

F. A. S. PUBLIC INTEREST REPORT

Formerly the FAS Newsletter

SPECIAL ISSUE:

DIALOGUE IN LIBYA

Vol. 31, No. 10

December, 1978

ANATOMY OF A DIALOGUE WITH LIBYA

The Libyans have decided to explore the idea of "people-to-people" exchanges with Americans while maintaining a stance firmly in opposition to American policy on many grounds. They funded, at a cost of perhaps \$500,000, a conference in Tripoli to which some 100 Americans, and some press, were invited to engage in an "Arab-American dialogue"—all expenses paid. FAS attended, with particular interest in the problem of terrorism, and filed this report interspersed with observations gleaned from a search of clipping files on Libya and terrorism.

Reading official translations of the Libyan press while enroute Libyan airlines one sees that Gathafi had just met with Idi Amin (pictures of whom were later seen plastered all over Tripoli). Former Vice President Agnew had just hit town and was being billed as the leader of the American delegation. The latter turned out to be totally false, was thoroughly denied by the American organizers, but was never retracted by the Libyan press. Indeed, Agnew had been invited to Libya a year earlier. Agnew was quoted, possibly with the same accuracy, as having:

"expressed his full appreciation of the Jamahiriya stands in the Arab area and towards current international problems . . . He concluded his statement by praising Colonel Muammar Al-Gathafi for his constructive efforts at both Arab and international levels."

Billy Carter had been in Tripoli earlier.

The Libyan press does not spare its opponents. Sadat



Tarzan in New York?

was referred to by Gathafi as being "of Jewish origin"* and another article refers to "the terrorist Yadel Yadin Deputy to the arch terrorist Menachem Begin."

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*"Colonel Gathafi pointed out that he was not with those who refer the participation of the Egyptian President in Stable David and his recognition of the Zionist enemy to the Egyptian President madness or to his Jewish origin." (Jamahiriya News Agency daily English news bulletin, October 7, 1978.)

LIBYA SEEKING NUCLEAR WEAPONS DESPITE ADHERENCE TO NPT

As noted within, journalists have reported unsuccessful Libyan attempts to purchase nuclear weapons from China in 1970, and subsequent efforts to purchase enriched nuclear materials suitable for fabricating bombs from Pakistan. In direct conversation with FAS's Director in Tripoli last month, a high Libyan official, Ahmed El-Shahati, head of the foreign Liaison Office of the People's General Congress, confirmed unequivocally that Libya is seeking nuclear weapons.

As an adherent to the Nonproliferation Treaty, Libya undertook not to "acquire" nuclear weapons and, specifically, "not to seek" assistance in their manufacture.

Presumably, the U.S. Government is aware of Libyan progress through intelligence methods. It is much less certain, however, whether the U.S. can do anything to preclude Libya becoming a nuclear power since U.S. contacts with Libya are mostly restricted to buying its oil and training 2500 of its foreign students.

However, Libya seems to have slowed its assistance to hijackers when the major industrial nations agreed

to prohibit their airlines from flying to nations that sheltered such terrorists. It may be necessary in this case also to mobilize the support of several leading industrial nations if adequate pressure is to be brought to bear.

Of particular interest is the fact that Libya is now negotiating with the Soviet Union and the International Agency for Atomic Energy (IAEA) for safeguards to cover a 400-megawatt reactor the Russians agreed last month to build in Libya. Should not the United States raise with the Soviet Union and IAEA, the likelihood that Libya might be as contemptuous of its obligations to IAEA as to its treaty obligations under the NPT?

It is increasingly evident that several nations, sometimes only loosely linked with the major industrial powers, may be moving toward nuclear status. We should like to believe that the United States had plans to take the lead in vigorous efforts to cut off this very dangerous trend. Libya would be a good place to begin.

The plane arrived through cotton candy clouds and landed under the baleful eye of a setting sun; light drizzle had broken a seven-month drought. The airport featured such slogans as, "In need, Freedom is Latent," and "Partners, not Wage Workers." The latter reflected the fact that additional factories are being "occupied" each week by their workers and the owners forced to accept the workers as partners. Owners will be compensated because "we are in the era of mass organized revolution, and we are not in the era of chaos or robbery and looting." Col. Gathafi is also outlawing the renting of houses; each person can have one and only one house.

The Libyans were celebrating "Revenge Day"—the day they had thrown out all the Italians. On color television in the lounge, one could see Col. Gathafi in full military regalia haranguing 40,000 soldiers holding rifles (empty, one later learned) for two and a half hours.

Monday Night Reception

At the Monday night reception, it became evident that most of the American delegates selected by "Dialogue" were from states like Idaho (20% of the entire delegation). Wyoming and Louisiana had contributed a state representative or state senator and quite a few people doing business with the Libyans. This, it was later learned, was a conscious policy of the organizers to find people from states that were not "already controlled by the Zionists" so as to generate some Arab political influence. About twenty-five percent of the participants from America were of Arab origin.

The American side included a few better known personalities, including: Senator Fulbright (introduced warmly as a "true friend of liberty and of all mankind"); Najeeb Halaby, former President of Pan American and new father-in-law to King Hussein; Hisham Sharabi, a Palestinian by birth, a brilliant Arabist scholar, holder of the chair donated by the Libyans to Georgetown University, and currently President of the National Association of Arab Americans (NAAA); Peter Krogh, Dean of the Georgetown School of Foreign Service; and Dean Brown, President of the Middle East Institute and former Ambassador to Jordan.

The Arab side, it became quickly apparent, was firmly in the camp of those who reject the Sadat initiative of going to Jerusalem and/or the Camp David accord. Having paid for all aspects of the conference, the Libyans had invited only Arab rejectionists, and few enough of them. There were no Saudi representatives and virtually no one from Jordan or Egypt; even Syria and the P.L.O. were only barely represented. It was really a Libyan-American dialogue.

Tuesday Morning

The Beach Hotel, on the Mediterranean, looked in quite passable condition, but the room lacked hot water. Examining Col. Gathafi's two "Green Books" one sees his message to the world. The first describes a Third Universal Theory whereby both communism and capitalism can be avoided and democracy assured. The second solves the world's economic problems. These are as widely circulated in Libya as Mao's little red book was in China. The writing is super-sophomoric; an American political science professor of Arab origin noted that, had it been written by one of his students, he would have given it an "F."

Part One, "The Solution of the Problem of Democracy,"

takes 10,000 words. It condemns majority rule ("... a candidate with 51% of the votes leads to a dictatorial governing body disguised as a false democracy, since 49% of the electorate is ruled by an instrument of governing they did not vote for.") Representation is also a "fraud" because the candidate immediately after winning "usurps the sovereignty" of the people and acts for them. Plebiscites are unacceptable because citizens can only say "yes" or "no."

What to do?

"The Green Book announces to the people the happy discovery of the way to direct democracy, in a practical form... NO DEMOCRACY WITHOUT POPULAR CONGRESSES AND COMMITTEES

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*Nobel Laureates

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EVERYWHERE." (Capitals in original).

After this dazzling theory, one is struck by the fact that the tiny Green Book ends on a schizophrenic note that would seem to denounce itself, to wit:

"Theoretically, this is the genuine democracy. But realistically, the strong always rule, i.e., the stronger part in the society is the one that rules."

I ask the American organizers, if I am to be participant or press; they say press.

The first speaker is Ahmed El-Shahati, head of the foreign Liaison Office, People's General Congress. Shahati is a mild, patient man with a permanent expression of pensive apprehension. His responsibility is greeting and dealing with foreign groups on a party (or "people-to-people" basis) as opposed to official ministerial delegations. He calls on the American people to understand the "realities" and to struggle against the "biased media." (The biased media were, throughout the conference, the whipping boy of the Arab speakers who explained each and every disagreement as indicating the brainwashing our "Zionist controlled" media had provided us.)

The dialogue, Shahati said, would "strengthen the ties between the peoples" and against the "interests of Israel." He said American official policy called Libya one of "America's first enemies." (In fact, the State Department gives as its goal "development of cordial and cooperative relations and promotion of mutually advantageous commercial and economic interests," and it bends over backward not to confirm what indeed it thinks. The Pentagon's position is different. It lists Libya fourth among the powers with which we might someday have to take military action—after the Soviet Union, China, and North Korea. As evidence of DOD distrust, the aircraft carrier John F. Kennedy went on military alert while passing outside Libyan waters on September 7.)

The chief organizer of the American delegation, who functioned as its head, was Richard Shadyac. He gives a speech modeled on Martin Luther King's "I have a dream." Referring to his blood ties to the Arab world and to America, he suggested, with some lack of felicity, that he hoped "to see the blood flow both ways." He warned the Arabs to stop blaming the media:

"You must stop your negative complaints and use the media as the Zionists use the media. If you take the time to do this, your views will also be heard."

(The Libyans did not take his advice. Neither Col. Gathafi nor any of his ministers seem to have given any private interviews to the press or met outside the conference with anyone except the organizers. To Shadyac's credit he also observed that, "You don't resolve differences by killing.")

Shadyac is a Washington area lawyer of Lebanese origin who is probably the leading political fundraiser for Arab Americans. He complains privately that the Arabs know only the generosity of personal hospitality, but not that of political fund giving, which makes his avocation difficult. He admires, he says, the political skills and readiness to back them up with funds of the American Jews, and is just trying to hold up his end.

Next we heard from Major Jalloud, the number two man in the government. It was Major Jalloud who was sent to Peking in 1970, immediately after the 1969 revolution, to ask Premier Chou En-Lai to sell him an atomic bomb, but was politely rejected. He tried again on August 4 to purchase missile and nuclear technology as part of



Major Jalloud — Traveler in China

Libyan recognition of Peking. Major Jalloud is young (about 30), a lean and muscular, unpretentious person. Major Jalloud said:

"The enmity between Libya and the U.S. was not in anybody's interest. The citizens who came here are working more in the interests of America than the U.S. Government."

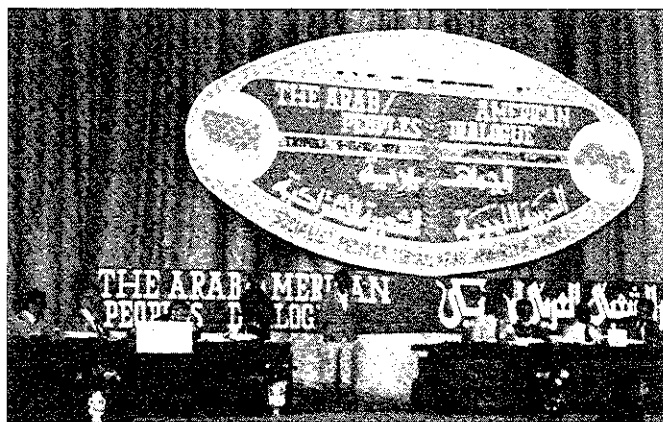
The Libyans, he felt, believed in cooperation and were trying to "demonstrate to the world certain fundamental principles." Major Jalloud attacked the "Zionists," quoting Nixon as saying that "Zionists in Palestine were a cultural extension of the U.S.," referring to the "Zionist Octopus in America"; and to Zionists gangs in 1967 trying to expand their territory (the 1967 war). (This war evidently triggered, in Libya, first a mass destruction of the property of the Jews who have now left entirely and then, later, the revolution of Gathafi, joined by Jalloud and ten other revolutionaries.)

Jalloud observed that friends and relatives of the visitors had expressed surprise at their going to Libya in some cases, saying "Will he ever come back?" He laughed and attributed this to the media. Later Shahati returned to this theme. The Libyans are clearly conscious of their world image as terrorists.

Senator Fulbright defended the Camp David accords as not being exactly to his liking but as the best alternative and urged Arab participation in the subsequent negotiation. (The Libyan Arab press noted only his negative remarks about Camp David and ignored completely his support of it.) Shahati speaks at great length rebutting Fulbright. (It is apparent that this is not a people-to-people dialogue but a Libyan Government dialogue to American people.)

The Libyan position on Israel is that all Jews who came after 1948 should go back to where they came from and a secular state should exist in place of Israel. (Gathafi had defended the plausibility of this policy a year before by explaining that even Italians *born* in Libya had been forced to leave Libya, and white colonialists who had been in Southern Africa for generations would have to leave their country in due course.)

At lunch, a Syrian, Egyptian, and American all disputed my view that the Egyptian people were tired of the war and wanted to drop out of it; they blamed the Egyptian media for brainwashing and/or giving a wrong impression.



Fulbright and Gathafi in dialogue

A pleasant Palestinian-turned-American explains to me in the corridor that, though the treatments are different, the Palestinians have a hard time choosing between the unfair discriminatory treatment they receive in most Arab countries and the repressive treatment they get from the Israelis.

Najeeb Halaby asks what is the alternative to Camp David, "Geneva or warfare." The ponderous answer given by an Arab participant was:

"Through understanding without distortion, we can lay foundations for principles which can specify and clarify the ramifications of the cause of Palestine."

A second Arab participant gave a revealing insight into the leash put on delegates when he said:

"I don't have an answer. We are popular delegates; we don't have the power to answer such questions."

In short, we just work here. One had seen it all before in Soviet and Chinese people-to-people exchanges.

A trip to an English language book store reveals no political literature at all except a fatuous and sycophantic book by Muscat about Libya—not even a biography of Gathafi. But a few interesting non-Libyan intellectuals can be found at the conference such as the socialist Deputy Mayor of the Moroccan city of Rabat and the President of the Socialist Party of Cyprus. On the whole, they consider the Libyan leadership to be decent young men experimenting with social structures in a somewhat naive but not harmful way—"good kids" one of them said. But much in the Libyan approach, they felt, had the "Alice in Wonderland" quality of persons who had come from nowhere into control of a large, oil-rich country.

One trouble with these impressions is that there is a Janus-faced side to at least Gathafi. Asked a year before about his ten years of exercising power, he told a Western reporter:

"We found a non-idealistic world, hypocritical, lying, decadent, without morality. There's a crisis of conscience. It's very hard to live your idealism in such a world. It gives me psychological problems."

Gathafi has strong impulses to retaliate. When the Israelis shot down a lost Libyan airliner which refused to respond to signals and was flying over a restricted area (Dimona), he tried to have the Queen Elizabeth II sunk by a submarine because it was carrying wealthy American and British Jews to Israel.

In the evening session, an Arab-American gave a fiery speech saying the goal was first to win back Egypt and then the Sinai. The Libyan television signed off with a news show portraying Sadat with the one-eyed Dayan

standing behind him; no clearer message to the Libyans was possible.

Wednesday Morning

The Canadian Air Force exercises make a subsequent cold shower quite acceptable. At breakfast, a professor at Georgetown discusses the disappearance of the Imam and his entourage after a trip to Libya a month before. He felt it might have been Savak, CIA, or Israeli assassination! My obvious disbelief spurred him to ask about terrorism in the meeting.

(The Imam Moussa Sadr, spiritual leader of Lebanon's 900,000 Shiite Moslems had left Beirut August 25 to attend ceremonies marking Gathafi's revolution. The Libyans say he and his two associates left on August 31, but there is no evidence that they entered Italy and the Italians deny it. The Shiite leaders in Lebanon speculate that he was arrested as a threat to Gathafi's own ambitions for religious leadership. Christian newspapers in Beirut suggest it was a dispute over the use of funds given the Imam by Gathafi to finance political activity among the Shiites of Southern Lebanon.)

In the halls, senior American delegates are complaining of the lengthy rhetoric; of the failures to answer questions by the Arabs; and of the unwillingness of Arab speech-makers to do anything concrete for the Arab cause except give speeches. Local American consular officials are reporting that the local press is saying that all Americans agreed the American press is unfair.

Shahati responds on terrorism by saying that the Palestinians are the main problem; that they are a just cause; and that the Libyans get accused of terrorism when they stand with the Palestinian cause. There had been 700 cases of world hijacking, he said, but only three had landed in Libya: a Japanese plane with 180 passengers; a plane from Vienna with the OPEC oil ministers, and the Entebbe plane.

(Of course, the vast majority of these 700 were criminal hijackings for ransom or escape, or hijacking for political escape e.g., from the Soviet bloc. Few indeed were terrorist: political hijackings for the purpose of applying political pressure by the use of innocent hostages. Of these, a good number involve Libya. The Israeli Embassy lists these high visibility examples. (Perhaps significantly

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Sept. 1971	Hijacking of Jordanian Alia plane by Libyan terrorist. Terrorist arrested, then released.
Oct. 29 1972	Hijacking of German Lufthansa plane by two terrorists who demanded release of murderers of Israeli Olympic sportsmen in Munich. Hijackers found refuge in Libya, where they were released.
April 9 1973	Two units of so-called "National Youth Organization for the Liberation of Palestine," a terrorist organization sponsored, financed and trained by Libya, carried out two attacks in Nicosia, Cyprus: One against residence of Israel Ambassador, the other against El Al plane at Nicosia Airport.
July 20 1973	Boeing 747 of Japan Airlines, en route from Paris to Tokyo via Amsterdam, hi-

	jacked by five terrorists and landed in Libya; blown up on July 24, 1973 while in Libya. Terrorists later released by Libyan authorities.
Aug. 5 1973	Indiscriminate massacre by terrorists at Athens Airport. 5 passengers killed, 55 wounded. One of two terrorist groups that carried out attack arrived from Benghazi, Libya. Terrorists stated they were trained in Libya; released and flown to Libya March 1, 1974.
Sept. 5 1973	Attack by terrorists using missiles against El Al plane foiled in Rome. 5 terrorists arrested, several SAM-7 surface-to-air missiles supplied by Libya found in their possession. 3 terrorists released and flown to Libya March 1, 1974.
Dec. 17 1973	Terrorists belonging to Libyan-sponsored "National Youth Organization of Palestine attacked Pan American plane and Lufthansa plane in Rome International Airport. 32 passengers killed. One plane extensively damaged: terrorists, with 13 hostages, flown to Kuwait on second plane.
March 3 1974	British plane, en route from Beirut to Amsterdam, hijacked by terrorists, members of Libyan-sponsored terrorist organization. Terrorists blew up plane after passengers and crew were released.
Sept. 5 1972	Murders of Israel Athletes at Munich Olympic Games used Libyan diplomatic pouches for transfer of weapons to Germany. After they had been killed by German police, they were accorded, on Gathafi's instructions, a heroes' State funeral in Libya.
March 1 1973	Terrorists who occupied Saudi Arabian Embassy in Khartoum and murdered U.S. Ambassador and American and Belgian diplomats had used Libyan diplomatic pouch for transfer of arms to Khartoum. After the murder, terrorists transferred to Libya.
Sept. 28 1973	Jewish immigrants from Soviet Union taken hostage on train arriving in Austria via Czechoslovakia. Terrorists later flown to Libya and released.
Feb. 2 1974	3 terrorists took over Greek ship and demanded release of 2 terrorists who had carried out massacre at Athens Airport in August 1973. Terrorists flown to Libya and released.

have been answered; Libya was not "in the accused box," and there were "bad motives" behind the question. Shahati now answers him at length, explaining apologetically that these were friendly guests and deserved an answer and referring to an American bill in Congress on terrorism. (This Ribicoff bill requires the State Department to submit every six months a list of countries that give sanctuary to terrorists, after which the President could bar foreign aid, cut off arms sales, or turn down export licenses of equipment that might contribute to terrorism. Libya, Iraq, and Yemen are already on a *de facto* list submitted by State to Senator Javits.)

—Continued on page 6

PRESIDENT MUAMMAR AL-GATHAFI AS PORTRAYED BY MOHAMED HEIKAL IN "THE ROAD TO RAMADAN"

Heikal is introduced to Gathafi, immediately after the revolution, by a Libyan aide who says of Gathafi, "You can't imagine how pure he is." Gathafi offers Egypt unity with Libya and notes that Libya is a second front with "depth, hundreds of miles of Mediterranean coastline, airfields, and money." Heikal reports to Nasser that the revolutionaries are a "catastrophe" because they are "shockingly innocent—scandalously pure." Gathafi's knowledge of current events was "derived from newspapers" and quite limited; e.g., he asked Nasser, at their first meeting, whether Egypt had an atomic bomb.

In December, 1969, Gathafi was scandalized when he saw the chief of the Royal Cabinet kissing the hand of King Hassan and said:

"Does hand kissing still go on in the Arab world? Do we still stick to these relics of feudalism and slavery? How are we ever going to liberate Palestine if we still kiss hands?"

Discovering that the Minister of the Interior was General Oufkir, who was suspected of killing Ben Barka and that another man present had been involved in a bribery scandal, Gathafi went straight off to see Nasser and said:

"At this conference, we are surrounded by thieves and conspirators and spies. No good can come of such a gathering. It would be better for us not to be here. I'm going home tomorrow."

At the Cairo summit which took place during the struggle in Jordan between King Hussein and the Palestinians, Gathafi urged the sending of troops to Jordan saying:

"If we are faced with a madman like Hussein who wants to kill his people, we must send someone to seize him, handcuff him, stop him from doing what he's doing, and take him off to an asylum."

When King Feisal objected: "I don't think we should call an Arab king a madman who should be taken to an asylum." Gathafi said: "But all his family are mad. It's a matter of record."

Angry at the Israeli shooting down of the Libyan Airlines plane lost over Israeli territory in February, 1972, in April he ordered an Egyptian submarine based at Tripoli to sink the Queen Elizabeth II en route to Israel with wealthy British and American Jews. Sadat intervened.

Heikal sums up that Gathafi was a "simple Puritan caught up in a complicated world full of intrigue and maneuver"—"Tarzan in New York." □

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they provide no dramatic recent examples.)

Shahati said he had received a letter from a Congressman describing the location in Libya of Carlos, the world's most famous terrorist, but that the Libyans had gone there and found nothing. He ended by saying that we don't accept attacks on the innocent.

A bit later a speaker from the floor said he had received a "clarification" and that the terrorism charge should not

Richard Shadyac supports Shahati from the chair and says that, since no one rebutted the Libyan statements, "So now armed with facts on hijacking, I know every American here will write his Congressman about it!" What a whitewash!

In between these statements Senator McClure's Administrative Assistant (Mike Hathaway) observes that not just Zionists but all American Jews, and indeed a majority of American Christians, do support Israel and hence its existence is not debatable in America; the only question was Resolution 242.

And in a brilliant extemporaneous summary, Halaby ticked off at least ten points rebutting an Arab legal attack on the Camp David accords.

Colonel Gathafi

Gathafi had come in earlier and, sitting in the back, took in the debate. In due course, he came forward, walking onto the stage, jaunty and serene. In what was either a *faux pas* or a snub, he shook hands with the right side (Arab) panel, and then sat down with the middle panel of chairmen, ignoring the left side (American) panel, on which Senator Fulbright was sitting. Prodded, he rose and was introduced.

His speech was delivered without ranting but was completely uncompromising. Americans were making aggression against "us" (which means the Arab world, via support of Israel, or perhaps the Third World). (Actually the U.S. has done nothing to Libya except decline to let it purchase: 400 heavy trucks ordered by its Defense Ministry, and designed to carry Libyan tanks; some C-130 cargo aircraft; and two Boeing 727s. Since Libya is at odds with four of its five neighbors, and prepared also to use its military might against Israel by acting as an Arab arsenal, the U.S. Government is understandably reluctant to be involved in selling military equipment to use against American friends.)

On terrorism, Gathafi said he is prepared to discuss all the ways in which people were "terrorized" including those associated with hunger and nuclear weapons at a U.N. conference. (But since many of the issues he listed as "terrorist" can only be solved by the millennium, they constitute a defense of international terrorism by mixing it with a host of more standard problems.)*

In defense of the Palestinians, he argued that when they hijack an airplane "the one who hijacked the airplane is the U.S. since you helped the person who helped push them out of their land."

Gathafi made four specific warnings to the effect that U.S. policy might push Libya into joining the Warsaw pact. But when a reporter sent his newspaper a Telex that Libya had "hinted" it might do this, the Libyans intercepted the copy and complained that it was a misrepresentation. Their own English language newspaper of the conference eliminated all mention of the threats. And later their official English language summary put

*"U.S. Government documents define "international terrorism as:

"the threat or use of violence for political purposes when (1) such action is intended to influence the attitude and behavior of a target group wider than its immediate victims, and (2) its ramifications transcend national boundaries." (*International Terrorism in 1977; National Foreign Assessment Center RP 78-10255U August 1978*)

out a watered down version. ("Col. Gathafi indicated that some quarters are now officially proposing the idea that the progressive Arab countries should join Warsaw pact only to defy America . . . in spite of the fact that we disapprove of pacts . . .").

Apparently, Gathafi's subordinates felt he had gone too far; a desire to lead the Arab world prevents him from suggesting too clearly that he might bring communism into the area—a notion offensive to the religious Arabs. (However, Libya now has 2,200 military advisers from the Soviet Union or one Soviet adviser for every 15 Libyan soldiers! They train Libyan troops down to the company level.)

Gathafi called U.S. talk about human rights "demagoguery" and said he "despised" this approach; how could we talk of human rights while our fleet was "terrorizing him." (Gathafi has announced elsewhere that he hopes to become the third naval power in the Mediterranean after Italy and France in the next three years; ten submarines—six of them Soviet—have been ordered.)

Gathafi said he hoped the precedent was established that America would use force, since that precedent would be valuable later for Libya; he laughed that "America won't be able to object, it will have set the precedent."

He concluded by saying, "and so you have heard from the person considered to be the leader of international terrorism; the person who is supposed to be mad."

Senator Fulbright

Asked to comment, Senator Fulbright seized the high ground and said he accepted the complaints of Gathafi as an indictment of human frailty; all the great powers had acted badly and only the lack of power of the smaller states had prevented them from doing so also. But, on the whole, America had a very good record.

Najeeb Halaby politely, but forcefully, said that it was his understanding—which he wanted confirmed—that the Libyan policy on hijackers was that they had signed the Hague convention and would support the Montreal and Tokyo convention. But, after a moment of silence, another speaker was called and no confirmation provided. Halaby wrote out his opinion and sent it to the chair and received back some kind of assent, but at dinner that night, when Halaby spoke on hijacking, Shahati refused to confirm the understanding, despite intense questioning. Finally, when I asked would they sign the Montreal and Tokyo conventions, he said, "Yes, even conventions on hijacking on the moon."**

But it was obvious that this posed problems. Libyan summaries of the conference eliminated all mention of the substance of Halaby's questions or speech and said that Gathafi had distinguished terrorism from freedom fighting (the official Libyan distinction) and so on. On the whole, the Libyans seem to be backing off of hijacking but unwilling to go too far in saying so. (At a Bonn summit conference, the seven major noncommunist industrialized nations, with 70 percent of the noncommunist

*The Hague Convention requires states to make unlawful seizure of aircraft punishable by severe penalties but does not really require the state to extradite the hijacker.

The Montreal convention is broader in covering acts of violence against passengers, etc.

The Tokyo convention is designed to ensure that all hijacking related offenses are covered by the jurisdiction of at least one state.



Libyan children converse

world air traffic, agreed to cut off air services to and from a country that fails to prosecute or extradite hijackers or to return a hijacked aircraft. This alone is likely to have cooled the Libyan ardor for hijacking.)

There are a number of theories about Libyan terrorism. One is that the Vienna hijacking of oil ministers frightened them into cooling it on brazen and visible forms of terrorism such as hijacking. Meanwhile, they seem to be moving out into socialist front group meetings.

It is possible that even Gathafi is having trouble holding back on certain terrorist activities. According to the March 20, 1978, issue of "To the Point International," the abortive palace coup of January, 1978 against Gathafi was led by Captain Mohammed Idris Shariff, who is thought to have been responsible for funding terrorist groups for the attempts to assassinate various heads of state; and for the maintenance of numerous guerrilla training camps in Libya. The article quotes "reliable sources" as saying that Gathafi had ordered Shariff to stop funneling funds to terrorist organizations. Shariff was reluctant to do so. Gathafi ordered him to appear for a dressing down on the issue. But the plotters—misreading the order to Shariff to appear and thinking that the plot had been uncovered—speeded up their timetable to assassinate Gathafi and Jalloud, which aborted. This story is given with some detail. Whether or not it has any truth to it, it makes the point that Gathafi, even if he wanted to, would have trouble with the terrorists to whom he has given hospitality, were he too quickly to try to turn off the spigot of support. But few believe he is trying. The San Francisco Chronicle's Tom Weber recently reported from Libya:

"To give you some idea of the incredible congregation of revolutionary leaders here at any one time, within one seven-hour day I met with a black African military strategist, three Palestinian extremists, the military high command of the Moro National Liberation Front of the Philippines, and had casual introductions to the underground leaders of Panama, Tunisia, Turkey and Sicily. I just missed meeting the man from Malaysia." (October 9, 1978)

The Palestinian extremists he met were trying diligently to assassinate Sadat and a Red Brigade representative was complaining that there was no wine or prostitution available in Libya. Large guerrilla training camps had been

established in several mountain areas of Libya making available everything from hand guns to airplanes. In explanation of all this, Shahati had told Weber:

"We do not consider resistance to be terrorism because it is against imperialism and all of the colonial regimes in the world."

* * *

"We are against hijacking and we are against any kind of terrorism unless it is in the cause of national resistance." (October 10, 1978)

Back at the conference, a midwestern farmer says, mildly, apropos the charge of "food" terrorism, that America has provided 80% of all world food aid.

Later, polling the most senior Arabists at the Dialogue, I find that two think Gathafi is "not educable," one thinks he is a "pipsqueak" and a fourth says that he had heard Gathafi was paranoid and schizophrenic and now believes it.

On Friday, an Arabian Nights type luncheon banquet was held in a tent presided over by Major Jalloud. I asked Jalloud if he would like to come to America; he said under present circumstances it would be "difficult." His English, he said, does not get much practice, but he was in San Antonio, Texas in 1966-67. He said he had full respect for the American people, and neither Libyan religion nor its culture permitted them to hold another people in enmity.

That evening I dined privately with Shahati and his group of Western-trained people-to-people entrepreneurs. I opened the discussion by saying that our scientists were often quite tolerant of anti-American statements and widely varying politics. But we did draw the line at the use of science for killing innocent people. Were they going to persist in supporting terrorists, and were they seeking an atomic bomb? They were. Shahati made no bones about it, saying they would seek all weapons with which to defend themselves. To be sure I understood, I asked again; were they seeking to maintain the right to get a bomb or actually trying to get the bomb itself? It was the latter.

(Libya is a signatory to both the Nonproliferation Treaty and the Partial Test Ban Treaty. Yet newspaper reports show that Libya has offered the Pakistanis cash with which to circumvent the French reluctance to follow through on the reprocessing plant in return for weapons grade plutonium. The Russians are, meanwhile, helping Libya build a nuclear plant of about 400 megawatts along with a research center and laboratories.)

Conclusion

In January, 1978, Gathafi told an interviewer:

"Please, all of you from so many countries, ask your scientists to come to Libya and help us."

Should we or should we not?

Libya, under Gathafi, is preparing for war. Referring to his weapons as "the arsenal of Islam," Gathafi is deeply and religiously devoted to Israel's destruction. And even this is only part of an ideological framework in which he sees the Third World's continuing need for long-term revolution and the eventual expulsion of colonial interlopers. There is every reason to think that he is preparing for jihad, holy war, as soon as he is sufficiently armed—and he has already far more weapons than his nation can man. He is engaged in sporadic struggle with four of his five neighbors, most if not all of which he has provoked himself usually directly and occasionally indirectly.



Veiled women amidst revolution

(Egypt may have precipitated the July, 1977 border clash to cool Gathafi ardor.)

His interest in weapons is so pronounced that, despite a GNP the size of Egypt (\$12 billion) with a population only 6% as large, Libya is short on cash and slow to pay its bills; this is the result of arms spending of billions each year.

At whatever level it funds terrorists, it is obviously going to harbor them because it believes in the rightness of their causes even when they are so radical as to be linked to European anarchists.

Gathafi's profession of high ideals, and the sometimes quiet style in which he delivers his views is in no way inconsistent with his record for violence and his commitment to revolutionary force. The most extreme of revolutionary anarchists have seen themselves similarly. The assassin of President Carnot of France wrote his mother:

"You know how good my heart is, how gentle I was when I was close to you. Today my heart is still the same: if I have committed this act it is because I was tired of seeing the world so wicked."

An authority assessed him this way:

"Muammar Gathafi is a simple man, a strange man, and certainly a dangerous man. He sees himself as

an Arab Napoleon who is destined to destroy Islam's foes, wreck corrupt dynasties and turn the wrath of Allah on his enemies."

Consistent with this, Libya has the worst record in the world for terrorism. Evidently drawing back now from the more brazen defiance of international laws, it has evidently moved to the level of "plausible deniability" (for which the slogan is "prove it") while justifying terrorism ideologically.

This country, signatory to the nonproliferation treaty, has asked the Chinese for a nuclear weapon once and for help on nuclear matters later, is actively working to get enriched material from the Pakistanis, and its officials evidently admit, as in my case, that they are seeking nuclear weapons. This violates the nonproliferation treaty provision "Not to seek . . . nuclear weapons."

What exactly is the United States going to do about it? Should not the United States and the Soviet Union exert whatever influence they have to prevent the Libyans from securing nuclear weapons? The Soviet Union is, unhappily, moving in quite the opposite direction by providing the Libyans with a nuclear plant under IAEA safeguards. But perhaps if the United States drew its attention to the record, cooperation might be possible.

There is a school of thought among American policy makers which is aware that a few countries are quietly working toward a nuclear weapon despite formal adherence to the nonproliferation treaty, but does not believe it serves U.S. purposes to call attention to it. Better, they feel, to leave the illusion for as long as possible that the nonproliferation treaty is working.

This may be true in some cases, but it hardly seems true in a case so extraordinary as that of Libya. We believe the Administration ought to be asked what it knows about this situation and what it plans to do about this treaty. American scientists ought to consider carefully whether they should cooperate with a government so dishonest, as to flout this treaty commitment, and one so prone to misuse science for terror and for nuclear violence. Libyan students in this country should be sought out and appraised of the situation. FAS members are urged to post this newsletter on bulletin boards and to send their ideas and opinions on this general problem.

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