

25X1

Approved For Release 2003/09/29 : CIA-RDP86T00608R000700130021-9

Approved For Release 2003/09/29 : CIA-RDP86T00608R000700130021-9

CIA/OSR / MEMO SF 75 0708
8 July 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: Deputy National Intelligence Officer
for Conventional Forces

SUBJECT : Development of Soviet Overseas
Facilities

1. In response to Andrew Marshall's request to you last week, [redacted] prepared two short papers that are attached. The first is a composite description of events leading to the development of Soviet facilities in Third World countries based on the Soviet experience in Cuba, Egypt and Somalia, including a chronology of milestone events. The second paper summarizes our knowledge and our view of arrangements which the Soviets probably have negotiated to establish overseas facilities.

25X1A

2. Because of the short deadline, these papers have not been vetted within OSR or the intelligence community. We urge that you inform Mr. Marshall of this fact when you pass these papers to him.

[redacted]

25X1A

Deputy Director
Strategic Research

Attachments:

"Patterns of Soviet Development
of Overseas Facilities" and
Chronology

"Terms of Agreement Governing
Soviet Use of Overseas

**MICRO
ONLY**

25X1

Patterns of Soviet Development
of Overseas Facilities

The Soviets have established major military facilities which could be labeled as "bases" in three countries outside the Warsaw Pact: Cuba, Egypt, and Somalia. While each case is unique, there are common elements which permit certain generalizations about the process. What follows is a composite picture, based on these precedents, of the "typical" process by which the Soviets would develop a military presence in a Third World country.

The Initial Relationship. The Soviet military presence begins on a small scale and without fanfare-- as a quid pro quo for economic and military aid. Soviet technicians arrive to carry out economic development programs. These programs include fishery, industry and power development as well as military-oriented development of ports and airfields. At the same time, or shortly thereafter, Moscow sends military advisers, followed by military hardware. Soviet naval units then begin periodic "show-the-flag" port calls. Up to this point, the pattern of development of the Soviet

[REDACTED]

military presence in the countries where the Soviets have acquired "bases" is essentially the same as that established in most of the Third World countries with which the Soviets have been involved.

Increased Soviet Involvement. Next is a phase of increasing Soviet involvement but one in which some of the developments can still be found in countries where the Soviets have not established "bases".

[REDACTED]

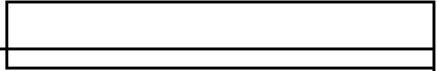
Soviet
naval visits eventually become regular as Soviet access to the host country's port facilities and anchorages becomes routine. Meanwhile, the Soviets strive to gain a measure of control over certain repair facilities in the country's ports--primarily for the use of Soviet diesel attack submarines. The Soviet Navy then wins approval to maintain auxiliary ships permanently in port to provide support to visiting Soviet combatants.



25X1

Establishment of Facilities Ashore. There follows a period of Soviet entrenchment which normally includes the construction of military facilities specifically for Soviet use, under Soviet control.

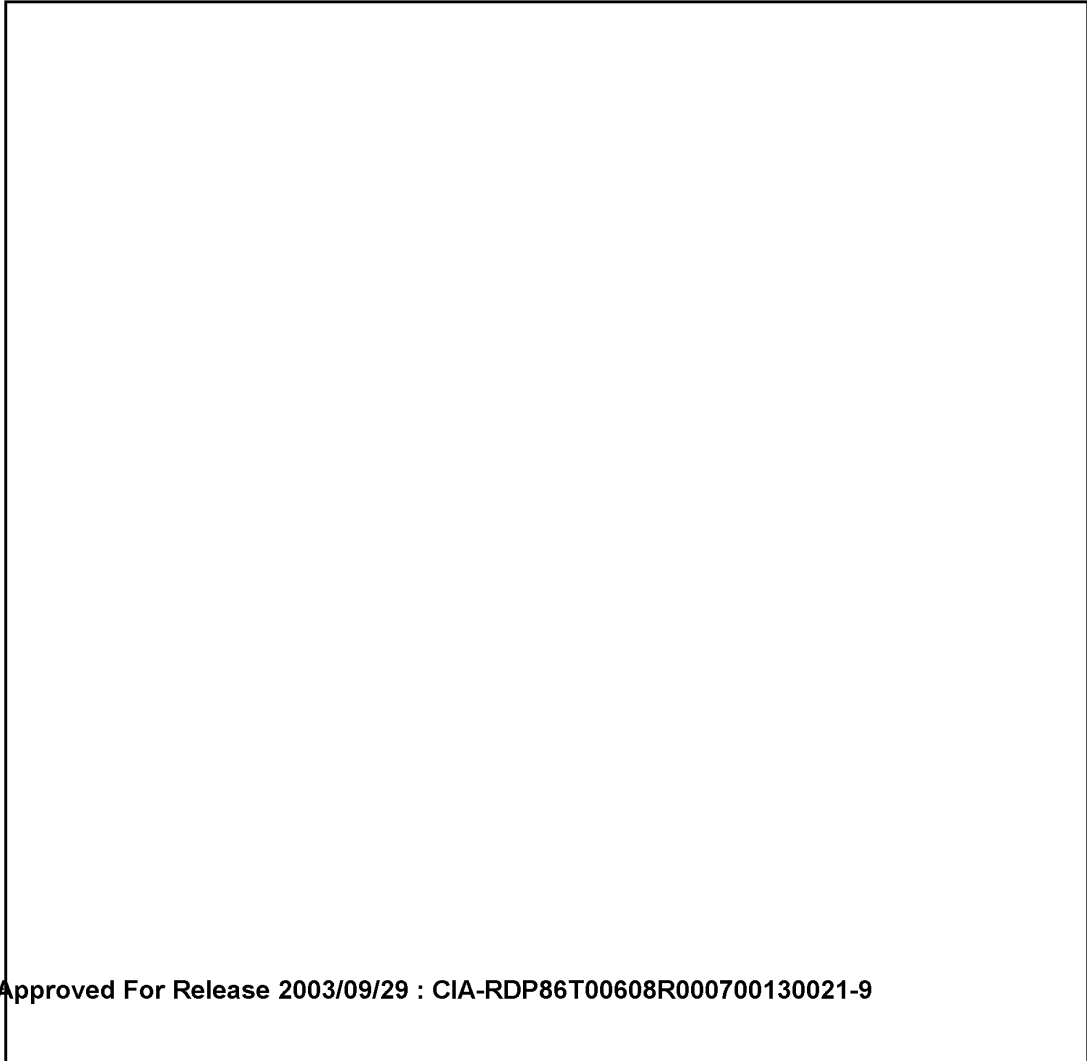
25X1

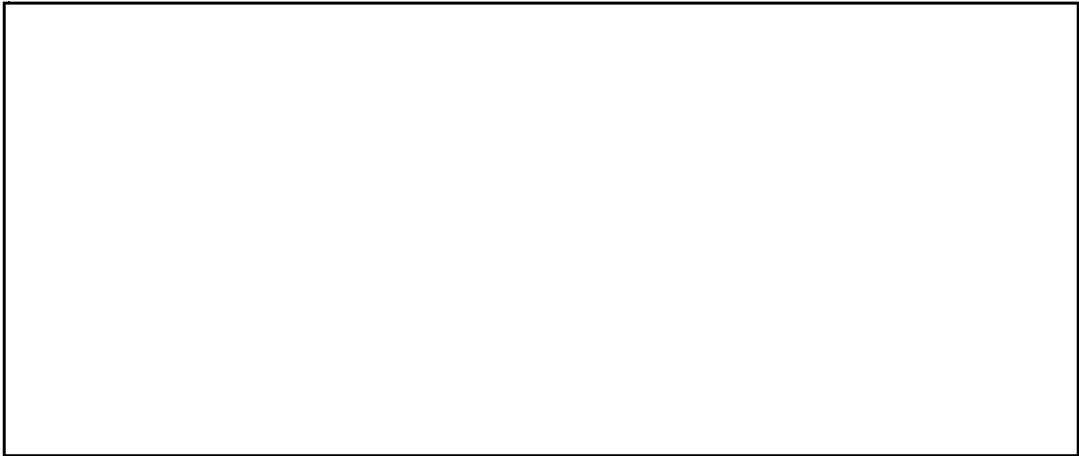


25X1

Most of the military facilities which the Soviets build overseas are for the support of the Soviet Navy.

25X1





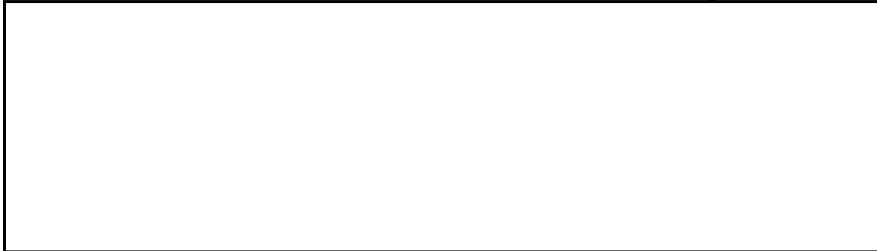
While the development of facilities for the Soviet Navy is underway, Soviet air and air defense (SAM, AAA, fighter) forces may also be introduced into the host country to help defend it from external threats as well as to protect the growing Soviet investment itself.



Chronology of Development of Soviet
Facilities in the Third World

A. Cuba:

-- Early 1960's: Soviet economic technicians and military advisors begin arriving.



25X1

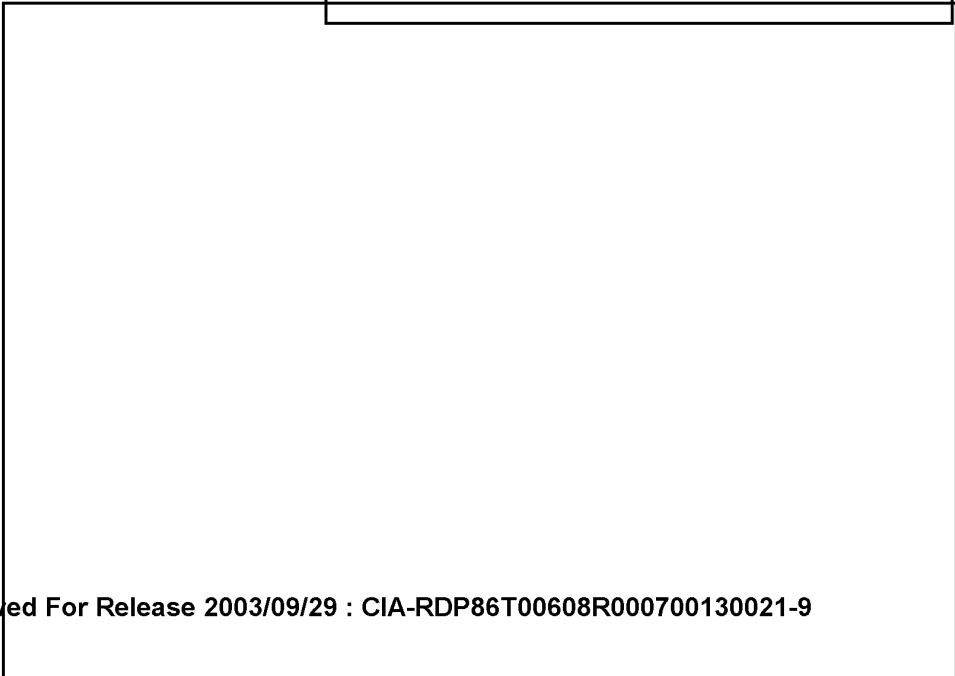
-- August 1962: Lourdes Military Headquarters is established at Torrens.



25X1

-- October 1962: The US announces that the Soviets have placed offensive missiles on Cuban soil and imposes a naval quarantine. (Preceding and succeeding events related to this occurrence are omitted from this chronology.)

25X1



25X1

-- July 1969: First Soviet warship deployment to Cuba. [redacted]

25X1

-- November 1969: Soviet Minister of Defense Grechko visits Cuba. [redacted]

25X1

-- April 1970: Raul Castro visits USSR. [redacted]

25X1

25X1

[redacted]

-- August-September 1970: Soviets begin rapid construction of housing and recreation facilities on Alcatraz Island at Cienfuegos, place submarine nets in the area, and bring in two nuclear submarine support barges. [redacted]

25X1

-- September-October 1970: US publicly accuses the USSR of developing a strategic naval base in Cuba for nuclear submarines. An authorized TASS statement officially denies that the USSR is developing "its own military base" in Cuba, but notes that Soviet ships have the "inalienable right" to enter foreign ports on official visits and "business calls", subject only to the permission of the host country. The Cuban press at first says nothing, then obliquely refers to the controversy but does not take note of the actual denials of construction of

25X1

25X1

a Soviet military base. Secret US-Soviet
diplomatic exchanges occur concerning Soviet
naval use of Cuba.

25X1

25X1

[Redacted]

25X1

B. Egypt:

-- 1962: Soviets design and supervise construction of El Gabbari shipyard in Alexandria. [Redacted]

25X1

-- 1964-5: Soviet warships begin periodic "show-the-flag" visits to Egyptian ports.

[Redacted]

25X1

-- October 1966: Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman officially denies a Western news story that the USSR had pressured Egypt to grant it naval bases. [Redacted]

25X1

[Redacted]

25X1

-- March 1968: Moscow concludes a five year agreement with Egypt granting the Soviet Navy access to Egyptian ports and anchorages. [Redacted]

25X1

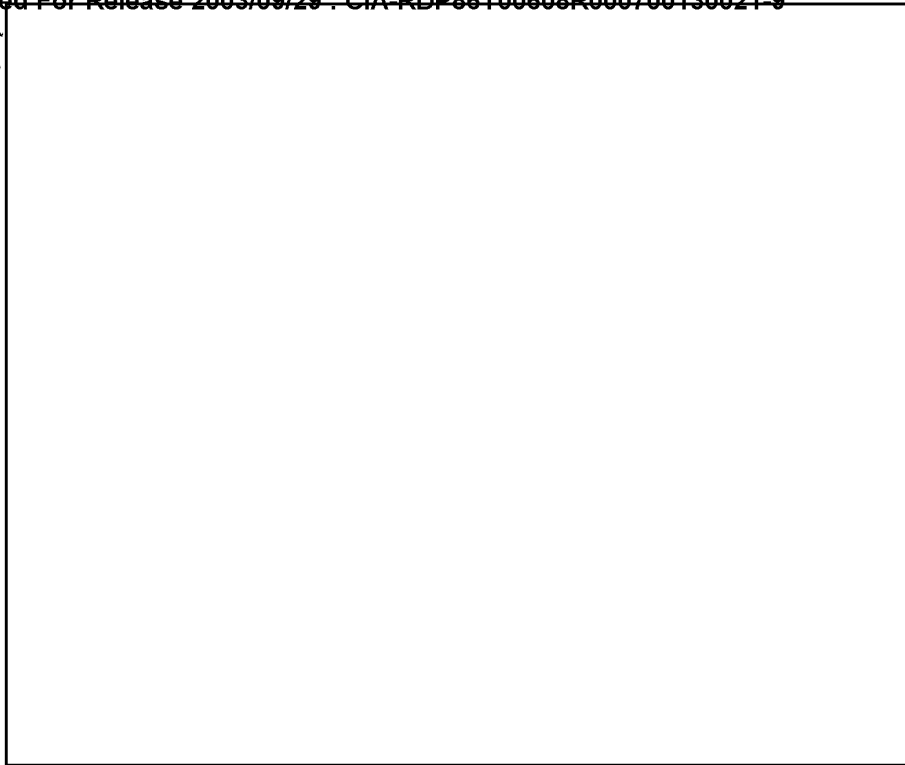
[Redacted]

25X1

25X1

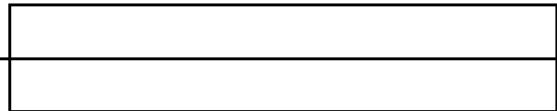
Approved For Release 2003/09/29 : CIA-RDP86T00608R000700130021-9

Approved For Release 2003/09/29 : CIA-RDP86T00608R000700130021-9

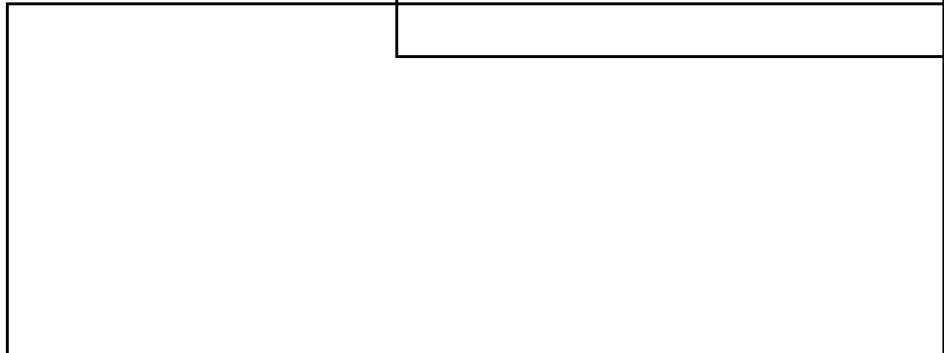


25X1

-- February 1971: TASS reports Egyptian statement that "there are no Soviet military bases on Egyptian soil".

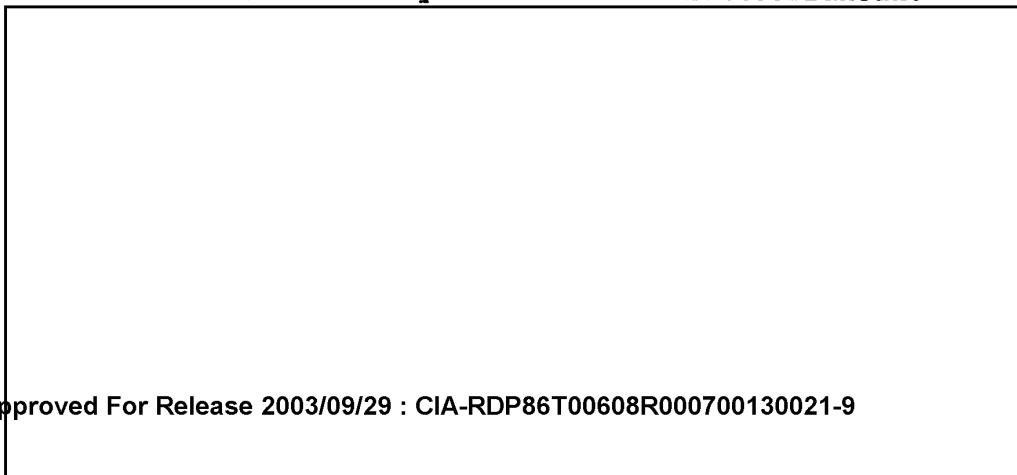


25X1



25X1

-- July 1971: Red Star states that the USSR does not have military bases in the Mediterranean.



25X1

25X1

Approved For Release 2003/09/29 : CIA-RDP86T00608R000700130021-9

Approved For Release 2003/09/29 : CIA-RDP86T00608R000700130021-9



25X1

C. Somalia:

25X1

-- Mid-1960s: Soviet economic technicians and military advisors begin arriving.

25X1

Modernization of port of Berbera begins.

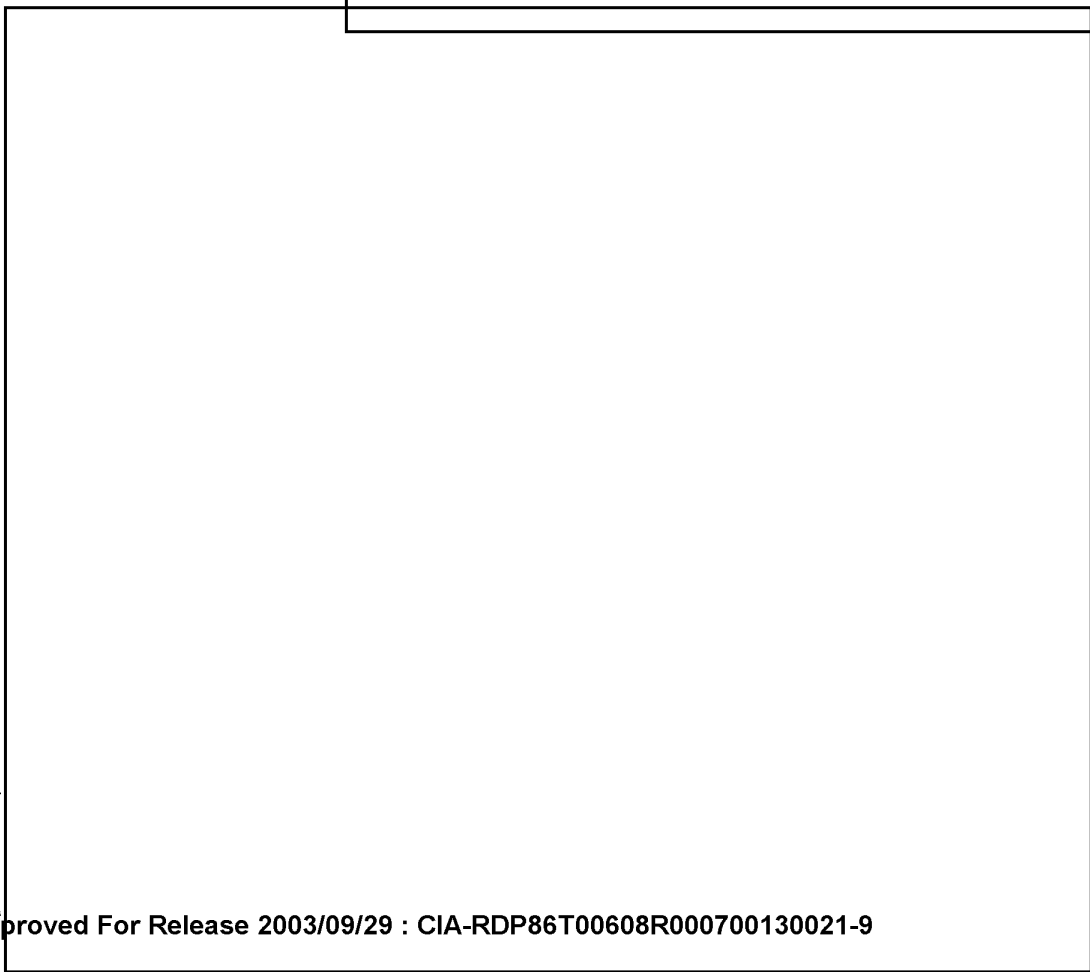


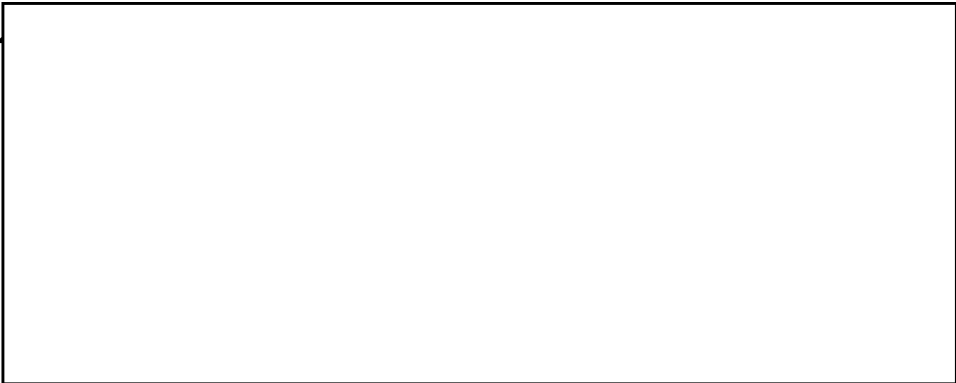
25X1

-- October 1969: Coup succeeds in Somalia and the present pro-Soviet government is established. Soviet military and economic aid increases.

25X1

25X1



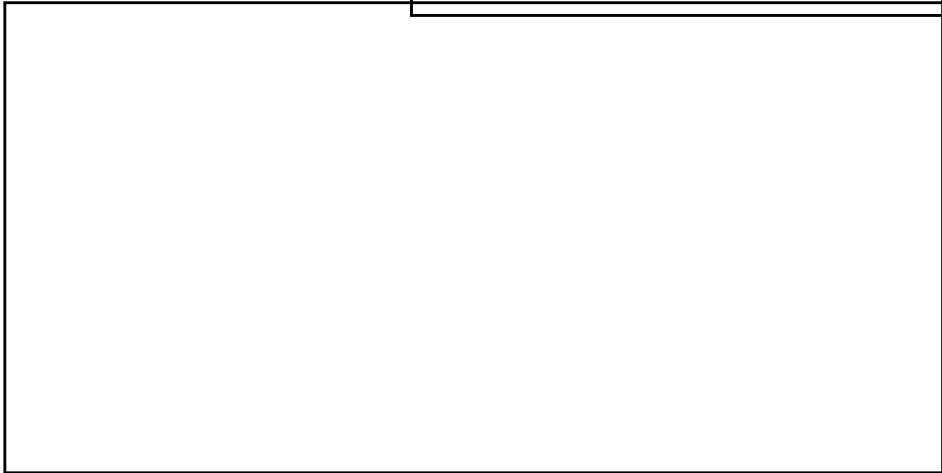


25X1

-- July 1973: Pravda dismisses Western press claims that the USSR is "building up military forces" in Somalia.



25X1



25X1D

During flurry of comment about Diego Garcia issue, Soviet media directly dismiss reports that USSR is operating naval bases in the Indian Ocean and charge that the US is planning to build a chain of bases in the Pacific and Indian Oceans.



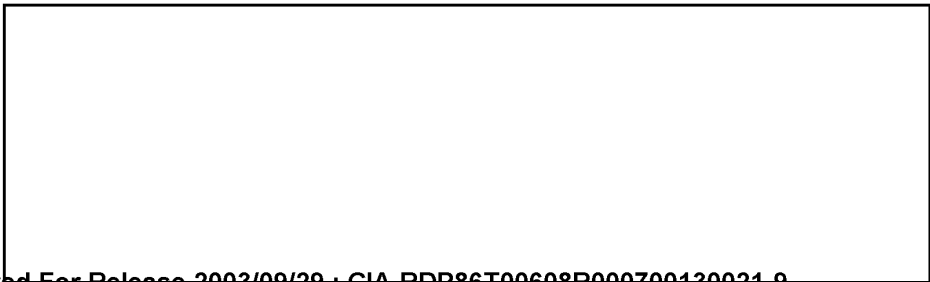
25X1

-- July 1974: The Soviet-Somali Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation is signed.



25X1

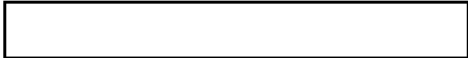
-- August 1974: TASS labels President Ford's statement that the USSR had three Indian Ocean




25X1

25X1




bases a "regrettable inaccuracy" and asserts that there is not a single Soviet naval base in the Indian Ocean. 

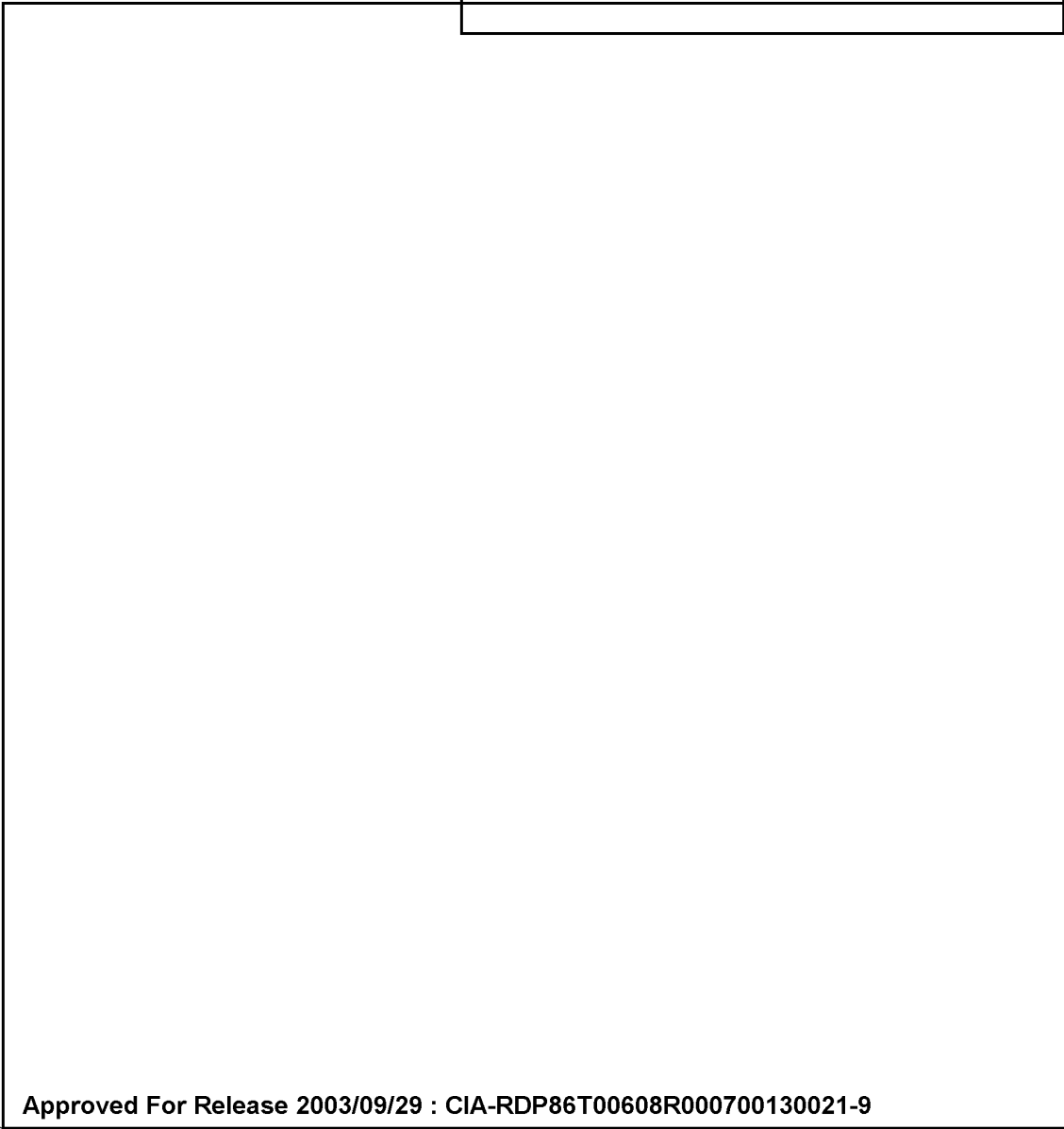
25X1

-- September 1974: TASS replays the denial by the Somali embassy in France of a US Defense Department statement that the USSR had a base in Somalia. 

25X1

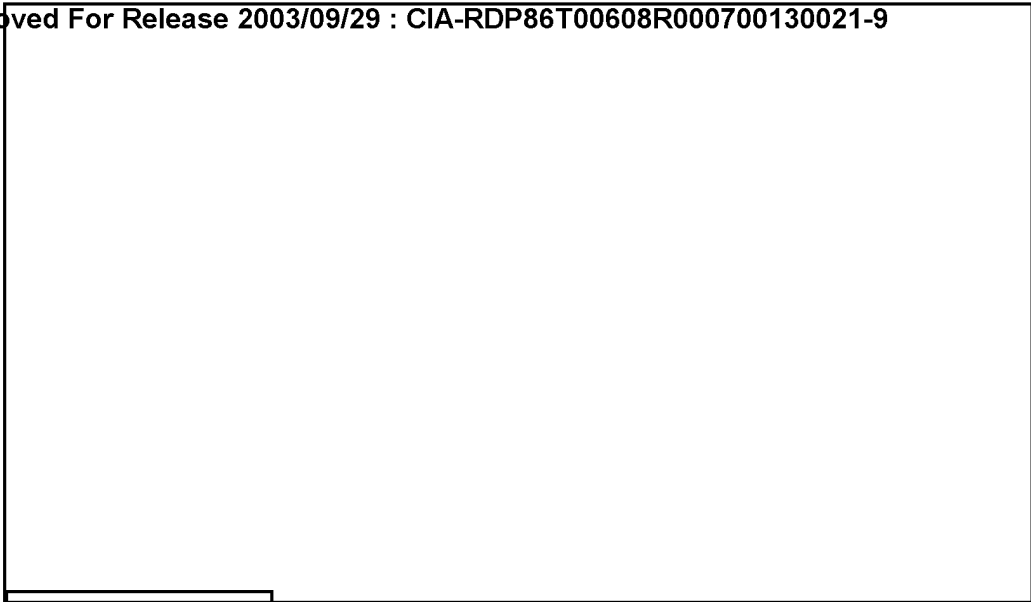
-- October 1974: Soviet-Somali Treaty is ratified and takes effect. 

25X1



25X1

25X1



25X1



DOD releases U-2 photos and Defense

Secretary Schlessinger's testimony on Berbera.

Soviet media pick up Somali denials of Soviet installations in Berbera, later obliquely allude to the missile facility as a "meat packing plant", and call the new airfield a highway. One Soviet

broadcast picks up the Pentagon admission that

25X1

the missiles  are of the

Styx type, introduced in 1959, and states that

these missiles are standard armament on missile


patrol boats around the world. Subsequent

media releases, however, revert to replaying

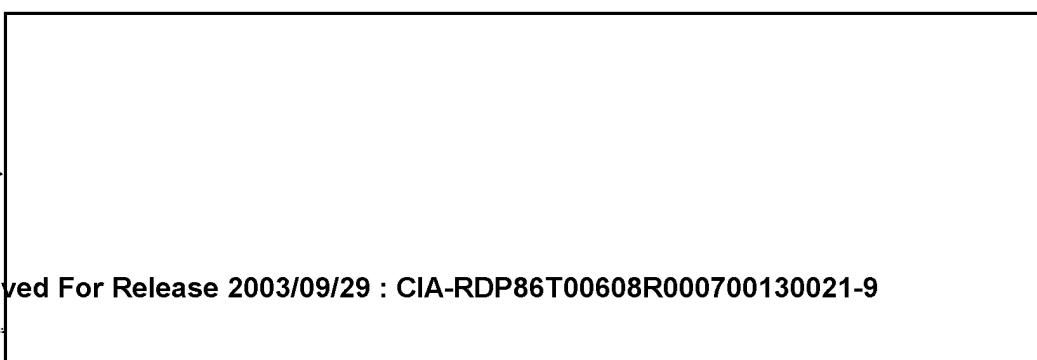
Somali denials of any Soviet bases and accusing


DOD of "misinformation" to strengthen its

25X1

argument for increased budget allocations. 

25X1

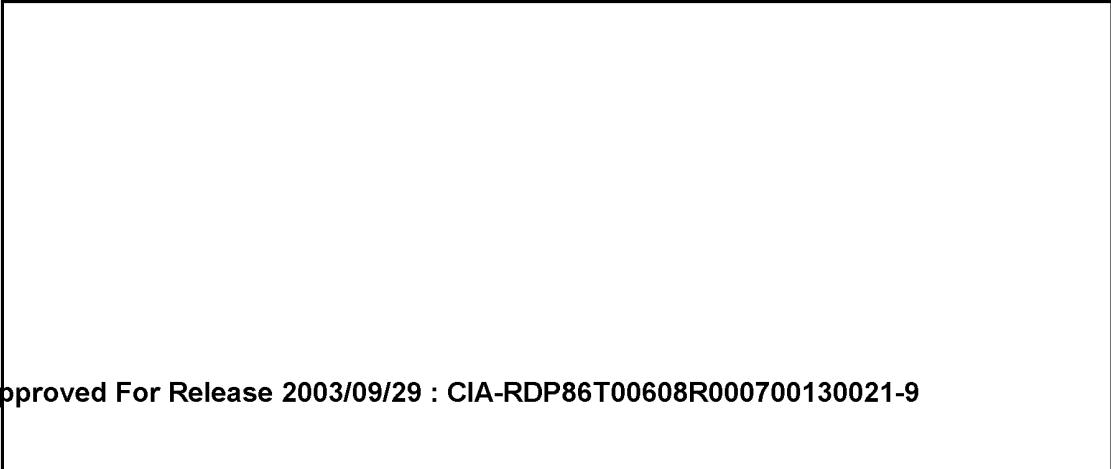




Terms of Agreement Governing Soviet Use
of Overseas Facilities

We know little about the specific terms of agreement for Soviet overseas facilities. It is probable that there are no "Status of Forces" agreements similar to those which the US negotiates when seeking base rights in foreign countries, but rather "understandings" expressed in secret codicils to the various military aid agreements.

Egypt. In the case of the Soviet presence in Egypt, President Sadat revealed in a speech in April 1974 that Soviet access to Egyptian port facilities is based on a five-year agreement initially concluded in March 1968. Sadat stated that he had renewed the agreement prior to its expiration in 1973, but he did not indicate whether the renewal period was five years. At the same time, Sadat said that the Soviets never truly had military bases in Egypt, only depots for reserve stocks and spare parts aboard Soviet ships in port.



25X1

25X1

25X1

Cuba. We have no knowledge of any agreement granting the Soviets the right to use Cuban facilities or to develop installations of their own on Cuban territory. Apparently such agreements exist, but none has been published.

Somalia. Similarly, we have no details on the arrangements the Soviets and Somalis have made regarding the use of the Somali port of Berbera. Economic and military aid agreements were signed in November 1971.

25X1

In July 1974, Soviet President Podgorny visited

25X1

25X1

Somalia and signed a treaty of friendship and cooperation.

25X1

In each of these three cases--even in Egypt--agreements probably have been intentionally ambiguous and therefore open to varying interpretations. The host country could interpret the agreement as merely granting the USSR access to facilities, rather than granting it "base rights" per se. Hence the host country could deny without hesitation the existence of "Soviet military bases". Yet the Soviets could interpret the agreement as permission to develop and control the facilities they want while denying that they are constructing "military bases" overseas, in the legal sense.