incontrovertible evidence" of Libyan involvement in the Dec. 27 incidents, in which 19 persons were killed, including five Americans in Rome. He declined to be specific, saying the information came partially from intelligence sources.

Whitehead's 10-day trip is an effort to gain European nations' participation in U.S. economic sanctions against Libya. The allies have remained largely unconvinced about Libyan involvement, U.S. officials acknowledge, although Canada has joined the United States in banning export of oil-drilling equipment to Libya.

Norway has backed the United States in principle, and Italy, Libya's largest trading partner, has said it will ban sale of some weapons. Otherwise, the U.S. appeal for sanctions has been rejected.

Secretary of State George P. Shultz, in a news conference beamed to Western Europe, said Whitehead is carrying Reagan's "really strong conviction that interna-

tional terrorism is a major problem" and "evidence of Libyan involvement in terrorism."

Shultz said "concrete evidence" exists that the airport terrorists, members of the breakaway Abu Nidal faction of the Palestine Liberation Organization, used Libyan passports.

A senior administration official said information to be conveyed by Whitehead goes beyond use of the passports and is much more detailed than anything. The United States has made public.

But a State Department official, questioning Djerejian's use of the word "incontrovertible," said that "in intelligence, the rules of evidence aren't the same as in a court of law."

**INTERNATIONAL**

CSM 25 APRIL 1986

IRAN

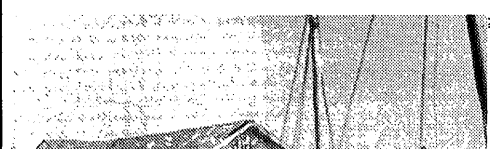
# Age control and Europe both give a little

Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev had virtually said that he would not come to Washington without assurance that useful negotiations were in sight. Breaching the SALT II limits would have been assumed in Moscow, and in allied capitals as well, as meaning that the US was discarding the whole arms control process.

The decision at the White House on SALT II was crucial. Ever since the Reagan administration took office in Washington, the "hawk wing," led by Caspar Weinberger and Richard Perle at the Department of Defense, has crusaded passionately for the US to break away from all arms control agreements and go ahead building any weapons it wants to build.

A moment of decision on this highly controversial question arrived at the White House over the question of what to do when the Nevada is commissioned. She is being fitted out at New London, Conn., and will begin her sea trials in May. She is to be commissioned in October. She carries 24 launchers for triple-headed nuclear missiles.

SALT II sets a limit of 1,200 on the number of multi-  
Please see **PATTERN** next page



# Iran-Libya-Syria triangle: marriage of convenience

## US-Libya tension gives Iran chance to criticize Arabs, US

By **Claude van England**  
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

Tehran, Iran

A new wave of anti-American feeling has swept Iran, sparked by last week's American air strike against Libya.

Before the traditional Friday public prayers last week, hundreds of thousands of worshippers — including many schoolchildren — marched through the streets of several Iranian cities. They chanted slogans in support of the Libyan people and condemned the "barbaric US aggression" against Libyan civilians.

On the official side, Iranian leaders have clearly voiced their support for Libya, which, along with Syria, has been Iran's staunchest ally since the Islamic revolution in 1979. For several years, Syrian President Hafez Assad and Libyan leader Muammar Qaddafi have sold Soviet-made weapons to Iran. The three countries' foreign ministers meet often to coordinate policies. Iran, Syria, and Libya oppose any concessions to Israel on the Palestinian homeland issue and have vowed to combat US influence in the Middle East.

But Iran's alliances with these two pro-Soviet nations are marriages of convenience rather than love matches, analysts say. Western observers here note that Iranian leaders and editorialists have refrained from praising Colonel Qaddafi specifically.

A highly placed Iranian official says privately that Iranian leaders have reservations about Qaddafi's policies. Iran is sincere in its condemnation of US policy toward Libya and supports Libya's claim to sovereignty over the Gulf of Sidra, the official says.

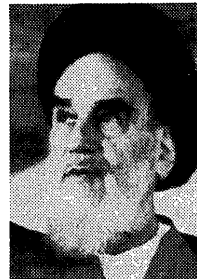
However, "Qaddafi's regime is not really Islamic," he continues. "He is often surrounded by a swarm of young, unveiled female bodyguards and we know that many Libyan Muslims disapprove of his socialist ideas."

Iranian officials believe Qaddafi has made political mistakes in recent months, a well-informed Iranian journalist says.

"Qaddafi has allowed Palestinian leaders to announce in Tripoli that they would hijack American and Israeli airplanes and that they would attack American civilian targets," the journalist says. "The Iranian government believes such acts tarnish the image of Islam."

In the past, he says, the Iranian government has reluctantly been dragged into hijackings by Arab Islamic groups. "But nowadays, Iran is trying to convince its allies throughout the world to renounce blind violence," he says. "In other words our government tells its friends that the bombing in 1983 of the American Marines headquarters in Beirut was a victory for Islam but that the hijacking of the TWA aircraft in June 1985 was a mistake."

(Iran is alleged to have close links with extremist Shiite Muslim groups in Lebanon that have claimed responsibility for the kidnapping and murder of several Westerners in the past 18 months.)



Khomeini has reservations about ...



... Qaddafi's support for terrorism ...



... and is at odds with Assad over Lebanon

Please see **TRIANGLE** next page



Libyans with portrait of 'newly buoyant and bellicose Qaddafi'

*p. 1 The CSM*  
**Money, Moscow's support:  
 two hurdles in Qaddafi's  
 bid to export revolution** *JK*

*LIBYA*

*31 MARCH 86*

By John Cooley  
 Special to The Christian Science Monitor

Tripoli, Libya

Col. Muammar Qaddafi's recent clash with the United States has brightened his image among world radicals planning new "liberation" struggles and anti-US action, especially in Latin America.

But, although last week's showdown is depicted here as a victory for Libya, analysts say two major questions overshadow the blueprint for Qaddafi-style world revolution:

First, world oil prices are still weakening. Libya's oil income fell from \$22 billion in 1980 to \$8 billion last year. Oil industry experts estimate it could plunge below \$6 billion in 1986. Can Qaddafi afford to continue financing global revolutionary violence?

Second, will Moscow stand by Colonel Qaddafi? US accounts say Libyan or Soviet-manned batteries fired six expensive Soviet-made SA-5 missiles at US planes over the Gulf of Sidra March 24. In the US version, none hit its target, though Qaddafi says three US jets were shot down. This is not a good advertisement for Soviet military hardware or expertise, foreign military observers here say.

Western diplomats in Tripoli predict that any major new terrorist act in the West, whether traceable to Qaddafi or not, may bring US bombing of the fortified compound outside Tripoli where Qaddafi lives and works.

Please see **MONEY** back page

Libya

## FROM PAGE ONE

**MONEY** from front page

A skilled internal security force including East German "advisers" and Qaddafi's loyal tribal bodyguards shield him from assassination. But there are doubts as to whether Moscow would commit Soviet forces to defend Libyan air space or coastlines.

The Libyan leader's angry and exultant March 28 speech, as the US Sixth Fleet withdrew, and his March 25 appearance at the Tripoli trade fair — after US missiles had sunk at least two French-made Libyan missile boats — showed a newly buoyant, bellicose Qaddafi. He looked younger and in far better health and spirits than during two previous, but bloodless, face-downs with the US Navy — when Libyan jets buzzed a US plane in the area last winter.

Qaddafi promised to show on Libyan television fragments of the three US jets he claimed were shot down. He also said he would give to the Soviets an unexploded US missile that was fired at the town of Sirte.

Only a week earlier, Qaddafi had devoted more rhetoric to anti-US struggles in Latin America than any foreign observers here can remember him ever doing.

These comments came at the "Second International Conference for Combatting Imperialism, Zionism, and Racism," which opened March 15. Several hundred delegates attended. They belonged to leftist political parties,

liberation movements, and guerrilla groups from the Philippines to Nicaragua, Africa, and the Middle East.

Louis Farrakhan, the American Black Muslim leader who has welcomed Qaddafi's financial help but publicly rejected offers of arms for black Americans, attacked President Reagan's ban on travel to Libya by US citizens. Mr. Farrakhan, who stayed on through last week's events, accused "US imperialism" of "trying to isolate" Libya from world liberation movements and "remove it from the struggle," the Libyan news agency JANA said.

During a conference speech, Qaddafi referred to impending US aggression against Libya. He said the 1983 US actions in Grenada were "a lesson for small nations fighting for freedom." He eulogized as a "glorious hero" Alvaro Fayed, leader of Colombia's M-19 guerrilla group, who was recently reported slain. Qaddafi also accused "American pilots" with dual US and Israeli nationality of bombing and "pursuing" Palestinian Arabs in Israeli raids on Syria, Lebanon, and Tunisia since 1967.

Since previous similar conferences on world "resistance" here in 1981 and 1982, Qaddafi said, "many new forces have joined the collective struggle." He singled out several for praise and promises of support: independence and separatist movements in the French colonies and territories of Réunion, Martinique, Guadeloupe, and New Caledonia; American Indians; European "green" parties; and Kurds in Iraq. (Qaddafi has sent military help, including missiles, to Iraq's Persian Gulf war ad-

versary Iran.) Qaddafi especially praised Cuban leader Fidel Castro and Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega Saavedra as "deserving help against US aggression."

Qaddafi reassured Spain and Italy that he had suspended earlier threats to attack their territory since US and NATO bases there, he said, were not involved in the US "aggression." Italy stopped military aid to Libya after last December's terrorist attacks at Rome and Vienna airports. The Italian government reportedly asked the US not to use bases in Italy for anti-Libyan operations. Italian diplomats in Tripoli say Libya then gave them private assurances it would not attack Italian targets.

However, Qaddafi said the conference was taking "tangible measures . . . to carry out a collective struggle." He added, "There are secret and international revolutionary committees . . . throughout the world related to this meeting and they are an extension of it."

Earlier this year, Arab sources in the Mideast said that Libya, through intermediaries, was trying to form dummy American firms to bring equipment and personnel into the US, in an apparent attempt to carry out Qaddafi's threat to "bring terrorism into the heart of America." There has been no public confirmation, but Libyan emigres in Europe, who are opposed to Qaddafi, say the US authorities should take these threats seriously.

*Mr. Cooley, former Monitor correspondent in the Mideast and author of "Libyan Sandstorms," is an ABC News correspondent based in London.*



28 March 1986 *caj BY*

LIBYA *BF 2*

## JOHN HUGHES

# Qaddafi's record

**S**T. James's Square is one of those London oases of mellow tranquillity, rich in history and tradition.

In the heart of the West End, it is nevertheless quiet, and usually unruffled. Grand old mansions line its four sides. Today they mainly house clubs and scholarly institutions and big trading companies, which proclaim their occupancy by discreet brass nameplates, or sometimes not at all.

In one of these mansions, now the East India Club, the Prince Regent was brought the news of the victory at Waterloo in 1815, reading Wellington's dispatch in the library.

Now, each August, the club serves its members special mulberry pie, the fruit being picked from the private gardens guarded by tall railings in the center of the square.

In that square today, a little memorial marked by flowers is a remembrance of an April day in 1984 when the square was far from peaceful. One of its historic buildings was then occupied by the Libyan People's Bureau, the equivalent of a Libyan embassy. In a fracas of a kind unheard of in London, Libyan "diplomats" fired from their building on anti-Qaddafi demonstrators, killing a British policewoman. Eleven others were wounded by their gunfire.

After some drama, the Libyans were tossed out and their embassy closed down, and in it the police found weapons and spent shell casings and paraphernalia not standard issue in the conduct of diplomacy.

It should have come as no surprise. Western intelligence experts have long known that Libyan embassies are storehouses for arms and explosives used in various terrorist activities originated, orchestrated, or sanctioned by Col. Muammar Qaddafi.

A lot of this activity has been directed against anti-Qaddafi exiles. Libyan diplomats have been caught red-handed in plots to kill dissidents.

Libyan businessmen, students, former diplomats, and lawyers who have turned against Qaddafi have been found strangled, or shot, or with their throats slit in a string of cities from Athens to Rome to Bonn.

One of the most dramatic Qaddafi assassination attempts was against former Libyan Prime Minister Abdül-Hamid Bakkush, who had sought sanctuary in Egypt. An elaborate Egyptian "sting" operation, complete with pictures of the "murdered" Mr. Bakkush, fooled the Libyans into thinking they had succeeded. Mr. Bakkush was then produced, in good health, by the Egyptians.

Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak is a prime target of Colonel Qaddafi, as are a number of other Arab leaders whose moderation enrages the Libyan leader.

The United States and Israel, however, are the principal demons Qaddafi sees besetting him as he strives to reshape not only Libya, but the world.

In pursuit of his goals, he sees himself as the spokesman for, and manipulator of, radical forces. He supports and encourages subversive groups. Terrorism is one of his primary instruments.

Thus Qaddafi's fingerprints are found in murder and terrorism at the Rome and Vienna airports, and in dozens of other capitals. He has a cozy relationship with the Abu Nidal Palestinian terrorist group. He has meddled in the Sudan and Tunisia; he invaded and annexed part of Chad. He has sent money and weapons to Nicaragua, where several dozen Libyan military personnel are assigned. He has aided insurgents in Guatemala, El Salvador, Colombia. His "people's bureau," or embassy, in Grenada was very active until US intervention halted the leftward landslide of that Caribbean island.

Qaddafi has aided separatists in Bangladesh, Thailand, the Philippines, and New Caledonia.

His record of international thuggery is beyond question.

It may be true that his recent confrontation with the US Sixth Fleet may puff him up temporarily. But a greater mistake would be to allow his campaign of international terrorism to go unbridled, unchallenged, unpunished.

Qaddafi, Muammar  
A18 SATURDAY, JANUARY 11, 1986 ... RLIBYA  
THE WASH

# Qaddafi Talks Of Heroes And Hopes

## Libyan Surprised Reagan Is Popular

By Kate Dourian  
Reuter

TRIPOLI, Libya, Jan. 10—  
Dressed in a smart safari suit covered by a long, brown cloak and lounging in a chair, (Muammar Qaddafi) the leader of 3.6 million Libyans, told five women reporters last night of his likes, thoughts, ideas and beliefs.

He said his dream when he took power in 1969 was to make people free and happy in a Utopian society of his own making.

"I had a general idea how to make the masses free, how to make man happy. After that, things started to get clearer," said Qaddafi, a son of the desert who was born in Mediterranean city of Sidra in 1942.

Tall, thick-set, with a backward tilt of the head that makes him seem supercilious at times, Qaddafi spoke in halting English. He revealed an almost childlike quality that is a far cry from his image abroad as a man to be feared.

He has not traveled much and was surprised to hear that President Reagan, who this week slapped punitive economic sanctions on Libya, is a popular man.

"They do? They love him?" Qaddafi asked when told that Reagan was loved by many Americans. "But he did many crises in the world," Qaddafi declared.

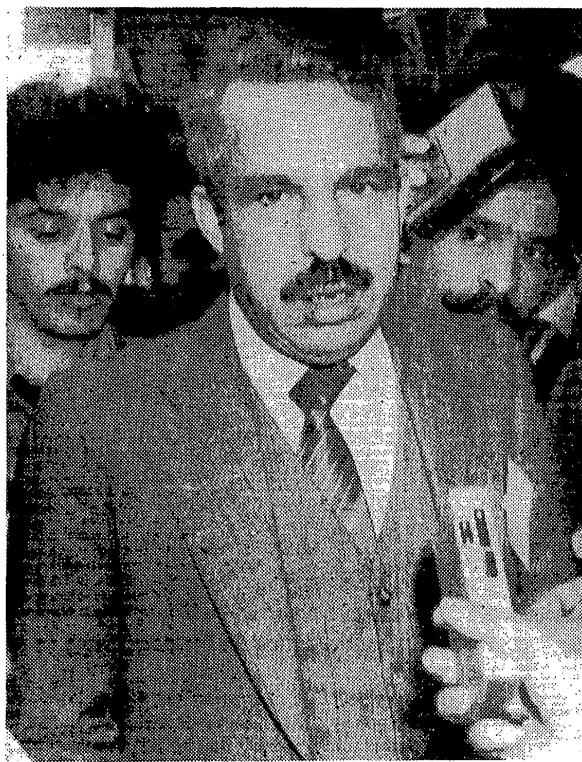
While he appears to have an almost personal antipathy toward Reagan, whom he has called "an aging third-rate actor," Qaddafi said his heroes include two former U.S. presidents, George Washington and Abraham Lincoln.

Other past world leaders he admires are Egypt's Gamal Abdel Nasser, India's Mohandas K. Gandhi, China's Sun Yat-sen and two 19th century leaders of Italy's unification, Giuseppe Garibaldi and Giuseppe Mazzini.

Qaddafi laughed heartily at stories about the peculiarities of life in the United States. He wanted to know more about Las Vegas and about the lives, backgrounds, and religion of Americans.

He learned English at school in Tripoli and later had a brief course at Wilton Park in Beaconsfield, near London, in 1966. But he said he hated England because he felt he did not belong.

It may have been then that he read "The Outsider," a study of alienation in literature by British author Colin Wilson that he said is his favorite book. Other books he likes, Qaddafi said, are "Uncle Tom's Cabin" by Harriet Beecher Stowe and "Roots" by Alex Haley.



Libyan Foreign Minister Ali Treiki talks to reporters in Fez, Morocco.

## Islamic Conference Organization Fails to Vote Sanctions on U.S.

Associated Press

FEZ, Morocco, Jan. 10—  
Libya's success in rallying anti-American support at the Islamic Conference Organization faltered today when Arab countries declined to back up their words with economic sanctions against the United States.

Libya's foreign minister, Ali Treiki, won two resolutions of support for Tripoli earlier in the week, but without any pledge of action.

Treiki pushed for retaliatory economic sanctions against Washington in separate meetings yesterday and today with Arab foreign ministers, whose countries account for nearly half the 45 nations in the Islamic Conference Organization. He said earlier that he was seeking an Islamic boycott of American goods and would ask Arab countries with investments in the United States to withdraw them.

are riding horseback—he is known as an accomplished equestrian—and playing soccer. He also said he likes classical music, Beethoven in particular.

Throughout the interview, Qaddafi portrayed himself as a man able to smile and laugh. He proved a considerate host, showing discomfort when he was unable to provide cigarettes for one of his interviewers.

Qaddafi's ideas about the role of women in society are relatively liberal, and he said he is campaigning to make it illegal for Libyan men to marry more than one woman. Now married to a former nurse, who rarely appears in public, he has seven children, six boys and one girl.

Qaddafi created a sensation when, on rare travels abroad, he appeared surrounded by gun-toting women bodyguards.

He is reported to have survived several attempts on his life in Libya

all times. His headquarters at the sprawling Bab Aziziya barracks in Tripoli is an almost impregnable fortress, guarded by Soviet-made tanks behind green barricades painted with slogans from his "Green Book" of ideological and political dogma.

But inside, Qaddafi appeared relaxed, although the reporters were asked to leave their handbags outside the small office. He seemed to take great pains over his appearance. His safari suit was crisply ironed, his black boots well polished.

Heightened tension with the United States and the threat of what he sees as an American attack on his country have given Qaddafi cause for joy as Arab leaders rally to his support.

He told reporters last week that the American threat had made Libya "the leader of the resistance against imperialism," likening it to Egypt

Qadhafi, Muammar  
4 (BF)

THE NEW YORK TIMES, SATURDAY, JANUARY 11, 1986

Libya

## A Rare Glimpse of Colonel Qaddafi

By JUDITH MILLER

Special to The New York Times

TRIPOLI, Libya, Jan. 10 — Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi, the Reagan Administration's symbol of international terrorism, says he was born in the Islamic month of Muharram, the month of peace.

"In this month, we must not fight," the Libyan leader said. "And if we are fighting, we must stop during this period."

The colonel said he was not sure what month in the Gregorian calendar that Muharram is, since it varies from year to year in the Islamic calendar, which is lunar. But he says he thinks he was born in March.

Muharram is also the first month of the Islamic year, in effect a new beginning. That, Colonel Qaddafi said, is essentially what he has tried to achieve in Libya since coming to power in a coup that overthrew the monarchy 16 years ago.

His political dream, he said in an interview with five Western reporters Thursday, has always been to set up an Islamic utopia in this tribal country, a progressive democracy without race, class or sex distinctions, a society in which arms and the means of production would be in the hands of the masses. He was 29 years old at the time this vision came to him.

### Young Ruler, Long Tenure

Now he is 44, still among the Arab world's youngest rulers. But he is among those who have been in power the longest.

Most Western officials and students of Libya say Colonel Qaddafi has created not a people's paradise, but a ruthless police state. The United States has accused him of having backed the Vienna and Rome airport attacks on Dec. 27 in which 19 people died, 5 of them Americans, and more than 100 were wounded.

Colonel Qaddafi has denied involvement in those attacks. His aides say he is not troubled by the portrait of him as an archterrorist that is drawn by the United States and other foes.

In the interview, however, Colonel Qaddafi tried to dispel that image by discussing his political goals and aspirations, his personal likes and dislikes, the crisis between Libya and

the United States, and his personal and family life.

The interview, conducted in English, revealed a side of the leader that few journalists see — a man determined, at least in this encounter, to be likable, nonaggressive, almost jovial.

### Curiosity and Naiveté

At the same time, he came across as a man ignorant of many political facts of life in the West, an isolated leader who often displayed an almost childlike curiosity and naiveté.

He expressed astonishment, for example, when told by one reporter that President Reagan was loved by many Americans.

"They love him?" Colonel Qaddafi said incredulously. "But he has created so many crises in the world," he said, shaking his head in disbelief.

Colonel Qaddafi was born in the town of Sirte, the son of an illiterate Bedouin. He went to school for only a few years and is basically a self-taught man. He learned English, which he speaks fairly well, in Tripoli and in Wilton, England, where he was a junior officer in a staff course in signals communication in 1966.

He disliked Britain, friends say, adding that he felt lost there and found the English cold and condescending.

He has traveled outside the Middle East relatively infrequently, and he has been unwelcome in many European countries for several years. He has never been to the United States, but said he admired what ordinary Americans had built. "It's hard to develop a country," Colonel Qaddafi said.

### Reagan Is Called Weak

President Reagan, he asserted, was a weak man who was "under the domination of the Zionists." President Carter was also weak, he said. "But he was a good man," the colonel added.

Throughout the session, Colonel Qaddafi delighted in posing his own questions to the reporters. He asked, for example, whether Americans did not feel that their country was being destroyed and their relationship with the Arabs damaged by the country's close ties to Israel.

"Don't you realize that you are being pushed to the brink of war?" he said. "Of course," he continued, "none of you is Jewish."

One reporter objected. Her father is Jewish, she said.

"I see," the colonel replied. "But your mother?"

She was Roman Catholic, the reporter replied.

"To which one do you belong?" Colonel Qaddafi pressed.

"To both of them," the reporter responded. "And to my country."

"But your father, he is not a Zionist?" the colonel asked hopefully.

"Oh, yes," the reporter said. "He is an ardent Zionist, Colonel Qaddafi, as are many Americans."

"But how can they not understand the suffering of the Palestinian people?" the colonel said. "People whose land has been taken away?"

### A Conciliatory Message

Colonel Qaddafi used the interview to deliver a conciliatory message similar to the one he gave Western European ambassadors who were summoned to meet with him Wednesday night. He vowed that he would try to persuade what he called his Palestinian brothers to limit their struggle to "military Israeli objectives."

Just before the interview, he had refused at a news conference to condemn the airport attacks.

Throughout the interview, Colonel Qaddafi demonstrated his ability to direct messages to appropriate audiences. When he speaks for Libyan or Arab consumption, he is savage. The official Libyan press agency, for example, has continued all week to praise the airport attacks as "heroic acts." Meeting with the ambassadors, however, the colonel said he did not approve of these "tragic events."

His mood at the news conference differed sharply from his mood at the interview with the five reporters, all of whom were women. He was far more relaxed during the interview, and joked with the reporters about finding Libyan husbands for them.

### The Status of Women

The interview was conducted in a spartan inner office at the Bab el-Azazir military barracks, a heavily fortified complex on the outskirts of



A police armored vehicle, equipped with automatic weapons on the roof, patrolling Leonardo da Vinci Airport in Rome. Security has been increased at the airport since the terrorist attack there last month.

Reuters

Tripoli, where the news conference was also held. During the interview, he wore a camel-colored, gold-embroidered Arabic cloak.

The colonel did not say why he had decided to give the interview to women only. But he noticed immediately when one woman who was among the journalists at the news conference was not among those ushered into his inner sanctum.

He inquired about her and, in Arabic, asked an assistant, "How could you have forgotten her?" The reporter was quickly summoned back to the barracks.

### One Wife and 7 Children

The colonel also emphasized his determination to improve the status of women. He said Libya was considering a law designed to end polygamy and to give women as well as men the

right to demand a divorce.

He has one wife and seven children, only one of whom was a girl, "unfortunately," the colonel said. He said he would have liked more girls.

Colonel Qaddafi said encouraging his people to adopt more progressive ideas was among the biggest challenges he faced. "Petroleum societies are lazy everywhere," he said. "People are used to having more money and want everything available. The revolution wants to change this life and to promote production and work, to produce everything by our hands. But the people are lazy."

### Utopia in Green Books

Colonel Qaddafi listed several political leaders he admired: Washington, Lincoln, Garibaldi, Sun Yat-sen, Gamal Abdel Nasser and Mahatma Gandhi. "Not Indira," he said.

The Green Books, the three volumes in which he outlines an eclectic view of the socialist Islamic utopia, were his own invention, he said. They were the product of his study of "history, human experience, life of ordinary people, what people need and how we make them happy, why one man is happy and another is sad," the colonel said.

There would be no more Green Books, he said, just interpretations of them.

As pastimes, Mr. Qaddafi listed music — classical music, especially Beethoven, he said — as well as horseback riding and reading.

Among his favorite books, he said, were Arabic translations of Alex Haley's "Roots," "Uncle Tom's Cabin" by Harriet Beecher Stowe and a book by the British author Colin Wilson, titled "The Outsider."

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**Oil Ample,  
Food Short**

**For Libya**

By JUDITH MILLER  
Special to The New York Times

TRIPOLI, Libya, Jan. 12 — A banana boat from Nicaragua steamed into port here last week. Several people were injured in the riots that broke out at fruit and vegetable stores throughout Tripoli, diplomats said, as people pushed and shoved one another for the prized imported fruit.

There were similar riots two months ago, the envoys said, with two women killed and several people hurt when another banana boat arrived from Nicaragua.

Libya is still pumping about 990,000 barrels of oil per day, but it has no bananas, nor much meat, nor toilet paper, nor matches, nor detergent, nor soap. Fresh vegetables are also in short supply, as are many other products.

The Suk el-Magamah, one of six giant Government-run food and department stores in Tripoli, has had practically no fresh produce or meat of any kind for weeks, residents say.

**From Plenty to Scarcity**

Only three years ago the Libyan leader, Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi, opened the plush department store, where shelves were piled high with subsidized consumer goods from all over the world. As part of the gala ceremony, reporters and the colonel's honored guest, Yasir Arafat, the head of the Palestine Liberation Organization, were treated to tea in the store's canteen, while the colonel praised the "people's stores" as a symbol of his country's prosperity.

The only food commodities in ample supply in the food section last week were 110-pound bags of Cuban sugar, boxes of tea from China, tomato paste from Greece, canned tomatoes from Cyprus, salt, damaged cans of vegetable fat and insect spray. The only luxury item to be found was Van Houten's cocoa, which shoppers eagerly piled in their carts.

The display windows of the adjoining department store were cracked and dusty, the shelves empty.

Only two items were well-stocked. The top floor of the store was full of stuffed pot-bellied teddy bears, which Russian customers eagerly snapped up. Two floors below, the shoe department boasted some 20 pairs of men's tennis shoes, all size 45, bearing in English the word Jamahiriya. The word is Colonel Qaddafi's name in Arabic for Libya, which is roughly translated as "gathering of the masses."

Both the teddy bears and tennis shoes were made in South Korea.

In an interview Thursday, Colonel



Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi with his wife, Safiya, and four of their seven children at news conference Saturday in a Bedouin tent in the Babel-Azziya military barracks in Tripoli, Libya.

Qaddafi asserted that the shortages were deliberate. "Sometimes we make items disappear to force people to work harder and produce them," the colonel said. Most diplomats and economists, however, attribute the chronic shortages here to the dramatic plunge in oil revenues, Libya's only major source of income. The country's annual oil income has fallen from a peak of \$22 billion in 1980 to about \$8 billion or \$9 billion in 1985, they said.

As the country has only slightly over three million people, Libya is still relatively prosperous, especially since just 30 years ago it had one of the world's lowest per capita incomes and its only source of hard currency was the sale of scrap metal from World War II battlefields.

Families with incomes of less than \$500 a month still get free housing, schooling and medical treatment. But the problem Libya faces involves the drop in its reserves of hard foreign currency, foreign economists say.

Western diplomats in Tripoli estimate the country's currency reserves at no more than \$2.7 billion, down from \$3.6 billion at the end of 1984. Because the Government has decided that \$2.5 billion is the minimum reserve currency level it will tolerate, Libya has drastically slashed spending and imports, which totaled \$5 billion in 1985.

Western business executives in Tripoli say President Reagan's economic sanctions could hurt the Libyan econ-

omy, at least temporarily, because many critical functions in the oil sector are now being performed by Americans, American companies or European subsidiaries of American companies.

"The Americans are heavily involved in maintaining the production side of oil," said one Western businessman. "If maintenance falls, production falls, and that's bad news for Libya."

**Foreign Workers Driven Away**

The drop in foreign currency reserves has also prompted Libya to eject thousands of foreign workers, among them about 40,000 Tunisians. Their departure last August crippled much of the consumer sector of the economy.

The Tunisians ran restaurants and hotels, and were Tripoli's barbers and bread makers, as well as foreign embassy drivers and translators.

The Libyan Government has tried to replace some of them with workers from Morocco, with which Tripoli has signed a unity agreement. Tripoli's luxury Grand Hotel, for example, has hired 200 Moroccans to replace its Tunisian staff, but overall service has suffered badly.

"The Tunisians were very resourceful and had been here for a long time," one diplomat said. "It's tough to replace them."

Not all Libyans feel the shortages. As in most countries, the elite does not

have to endure the endless lines for food and goods that plague the average Libyan.

Despite Colonel Qaddafi's insistence that class, race and tribe distinctions have been eliminated in Libya, those who work closely with the colonel and the revolutionary committees, a special cadre of young workers who perform propaganda and intelligence functions for the revolution, benefit in kind.

**Villa of the 'Exploiters'**

At a luncheon given by a politically well-connected family last week, hearty portions of meat, vegetables and fruit were served to the guests. The villa, in what was one of the American compounds in Tripoli before the revolution, was richly furnished in the finest Arabic style. The house, once occupied by an American family described as "exploiters" by the hostess, was undergoing renovation.

The low-slung velvet sectional sofa was new, as were the velvet and brass dining room chairs, and the oriental carpet on the living room floor.

The hostess was especially proud of a crystal vase and glasses decorated with revolutionary slogans from the Green Books, the three slender volumes in which Colonel Qaddafi outlines his vision of an Islamic utopia.

On her mantelpiece were four cherished items: an Arabic lantern, a brass statue of a camel, a gold-leaf Koran, and a framed picture of Colonel Qaddafi.

# Evidence points to Libyan connection with Malta hijacking

By George D. Moffett III  
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

Was Libya the invisible hand behind last weekend's tragic hijacking of an Egyptian airliner?

Egypt is insisting it was. Mideast experts in the United States say the circumstantial evidence points in that direction.

"It's quite plausible there's a Libyan connection," says Ray Cline, a terrorism specialist at the Georgetown Center for Strategic and International Studies. "Qaddafi is bitterly hostile toward the Egyptians. It's clear he would like to embarrass and if possible to destroy Mubarak. Under these circumstances, a Libyan connection is something you tend to expect."

Speculation regarding a possible Libyan role comes as officials assess the toll from last Sunday's attack by Egyptian commandoes on a hijacked Egyptian airliner in Malta. The assault left 60 people dead, including all but one of the estimated five hijackers.

Responsibility for the hijacking was originally claimed by a group known as Egypt's Revolution, an obscure terrorist organization which last August claimed responsibility for the killing of an Israeli diplomat in Cairo.

The hijacking now appears to be linked to another shadowy Egyptian-based terrorist group known as the Egypt Liberation Organization. According to news re-

ports, the organization — a dissident faction of the Palestine Liberation Organization — is headed by a Palestinian terrorist with alleged Libyan connections named Sabri Banna. Since breaking with the PLO in 1972, the organization has been implicated in numerous terrorist attacks.

Reports say the group has been ardently opposed to Egypt's close association with the US and to relations with Israel developed during the Camp David peace process.

More recently, Sabri Banna, also known as Abu Nidal, was said to be outraged by a recent statement by PLO leader Yasser Arafat renouncing all PLO guerrilla activity outside Israeli-occupied territory.

In a statement issued Monday, the Libyan government denied any involvement in the Egyptair incident, saying permission to land the plane on Libyan territory would have been denied if requested by the hijackers.

Egyptian sources, noting that it was the Libyan ambassador to Malta who made the first attempt to negotiate with the hijackers, insist on a Libyan connection. In a statement Tuesday, Cairo accused the government of Muammar Qaddafi of providing the "fund-raising and incitement" behind the hijacking.

"The Libyans have been implicated in so many terrorist threats against Egypt," concurs a US State Department official. "Rest assured, we have many reasons to

believe the Libyans are involved in the Egyptair incident as well."

"So far, neither the Egyptians nor anyone else has confirmed the Libyan connection," says a European-based Middle East specialist. Despite Qaddafi's frequent involvement in terrorism, he says, this would be the first time Qaddafi has been linked to a hijacking.

"But Libya's involvement still seems plausible," possibly reflecting Qaddafi's weakened political position at home and growing diplomatic isolation in the Arab world. "Also, it was a chance to deliver a very hard blow to Mubarak, to all the Arab moderates," says this source.

Egyptian relations with Libya turned sour a decade ago when the two nations broke relations over Egyptian participation in the Camp David peace process. In 1977, they fought a brief border war and more recently have competed for influence in Sudan following the coup last April that toppled the government of Sudanese President Jaafar Nimeiry. The enmity between the two nations has been compounded by a series of recent Libyan terrorist operations inside Egypt.

Experts here say one reason Cairo has been so eager to point an accusing finger at Tripoli is to provide a base of popular support for a show of Egyptian military force against Libya. Sunday, Mubarak placed Egyptian military forces along the Libyan border on alert.

But domestic political factors may be at work as well. Experts say blaming Libya may be one way for Mubarak to deflect criticism for the handling of the Achille Lauro affair last month. Com-



SHIRLEY HORN — STAFF



Qaddafi — bigger than life — in Tripoli

binated with Mubarak's recent embrace of PLO leader Arafat, the move is also seen here as a way of making inroads on the growing opposition to the Mubarak government from Egypt's Islamic fundamentalists and Nasserite leftists.

"It's consistent with Egyptian policy to blame the Libyans," says Middle East expert Raymond Baker of Williams College. "Within Egypt, such opposition deflects attention from the larger, more important issue — the groundswell of opposition to Camp David, the Middle East peace process, and Egypt's American connection in general."

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FILE PHOTO/AP