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National Intelligence Daily

Monday 3 August 1987

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PERSIAN GULF:		
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	The Ground War	
	Tehran announced yesterday the start of a new offensive involving ground and air forces in the central border area. Iran claims to have	
	captured several strategic heights and caused thousands of Iraqi casualties.	25X1
	Comment : The operation—called Nasr 6—appears to be an Iranian	20/(1
	effort to recapture territory around Mimak lost to Iraqi forces last week. Baghdad may use Tehran's announcement of the attack as	
,	proof of Iran's final rejection of the UN cease-fire resolution and renew its ship-attack operations.	25X1
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	Aftermath of Mecca Rioting	
•.	Riyadh now reports 402 people killed, including 275 Iranian pilgrims,	0514
	and 649 injured as a result of Friday's rioting in Mecca more than 20,000 Iranian pilgrims were	25X1 25X1
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involved in the violence, which took Saudi security forces equipped with riot gear nearly five hours to end. By yesterday the city had returned to normal.

Meanwhile, Kuwaiti and Saudi diplomatic personnel seized in Tehran on Saturday when Iranian protesters stormed their Embassies have been released. France denies press reports that its Embassy was entered.

Comment: The next several days are likely to place additional strains on Saudi security forces as the pilgrimage celebrations approach their climax. Nevertheless, Riyadh appears prepared for any new violence and probably will act forcefully to prevent its spread. The Saudis appear convinced that the Mecca rioting and ransacking of their Embassy in Tehran was coordinated by Iran to intimidate Riyadh.

Iranian and Saudi Reaction

In a speech yesterday to commemorate the dead pilgrims, Iranian Assembly Speaker Rafsanjani said they had been murdered by Saudi Arabia acting under orders from the US. He said the US wanted to create a "tragedy" for Iran to compensate for the US failure to escort Kuwaiti tankers safely through the Gulf. Promising that Iran would take revenge for the deaths, Rafsanjani said Iran must uproot Saudi leaders from the region and send Americans to their death.

4	in Eastern Provinc	e is on a heightened state
of alert-flying increased F-15 combat air patrol sorties and placing		
10 fully armed Tornado s	trike aircraft on st	andby.

Comment: Rafsanjani's threat that Iran will work to overthrow the Saudi regime marks a significant escalation in Tehran's pressure on Riyadh to end its support for US intervention in the Gulf. Tehran, which probably orchestrated the riot, is trying to exploit the deaths to inflame Saudi Arabia's Shia minority to rebel against the Sunni leadership. Iran also is warning the Saudis they could face a campaign of Iranian-sponsored terrorism similar to that experienced by Kuwait.

Riyadh is likely to take a tough public stand in the face of Iranian threats until the pilgrimage is over. Fahd does not want to risk a major confrontation with Iran and probably will work quietly to defuse tensions later on.

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PANAMA:

Regime Targets US

The military-dominated government believes Washington isbehind the surge in opposition activity in Panama and has begunto take retaliatory measures against the US mission.25X1

the General Staff continues to believe	25X1
that the US, through its Embassy in Panama, is supporting efforts	by
the opposition-based Civil Crusade to oust General Noriega and	
President Delvalle. senior military officers	25X1
have grown increasingly angry with the US and believe some action	n
should be taken to reflect their displeasure.	25X1

The US Embassy reports that the government-controlled media has stepped up its criticism of the US Ambassador and his deputy chief of mission for allegedly assisting the opposition. The media also have alleged that the US is using facilities at Howard Air Force Base and the Foreign Broadcast Information Service station at Chiva Chiva for clandestine purposes in violation of the 1977 Panama Canal treaties. In addition, routine access by US diplomatic and military personnel to government and military officers has been curtailed.

Meanwhile, the Civil Crusade's resolve to force Noriega's ouster has been stiffened by the success of its general strike last week,

	The Crusade has called for another	_ 25X1
large public rally on Thursday		25X1
		25X1

Comment: The regime is frustrated by its inability to bring the opposition movement to heel and probably is hoping to slow the movement's momentum by implicating the US. Further measures against the official US presence in Panama probably will depend on the success of the opposition's rally this week. The regime is concerned that, in the wake of the successful general strike last week, another major public demonstration will give the opposition even more momentum. For its part, the opposition shows no sign of caving in to regime or economic pressures to end the campaign to oust Noriega.

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INDIA-SRI LANKA:	Militant Leader Flying to Jaffna	
	Tamil militant leader Prabakaran will tell his field commanders to surrender their arms to Indian troops, according to a press statement from the Sri Lankan Security Minister.	25X1
	Prabakaran was offered the chief ministership of the combined Northern and Eastern Provinces in exchange for accepting the peace plan, according to press reports. Prabakaran's lieutenants said late last week they would wait for his authorization to surrender, and four of five other militant groups said they agreed to surrender. The leader	
	of the fifth said he would comply after the Sri Lankan Parliament ratified the accord and the state of emergency was lifted. Before Prabakaran's alleged agreement, a senior Indian officer (had	25X1
	remarked that the surrender would take about a week according to the US Embassy in Colombo	25X1 25X1
	Colombo has remained calm since the riots last week according to the Embassy. Four Tamil laborers in the island's central tea estates were killed—apparently during the violence that followed the signing of the peace accord—by unidentified assailants, according to press reports. Meanwhile, senior military officials in Colombo linked the honor guard sailor who hit Prime Minister Gandhi last week to a	23/1
·	banned Sinhalese Marxist group.	25X1 25X1
•	Comment : Tiger guerrillas almost certainly will follow Prabakaran's orders. India probably will decide to keep some troops in Sri Lanka beyond next week to respond to Tamil concerns that the Sri Lankan troops remain in their camps. Such a move would also ensure the compliance of any militant groups that do not follow Prabakaran.	25X1
•	Ayewardene's next political hurdle will be the parliamentary session. If Premadasa appears close to organizing enough parliamentary opposition to defeat the accord, Jayewardene may threaten to call elections. Most members of Parliament, who have not faced elections in 10 years, almost certainly would balk at a new campaign.	25X1
	The lull in antigovernment rioting may be broken by Sinhalese- instigated rioting against Tamils. The lackluster efforts of Sri Lankan troops to control the rioting last week suggest they may do little to stop anti-Tamil rioting by the Sinhalese.	25X1
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Preliminary Readout on New Contadora Proposal

Key Provisions	Comments		
Upon Signature			
Democratization process begins.	Unlike past, mediators' proposals establish guidelines to gauge progress, including complete access to the media and freedom assembly.		
External aid to insurgents ends.	Honduran plan permitted aid to continue for 180 days as leverage to ensure Sandinista democratization and agreement to arms control; immediate cutoff benefits Sandinistas; military deliveries to governments presumably may continue.		
After 30 Days	````		
National dialogue begins and call for cease-fire.	Document specifies those insurgents willing to give up armed struggle to be included in dialogue; no timing or mechanics on cease- fire.		
Contadora officials to form committee composed of five international notables to verify political reforms and cease-fire.			
Contadora, UN and OAS Secretaries General to form committee to verify security provisions, including end of aid to rebels and arms control.	Hondurans proposed Central American membership on committee.		
After 60 Days			
Amnesty and release of political prisoners; lifting of restrictions on press and political activity.	More explicit than mediators' past proposals.		
Arms control and security talks begin; includes disarming rebels.	No date for end of talks; Sandinistas likely to try to drag out; no mention of foreign military advisers or maneuvers, which the mediators have included in past proposals.		
After 180 Days			
Electoral systems revised; encourages international observation of elections	Closely follows Honduran proposal but does not provide for OAS supervision of national elections.		
Hold elections for regional parliament by end	No provisions for new national elections.		

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CENTRAL AMERICA:	New Peace Proposal	25V1
	The Contadora mediators, resuming a more active role in	25X1
	regional peace talks, have prepared a new treaty draft to be discussed at the Central American summit in Guatemala on Thursday.	
	During their meeting in Honduras over the weekend, the five Central	25X1
	American foreign ministers requested the Contadora ministers to	20/1
. · · ·	draft a working document that would synthesize contributions at the	
	meeting, including the Arias peace plan and modifications proposed by Honduras. The final communique merely took note of the	
	document and invited the mediators to a new meeting after the	
	Guatemala summit.	25 X 1
	US Embassy-reporting indicates the Honduran-proposals were not	
	coordinated with Washington to avoid the appearance of US	
	influence. The Honduran plan also caught Nicaraguan President	
	Ortega offguard, according to President Duarte. Ortega, whom Duarte believes is concerned by the increased coordination among	
	the democracies, called Duarte on Saturday to request an urgent	
	meeting-before the summit, according to US Government sources.	
	Duarte refused to meet Ortega directly but offered to send a personal	25 X 1
	Gillsoary-to-wanagua.	2571
	Comment: The Contadora draft is likely to overshadow the Honduran	
	proposal and the Arias plan as the focus for coming discussions and it	
	now appears the mediators are likely to resume their position of arbiters of what proposals are internationally acceptable. Both the	
	Sandinistas and democracies are likely to find the proposal	
	acceptable as a working document but will seek to amend key	0514
	provisions.	25X1
	The mediators' proposal—which draws heavily from the Honduran	
	draft-attempts to strike a balance between Nicaragua's demand for	
	an immediate end to the anti-Sandinista insurgency and the	
	democracies' insistence that the peace plan ensure Nicaraguan democracy. The Contadora draft appears to provide for direct talks	
	for a cease-fire between the governments in the region and the	
	various rebel groups, a provision the mediators have not endorsed in	05)(4
	the past.	25X1
	The draft calls for early discussions on disarming the insurgents, a	
	move that is geared to the rapid dismantling of each group's military	
	organizations. The Central American countries would be excluded	
	from serving on international verification commissions. As in past	
	external aid to the insurgents ends. The Honduran proposal, by	
	contrast, aims at verifying Sandinista democratization and agreement	
	to arms control before cutting aid to the insurgents.	25 X 1
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In Brief



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	Special Analysis	
WESTERN	Space Station Talks	
EUROPE-US:	•	
	Senior European Space Agency—ESA—and Canadian officials are reportedly optimistic about reaching a joint space station agreement with Washington, despite lingering misgivings— which they choose with lease	
	which they share with Japan—over military use. Nevertheless, foot-dragging by European neutrals and growing budgetary	
	difficulties might delay an agreement beyond the next round of	
	bargaining that begins today, and opponents may muster enough	
	votes to defeat ratification by the ESA Council in November.	25
		20
	Canadian and ESA officials, unlike their Japanese counterparts, view	
	recent US concessions on "national security uses" of the proposed space station as a significant compromise, and they believe European	
	participation is a probability,	25
	Nonetheless, internal ESA differences remain, as Western European	20
	neutrals—Sweden, Austria, and, Switzerland—reportedly continue to	
	oppose any agreement that does not specifically rule out military use.	
	Sweden has even threatened to withdraw from the ESA if its demands are not met, according to the US Embassy in Bonn. Senior ESA	
	officials believe, however, that Switzerland and Austria can be	
	persuaded by the time the ESA ministerial council considers the	
	agreement in early November.	25
	Canadian and ESA moderates—such as the UK, West Germany, and	
	Italy—however, have told US officials they want further US	
	concessions on the language covering military uses, according to	
	various US Embassy reports. Negotiators are likely to demand	
	wording that prohibits direct military uses such as weapons testing,	
	both to undercut the resistance of some neutrals and to protect member governments from domestic criticism.	25
		20
	The European moderates also are worried that Japan—which	
	continues to reject any military applications of the station-may	
	ultimately refuse to participate if Washington rejects further concessions on the issue.	25
		20
	Budget Problems	
	Budget constraints are almost certain to force tough decisions about	
	continued European participation in the space station. The financial	
	crunch is partly the result of large cost overruns as well as	
	governmental decisions to reduce space budgets or maintain them at	
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each likely to exceed projected costs by about \$2 billion	25X 25X
ESA is demanding increased contributions for most members, but Belgian, British, and West German officials recently told the US they will either freeze contributions at current levels or cut funding for some projects.	25X
Brussels has signaled it would probably choose other ESA projects over the space station, while London may reduce its participation, according to US Embassy and press reports. West German officials have implied they also are considering broad cuts, though press reports suggest this would affect participation in Hermes more than the space station. Bonn believes recent French redesigns have detracted from the value of the spaceplane	25X
Outlook for Negotiations and Beyond	
Even though Canadian and ESA negotiators expect to reach an agreement with the US in the next few months, internal disputes over budget and national security use could still cause problems at the ESA Council meeting. Moderates who favor participation in the space station would need to muster a two-thirds majority of the ESA's 13 members on any draft agreement with Washington.	25X
Even if the eventual draft can assuage the concerns of most members about military use, budgetary problems could lead other states to align with the neutrals. Paris, for example, would almost certainly oppose the agreement if it appears that budgetary considerations will	

force ESA members to choose between Ariane or Hermes and the

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space station.

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	Special Analysis	
INTERNATIONAL:	Move To Oust South Africa From IAEA	
	The campaign to oust South Africa from the International Atomic Energy Agency is gaining momentum, and the ability of the US to block such a suspension will hinge on developments between now and the general conference next month, when the issue will come to a vote. The ouster of South Africa could pave the way for a challenge to Israel's rights and privileges, an issue that caused the US to withdraw from the IAEA in 1982.	
	South Africa told the US Embassy that it plans to maintain existing safeguards commitments even if suspension occurs. Ironically, this assurance may deprive South Africa's backers of an argument that might persuade some states to vote for continued membership.	
	Implications for Israel	
	A decision by the general conference to suspend South Africa would set a bad precedent for Israel, whose rights in the IAEA are in jeopardy again this year. At Iraq's request, the agenda will contain an item relating to Israel's nuclear program. According to the US Mission in Vienna, the item falls short of a call for suspension but draws an	

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Any future action against Israel may depend on the extent to which the Arab and African states are willing to barter for votes on their respective resolutions. Strong Arab support for the African resolution against South Africa at the June board suggests the Arab states expect African support in return.

The Soviets will probably work behind the scenes this year, as they have done in the past, to forestall any move to restrict Israel's membership. On the South Africa issue, however, Moscow and its allies are likely to vote for suspension, as they did in June, in a bid to curry favor with the Third World.

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