

**SECRET**Middle East - Africa

## TRIPARTITE CONFERENCE IN NEW DELHI PRODUCES NO SURPRISES

The communiqué issued on 24 October following the three-day meeting in New Delhi of Presidents Tito and Nasir and Prime Minister Gandhi contained no surprises. The three leaders emphasized economic problems facing underdeveloped countries, although international attention has been focused on the communiqué's references to Vietnam. On this issue, the three merely repeated their previous demands for cessation of the bombing of North Vietnam "without any preconditions" and for participation of the National Liberation Front as "one of the main parties" in any peace negotiations.

The communiqué reiterated opposition to colonialism and racialism in Africa--a standard theme at nonaligned conferences. The use of economic "pressures" against developing countries was deplored while developed countries were asked to provide for easier transfer of resources to the less developed countries.

The communiqué ignored the problems posed by Communist China's policies. Nasir told a press conference that there was a lack of "full or true" information about China. All three leaders again supported Peking's admission to the UN.

This tripartite conference, the third in a series dating

back to 1956, was originally proposed early last spring but was put off by the Indians due to "pressing internal problems." Mrs. Gandhi's final acquiescence and her insistence that it be in New Delhi probably stemmed from a hope that the presence of the two other leaders in India would enhance her own and the Congress Party's prestige in the period preceding national elections next February.

Prior to the conference, the three participants found it necessary to emphasize that a tripartite meeting--not a "non-aligned summit conference"--was being proposed. The suspicion within several Afro-Asian governments that the leaders intended to arrogate to themselves the role of spokesmen for all non-aligned nations was never completely overcome, however.

The communiqué called for continued cooperation among the nonaligned states. However, in view of the paucity of significant results, the New Delhi meeting is unlikely to infuse new life into the concept of a united nonaligned world--a concept which has been battered more and more often in recent years by divided and often conflicting national interests.

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**SECRET****CENTO LIKELY TO SURVIVE DESPITE DISSATISFACTION AMONG MEMBERS**

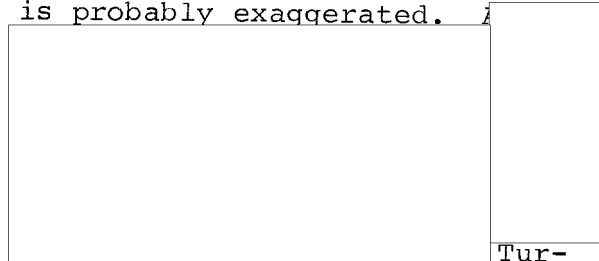
Current rumors predicting a serious weakening or even dissolution of the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO) probably reflect no more than continuing Pakistani and Iranian dissatisfaction with the organization. Turkish support, although not enthusiastic in recent years does not appear to have weakened.

Recent trips by Turkish President Sunay to Iran and Pakistan and by Pakistani President Ayub Khan to Iran produced widespread press speculation in Rawalpindi and Tehran that the tripartite Regional Cooperation for Development (RCD) organization--formed by Turkey, Iran, and Pakistan two years ago--would be given a new military role. The addition of a military function to what has been a purely economic pact would bring it in direct competition with CENTO, and would be a clear indication that the three "regional" members of the older organization were prepared to see CENTO disappear.

RCD was formed in large part because the Shah and Ayub resented the far-reaching US influence in CENTO. Although the US is not a member of CENTO, as are the UK, Iran, Turkey and Pakistan, it provides the bulk of CENTO's economic support and is a member of the pact's Military Committee.

CENTO has long been under attack--especially in Pakistan--for being an obstacle to improved relations with the USSR and for its failure to support Iran against Iraq and Pakistan against India. Its economic contributions, although significant in some fields, have not always been well publicized in the three nations.

Speculation about an early dissolution of CENTO, however, is probably exaggerated.

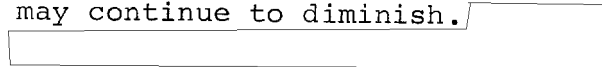


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Turkish officials have denied that President Sunay's state visits to Iran and Pakistan early this month included military discussions.

The three regional members have no assurance that they would gain politically by weakening CENTO, and RCD lacks the financial backing to assume CENTO's economic functions. Turkey, Iran, and Pakistan appear unlikely to make any serious move against CENTO, but their support for it may continue to diminish.



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**PURGE OF YEMENI GOVERNMENT CONTINUES**

Yemeni President Sallal, following Cairo's lead, has culminated six weeks of stringent repressive measures by the trial and execution of two former cabinet ministers. Anti-Egyptian Yemeni republicans have meanwhile been casting about for ways and means to counter Sallal's purge without surrendering the few republican political gains.

Since President Sallal was first returned to Yemen and formed a new government by arbitrarily dismissing the al-Amri cabinet, an increasingly harsh campaign of arrests and dismissals has been carried out. This move has purged the government of any trace of opposition to Sallal's new program of complete support for hard-line Egyptian policy.

The number of government personnel affected is estimated at over 700, including virtually every army commander and every civilian member of ex-Premier al-Amri's anti-Egyptian government. The only sizable political segment thus far treated lightly has been the powerful tribal chiefs, who hold the only indigenous power in Yemen.

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Cairo obviously is backing Sallal to the hilt. Such lack of restraint may indicate that Nasir has abandoned his attempt to foster a "sister" socialist state in Yemen. He may now be responding to the demands of the military to deal as ruthlessly as necessary with the Yemenis to carry out Egyptian policy, with no further pretense of cooperation.

Yemeni republicans also appear to have abandoned hope for any real collaboration with Nasir.

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**SECRET****NIGERIA'S EASTERN REGION AND FEDERAL GOVERNMENT STILL AT ODDS**

The Eastern Region is boycotting the interregional constitutional conference which resumed last Monday in Lagos, negating the modest progress which had been made toward resolving Nigeria's drawn-out governmental crisis, and pushing the East closer toward de facto independence.

Eastern military governor Ojukwu had laid down stiff preconditions for the East's attendance, including a demand--impossible for Supreme Commander Gowon to meet--for the removal of Northern troops from Lagos and the Western Region. Ojukwu's position has hardened as the weakness of the federal government and the ineffectiveness of its army become more apparent, and it is unlikely that he is ready to participate in any meaningful dialogue on a new constitutional formula at this time.

The East appears anxious, nevertheless, to avoid the onus for a final breakdown in negotiations. A key member of the Eastern delegation claimed this week that the Easterners had no intention of "closing the door" to a resumption of talks. He said the East planned to circulate on 27 October a memorandum setting forth its position. This document, however, will simply restate the East's insistence on a constitution providing for a

loose federal association. Furthermore, it will put forward proposals for an interim governmental arrangement which run counter to Gowon's announced plan for a 12-member civilian advisory committee. The East believes that such a committee would scheme to entrench itself in power.

Leading Nigerians have tried but failed to break the deadlock between the now almost intractable positions of the federal and Eastern Region governments. Northern military governor Katsina's speech on 18 October expressing "deep sorrow" for the atrocities committed in the North against Easterners was a peace-feeler designed to placate Eastern bitterness. It met, however, strong adverse reaction from Eastern news media. Similarly, the government's essentially objective statement concerning its proposed white paper on events in Nigeria since January 1966 had the effect of further antagonizing the East.

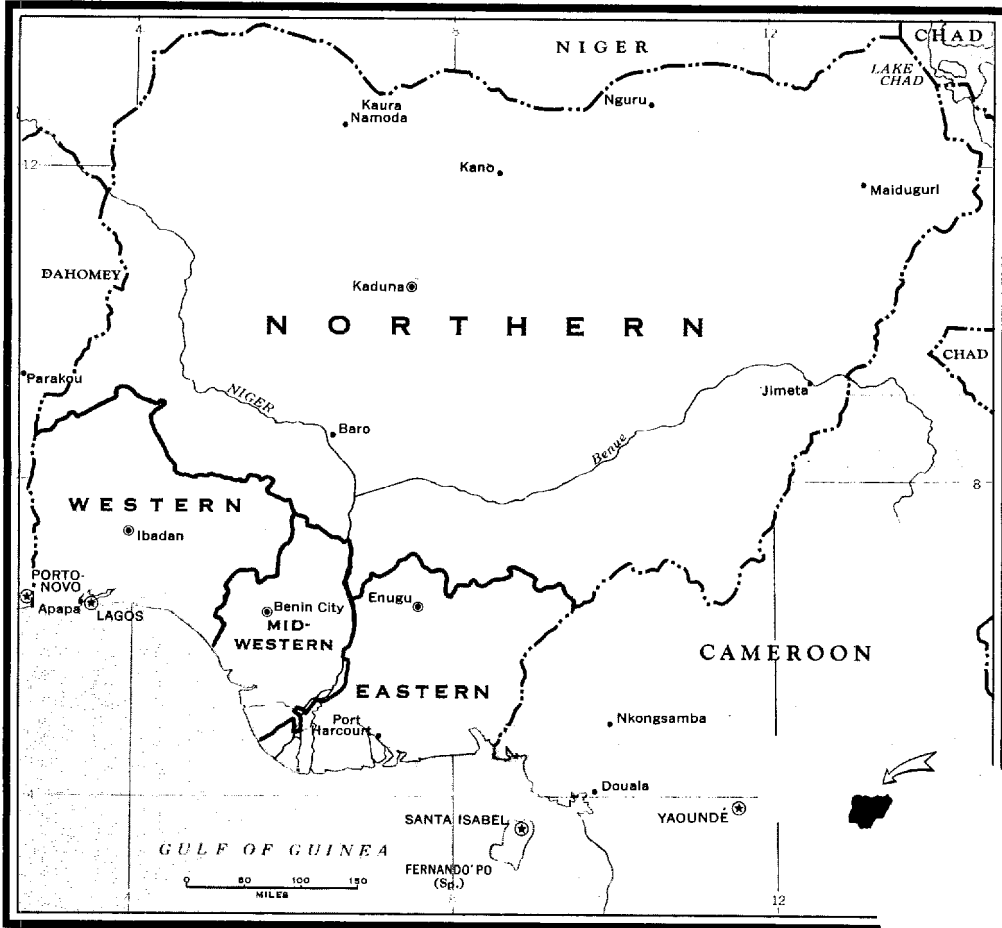
Meanwhile, Gowon appears determined to restore discipline among unruly Northern troops. He plans to court-martial the mutineers in Kano who joined civilians in slaughtering Ibos from the East. If the trial is held, it will provide a major test of Gowon's measure of control over the Northern army elements who brought him to power.

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**SECRET****FOURTH SUMMIT OF AFRICAN UNITY ORGANIZATION DUE EARLY NEXT MONTH**

The fourth summit conference of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), scheduled to be held in Addis Ababa from 5 to 9 November, finds this association of 36 independent African states seriously flagging as a result of divisions among its members. For the second successive year, many of the heads of state and government will be absent. However, all members will probably be represented at the preparatory Council of Ministers session which begins on 31 October.

Presidents Houphouet-Boigny of Ivory Coast, and Bourguiba of Tunisia are among those who see little use in a summit meeting this year. However, Ethiopia's Haile Selassie, whose country is host for the OAU's headquarters, would lose prestige if the organization failed. He and other pan-African-minded leaders such as Presidents Touré of Guinea and Nasir of Egypt have pushed for convening the summit. They hope to revive the ailing OAU by focusing attention on southern African issues which engage the emotions of all Africans. Moreover, certain of the military leaders who have come to power since the 1965 conference appear

eager to enhance their prestige by attending.

No direct East-West issues have been included on the provisional agenda, and it is hoped that inter-African territorial discussions can be thrust into the background to keep the spotlight on the Rhodesia and South-West Africa problems. However, a lively interchange may well break out between Ethiopia and Somalia over French Somaliland which both hope eventually to annex.

The new moderate Ghana regime and radical Guinea are also likely to clash sharply over Touré's continued support of ousted Ghanaian president Nkrumah. Should Nkrumah himself attend, the conference would certainly founder, as many moderate leaders would leave in protest.

There are indications that the organization's radically oriented secretary general, Diallo Telli, will come under heavy fire at the summit for his free-wheeling activism. He is not likely to be ousted, however.

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**SECRET****MOBUTU TRIES TO OUST CONGOLESE PREMIER**

Congolese President Mobutu has moved to consolidate his position by stripping Premier Mulamba of his post. The popular army general is resisting the move to oust him, but his chances of rallying effective support appear slim.

Mobutu took over the post of premier on 26 October and designated Mulamba as minister of defense. Mulamba initially refused to accept the new post and may be belatedly trying to round up supporters in the ranks of the Congolese National Army (ANC) and among some of the politicians who are presently in the bad graces of Mobutu.

Mulamba's position in the military has made him one of the few Congolese officials who has a chance of displacing Mobutu. However, Mulamba never seems to have tried to build his own power base and has loyally performed those tasks assigned by the President. This has not prevented Mobutu, as well as most of the senior officers in the ANC and the civilians in the ruling group, from suspecting Mulamba because of the latter's friendliness with the Belgians, alleged ties with former premier Tshombé, and personal popularity with the ANC troops.

Although Mobutu is the likely victor in this showdown, harsh reprisals against Mulamba personally or against the Katangan mutineers who recently surrendered and other alleged supporters of Tshombé could further alienate other groups in the Congo which are unhappy with Mobutu but have lacked the strength to oppose him.

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Western Hemisphere

**BORDER DISPUTE FLARES UP BETWEEN GUYANA AND VENEZUELA**

A dispute between Venezuela and Guyana over ownership of the border island of Ankoko resulted last week in the sudden dispatch of an 80-man Guyanese military force to the vicinity of the island.

Prime Minister Forbes Burnham charged in an emotional radio address on 14 October that a work crew and national guard unit sent by Venezuela to construct buildings and a 5,000-foot airstrip had encroached on Guyana's part of the island. On the same day, during a demonstration by several hundred persons encouraged by the government, the flag of the Venezuelan Consulate in Georgetown was burned.

The strength of Burnham's reaction against the alleged intrusion is in large part the consequence of his fear that his opponents, notably Cheddi Jagan, would exploit any sign of weakness on the part of his government.

In a diplomatic note of protest to Venezuela, Burnham took the position that the border in the area is that agreed to by a

Venezuelan-British commission in 1905. Venezuela's response was that "Ankoko has always been Venezuelan."

The Venezuelan ambassador-designate to Guyana has informed the US Embassy in Caracas that his government had made a calculated decision to build the airstrip on Ankoko in order to "catalyze" negotiations on Venezuela's long-standing claim to more than half of Guyana's territory. According to the diplomat, his government is increasingly frustrated by the lack of progress made by the joint commission created to resolve this issue.

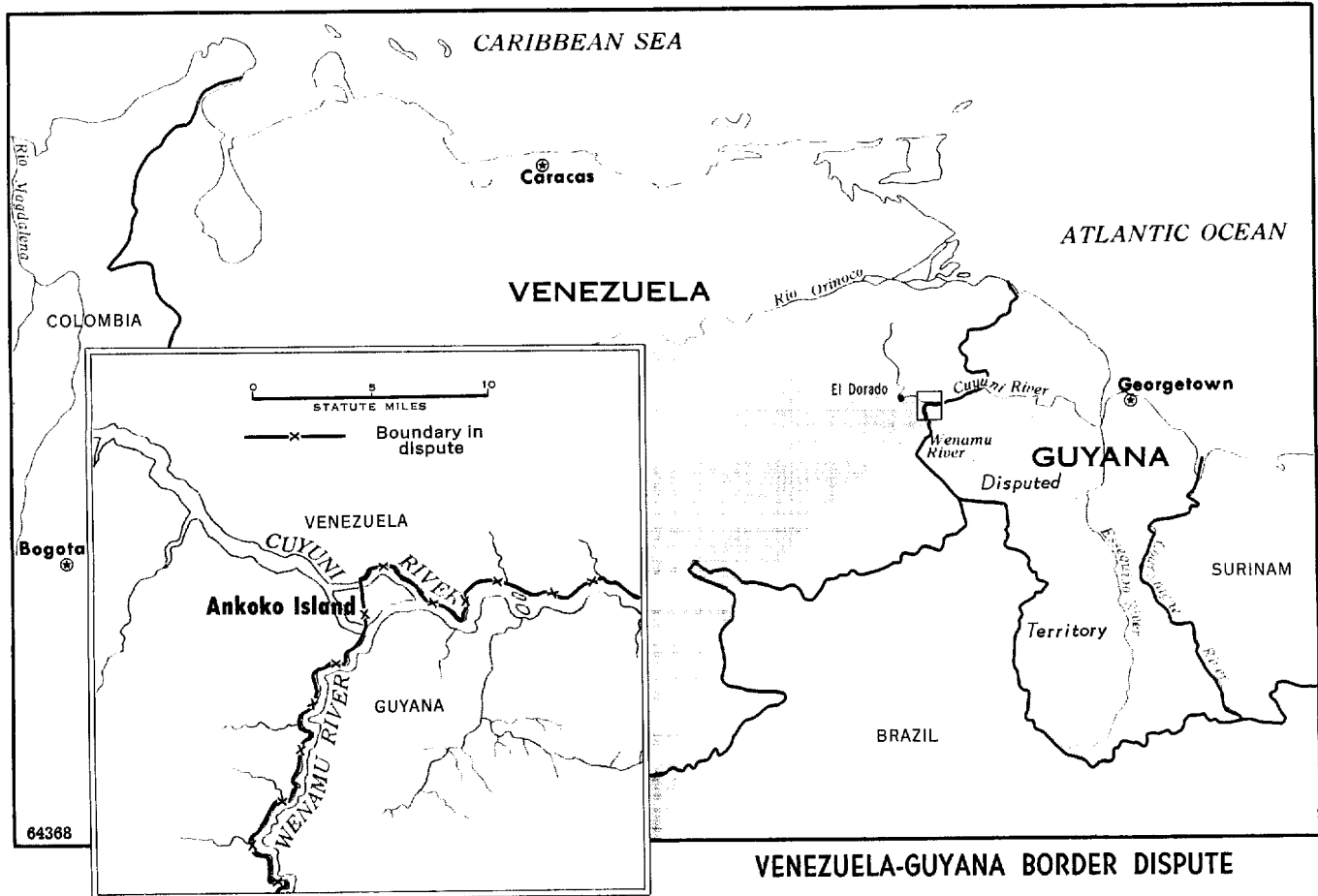
Although both sides still appear interested in achieving a reasonable, quiet settlement, Burnham's emotional reaction and Venezuela's aggressive attitude have created new friction which will handicap the work of the negotiating commission. Also, the presence of armed forces from both countries in the Ankoko area has increased the possibility of a sudden incident occurring.

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**SECRET****ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT MOVES TO END LABOR ABUSES**

The imposition of new work rules governing Argentina's dock workers indicates that the Ongania regime intends to pursue vigorously its efforts to end privileges long abused by various sections of organized labor--still dominated by Peronist leaders.

Argentina's longshoremen had for years insisted on working short shifts, received outrageously high overtime pay, and made Buenos Aires one of the world's most expensive ports for shippers. When the government announced early in October that it intended to put the dock workers on longer shifts and have the docks operate 24 hours a day, the Longshoremen's Union declared that it would seek the cooperation of all transport workers in calling a general strike.

The government moved swiftly, announcing its reasons for imposing the new work rules, taking over the union, and putting the Argentine Navy in charge of the port of Buenos Aires. Faced with loss of their working privileges, the Buenos Aires longshoremen began to return to work late last week under the new rules, undercutting the strike call of the union leaders. Workers in other ports accepted the government decree, and the ports, although still operating at less than normal capacity, should soon show greater efficiency.

The government carried out its plans even though a meeting of the Peronist-dominated General Confederation of Labor, (CGT) at which

new officers were to be elected, was in progress. The CGT condemned the government's intervention in the Longshoremen's Union, but there was no sentiment to support a general strike.

Although the CGT elections were largely controlled by Peronist moderate Augusto Vandor, some independent union leaders succeeded in winning election to the executive council. The confederation represents some 70 percent of organized labor in Argentina. It has criticized the government's labor policies, but has generally cooperated with the government and obeyed its decrees. A group led by Jose Alonso, who still takes his orders from Juan Peron in Madrid, boycotted the CGT election. This group has diverged from the mainstream of organized labor, and may be losing some of its following.

This month's events indicate that the "truce" which has prevailed between Peronist elements and the Ongania regime is continuing, despite labor's growing unhappiness with government labor policy. Ongania expected some trouble with the dock workers, but has said that his major problem will come when new work rules for railroad workers, who are just as inefficient as the longshoremen, come into effect in November. The railroad workers' union, probably stronger than the longshoremen's, may give the regime its first major labor trouble.

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**SECRET****PARAGUAYAN PRESIDENT SEEKS OPPOSITION COOPERATION**

President Stroessner is apparently seeking the cooperation of some of the opposition political groups in Paraguay in his efforts to replace the 1940 constitution and thereby permit his re-election to the presidency.

Since assuming power in 1954, Stroessner has sought to give a legal basis to his rule. Although authoritarian he has gradually relaxed the controls on individual and press freedom while giving the country stability. Stroessner is a popular president and even the opposition recognizes that his re-election would be in the nation's best interest, but the present constitution allows a president to serve only two terms. Stroessner's present term expires in 1968. If a new constitution is adopted, Stroessner could be elected for a first term under it at the end of this term and could legally remain in the presidency for still another term as well.

When the ruling Colorado Party politicians first began to discuss the constitutional revision this year, they indicated that the new document would be more liberal than the existing one. It would have given the legislature more influence in government, especially in deciding when to declare a state of siege-- a situation in which the president exercises dictatorial powers. The

constitutional draft when actually revealed in the Colorado Party convention held last month did not include the liberal provisions that had originally been discussed.

Stroessner reportedly would like to have at least some representatives of the opposition political parties participate in the constitutional convention, which will probably be held late this year or early next. He recently met with Rafael Franco, leader of the Febrerista Party, in an apparent bid for cooperation. The Febreristas are now a recognized party, but were once banned for subversive activity. The bulk of the Liberals, the major opposition party, is still illegal and considered subversive by Stroessner. Only a small Liberal faction, called the Levi-Liberals, is actually seated in the legislature.

Stroessner probably will permit the opposition little more than token representation in re-writing the constitution, but his efforts to give his regime more of at least the trappings of democracy support his professions that he wants to develop a viable political system in a nation that has known little else but dictatorship or political strife throughout most of its history.

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**SECRET****ANTI-DUVALIER SENTIMENT GROWS IN HAITI**

In addition to the perennial plotting against the Duvalier regime which continues in Port-au-Prince, new signs of public disaffection have recently surfaced in Haiti's outlying districts. [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] President Duvalier, as usual, has acted quickly to prevent this unrest from solidifying into a possible challenge to his authority, and his tough measures are likely to prove effective as they have in the past.

The first manifestation of increased unrest was a seemingly spontaneous demonstration in the coastal city of Gonaives on 3 October. This was touched off when a local tax collector attempted to collect fees in the town's market area. Some of the people refused to pay and many shouted antiregime slogans. Militia in the area did nothing to stop the demonstration, which reportedly continued for about two hours.

The unrest at Goanives, among people who are normally apathetic, subsequently spread to two other coastal cities, where [REDACTED] antiregime leaflets were distributed. This occurred while US naval forces were in the country participating

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in relief activities following Hurricane Inez. The coincidence of these activities apparently encouraged the various groups in Port-au-Prince long engaged in conspiracies against Duvalier to believe that their prospects of success had improved. This is probably not the case, although there may be more than the usual amount of restiveness among the Haitian military, partly induced by the regime's frequent delays in paying salaries.

Duvalier is fully aware of the potential dangers to his position these signs of unrest connote. He has ordered the transfers of a number of officers to prevent a coalescence of anti-regime sentiment in the military. In addition, Duvalier has stepped up police surveillance of suspected trouble makers.

Notwithstanding the indications of increasing unrest, Duvalier's opposition--including that within the military--lacks the organization which would be required to mount a serious effort against Duvalier at the present time. A spontaneous act against the "President-For-Life" by someone with frequent access to the closely guarded Presidential Palace, however, is always a possibility. [REDACTED]

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**SECRET****NEW DEMONSTRATIONS PROBABLE IN PANAMA**

Students and urban slum-dwellers, Panama's most volatile and discontented elements, may soon instigate another series of antigovernment and anti-US demonstrations. Celebrations on 3, 4, 5, and 28 November honoring national independence and the Panamanian flag have traditionally been occasions for extremist-led political agitation.

A recent student incursion into the Canal Zone may foreshadow additional acts of this nature. On 20 October a small group of flag-carrying Communist-led secondary students was intercepted by zone police near the governor's residence. Before they were dispersed the students shouted slogans, threw several "cherry bomb" firecrackers, and taunted police. The incident was reminiscent of the one that sparked the anti-US riots in January 1964.

Opposition leader Arnulfo Arias, in his efforts to discredit President Robles, has been encouraging extremist elements to agitate against the government commitment

[REDACTED] Arias is likely to attempt to exploit any outbreak of antiregime activity during the upcoming anniversaries to undermine public confidence in the Panamanian President.

The National Guard is alert to the possibility of trouble and can be expected to take precautionary measures. President Robles has consistently frustrated moves by extremists to initiate prolonged disorders and should be able to maintain order.

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## MOVES AGAINST GUATEMALAN GUERRILLAS MAY SPUR NEW TERRORISM

Guatemala's Communists appear likely to renew terrorist activity on a wide scale in an effort to divert army units now encircling guerrilla redoubts in the mountains of the northeast.

There are indications that the army is having greater success in its present antiguerrilla campaign than in others in the past. Its operations have led to several engagements with the guerrillas, and its forces have reportedly killed 16 extremists and captured weapons and supplies. The encirclement tactic has been under way for several weeks, and the guerrillas now are concerned that they will be unable to break out.

A full-scale revival of guerrilla terrorist activity therefore appears possible. Such activity on widely dispersed fronts would be difficult for the army to handle and could cause a further decline in public confidence in the government.

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