

Top Secret

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NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE DAILY CABLE

Monday 16 January 1978

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National Intelligence Daily Cable for Monday, 16 January 1978

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The NID Cable is for the purpose of informing senior US officials.

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TURKEY: Political Violence

[Redacted] //The political violence that plagued Turkey last year has shown no sign of abating since the installation of Prime Minister Ecevit early this month. Ecevit has declared

that an end to domestic strife is a critical goal of his government. The principal causes of violence, particularly among students, are deep-seated, however, and defy immediate solution.

25X1 [redacted] //During 1977, between 200 and 300 individuals were killed in political incidents. This is twice the number killed in 1976 and at least seven times the total for 1975. More than 3,000 individuals were injured and more than 700 bombings reported.

25X1 [redacted] //Ecevit and his coalition partners have announced their intention to eliminate domestic turmoil and improve security. He has named retired General Irfan Ozaydinli to the Interior Ministry, which supervises the national police. A highly respected officer, Ozaydinli is regarded as energetic and impartial in his treatment of extremists of the right and the left.

25X1 [redacted] //Ideology does not appear to be the primary motivation for most of Turkey's violence, although there are exceptions. On the left, the Turkish People's Liberation Army is the principal ideological advocate of terrorism, but effective police action has decimated its already limited ranks.

25X1 [redacted] //Many Turks follow the nationalist tutelage of National Action Party leader Alpaslan Turkes. In the last year, however, Turkes has sought to improve his political standing by restraining his following from retaliation against "leftists." This approach may cost him the loyalty of some rightists, who could choose to act on their own.

25X1 [redacted] //The primary cause of violence among Turkey's youth is rooted in economic and educational problems and prevailing social attitudes. Over-crowded and ill-equipped universities embitter many students. Furthermore, high rates of inflation and unemployment pose serious immediate and potential problems for them.

25X1 [redacted] //The situation is worsened by the high value placed on personal honor in Turkish society and the traditional acceptance of vengeance as a morally acceptable course of action.

Ideological motivations have been largely replaced by the need to avenge insults and injuries suffered by friends or relatives.//

25X1 [redacted] //Much of this violence is random and spontaneous, and it will be difficult to control. Only if Ecevit is able to make progress in dealing with economic and educational problems will he be able to provide long-term domestic security. [redacted]

DJIBOUTI: Possible New Cabinet

25X1 [redacted] *Djiboutian President Gouled, under considerable pressure from friendly foreign states to resolve the month-long government crisis which threatens to undermine Djibouti's fragile independence, has indicated that he may name a new cabinet this week. There have been no terrorist incidents since the bombing of a Djibouti restaurant last month, which precipitated the crisis.*

25X1 [redacted] Djibouti must cope with a long tradition of bad feeling between its two ethnic groups, the Afars and the Issas. Their rivalry is further complicated by the fact that the Afars are related to and protected by the Ethiopians, while the Issas have a similar relationship with the Somalis. French forces still provide the bulk of the security services while a new national army is being recruited and trained.

25X1 [redacted] The political impasse began last month with the resignation of Prime Minister Dini and four other Afar ministers to protest the government's crackdown on the Afar community following several terrorist attacks attributed to Afars. Since these resignations, the Afar parliamentary group has formulated additional conditions for the return of Afar leaders to the government--more equitable distribution of cabinet posts, increased numbers of civil service and army positions for Afars, and the release of Afar prisoners charged with terrorist-related offenses.

25X1 [redacted] Thus far Gouled has made only minimal responses to the crisis and has given no indication of the kind of solution he favors. After about two weeks, he assigned custody of vacant ministries to other cabinet members in addition to their regular work.

25X1 [redacted] Resolution of the problem has been delayed by personal friction between Gouled, an Issa, and Dini, an Afar, which has prevented bilateral talks. The two served as co-leaders of the compromise political party that worked out the transition to independence, but neither politician appears to have adapted well to the demands of leading a young country.

25X1 [redacted] Gouled, who is elderly and reportedly in poor health, is surrounded by old-line Issa advisers who rush in every time someone counsels moderation and repeat their advice to him to keep up pressure on the Afars. Gouled is unwilling to accept "conditions," but he apparently has no idea how to get out of the present situation. Djiboutians of both ethnic groups reportedly are becoming increasingly irritated by his lack of action one way or the other.

25X1 [redacted] Many Afars never supported Dini's original decision to work with the Issa party, and he still does not have the solid backing of the Afar community.

25X1 [redacted] Foreign Minister Kamil, a younger, French-educated Afar who served as prime minister in the transition government before independence, is attempting to mediate. He is one of two Afar ministers who remained in the government when the others resigned, and he heads a special commission of Afar leaders set up to try to resolve the crisis. He is accompanying Gouled on his current foreign trip to Oman and Bahrain.

25X1 [redacted] Kamil's most convincing argument may be his reiteration of the unanimous advice from friendly states that Djibouti should make a serious effort to remain independent and united. Egypt--which sent a special high-level delegation earlier this month--France, and Saudi Arabia have all urged such a course. The fact that both Ethiopia and Somalia, the two countries with the greatest stakes in the area, have taken the same line strongly reinforces the proponents of conciliation. [redacted]

25X1 SOUTH AFRICA: Boycotts Continue

25X1 [redacted] *The South African Government's security crackdown on black leaders and organizations in October has weakened the militant student movement but has thus far failed to persuade*

many black students to return to school. Student boycotts may be less extensive than they were last year, but most of the high schools in Soweto, the urban black township outside Johannesburg, will remain closed when the new school year begins later this month.

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[redacted] The Soweto Student Representative Council, the militant black movement that instigated the 1976 riots and the 1977 school boycotts and virtually ruled Soweto township for nearly a year, now appears leaderless and demoralized. Most of its activists are either in jail or in exile, and the group has been unable to reorganize.

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[redacted] Faced with police harassment, the students seem to have lost interest in political activity. The most recent chairman of the militant student group fled to Swaziland last weekend when he learned that the authorities were looking for him. One of the few remaining founders of the group still in South Africa describes the group's attitude as one of surrender.

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[redacted] The demoralization of the student leadership stems in part from the success of the school boycott, which has now boomeranged. With the schools in Soweto closed and the young people of the township roaming the streets aimlessly, the student leadership has lost control. The student movement had ambitious plans to run independent youth programs and open its own schools for the children of Soweto, but, in spite of vigorous attempts to raise money from outside sources, the movement is almost penniless.

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[redacted] Despite the discouraged attitude of black student leaders, the school boycott has taken on a momentum of its own. What began early in 1976 as a protest over the use of the Afrikaans language has now broadened to a protest against the basic inequalities of black education, which is neither free nor compulsory. The boycott began last June, closing the schools in Soweto and in many other parts of the country, both urban and rural.

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[redacted] At the end of last year there were nearly 200,000 students throughout the country who refused to attend school. Many of them will probably return for the new school year, but in Soweto only one of the 40 high schools is expected to open

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this month. The government, which last fall took control of Soweto's community-administered school system, has ruled that all students must reapply for admission.

25X1 [] Only a few hundred of Soweto's 27,000 high school students have made application thus far. There is also a shortage of teachers; some 350 resigned to protest the government's takeover of the schools. In a last-ditch attempt to salvage the new school year, several Soweto community leaders met recently with the Minister of Bantu Affairs, but he refused to make any fundamental changes in the system.

25X1 [] Student unrest will probably continue elsewhere in the country, particularly in eastern Cape Province where the boycott was almost total last month in both primary and secondary schools.

25X1 [] Although the militant black student group may have lost the initiative, it appears that blacks in South Africa are set on contesting the inferior black education system without the help of the group. If blacks continue to insist that the government give them a school system equal to that of whites, black schools could remain in turmoil indefinitely. []

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BRIEFS

Pakistan

25X1 [] The appointment on Saturday of a council of advisers in Pakistan, in effect a cabinet, may have moved the military government one step closer to becoming a permanent institution. Government ministries had previously been under control of senior civil servants as an interim measure pending the establishment of a civilian government.

25X1 [] The makeup of the council seems to presage no policy changes. Several of its members were already close, unofficial advisers to Chief Martial Law Administrator Zia-ul-Haq. Some senior civil servants were also promoted to ministerial rank, including Ghulam Ishaq Khan, who will continue to coordinate the work of the different ministries, and Agha Shahi, who will continue in charge of foreign affairs. Zia kept over a third of the portfolios, including defense, for himself. []

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Portugal

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[redacted] Portuguese Prime Minister - designate Mario Soares' inability to reach an understanding with the Communists has delayed the formation of a new government. Soares' Socialists have concluded a pact with the conservative Center Democrats that will assure a majority in the legislature, but Soares insists on having at least tacit support from the Communists-- which would be essential to labor stability--before setting up a new regime.

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[redacted] President Eanes has asked Soares to continue his efforts to form a new government this week. [redacted]

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Ecuador

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[redacted] Ecuadorean voters yesterday gave an important boost to President Poveda's democratization program by approving a progressive new constitution by a wide margin.

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[redacted] Incomplete returns show the new constitutional draft leading a revised version of the 1945 charter by 45 percent to 31 percent. Opponents of Poveda's planned transition to civilian rule had encouraged voters to void their ballots, but less than 24 percent of the electorate did so.

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[redacted] The new constitution, which provides for a five-year presidential term, a bicameral legislature, and the enfranchisement of some 1.5 million illiterates, will enter into effect following the inauguration of a new president to be elected on 16 July. [redacted]

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East-West Germany

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[redacted] The East Germans last night prevented Helmut Kohl, leader of the opposition Christian Democrats in West Germany, and three colleagues from entering East Berlin. Kohl reportedly was told by an East German border guard only that his presence in East Berlin is not desired at this time. Kohl is in West Berlin for a caucus today of Bundestag deputies of the Christian Democratic Party and a Christian Social Union, and the East Germans presumably turned him back at the border to express their displeasure over such a "federal" activity being held in West Berlin.

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25X1 [redacted] Kohl has visited East Berlin and East Germany on several occasions in recent years. West Germany last night termed the East German action an "arbitrary measure" and will make a formal protest today through its permanent representative in East Germany. [redacted]

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