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National Intelligence Daily

Wednesday 17 August 1983

- Top Secret

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	LIBYA-CHAD-SUDAN: Potential Threat to Nimeiri	
	Several hundred Sudanese dissidents sent from Libya to Chad in the past month could assist Libyan leader Qadhafi's campaign to topple Sudanese President Nimeiri.	25 X 1
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	Comment : Nimeiri's decision to allow US AWACS planes to use the airfield at Khartoum to monitor Libyan involvement in Chad almost certainly has intensified Qadhafi's determination to oust the Sudanese leader.	25 X 1
	Neither Chad nor Sudan is able to control movement across the border. Although Qadhafi has not yet sponsored forays into Sudan by Sudanese dissidents, protracted insurgent control over eastern Chad would make it easier for him to do so. There were indications during Libya's invasion of Chad in 1980 that Sudanese dissidents attached	
	to Libyan forces planned to begin operations across the Chad-Sudan border.	25X1
	A large part of the population of western Sudan has long been alienated from the government, and the area probably would be fertile ground for antiregime activity from Chad. Subversion in this region is unlikely to become as serious as the growing insurgency in southern Sudan, but it could make Nimeiri spread his hard-pressed	
	security forces more thinly.	25 X 1

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POLAND: Regime Preparing for Protests

The authorities are taking steps to counter demonstrations that are planned for the end of the month to commemorate the founding of Solidarity.

The provincial governor of Gdansk yesterday declared that for the next 30 days violators of regulations on public gatherings will face summary trials. Such prosecution also applies to those who distribute and display illegal literature and posters.

The announcement follows a small demonstration on Monday by Solidarity activists at the Gdansk shipyard. During the protest, former Solidarity chief Walesa reiterated the threat by an underground group to begin a seven-day job action next week unless the government initiates talks with workers.

Last Friday Walesa told the US Chargé that support for the union remains solid in the shipyard and that he expects a large turnout at the end of the month during the third anniversary of the Gdansk agreements. He also believes that the police will provoke violence at the planned demonstrations.

Comment: Walesa's use of more aggressive tactics is aimed at maintaining his credibility with the shipyard workers. He also may calculate that the regime will be forced to tolerate symbolic protests if he is present, because workers might react violently if he were arrested. Walesa almost certainly does not expect his actions to lead to negotiations.

As the end of the month approaches, the government probably will deploy additional security forces, particularly in Gdansk, to make a show of force and to be available for contingencies.

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	USSR-EAST GERMANY: Tougher Policy on Air Violations		
	Increased Soviet and East German complaints about Weste	n	
	violations of East German airspace probably reflect East Berlin political and commercial concerns and are not an attempt to the	's	
	retaliation for INF deployment in West Germany.		25 X 1
			25 X 1
	The US Mission in West Berlin reports that Soviet air traffic	.	
	controllers at the Berlin Air Safety Center have objected to We aircraft deviating from the established air corridors. They say t		
	protests are insufficient, stronger measures may be warranted usually leave a corridor to avoid bad weather.	Pilots	05.14
			25 X 1
	The East Germans have protested to West Germany about airspace violations several times in recent months. They also ob		
	to the West German Transport Minister's recent indirect call for boycott of East Berlin's Schoenefeld airport. To earn hard curr		
	the East Germans have been offering low-fare flights through Schoenefeld.		25 X 1
			2371
	Comment: The East Germans are usually sensitive about violations that ignore their sovereignty. They may have turned		
	Soviets for help because of concern that airlines serving West have increased their passenger traffic—business that could ha		
	gone to Schoenefeld.		25 X 1
	If the West concedes to Soviet protests, some West Berlin-		
	air traffic would be diverted to a more distant corridor, which w increase the expense to the airlines and cause passenger delay		
	would indirectly aid the East German airline operating out of Schoenefeld.		25 X 1
	The Soviets may become more aggressive in defending Ea		_0/(1
	German airspace. In the past, their aircraft and helicopters have	e_often	
	tracked and occasionally forced down violators.		25 X 1 25 X 1

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FRANCE-CHAD: More Military Support	·
Operation The F de nucleohability is used to protect the lequere	25X
Comment : The F-1s probably will be used to protect the Jaguars, if they are sent into Chad. French pilots would be more than a match for their Libyan counterparts. If the additional troops are sent, they will be equipped with Milan antitank missiles, some probably mounted on helicopters. Paris has asked the US for Redeye antiaircraft missiles, and it might also request Stinger antiaircraft missiles.	
	25X
NIGERIA: Tensions Over Elections	
Nearly complete results from the gubernatorial elections indicate that President Shagari's National Party has won at least 11 of 19 state contests. In 1979 his party won only seven states. The US Embassy reports that tensions are running high in several states where opposition incumbents have been ousted by National Party candidates. Although there have been few instances of unrest, the	

Comment: Political stability has depended largely on each major ethnic group retaining political control in its own traditional homeland. Current election trends suggest the President's party has made some unprecedented inroads in areas that until now had been fully controlled by ethnic groups opposed to his northern-dominated National Party. The people in these areas probably will attribute National Party victories to election rigging. The opposition may call for a boycott of senatorial elections this weekend, and violence could erupt.

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USSR: Exercise Announcement

The Soviets announced on Monday to all the military attaches in Moscow from the signatory states of the Helsinki Final Act that they will conduct an exercise in the Odessa Military District from 5 to 10 September. The exercise will involve about 23,000 troops and will feature coordinated ground and air force operations. The announcement of exercises involving fewer than 25,000 troops is optional under the Helsinki Accords. Hungary is the only Warsaw Pact country to make such announcements routinely.

Comment: This is the first time that the USSR has announced an exercise below the 25,000-troop threshold. The move apparently is part of Moscow's recent efforts to appear conciliatory and open about its military actions as INF deployments approach. The exercise may involve regularly scheduled field training, which usually precedes end-of-cycle readiness inspections.

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PAKISTAN: Opposition Protests

Opposition demonstrations, which began on Sunday as part of a civil disobedience campaign, continued on Monday in Karachi and resumed yesterday in several other cities in Sind Province. Police were stoned and government vehicles were burned in several places, and in one town the office of a progovernment organization was bombed. The US Consulate General in Karachi says the protests are becoming more identified with the Pakistan People's Party of former Prime Minister Bhutto and are attracting some student support. Some of those offering themselves for arrest in Sind are prominent landlords and local religious leaders.

Comment: Although the police thus far appear to have the demonstrations under control, the opposition has shown more vigor and better organization than expected by local observers. President Zia could have difficulty dealing with a strong protest movement in Sind, where there has long been opposition to martial law. His hold on power would not be threatened, however, so long as he retains the Army's support and the unrest does not spread to Punjab Province.

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Special Analysis

CHAD: Implications of a Partition

There is no evidence that the French and the Libyans have reached an understanding to partition Chad, but the current military situation raises the possibility of an informal division. A likely dividing line probably would run roughly from Salal to Abeche. An attempt to partition Chad, however, would prove short-lived and unsatisfactory to all involved.

diplomatic reporting indicate that an emissary of French President Mitterrand arrived in Tripoli on Sunday. The French almost certainly are using these contacts to explore whether Libyan leader Qadhafi would be willing to settle for anything less than total control of Chad.

France probably is open to a solution that would provide for an informal division of Chad, leaving the northern areas under dissident control. According to press reports, Foreign Minister Cheysson has identified himself with the long-held French view that only the agricultural south is "useful" and worth defending. On the other hand, Mitterrand—who is already being criticized for a weak performance in domestic affairs—risks being seen by the public as having "failed" to defend French interests in Chad.

The Libyans probably would not view partition as a final solution, particularly if it left President Habre in power. By introducing Libyan ground forces into Chad, Qadhafi has clearly demonstrated that he is willing to use force to preserve what he regards as Libya's vital interests in the area. A cease-fire at this point, however, would reduce the chances of a direct confrontation with French forces.

If Qadhafi were to go along with such an agreement, he would be likely to use the north as a base for continuing the insurgency, banking that his staying power would be greater. The Libyans could keep an intervention force of a few thousand troops in Chad for an extended period, although they probably would curtail operations so long as French forces remained in their path. Qadhafi, however, would have to be mindful of the effect of a prolonged occupation on morale in his armed forces and the increased potential for a coup attempt.

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African Views

One of the main factors that has impelled Paris to defend Habre's regime is the fear that a failure to act would undermine French credibility and influence in the region. Many African states would regard any territorial compromise as a French defeat. They also almost certainly would see even an informal partition as a violation of OAU principles and a clear threat to their territorial integrity.

A temporary cease-fire accompanied by negotiations among all parties would attract more support, particularly from Nigeria. Nevertheless, Habre's strongest backers—Sudan, Egypt, and moderate Francophone countries—would be especially reluctant to accept any agreement that detracts from the Chadian leader's legitimacy or that grants recognition or acceptance of Libyan gains.

The Rival Leaders

Habre and dissident leader Goukouni are unlikely to agree to anything other than a temporary cease-fire. The President will not accept negotiations that effectively put Goukouni's forces on an equal footing with his government. Moreover, since Habre's most trusted lieutenants and main fighting force come from the north, a prolonged cease-fire could lead to dissension and increase his vulnerability to a coup.

Goukouni also would hesitate to settle permanently for half of the country. Any significant slowdown in his drive south would aggravate divisions in his coalition, which includes dissidents from southern and central Chad.

Outlook

Any arrangement between the French and the Libyans is unlikely to last. Neither Habre nor Goukouni is inclined to want to stand still for much longer than it takes to resupply their independent-minded forces.

A unilateral move by Habre, however, would cause a crisis in Chad's relations with France. It probably would reinforce efforts by the French to groom alternate leaders, or give Paris an excuse to break with Habre and withdraw from Chad. On the other hand, a push southward by the Libyans and the dissidents would again confront France with the reality that only it can prevent Habre's defeat.

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Special Analysis

LEBANON: Gemayel's Precarious Position

President Gemayel's inability to act decisively to resolve the latest factional fighting further erodes his fragile power base. He is afraid to challenge extremist Christian militia commanders, who are again flouting Beirut's authority and alienating Muslims and Druze from the government. Gemayel's political paralysis is undermining efforts to strengthen the control of the central government.

The principal goal of the 4,000-man, Phalange-dominated Lebanese Forces—the largest militia in the country—is to preserve Christian hegemony in Lebanon. In recent months the Lebanese Forces militia has defied Gemayel by operating openly in East Beirut and by staging terrorist attacks against Druze and Muslim targets.

The President's ability to control the Lebanese Forces is further hindered by the growing opposition of his father—who is leader of the Phalange Party—toward his son's government. During the clashes last week between the Lebanese Army and Druze militiamen, Pierre Gemayel publicly suggested that civil war is a real alternative if negotiations fail to resolve Lebanon's factional disputes. Without his father's backing, the President probably lacks the political strength to control the Lebanese Forces.

A Paralyzed Presidency

Gemayel probably will continue to heed US suggestions that he try to arrange a national reconciliation. His efforts will be blocked, however, by Christian militia commanders and by Muslim and Druze leaders who will not cooperate until Gemayel restrains the Lebanese Forces.

If Gemayel dares to arrange political compromises without the backing of the Lebanese Forces, he may risk assassination.

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Neither Gemayel nor Army commander Tannous—who has had close ties with the Phalange—appears willing to use the Army to challenge the Christian militias directly for fear of setting off a new civil war. Gemayel is intent on preserving his own position. He probably will hold discussions with Muslim and Druze leaders, but the prospects for compromise are poor.

An Alternative to Gemayel

Gemayel's continued ineptitude may encourage latent presidential ambitions in Tannous, who advocates a united Lebanon. Tannous might eventually try to step in to pick up the pieces if the President falters. In 1958 Lebanon's President was replaced by the Army commander.

Tannous probably does not have enough political strength to succeed Gemayel if the President departs the scene soon. Lebanese politicians would prefer to elect a more traditional Christian leader. Tannous, however, would be likely to try to use his position as Army commander to exercise influence in any new government and to put himself in a better position to obtain the presidency.

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