

# *The President's Daily Brief*

~~Top Secret~~ 1 March 1968



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DAILY BRIEF  
1 MARCH 1968

1. South Vietnam

Scattered allied military positions yesterday suffered relatively light rocket, artillery, and mortar attacks. There are plenty of signs, however, of Communist preparations for further military action, both in the western highlands and around Saigon.

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2. Panama

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[redacted] Robles, however, will continue to use the government machinery to rig the May elections in favor of Samudio, and Arias' patience could wear thin. Some pro-Arias types are still making noises about calling a special session of the National Assembly next week to hear impeachment charges against Robles.

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**3. Greece**

The junta is furious over Swedish Prime Minister Erlander's announcement that his party will make a donation to Andreas Papandreu's antiregime war chest. Diplomatic relations with Sweden will probably be broken, apparently as a warning to other nations against "interference" in Greek affairs.

Papandreu is due in Washington on 9 March.

**4. Argentina**

The government is said to have signed an agreement to buy [redacted] light tanks from a French consortium. The ultimate idea is to build these tanks, under license, in Argentina.

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**5. Cambodia**

Guerrilla activity in western Cambodia is increasing and spreading. Over the weekend there were coordinated raids, with executions and kidnapings of government officials in at least 15 villages. Phnom Penh claims these raids are Communist led; the relatively sophisticated tactics of the guerrillas, as well as some of the propaganda they distributed, lend credence to these claims.

This is no immediate threat to Sihanouk, but it could further poison his relations with Hanoi and Peking. Yesterday he publicly threatened to ask for US assistance if this dissidence continues.

**6. Indonesia**

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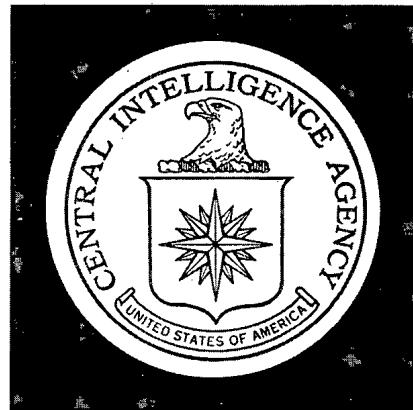
**7. India**

During the question period in parliament on Wednesday, Mrs. Gandhi denied that her government was under pressure from any quarter to sign the nonproliferation treaty. When asked for assurance that India would not sign the treaty under any circumstances, the prime minister said she refused to look into the "remote future." Later, however, she commented that the draft treaty in its present form is not acceptable and India does not propose to sign it.

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*FOR THE PRESIDENT'S EYES ONLY*

## Special Daily Report on North Vietnam



**Top Secret**

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16

1 March 1968

Special Daily Report on North Vietnam  
for the President's Eyes Only

1 March 1968

I. NOTES ON THE SITUATION

Hanoi on Talks: Hanoi has forcefully restated its willingness to talk about a settlement in Vietnam, but has insisted again that the US must make the first move. The new statement has been broadened to include more specific references to the timing and content of such discussions. As broadcast by Hanoi radio yesterday, the commentary said that an unconditional cessation of the bombing would be followed by talks "as soon as this unconditional stop has been proved." Both sides would then discuss questions related to "a settlement of the Vietnam problem on the basis of the 1954 Geneva agreements and other questions which would be raised by either side." Both these elements had been introduced into the North Vietnamese position earlier this year.

The broadcast claimed that many prominent figures in the US (including Senators R. Kennedy, Cooper, Mansfield, and McCarthy), as well as U Thant and officials of other countries, had recently demanded an end to the bombing.

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More on Hanoi's Attitude Toward Reciprocity:  
 Recent assertions by two French observers that Hanoi would do "something tangible" to scale down the war after a bombing halt have been undercut even more than indicated [redacted] Jean

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Sainteny told a US Embassy official in Paris that his remarks to this effect on French television were not based on anything new from North Vietnam. He said his views were private ones based on his intimate knowledge of the North Vietnamese and his conversations with Pham Van Dong in 1966.

The point on reciprocity in the story by French journalist Olivier Todd [redacted]  
 [redacted] has now been specifically disavowed by the North Vietnamese. The publication which carried Todd's story has now published a brief statement by Mai Van Bo saying that Hanoi's position is fully expressed in a series of public statements and that all other interpretations are without foundation.

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View of Former Reporter in Hanoi: Bernard Cabanes, who recently returned to France after seven months' reporting from Hanoi for the French press service, gave his views of the situation in North Vietnam in a radio interview on Monday. Cabanes' reports from Hanoi frequently suggested that they were inspired by the North Vietnamese. Once home, his views on the situation appear to be slightly more objective.

--Cabanes claimed he observed no appreciable change in the morale of the people in Hanoi during his tour, except for the fact that there was an air of satisfaction at the results of the "victories" of the Tet offensive.

--Hanoi is not meeting any insurmountable difficulties in continuing the war. Some supplies for the general populace are short--but the people are used to such shortages. Military supplies from the bloc appear adequate.

--Cabanes emphatically denied reports of a split in the Hanoi leadership over the prosecution

of the war. He claimed all are united in continuing the fight and are preparing for a long war, which will end not by a military victory but by a political solution on Communist terms. In this regard, Cabanes pointed out that the regime is anticipating more extensive US bombings and is constructing larger and more secure civil defense facilities in the city.

--On negotiations, Cabanes claimed that Hanoi will offer no reciprocity for talks with the US.

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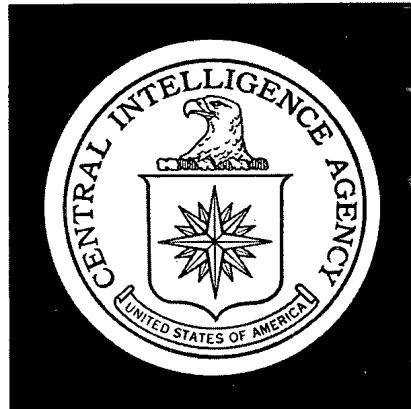
Optimism in Hanoi: An ICC officer who was in Hanoi recently has remarked about the optimism that seems to pervade the atmosphere there. He noted ample propaganda about the success of the Tet offensive in the South and saw crowds cheering soldiers. One North Vietnamese officer said, "we shall continue attacking from the countryside."

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## II. NORTH VIETNAMESE REFLECTIONS OF US POLITICAL ATTITUDES ON THE WAR

Hanoi Reports Antiwar Protests: A statement by student representatives of several Ivy League colleges protesting US involvement in Vietnam was reported by Hanoi in its 28 February English language broadcast. According to the broadcast, the students would rather go to jail or give up their American citizenship than serve with the US Army in Vietnam. The same broadcast also recounted statements against the war by a group of US businessmen.

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# *The President's Daily Brief*

~~Top Secret~~ 2 March 1968



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DAILY BRIEF  
2 MARCH 1968

1. Vietnam

Enemy military activity is down almost to the pre-Tet pace at the moment, but there are mounting indications that attacks are planned against cities in the western highlands. Pleiku, Ban Me Thuot, and Kontum appear to be key targets for an offensive that could begin as early as tomorrow.

2. Laos

Fighting remains at a relatively low level. Recent Communist gains, however, have rekindled southern separatist tendencies.

Prominent southerners are jumpy about the way the government is handling the threat. They are talking about going on their own to ask the Thais for help. Ambassador Sullivan has proposed instead that friendly guerrilla units be brought down from the north. The ambassador also has urged the southerners not to talk with the Thais behind Souvanna Phouma's back.

3. Panama

The move to impeach Robles may be gaining some ground. A special session of the National Assembly is expected to convene on Monday to hear charges. Arias and his allies probably control enough votes to swing an impeachment.

Robles could dissolve the assembly, but, if he does, there is a good chance for a clash between Arias backers and the National Guard.

4. Soviet Union



5. Budapest Conference

The Soviets have adopted a stand at the conference that amounts almost to a demand that the parties present accept Moscow's position on the issues dividing the Communist movement or get out. The Rumanians chose to get out.

The Soviets are ready to press their position knowing full well this will further alienate the Rumanians and others. Suslov, who heads the Soviet delegation, called for the creation of a temporary commission to prepare draft documents for a world conference next November or December. This is the first time Moscow has publicly committed itself to a specific time schedule since Khrushchev's abortive campaign four years ago.

The sharpened split between the Soviets and Rumanians will raise more uncertainties in Eastern Europe and intensify factional differences in East European parties. Moscow's iron-jawed stand, in short, is tending to open, not heal, the sores besetting world Communism.

6. Egypt

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There is no doubt that the Soviets are actively involved in Egyptian air defense activities and that some Soviet pilots are now flying with operational Egyptian units. [redacted]

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[redacted] but we have no clear evidence on this point. We also cannot find any evidence that ferrying of more Soviet fighters is imminent.

We doubt that Moscow wants its pilots eyeball to eyeball with the Israelis. Indeed, [redacted]

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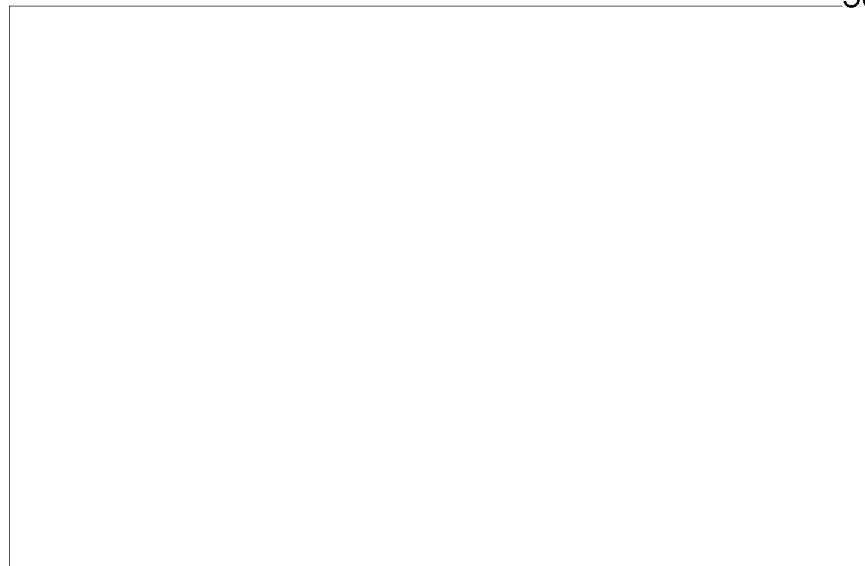
[redacted] the Soviet presence is likely to act as a brake on any wild Egyptian schemes to reconquer lost territory.

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**7. France-Canada**

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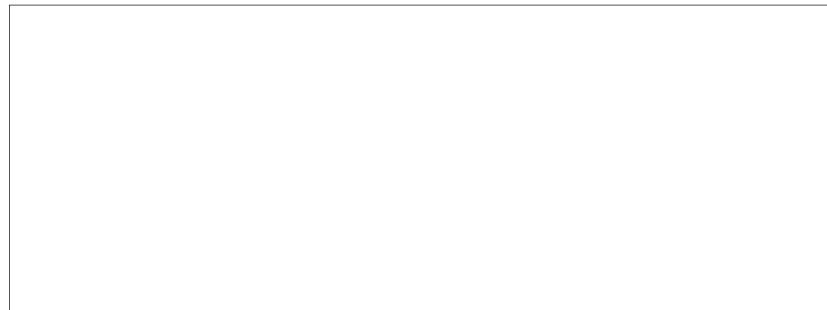


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Growing nervousness on the part of speculators led to a rise in the price of gold yesterday. Sales rose to about \$20 million. Normal sales have run around \$5 million a day, but on peak days during the November-December gold rush, daily sales on the London market exceeded \$100 million. The European gold markets are closed for the weekend.

**8. Cuba -  
Soviet Union**

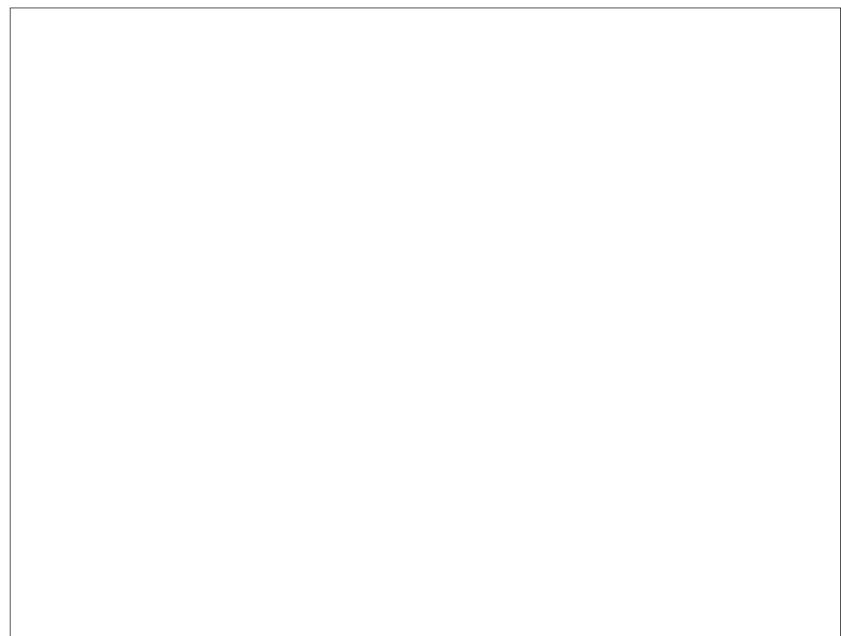
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9. Soviet Union

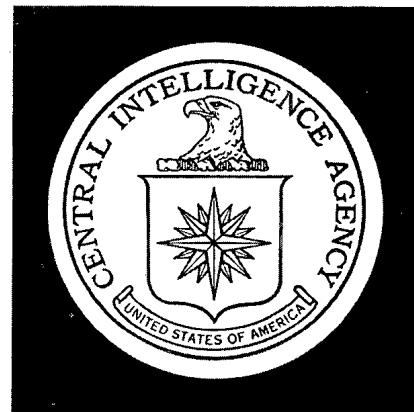
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*FOR THE PRESIDENT'S EYES ONLY*

## Special Daily Report on North Vietnam



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16

2 March 1968

**Special Daily Report on North Vietnam  
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**2 March 1968**

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Hanoi Seeks Reaction to Pilots' Release:

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Tran Ngoc Duc, the North Vietnamese press officer in Laos, claimed he was interested in learning about popular reaction to the release of the three American flyers.

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Duc replied that the release was a "generous gesture" by Hanoi on the occasion of Tet and that it was designed to demonstrate that the North Vietnamese are "peace loving" and have nothing against their prisoners as individuals.

In addition, Duc denied that flying the pilots from Vientiane by military plane had prejudiced the chances for more releases. (The two US pacifists to whom the prisoners were released had made this charge.) He said that the pilots had been released unconditionally and that the transportation question would not affect the release of others.

Hanoi's treatment of the release has been unusually low-keyed, suggesting that the North Vietnamese wished to avoid charges that they were making a major propaganda play with it.

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Winter-Spring Crop Problems: The Hanoi party daily on 25 February discussed current agricultural work in generally pessimistic terms, although it did not present any data usable for estimating what shortfalls may have developed. The journal stated that the war, cold weather, labor problems, late transplanting, and "some shortcomings in directives" had all affected crop prospects. The piece strongly suggested that rice acreage had not met the current goals.

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Liberation Front Warns of Retaliation Against Captured Americans: The Liberation Front has accused the US and Saigon governments of "exceedingly savage acts" against the people and property of the Vietnamese people, and has warned that such actions will be answered with "appropriate measures against the US aggressors captured by the Liberation Armed Forces." The statement was issued by the Saigon - Gia Dinh Liberation Front Committee and broadcast by the Front radio on 29 February.

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## II. NORTH VIETNAMESE REFLECTIONS OF US POLITICAL ATTITUDES ON THE WAR

Nothing of significance to report at this time.

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# *The President's Daily Brief*

~~Top Secret~~ 4 March 1968



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LATE ITEM

Panama

Word this morning from Panama City is that National Guard Commander General Vallarino has worked out a compromise. The General has warned both sides that if the agreement falls through, he "will be forced to settle the problem."

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DAILY BRIEF  
4 MARCH 1968

1. South Vietnam

Renewed offensive operations by allied forces in several sections of South Vietnam have resulted in sharp clashes with the enemy.

Major actions initiated by enemy forces yesterday were confined to a rocket attack on several sections of the Da Nang military complex. Reports from Khe Sanh show that Communist forces are continuing to tunnel and test perimeter defenses under cover of artillery fire.

2. Panama

The special session of the National Assembly is still scheduled to convene later in the day. [redacted]

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Although a last-minute compromise is still possible, neither side is backing away from a test in the streets. Both sides in fact are urging their followers to gather outside the assembly building before the legislature meets. The likelihood that large numbers of Arias supporters will come in from the countryside greatly increases the chances for trouble. At last report, it was unclear what action, if any, the National Guard commander intends to take.

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## 3. Czechoslovakia

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[redacted] Com-  
munist aid to North Vietnam and on the  
Czech internal scene:

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--The Russians continue to provide the overwhelming share--about 80 percent--of the increasing amounts of military aid to North Vietnam; they are willing to sustain this at present or even higher levels.

--There is no quantitative limit to the types of assistance Moscow will provide with the possible exception of offensive weapons that could result in a confrontation with the US.

--The Soviets have not been able to use their aid programs to influence Hanoi's conduct of the war. The Chinese have a greater influence.

On internal Czech matters [redacted]

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[redacted]  
--The political situation in Prague is still fluid. Novotny indeed has been trying to incite the workers against the party liberals under Dubcek, the new party secretary.

--The plans of the liberals are altogether unacceptable to Moscow. If Soviet political pressure fails to slow Czech liberalization, the Russians may well apply economic sanctions [redacted]

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**4. West Berlin**

The West Berlin Bundestag today begins a series of committee meetings in West Berlin, which have been held there periodically. Soviet Ambassador Tsarapkin, talking with Chancellor Kiesinger on Friday, warned that the meetings would create "a serious situation," but as yet there has been no harassment of the deputies who have been arriving in West Berlin over the weekend.

**5. Soviet Union**

The Soviets launched an unmanned spacecraft on Saturday; it continues to orbit the earth. Deployment of recovery aircraft means that the payload will be brought down inside the Soviet Union, probably to test a re-entry system for manned lunar flights.

A primary purpose of the flight undoubtedly is to check out the launch vehicle.

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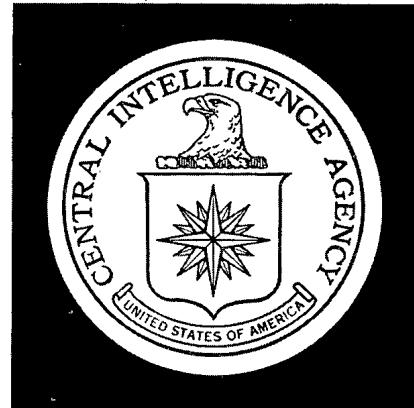
**6. Laos**

Although Communist forces have made no major gains in a week of heavy fighting, a significant threat to Lao government forces persists in widely separated areas of the country. Government forces at Saravane and Attopeu are virtually encircled, and a new wave of attacks can be expected in the near future. They probably could not hold out against a concerted enemy thrust.

The offensive of the North Vietnamese in the panhandle is closely related to their effort in South Vietnam. It has already resulted in an expansion and consolidation of their defenses and control of the infiltration corridor and has succeeded in tying down a substantial number of government troops to static defense.

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*FOR THE PRESIDENT'S EYES ONLY*

## Special Daily Report on North Vietnam

**Top Secret** 50X1

16

4 March 1968

Special Daily Report on North Vietnam  
for the President's Eyes Only

50X1

4 March 1968

I. NOTES ON THE SITUATION

Conditions in Hanoi: A [redacted] traveler who left Hanoi [redacted] says there was no evidence that the people of the capital lacked food. Workers were fed at mobile kitchens set up along the streets of the city. Workers in a given block received food at that block's kitchen. The traveler [redacted] had experienced no serious shortage of electricity. Even during the hot season, there was sufficient power to run the air conditioners [redacted].

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[redacted] the North Vietnamese Government takes advantage of the suspension of US air operations in the Hanoi area during arrival and departure of the International Control Commission flights to move heavy transport in and out of the city. [redacted]

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[redacted] He had observed that traffic was always much heavier in the city during the periods encompassing the arrival and departure of the ICC flights.

Concerning the effects of US bombing, the traveler believed that the bombing as now conducted is not too disruptive of civilian life. Any aircraft over the city results in an alarm being sounded, with everyone seeking shelter regardless of whether bombs are dropped. The alerts are usually of short duration, however, and as shelters are close to places of work, the workers lose little time from their jobs.

The traveler received the impression that the people of Hanoi have become inured to the present hardships and accept their difficult existence with little complaint. He said that almost all children and many women have been evacuated; men greatly outnumbered women in the city.

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Chinese Statement: Peking's statement of 1 March on Vietnam, the first official government pronouncement since last November, was largely a reiteration of China's standard propaganda line. Again, Peking refrained from any specific commitment to Hanoi offering only the "all-out support" of the "Chinese Government and the 700 million Chinese people."

The statement emphasized the Chinese contention that Hanoi and the Viet Cong can achieve final victory if they will only persevere in the fighting. The results of the Communist spring offensive were cited as proof that "complete defeat" for the US "is not far off." The statement warned, however, that out of desperation the US would further escalate the fighting while it engages in "peace-talk plots" in collaboration with the Soviet Union.

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French Doctor Visits Hanoi: A French doctor, the head of the Communist-front Franco-Vietnamese Medical Association, is back in Paris after a trip to Hanoi. He has told US officials that the bombing of Hanoi has damaged the city's water supply system and that all water must be boiled. Wells have been dug to supplement the system. The city is not threatened by epidemic, however. The doctor says he saw no indication that stepped-up bombing would break the North Vietnamese will to resist.

The doctor found the North Vietnamese interested in increased medical exchange with France, and he thinks more French doctors will go to North Vietnam for short visits. He says Hanoi no longer needs malaria suppressants or antibiotics, which are largely manufactured locally. It does need surgical equipment and laboratory testing equipment.

The Frenchman had some contact with political officials in Hanoi, but got nothing but the standard line on negotiations.

Czechs Provide Diesel Generators: Czechoslovakia will supply Hanoi with a 5,600-kilowatt diesel electric power station, the largest single diesel electric power station North Vietnam has imported since the bombing began. This is in addition to 14 diesel generators, with a combined capacity of 5,600 kw, which the Czechs said they could deliver late in 1968.

Since early 1965, Hanoi has imported about 3,000 diesel generating plants from Communist countries with a combined capacity of about 50,000 kw. These plants can produce about 100 million to 120 million kilowatt hours of electricity annually, about one-fifth of prebombing production. The new generators will increase Hanoi's capacity, already sufficient to meet the demands of essential consumers, by 20 percent.

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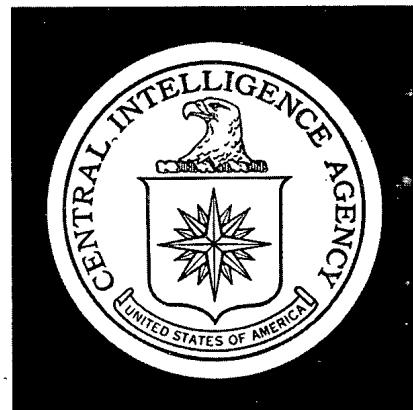
## II. NORTH VIETNAMESE REFLECTIONS OF US POLITICAL ATTITUDES ON THE WAR

There is nothing of significance to report.

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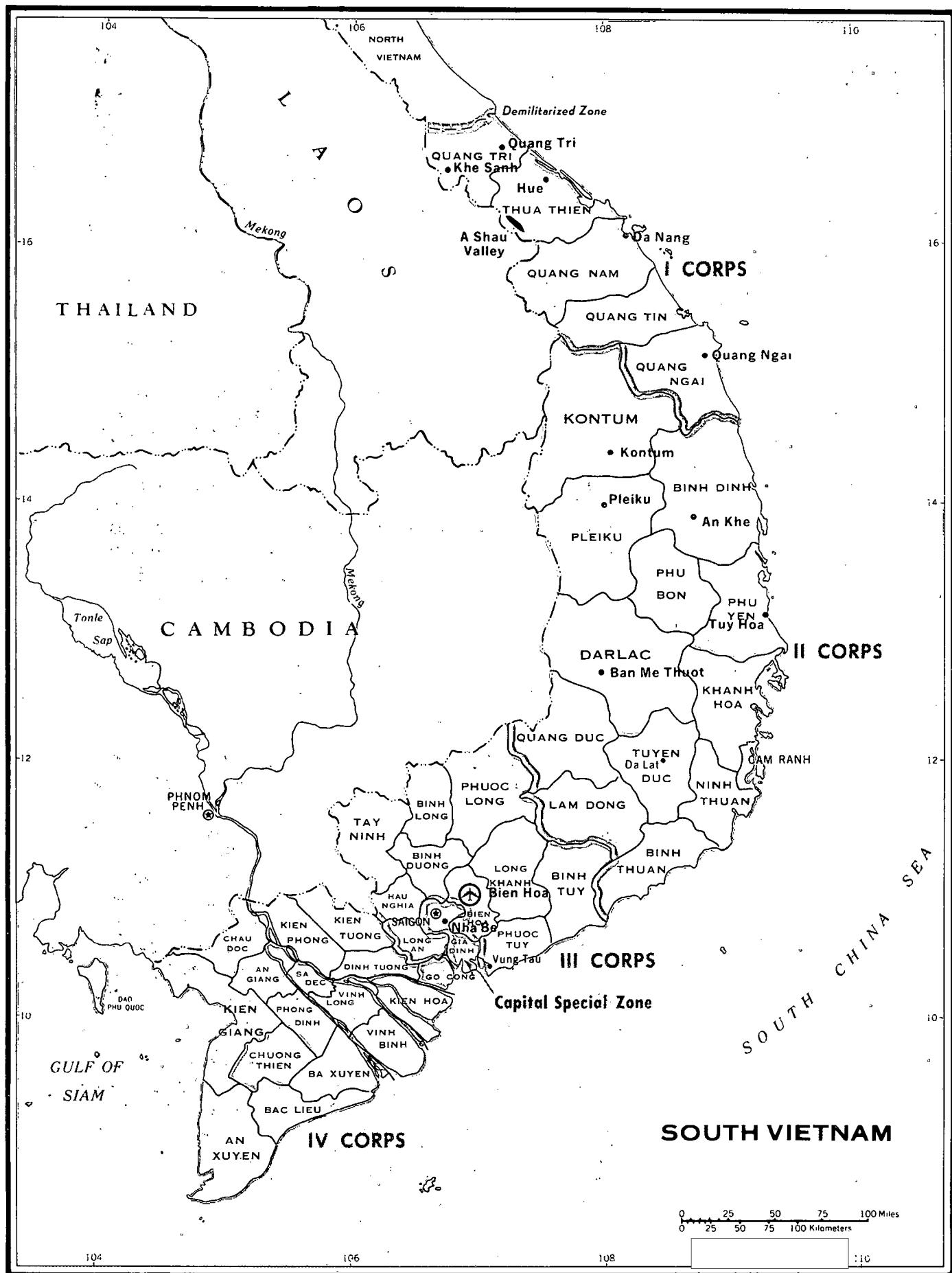


# *The President's Daily Brief*

~~Top Secret~~ 5 March 1968



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DAILY BRIEF  
5 MARCH 1968

1. Vietnam

The Communists launched rocket and mortar attacks against several targets in northern and central South Vietnam the night of 3-4 March. There were only a few follow-up ground assaults, and allied casualties and damages were insignificant.

The heaviest concentration of attacks came in the three southern provinces of I Corps. The two northern provinces--Quang Tri and Thua Thien--were relatively unscathed, but Communist military preparations are continuing there. The Communists are building their forces around Quang Tri city and Hue, and there are reports that tanks and large quantities of ammunition are being moved toward Hue from the A Shau Valley.

2. Panama

The shaky compromise worked out yesterday between the two factions is holding up so far.

The legislature went into recess this morning after appointing a three-man commission to look into the impeachment charges that have been levied against President Robles. This was part of the deal worked out yesterday by the two sides under National Guard pressure. The commission is supposed to declare that the charges are unfounded, and Robles, for his part, is to appoint a new, "nonpartisan" cabinet and amend the electoral code.

The legislative commission has to report back within ten days, and it may do so as early as today. If everyone plays the part assigned to him in this complex scenario, a donnybrook between Arias and Robles supporters may still be averted.

## 3. Eastern Europe

Communist leaders in eastern Europe are having their troubles.

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While Czech Premier Dubcek tries to counter efforts by Novotny conservatives to rally the workers against Dubcek's "intelligentsia," the Gomulka regime in Poland finds itself on the verge of a confrontation with dissident intellectuals.

We even have signs of factionalism within the rigidly Stalinist regime in Albania.

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The country's top leadership has been out of sight for almost a month, which leads us to suspect that the purges may be reaching higher into the hierarchy.

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## 4. Warsaw Pact

Wednesday's meeting of pact leaders in Sofia seems likely to produce another collision between the Soviets and the Rumanians, this time over the draft nonproliferation treaty.

The Soviets, whose delegation will be led by Brezhnev, Kosygin, and Defense Minister Grechko, very badly want unanimous endorsement of the draft by pact countries. The Rumanians are still holding out. They criticize the draft's failure to place limitations on nuclear powers or to provide guarantees to non-nuclear countries.

## 5. Greece

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## 6. Soviet Union



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## 7. Egypt

Nasir apparently feels he must do something about the unrest which led to demonstrations in February. He is trying the tried-and-true expedient of blaming the demonstrations on "counter-revolutionary elements." He has even implied that the US may be behind these elements. This ploy is unlikely to placate many Egyptians, whose unhappiness is rooted in Egypt's defeat last June.

## 8. Berlin

The Soviets have an air/ground military exercise scheduled for Wednesday in the Berlin area. The exercise could interfere to some extent with allied access to West Berlin, and there could be some low-level overflights of the city. This activity may be intended to coincide with the current Bundestag committee meetings in West Berlin.

## 9. Britain-USSR

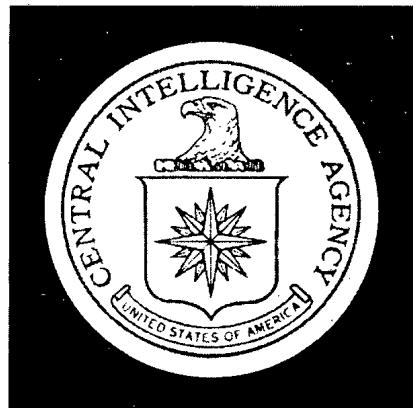


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*FOR THE PRESIDENT'S EYES ONLY*

## Special Daily Report on North Vietnam



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16

5 March 1968

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5 March 1968

I. NOTES ON THE SITUATION

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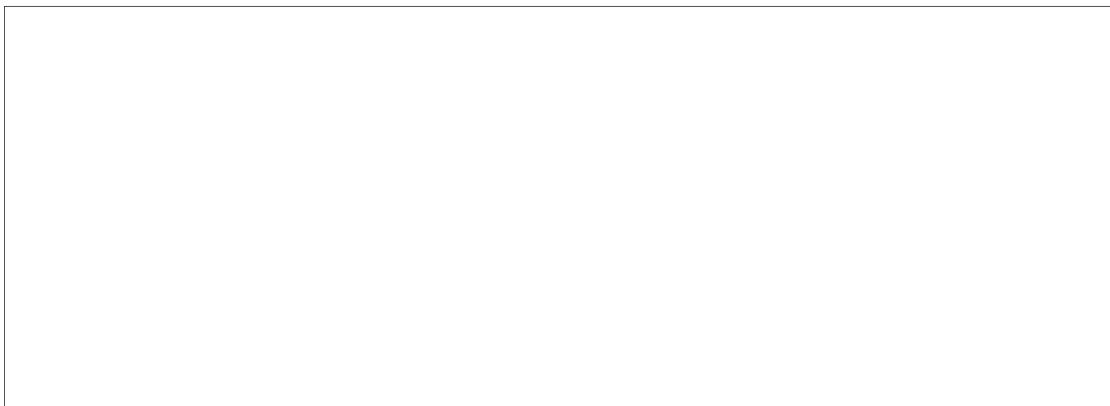
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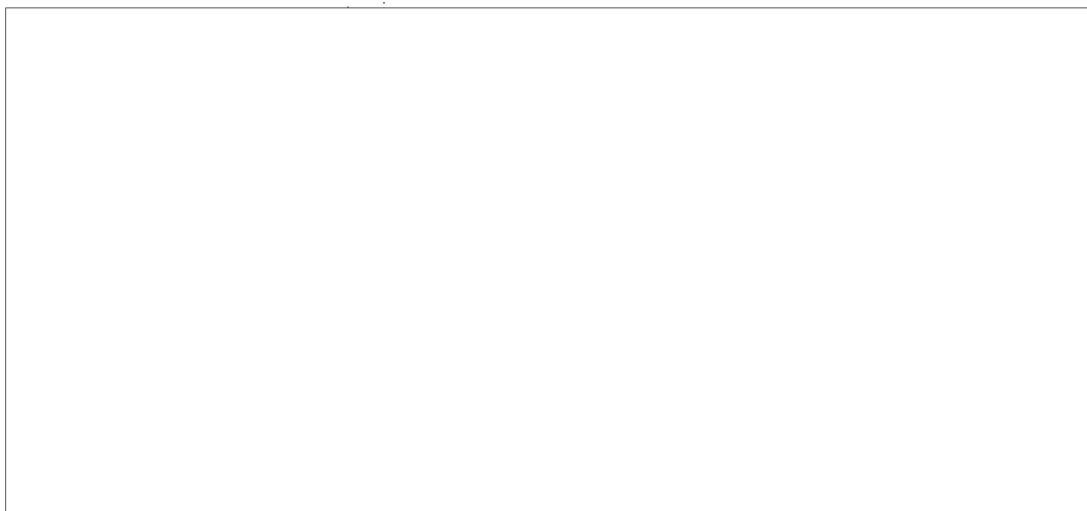
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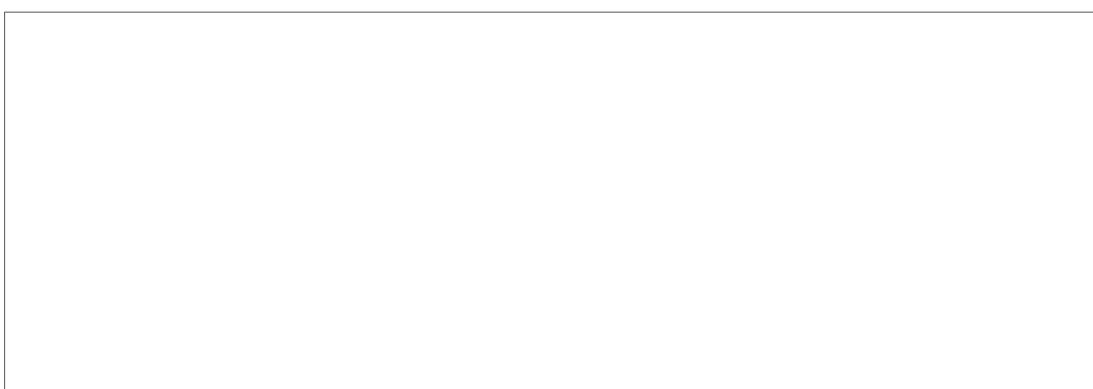
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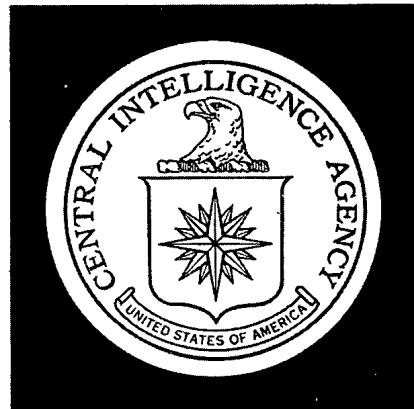
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## II. NORTH VIETNAMESE REFLECTIONS OF US POLITICAL ATTITUDES ON THE WAR

Hanoi Assays the US Position: Senator Robert Kennedy's remark about the South Vietnamese Government as a "government with no support" was featured last Friday in another of Hanoi's lectures on why the US cannot win. All this came in the Vietnamese language broadcast of an article by military theoretician Chien Binh.

Binh's thesis essentially was that the Tet campaign put the US on the defensive and the Americans cannot recover no matter how many more troops are brought in. Interwoven through this was a recitation of the theme that the Thieu government was collapsing (here Senator Kennedy was quoted). Aside from the senator, Binh buttressed his arguments with liberal citations from Western press items opposed to the war or pessimistic as to its outcome.

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# *The President's Daily Brief*

~~Top Secret~~ 6 March 1968



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**DAILY BRIEF**  
**6 MARCH 1968**

**1. South Vietnam**

Close to 20,000 North Vietnamese are estimated to have infiltrated South Vietnam in January--the highest monthly total of the war.

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The US Embassy has taken a preliminary look at damage done by the Tet offensive to the South Vietnamese economy and concluded it has been severe. Aside from the serious disruption to movement of goods and products, industrial facilities have suffered extensive damage, and most business activity has been suspended.

As for the offensive itself, there have been no major clashes reported so far today. Communist units continue to move toward cities in the north, and there are indications that a major attack may be mounted on Da Nang later this month.

**2. Panama**

Robles is refusing to compromise; Arias is equally determined to get concessions or proceed with impeachment; the National Guard remains uncommitted; and the situation is ugly.

The National Assembly is scheduled to meet today to hear the report of the commission that was to investigate the charges against Robles. It is not clear, however, whether the assembly will meet, and there are reports that the government is planning some action--such as suspension of the constitution--in an effort to keep it from convening.

Meanwhile, Arias-controlled radio stations are broadcasting inflammatory reports on the situation.

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3. Laos

The week-long lull in fighting continues, although the Communists still threaten government positions.

4. Czechoslovakia

[redacted] on the Czech political scene and on relations between the various East European states. 50X1

[redacted] the Soviets originally approved Dubcek's nomination as party first secretary, but began having second thoughts when they saw how far he intends to go down the liberalization path. 50X1

[redacted] the Soviets do not understand how popular this course is. 50X1  
they could run into serious trouble if they overplay their hand in trying to restrict Dubcek's reforms. 50X1

[redacted] Dubcek is planning some major personnel changes. One of these came Monday when an old Novotny warhorse was eased out of his job as the party's top ideologist. 50X1

We note Novotny was not on the Czech team Dubcek led to the Warsaw Pact meeting in Sofia.

5. Warsaw Pact

Top leaders of the pact countries sit down today in Sofia; Russian-Rumanian fireworks are expected.

[redacted] the Rumanians intend to propose some major changes in the pact's command structure which would dilute Moscow's authority. The Rumanians [redacted] may even threaten to withdraw from the pact. 50X1

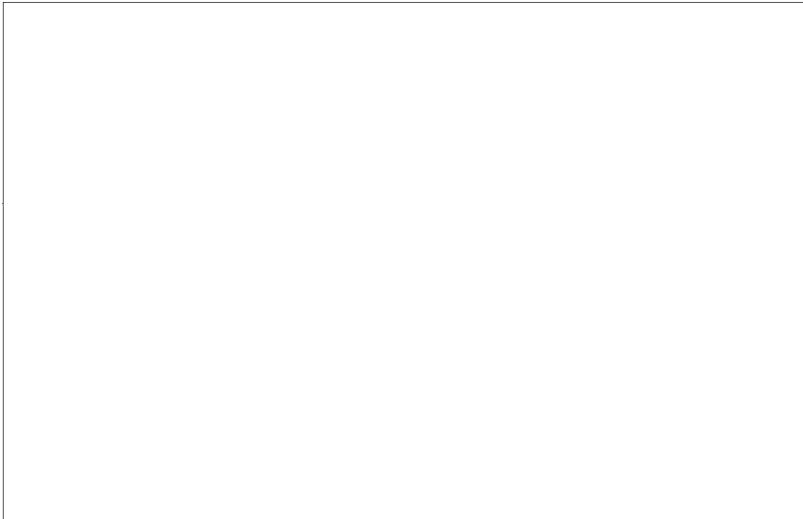
We [redacted] doubt the Rumanians will go through with such action, but they will probably use the threat for tactical bargaining. 50X1

The Rumanians and Russians also will be crossing swords on the nonproliferation treaty and on relations with West Germany.

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6. Japan

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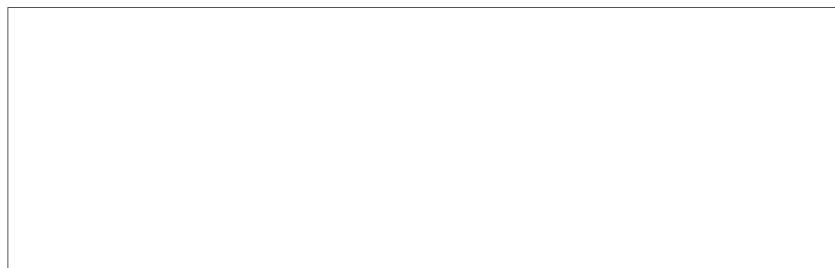
7. Bolivia-Chile

The last of Che Guevara's guerrillas are headed back to Cuba by way of Easter Island, Tahiti, and Paris.

The five survivors had crossed from Bolivia into Chile, where they were arrested on 22 February. With the prompt intervention of Salvadore Allende, Chile's left-wing senate president, the five were freed and then whisked off to Easter Island to begin their homeward journey. Bolivia is protesting release of the guerrillas, but is not likely to get much satisfaction.

8. South Yemen

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9. Liberia

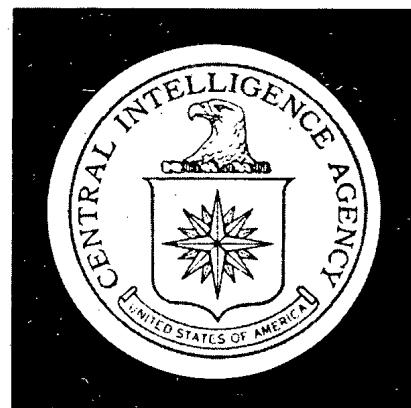
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**Top Secret**



*FOR THE PRESIDENT'S EYES ONLY*

## Special Daily Report on North Vietnam

**Top Secret** 50X1

16  
6 March 1968

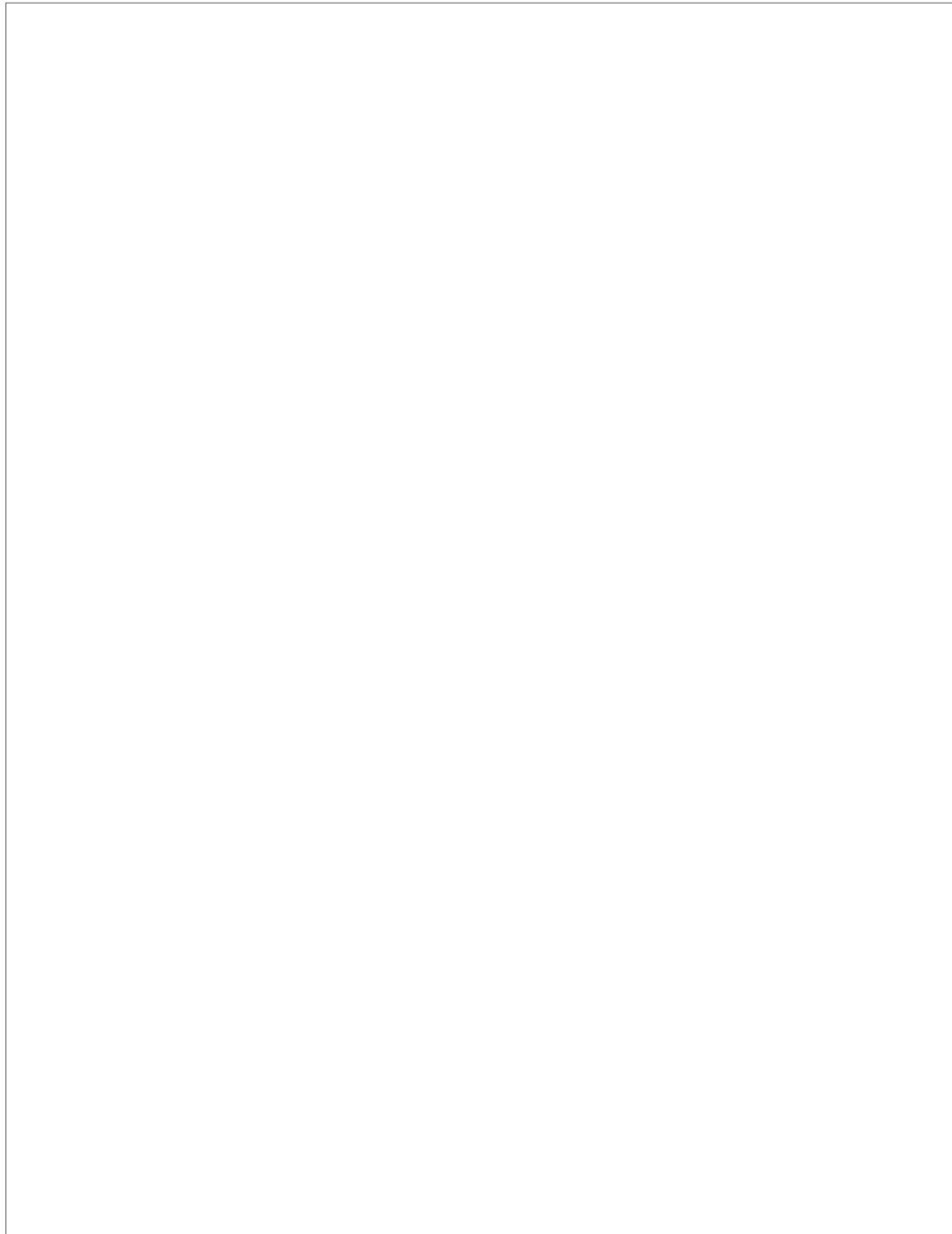
**Special Daily Report on North Vietnam  
for the President's Eyes Only**

**6 March 1968**

**I. NOTES ON THE SITUATION**

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\* \* \*

Conditions in Hanoi: The morale of the people  
of Hanoi appears high and they seem no less will-  
ing to support the regime's war effort

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The electric power supply in the city is

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now restricted to three days a week for ordinary residents, but foreign embassies have no restrictions placed on them. Gasoline and oil are in very short supply, with embassies allowed a monthly ration of 400 liters; requests for additional supplies frequently are turned down.

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Vietnamese students in China during the Cultural Revolution were badly treated, [redacted]  
[redacted] and many returned to North Vietnam with feelings of hostility toward China. [redacted]

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[redacted] the most evident economic aid in Hanoi is that supplied by East Germany, particularly in the form of bicycles and medicine.

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## II. NORTH VIETNAMESE REFLECTIONS OF US POLITICAL ATTITUDES ON THE WAR

War Protest Activity: Hanoi's English language broadcast reported on 5 March that American playwright Arthur Miller had criticized US policy in Vietnam at a meeting attended by some 5,000 persons in New Haven, Connecticut. Quoting various press accounts of the meeting, the broadcast said that Miller had compared US policy in Vietnam to a cancer which undermines "even the pride of the American life."

The same broadcast also reported that Dick Gregory was going to stage another 40-day hunger strike to protest the war.

*Top Secret*



# *The President's Daily Brief*

~~Top Secret~~ 7 March 1968

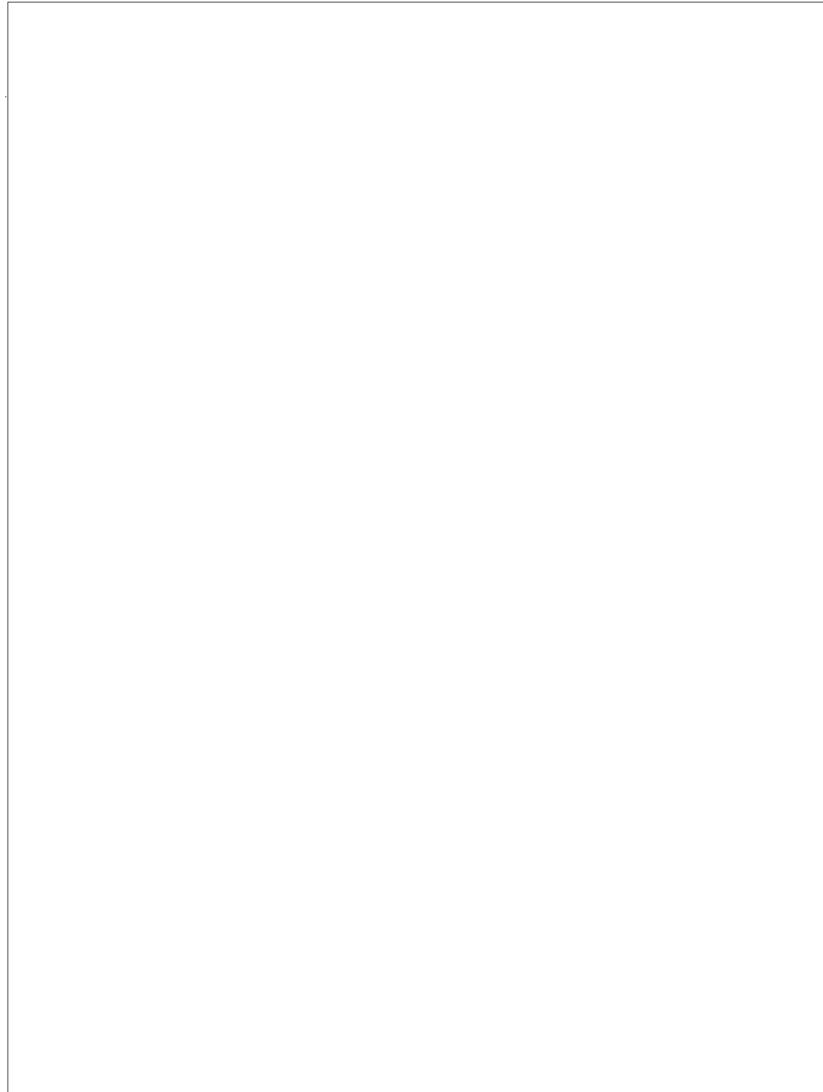


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DAILY BRIEF  
7 MARCH 1968

1. South Vietnam

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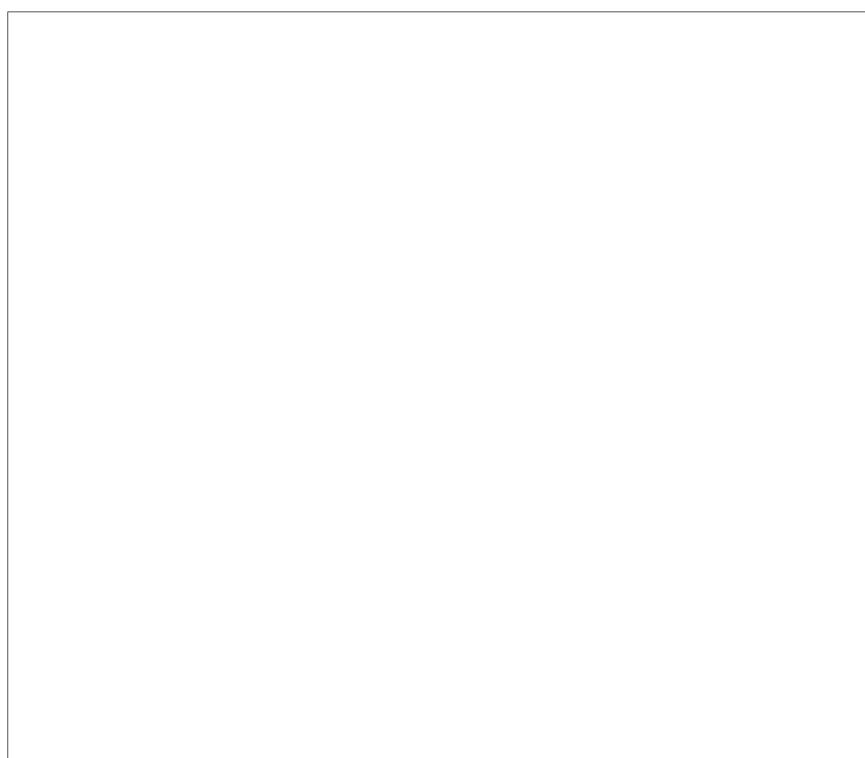
2. Communist China

Some of Mao's more ingenious enemies have recently resorted to intentional misprints in leading Chinese newspapers to ridicule the Great Leader. One of these toasted Mao as "endlessly lifeless" instead of the standard "endlessly long-lived." This particular insult has appeared at least twice and others have occurred, necessitating hasty recalls of the papers after they had been distributed. These "misprints" were most likely coordinated at a fairly high level in the bureaucracy.

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## 3. Jordan

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## 4. Panama

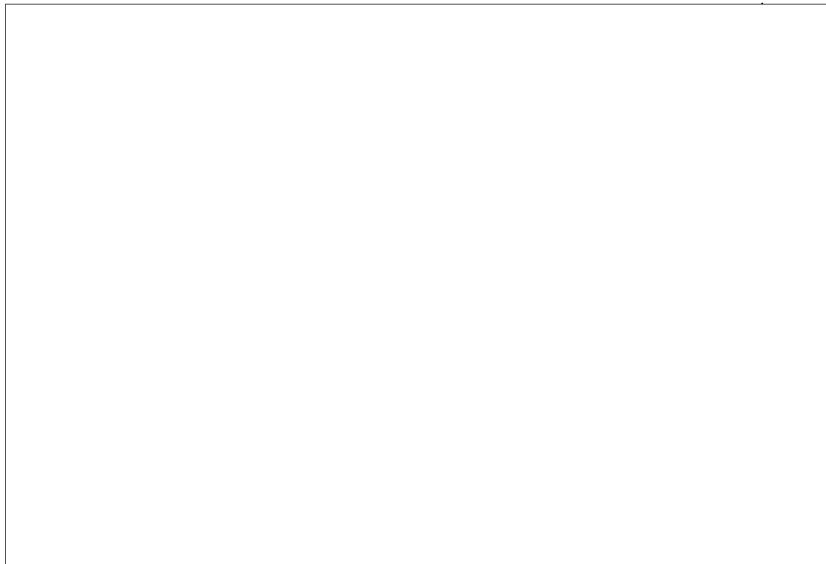
The political standoff continues and tensions have not significantly eased. Vallarino's National Guard still holds the decisive cards.

## 5. Ecuador

This country is also a good candidate for pre-election violence. The election is not until June, but the first shots have already been exchanged between rival camps. The leading contender, former president Velasco--widely known as "el Loco"--announced that on Saturday he will return from self-imposed exile. If he does, it will be despite warnings that he may be assassinated. Even if it does not come to that, the storm signals are definitely up.

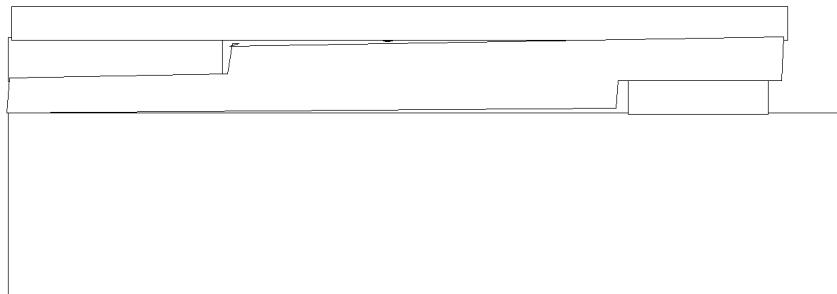
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## 6. Cyprus



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## 7. Yemen



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## 8. Rhodesia

A definite split emerged in the cabinet during its six-hour meeting just prior to the decision to execute the three Africans in defiance of the Queen's reprieve. A few moderates in the judiciary have resigned in protest or are threatening to do so, but clearly the right wing is in the ascendancy. Whatever slim chance remained of an accommodation with Britain now seems gone.

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*FOR THE PRESIDENT'S EYES ONLY*

## Special Daily Report on North Vietnam



**Top Secret** 50X1  
16

7 March 1968

Special Daily Report on North Vietnam  
for the President's Eyes Only

7 March 1968

I. NOTES ON THE SITUATION

Hanoi on the San Antonio Formula: Hanoi's weekly, Vietnam Courier, of 26 February carries a detailed rejection of President Johnson's San Antonio formula, and all interpretations of it, as a basis for starting negotiations. The article breaks no new ground, but it is one of the most thorough restatements of the regime's long-held position that the bombings must be stopped unconditionally before any talks can take place.

The Courier quotes the key passage from the President's San Antonio address and seems to accept as reasonable the call for prompt and productive discussions after a bombing cessation. North Vietnamese spokesmen have addressed these points repeatedly in the past two months in an effort to put Hanoi's position in the best possible light. The Courier boggles, however, at the "no advantage" sentence, saying that this is only a "more cunning" way of asking for North Vietnamese reciprocity. It concedes that the President used the "mildest" terms possible ("We would assume..."), but claims that this still asks a price for ending the "criminal bombing," and implies there should be "restrictions on the normal activities of a sovereign people."

The Courier says the US is aware that the San Antonio formula puts "the aggressor and his victim on the same footing," and therefore has made it "subject to bargaining." At one time, said the article, the formula was presented as a demand that infiltration be stopped, while later it was a call for "freezing of military operations in the South" or keeping them at their present levels. The Courier said that Secretary Clifford's statement that supplies sent south could be kept at an "ordinary level" was portrayed by the US as a "major concession."

The Courier rejected all interpretations of the formula because Hanoi "will not negotiate under the threat of bombs." It cited three key policy statements since last December by North Vietnamese spokesmen as having "cut the ground from under Washington's feet." The US, says the article, is left with only the "worn-out" theme of reciprocity as an argument against a bombing halt. The standard Communist formula is repeated: if the US really wants peace in Vietnam, first of all, the bombing and all other acts of war against the North must be stopped unconditionally. The article holds out no hope of this happening soon, because the US is bent on going "deeper into the tunnel" by insisting on a military victory and by refusing any political settlement based on the "Vietnamese people's national rights."

\* \* \*

Debriefing of French Correspondent: The former French Press Agency correspondent in Hanoi, Bernard-Joseph Cabanes, claims that Premier Pham Van Dong made a special effort before Cabanes left North Vietnam to emphasize Hanoi's determination and ability to continue the fighting. In a farewell interview on 19 February, the premier stressed that present levels of fighting did not put a strain on Hanoi's resources. He said North Vietnam would not only continue the present pace of the war, but could step it up. North Vietnam has yet to "bring to bear the full capacity of its military force," the premier said.

Cabanes reported at length on Hanoi's attitude toward a negotiated settlement. He believes that Hanoi genuinely wants negotiations but will not accept the "no advantage" aspect of the San Antonio formula. This condition, however, is the only issue still dividing Hanoi and Washington on the terms for beginning negotiations, according to Cabanes. Neither the bellicose language of Communist propaganda--which Cabanes said is intended for home consumption--nor the increased tempo of the fighting in the South should be interpreted as unwillingness to negotiate. Hanoi is simultaneously pushing military and diplomatic actions in hopes that either one or both will obtain Communist objectives.

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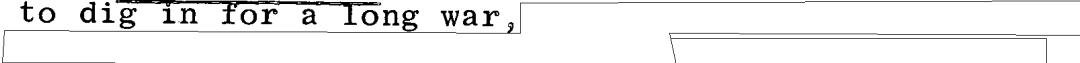
The French journalist had two conversations about negotiations with Foreign Minister Trinh in February just before he left. The foreign minister implied that the North Vietnamese "four points" were intended to be a "basis for discussions" rather than final terms for a settlement, and that the language employed was purposefully vague.

Hanoi unquestionably would prefer to talk directly with the US alone, Cabanes reports. The North Vietnamese leadership would turn to an international conference only on two conditions--to obtain international endorsement of an agreement worked out between Hanoi and Washington, or as a last resort in case "US-Vietnamese talks fail to produce a settlement." The North Vietnamese consider U Thant an important Asian statesman who should be treated with respect, but they are unequivocally opposed to any role for the UN in a negotiated settlement.

In terms of his understanding of Hanoi's negotiating position, Cabanes appears to have developed good contacts and used them well. He had ready access to French diplomatic sources, speaking acquaintance with other Western and Communist members of the diplomatic corps, almost daily contact with the press office of the North Vietnamese Foreign Ministry, and occasional contact with important North Vietnamese leaders.

\* \* \*

Civil Defense: The North Vietnamese continue to dig in for a long war,



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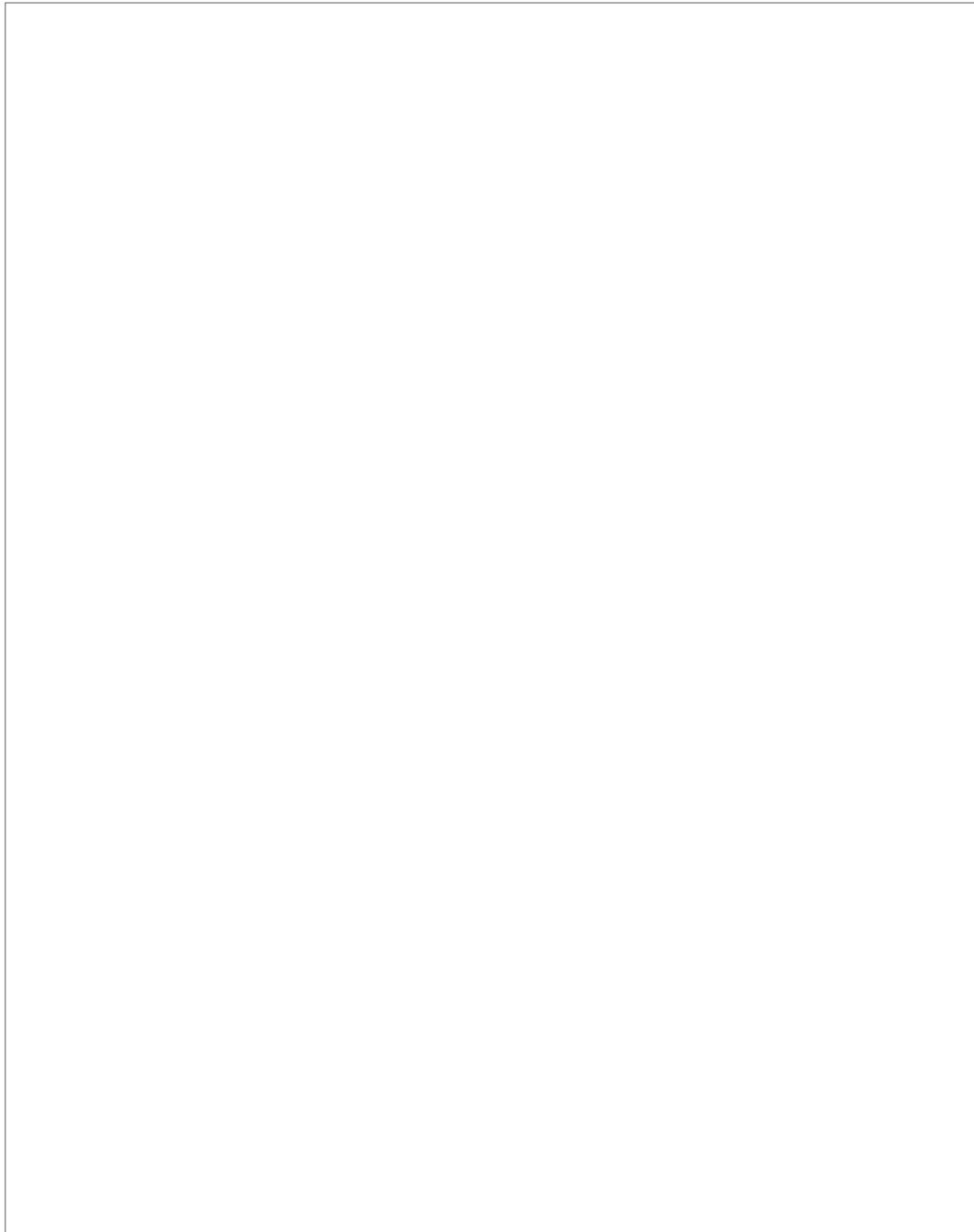
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More on Swiss - North Vietnamese Relations:  
Following the visit to Hanoi last month by the Swiss ambassador to Peking, the Swiss Government has announced that a representative of the North Vietnamese Foreign Ministry will in turn make a visit to

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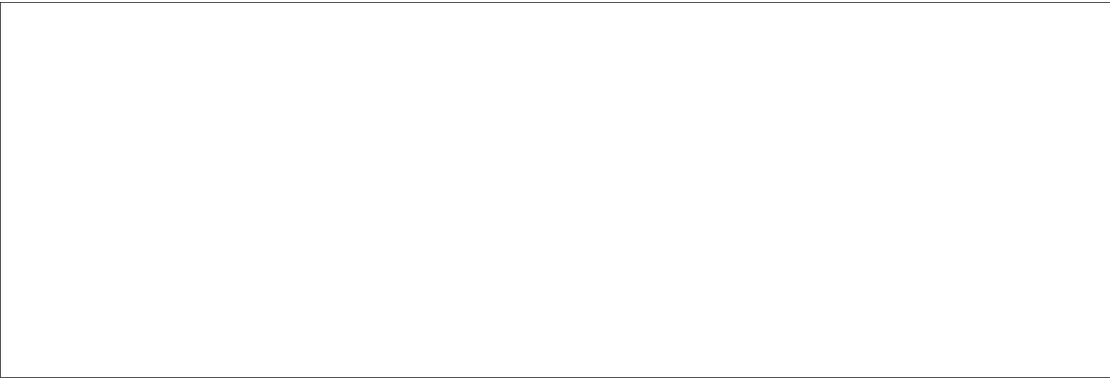
Switzerland. The visit to Hanoi resulted in the establishment of semi-official diplomatic relations with the North Vietnamese, and the next step may be to set up some kind of North Vietnamese representation in the Swiss capital. The Swiss announcement said cryptically that "a means of contact that may be used at any moment has been established."

\* \* \*

Major Bridge Repaired: Haiphong's only permanent rail and highway bridge, destroyed in September bombings, may now be reopened to traffic. Mid-January photography of a rail yard near Haiphong showed enough 90-foot truss-type bridge spans to fill the dropped portion of the Haiphong rail and highway bridge. Preparatory repairs to the bridge had been observed in earlier photography and the dropped section could be replaced and rails laid within hours. Photography during January indicated that rail traffic has been moving out of Haiphong, probably using a rail pontoon bridge near the destroyed one. In addition to rail crossings, there are 11 other by-passes--highway pontoon bridges and ferries--over which supplies leave Haiphong.

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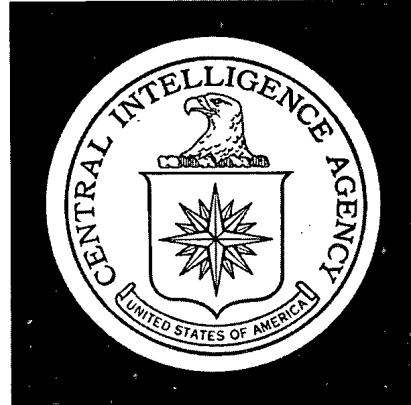


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## II. NORTH VIETNAMESE REFLECTIONS OF US POLITICAL ATTITUDES ON THE WAR

Nothing of significance to report today.

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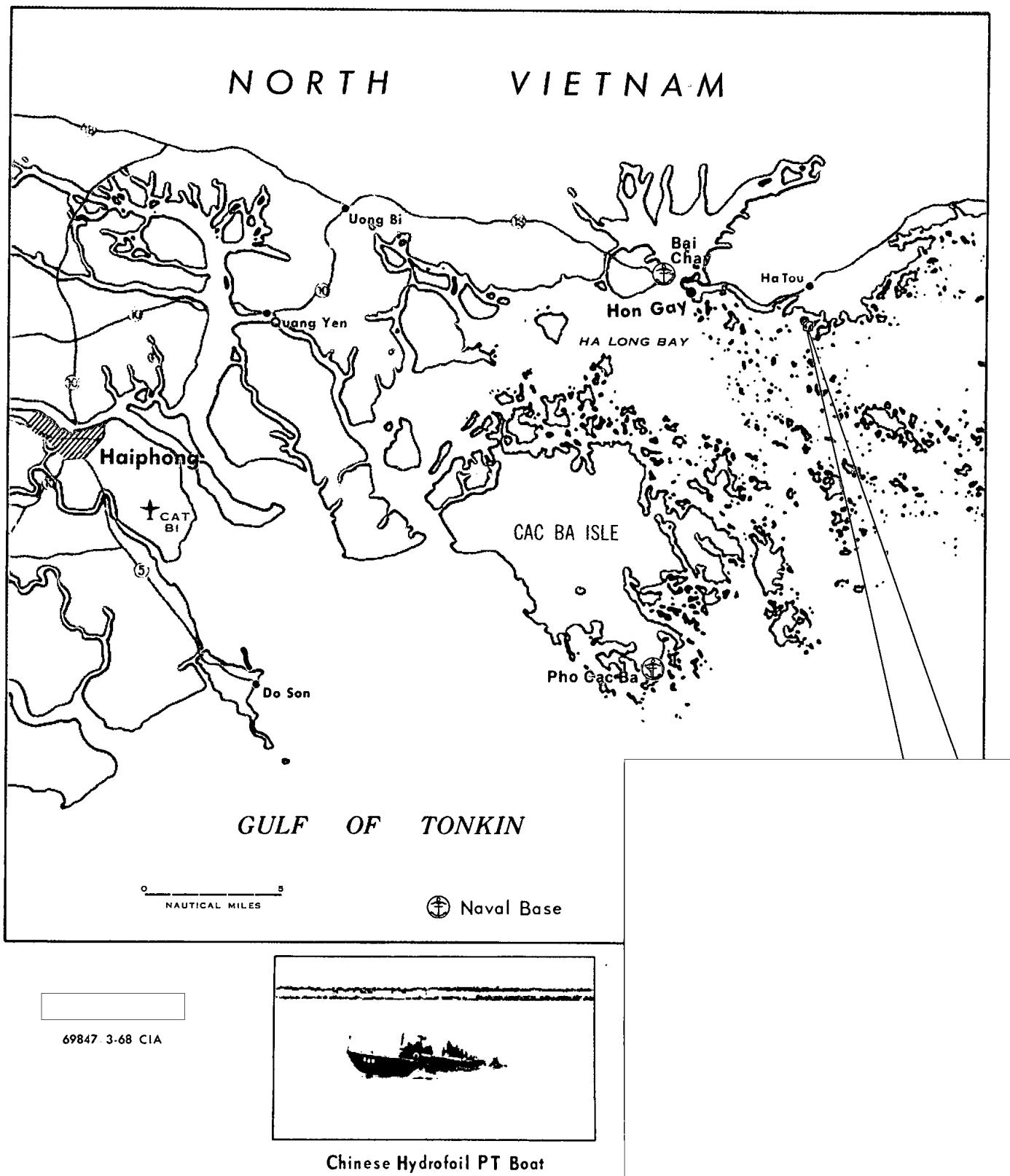


# *The President's Daily Brief*

~~Top Secret~~ 8 March 1968



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DAILY BRIEF  
8 MARCH 1968

1. North Vietnam

[REDACTED] 50X1

Chinese-built hydrofoil torpedo boat-- the most modern craft of its kind. Because of greater speed and stability, the North Vietnamese will find it is considerably superior to the Soviet torpedo boats which they already have. It is excellent for hit-and-run tactics, and could be used against US naval forces in the Tonkin Gulf.

2. South Vietnam

A motion of no confidence in the government of Premier Loc has been placed before the lower house, but it is not expected to be acted upon for some weeks. Action on the government budget has priority on the agenda, and any formal recommendation of no confidence must have the approval of both houses of the assembly.

3. Panama

Robles, in a nationwide radio-TV speech yesterday, virtually slammed the door on a negotiated settlement. He announced that he had not appeared before the assembly commission investigating the charges against him because he views the entire procedure as "illegal and immoral." The impeachment process, he said, is "completely null."

[REDACTED] 50X1

4. Warsaw Pact

The two-day pact meeting ended in Sofia yesterday without any sign of a new Soviet-Rumanian confrontation. There are no reports yet on what was discussed, and a final communiqué has not been released.

[REDACTED] 50X1

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## 5. Berlin



## 6. Western Europe

The informal arrangements by which the US and the West Europeans have traditionally organized themselves to sell gold to world buyers may be breaking down.

Most members of the so-called London Gold Pool are losing their enthusiasm for the system managed by the Bank of England. Under the system each member is expected to share the burdens of any other who is hit hard by loss of reserves to speculators and hoarders. But Italy, for instance, now finds itself already purchasing directly from the US all of the gold that it is required to provide to the pool. Other members are also wavering.

If this trend continues, the pool would lose its purpose. The US would in effect assume a 100 percent share of the gold losses in the official European gold market. The other members would retain their gold reserves, while US reserves would continue to decline.

The immediate problem is that between 29 February and 5 March losses of the pool reached \$224 million; the US in turn has had to ask members for an additional contribution of \$200 million.

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7. Czechoslovakia

The defection of the Czech general has caused a major stir in Prague. The main party daily is suggesting that the general got away because of protection given him by Novotny and his backers. Other voices are calling on the defense minister, the secret police chief, and the prosecutor general to resign.

All of this comes at the best possible time for the new party secretary, Dubcek. As a result, the attacks on Novotny should pick up markedly; his resignation as president is probably not far off.

8. Philippines

US-Philippine relations took a strange turn yesterday. The Philippine Embassy in Saigon told our embassy there that, effective immediately, Clark Air Base and other US bases in the Philippines will be prohibited to US servicemen and civilian personnel visiting on leave. Clarification from Manila is expected shortly.

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*FOR THE PRESIDENT'S EYES ONLY*

## Special Daily Report on North Vietnam



**Top Secret** 50X1  
16

8 March 1968

**Special Daily Report on North Vietnam  
for the President's Eyes Only**

8 March 1968

**I. NOTES ON THE SITUATION**

More Comments from French Correspondent: In further debriefing by US Embassy officers in Paris, Cabanes, the former French Press Agency correspondent in Hanoi, reports that the North Vietnamese were not completely satisfied with the results of the Tet offensive. He claims that in private conversations, North Vietnamese officials have displayed disappointment over the relatively good showing made by the South Vietnamese and the fact that so few South Vietnamese members defected to the Viet Cong.

In other aspects of the war, Cabanes provided little beyond the standard optimistic North Vietnamese line. He characterizes the party's control of the population as "strong and effective." He says the North Vietnamese leadership's political dependence on Moscow and Peking is minimal, and he tries especially hard to discount Chinese influence in Hanoi. He recounts a story about North Vietnamese officials being extremely disturbed over bomb damage to Chinese vessels in Haiphong because these officials feared "it might trigger a Chicom response or the sending of Chinese volunteers into North Vietnam."

\* \* \*

North Vietnamese Combat Officer's View of the War: A recently captured 76-page notebook, formerly the property of a North Vietnamese signals officer, is concerned with combat strength ratios. The writer states that if the ratio is 15 allied to one Communist, "the enemy will win," but "the enemy will lose if the ratio is five to one." He believes that the ratio in April 1967, after the 1966-67 dry season, was two and one-half to one. North Vietnamese reinforcements "continue to increase day after day in order to prevent the enemy from increasing the ratio. We presently have 400,000 troops."

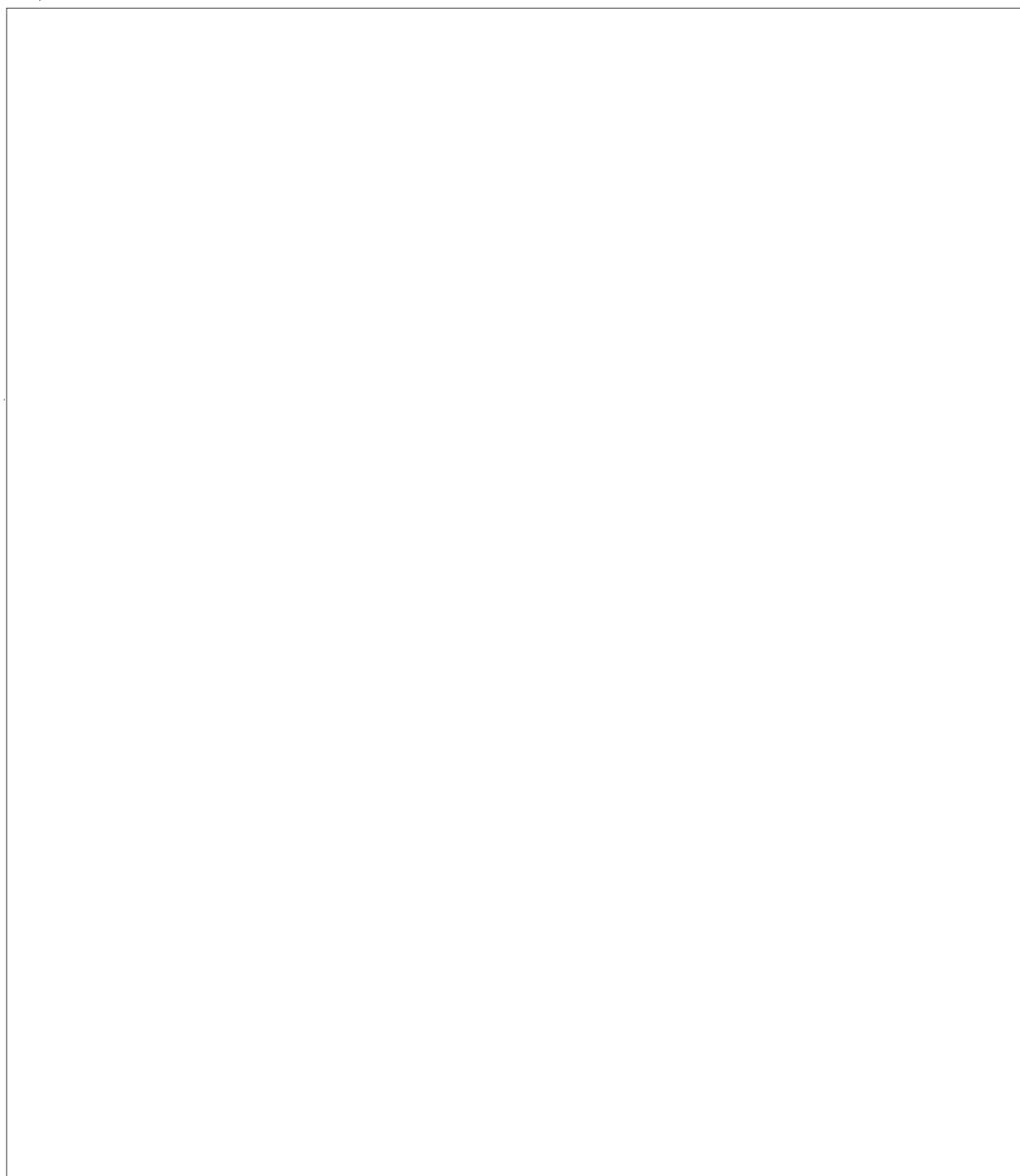
The writer asserts that the Communists have the initiative in the current winter-spring campaign. He says that in 1966-67 "we succeeded in deploying the enemy to the strategic positions selected by us." He feels this year's campaign may be a good opportunity to achieve ultimate victory because opposing forces will be stretched thin.

The writer's views may not be an entirely accurate reflection of North Vietnamese strategic thinking, but they are illustrative of an apparently widespread Communist conviction that the balance of forces favors them. In earlier phases of the war, Communists were instructed to believe in ultimate victory primarily because of the righteousness of their cause. Now the emphasis is on the superiority of Communist forces and strategy.

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French Medical Aid for the Viet Cong: The Franco-Vietnamese medical association in Paris has assembled medical supplies valued at about \$20,000 for air shipment to Cambodia and onward to the Viet Cong. Funds for this particular shipment have come from the medical association and the Mouvement Du Milliard, which has previously sent medical aid to North Vietnam. The shipment reportedly will be received in Cambodia by the National Liberation Front representative there, Nguyen Van Hieu.

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Front Spokesman Discusses Tet Offensive: The deputy chief of the Liberation Front office in Moscow told [redacted] recently that the Tet offensive had proven that Viet Cong military forces are still powerful and not "tired" as he claimed the Pentagon and President Johnson had alleged. He also said the objective of Viet Cong efforts is to get the Americans out of Vietnam. In tough and cocky language, he warned that the Communists are prepared to outlast the Americans despite "their stubborn nature," and that only after the US has evacuated South Vietnam "will there be negotiations."

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Hanoi Overcomes POL Problems: A detailed review of the POL situation in North Vietnam over the last year indicates that Hanoi has overcome the effects of the 1966 bombings of petroleum storage facilities. Specifically:

--POL imports were significantly larger in 1967 than in 1966. Most of the oil came by sea from the USSR. The system of lighters at Haiphong is working well.

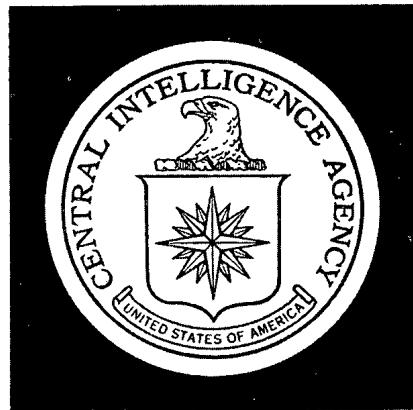
--Consumption in 1967 was also higher than in 1966, partly because the North Vietnamese had to depend more heavily on truck transport and POL-driven electric power plants. But POL losses from bombing were drastically lower, and the net outcome was a modest increase in reserves.

--The North Vietnamese have dispersed most of their storage facilities. This dispersal has been so successful that they are not even bothering to repair the central facilities damaged in the 1966 bombings.

II. NORTH VIETNAMESE REFLECTIONS OF US POLITICAL  
ATTITUDES ON THE WAR

There is nothing of significance to report.

*Top Secret*



# *The President's Daily Brief*

Top Secret 9 March 1968



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DAILY BRIEF  
9 MARCH 1968

1. Vietnam

Fighting has been light in South Vietnam except in northeastern Quang Tri Province, where there have been sharp clashes

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In provincial and district towns in nearly all parts of South Vietnam, [redacted]

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[redacted] Communist harassment is keeping the populace apprehensive and is reducing its confidence in the government.

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[redacted] Outside of the towns, US officials believe the Communists are consolidating their grip in broad areas. They seem to have had some success in replenishing their ranks through recruitment and impressment, and they may also have acquired large stocks of food and funds from the rural populace.

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2. United Kingdom

The embassy in London has word that a week-long program of anti-US demonstrations is to begin on Monday. Targets of the demonstrations are to include British firms involved in supplying material for the US in Vietnam, as well as US companies such as Pan Am and Dow Chemical. Next Sunday, 17 March, there is to be a mass demonstration in Grosvenor Square in front of the embassy. The embassy is taking precautions.

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## 3. Panama

The next confrontation seems likely to come on Monday, when the assembly reconvenes to set a date for considering the impeachment charges against Robles. Arias--whose followers have not been turning out very impressively for him--reportedly is putting out a call for demonstrators to mass Monday at the assembly building. Robles has a court injunction ordering suspension of the impeachment proceedings, and his supporters in the legislature boycotted its session yesterday.

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## 4. Philippines

More on the question of leave in the Philippines for US servicemen

: our embassy in Manila makes it clear that the only people being prohibited are US servicemen posted elsewhere who enter the Philippines through US bases to spend their leave on the islands. This would amount to about 1,000 men a year. The Filipinos apparently feel they must tighten their controls over US servicemen passing through as tourists. Personnel on R&R from Vietnam have special documentation and are not affected.

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## 5. Guatemala

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6. Communist China

Chinese guards at diplomatic missions in Peking now stand their whole tour "clasping the little red book to their middle," [redacted]

[redacted] The changing of the guard is accompanied by much waving of the book and shouting of "Long, long life to Chairman Mao!" Telephone switchboards and the time and weather girls repeat the same invocation before giving their information. [redacted]

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7. Warsaw Pact

The meeting of the pact's Political Consultative Committee in Sofia failed, as expected, to agree on the draft nonproliferation treaty. Rumania was the holdout. This is the first time the committee has had to publicize a failure to reach agreement--a sign of the pact's dwindling effectiveness as a unifying force.

8. Czechoslovakia

More groups are expressing their dissatisfaction with Novotny and the old regime. [redacted]

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Contacts of the embassy in Prague are also saying that some loosening up in Czech foreign policy can be expected over the next few months. No earthshaking changes are in prospect, but we probably will see a greater emphasis on Czech national interest, a testing of the bonds with the USSR, and a somewhat greater openness toward the West.

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9. Cyprus

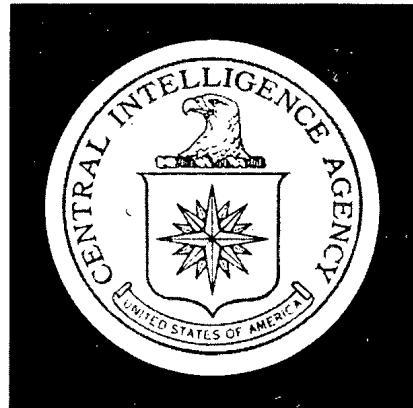
Makarios has announced the removal of all restrictions on the movement of Turkish Cypriots. With Turks and Greeks mingling freely again, there is always the possibility that some local fight will lead to widespread communal violence.

10. Cuba-France

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*FOR THE PRESIDENT'S EYES ONLY*

## Special Daily Report on North Vietnam

**Top Secret**

50X1

16

9 March 1968

Special Daily Report on North Vietnam  
for the President's Eyes Only

9 March 1968

I. NOTES ON THE SITUATION

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Repairs are Under Way on the Paul Doumer Bridge:  
Photography of 7 February, which has just been given a detailed review in Washington, showed that dropped bridge sections on the east end of the Doumer bridge had been spanned by means of steel cables up to 500 feet long resting on intermediate supports. It can not be determined as yet if the Communists intend to repair the bridge permanently, but cables have been used previously to aid reconstruction work. The cables may be intended, however, for constructing a highway cable bridge or pedestrian walk using the bridge piers for anchorage. There are no lengthy cable bridges being used for rail traffic in North Vietnam.

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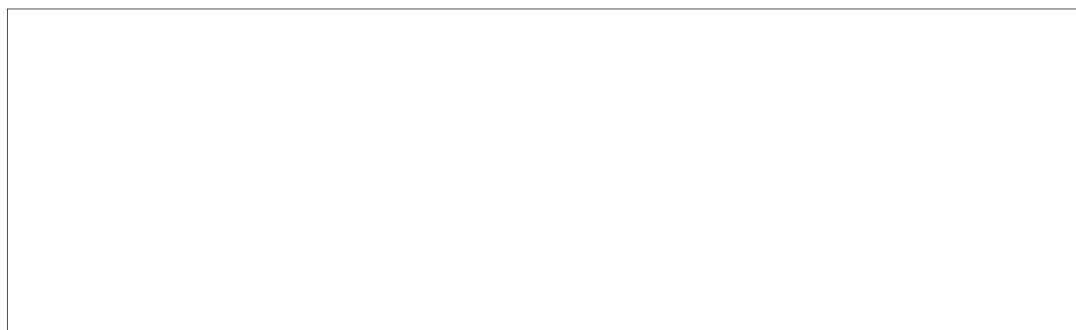
Seven spans of the 19-span, mile-long bridge are either dropped or damaged, and considerable work remains before the bridge could be opened to even limited traffic. There are 16 alternate rail and highway crossings over which traffic can move in and out of Hanoi.

\* \* \*

French Report on Monday's Raid on Hanoi: The Paris newspaper Le Monde carried a story this week claiming that after the air strike on Hanoi on Monday, "the Americans can no longer say that their aircraft attack only military targets." The raid on Monday, the article goes on, was aimed at a rice-hulling factory and the surrounding workers' houses. One wonders, the article concludes, "whether Washington has not decided to take a new step in escalation."

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North Vietnamese POWs: The return of the three North Vietnamese sailors seems to have hit a snag. An Indian International Control Commission (ICC) official, whose responsibilities include handling of ICC flights to Hanoi, is boggling at putting the prisoners on the flight unless there is firm assurance from Hanoi that it will receive the prisoners. He maintains the Indians would face a difficult and embarrassing situation if Hanoi refused to accept them after they arrived. The US Embassy in Saigon is pressing to get them on next Friday's flight, but doubts that the Indian objections can be overcome without a statement from Hanoi that it will accept them. The embassy suggests this will require a request from the International Red Cross in Geneva. Hanoi may refuse to

give any prior assurances of this kind, but it probably would accept the prisoners if they arrive.

\* \* \*

Conditions in Hanoi:

the normal rice ration for workers in North Vietnam is 22 to 26 pounds a month, while skilled workers get more and children less. Additional rice rations sometimes are granted as incentive payments. The standard cloth ration in Hanoi is three meters a year but more is given to workers who produce more than their quotas.

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II. NORTH VIETNAMESE REFLECTIONS OF US POLITICAL ATTITUDES ON THE WAR

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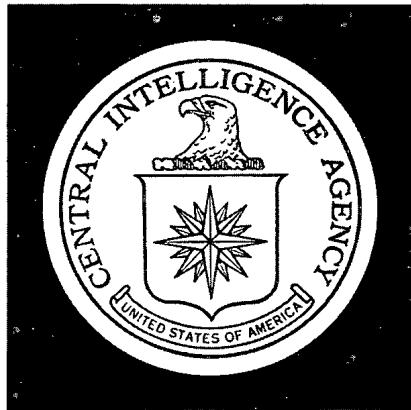
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Hanoi Reports Plans for New Demonstrations in US: On 8 March, Hanoi's international service broadcast a report on preparations for new demonstrations in the US against the war. It noted that the National Mobilization Committee had appealed for people to join in 10 days of protest beginning 12 April. The broadcast said that Students for a Democratic Society and a newly formed black antiwar group had joined the committee in issuing the appeal. A student strike, it noted, is slated for 26 April and a "unified demonstration" of the full force of the movement is to occur the following day.

Hanoi on Antiwar Movement: On 7 March, Hanoi radio's international service carried a brief summary of antiwar activities in the US. It noted that some 1,300 young women at Smith and Wellesley were beginning fasts to protest the war, and that some faculty members and students from Amherst had joined the girls. The same item noted the trial of a US pilot who refused to train other pilots for combat in Vietnam. UPI was cited as saying that the pilot had said he would rather go to prison than take part in anything that might assist the war effort.

The same day Hanoi radio's broadcast to US servicemen in Vietnam reported that Senator Eugene McCarthy said on 3 March that the US cannot tackle its domestic programs when it persists in "wasting manpower, money, and moral energy" in Vietnam. The broadcast said that McCarthy told a Dartmouth College audience recently that we are pursuing a war we seem unable to end, and that this was causing sharp cutbacks in all key domestic programs.

*Top Secret*



# *The President's Daily Brief*

~~Top Secret~~ 11 March 1968



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DAILY BRIEF  
11 MARCH 1968

1. Laos

The Communists have overrun vital portions of the important guerrilla base at Phou Pha Thi

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Some of the American personnel have been successfully evacuated. Reports are still fragmentary.

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2. South Vietnam

A new anti-Communist popular front was formally launched yesterday at a large rally in Saigon. Some 2,000 delegates were present, representing a broad spectrum of the country's political and religious groups.

The event was marred somewhat, however, by the absence of several prominent politicians who had initially lent their support. Other leaders are giving the new group only lukewarm backing because they suspect it is being used as a vehicle for the political ambitions of Vice President Ky or of its chairman, Senator Tran Van Don.

3. Soviet Union

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**4. Panama**

The showdown may come today. The National Assembly is scheduled to meet at 5:00 EST this afternoon and is prepared to indict Robles and set the stage for his impeachment.

To prevent this, Robles is said to have decided to order General Vallarino to keep the assembly from meeting. If Vallarino complies, Arnulfo Arias is likely to respond by calling his followers into the streets. If, on the other hand, Vallarino defies the President, he will be subject to dismissal. But that is an academic point; the National Guard would most likely seize the government.

A last ditch effort is afoot to work out a compromise, but there is no sign of give in either camp. Robles is emboldened by Arias' failure thus far to bring out a truly massive outpouring of followers.

**5. Poland**

Student rioting in Warsaw on Saturday was even uglier than on the day before. More may come. The students seemed to have the sympathy of watching Warsaw citizens who openly criticized the harsh police tactics.

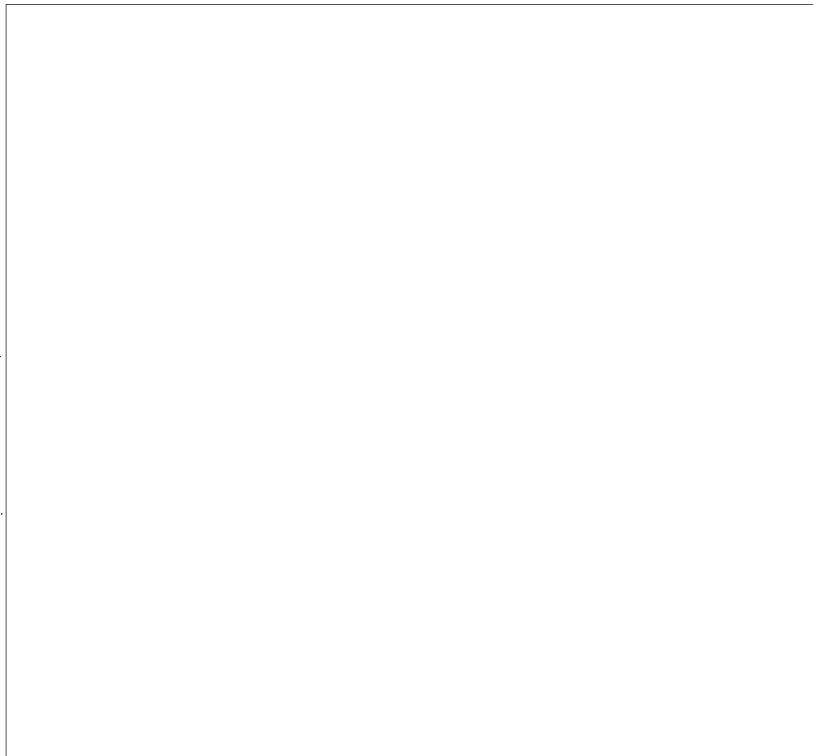
Gomulka's efforts to end the outbreaks are hampered by rising factionalism in the upper echelons of his party.

**6. Cyprus**

Reaction has been generally favorable on Cyprus to Makarios' removal of restrictions on the movement of Turkish Cypriots. The Turks, though wary of a Makarios trick, are saying that the action could bring movement toward easing of communal tensions. Prospects are still dim, however, for any real settlement soon.

7. Common Market

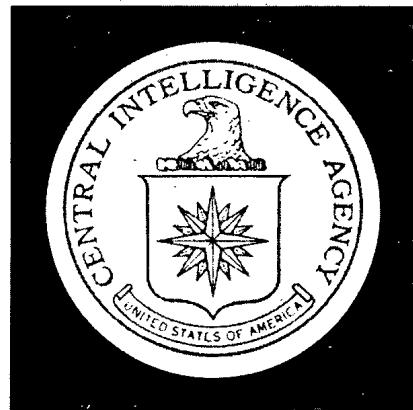
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*FOR THE PRESIDENT'S EYES ONLY*

## Special Daily Report on North Vietnam



**Top Secret** 50X1  
16

11 March 1968

Special Daily Report on North Vietnam  
for the President's Eyes Only

11 March 1968

I. NOTES ON THE SITUATION

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Medical Problems: A senior Swedish Red Cross official has told the US mission in Geneva that the Russian Red Cross has asked for urgent and large shipments of first aid kits, medicine, medical equipment, and textiles for clothing to North Vietnam. A Russian Red Cross official was quoted as saying that there had been a breakdown both in hospital systems and medical treatment in North Vietnam.

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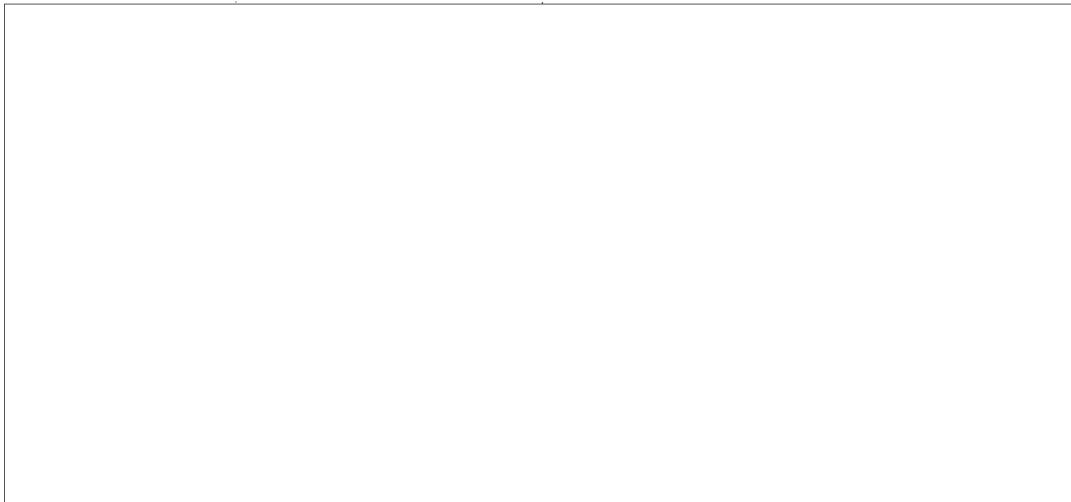
From talking with the Russian, the Swedish official got the impression that conditions in North Vietnam are much worse than Hanoi is admitting. The Russian said Hanoi does not want the outside world to know how bad things are; "the Soviets therefore are moving in to help."

A hint as to the possible real motives behind the Soviet approach came in some supporting "evidence" shown the Swede by the Russian Red Cross official. After claiming that many hospitals had been destroyed in North Vietnam, the Russian displayed a photograph of a large building with a red cross on its roof which had been hit. The Russian also had some pictures of wounded civilians. The photographs are being distributed to various national Red Cross societies.

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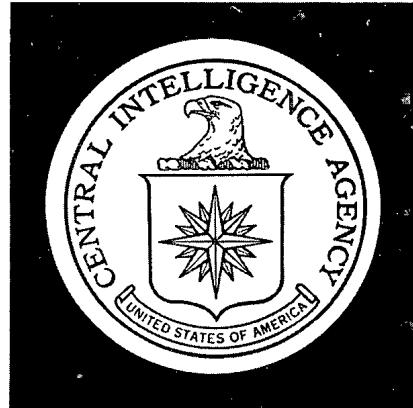
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**II. NORTH VIETNAMESE REFLECTIONS OF US POLITICAL ATTITUDES ON THE WAR**

There is nothing of significance to report today.

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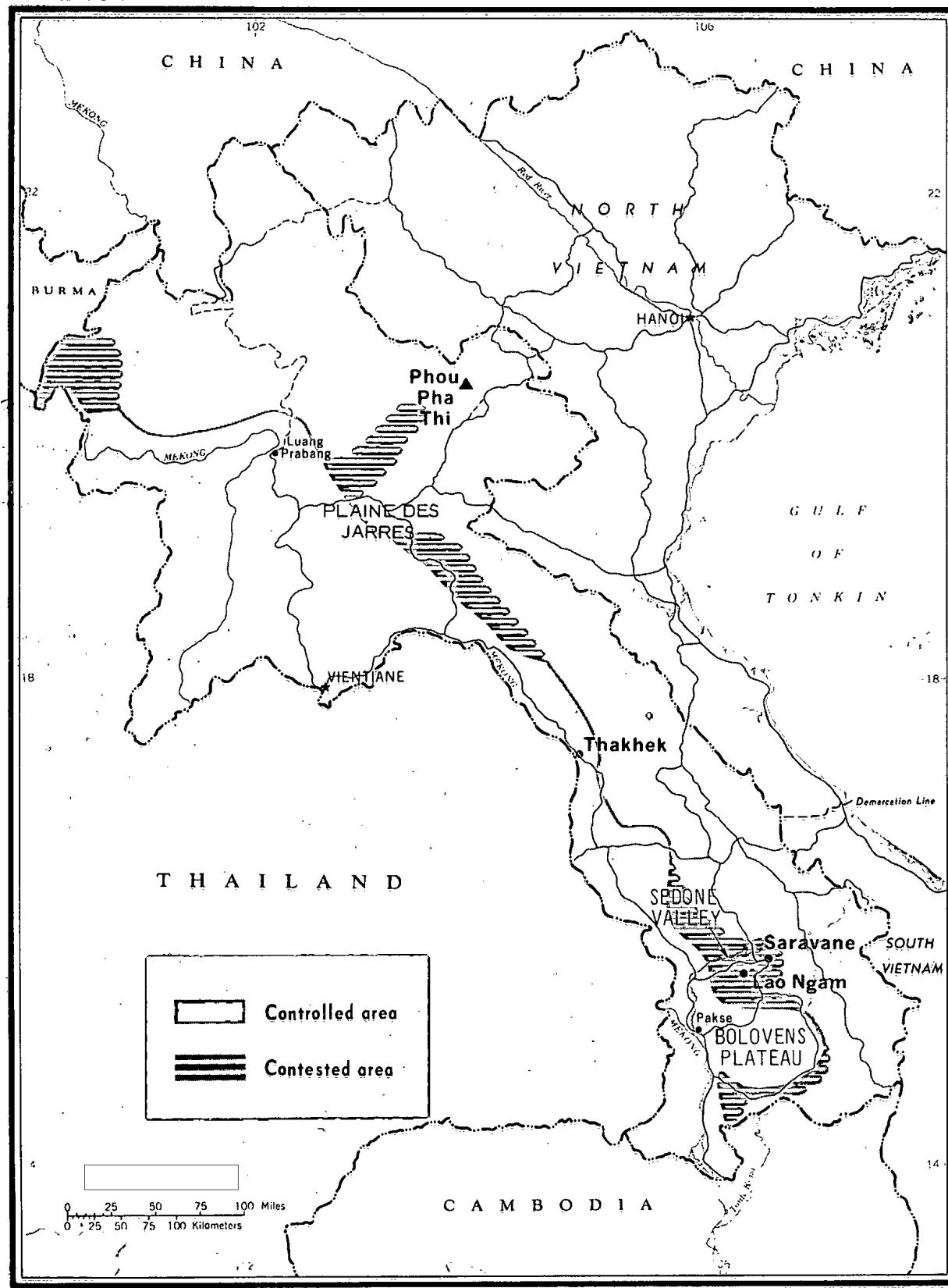
# *The President's Daily Brief*

Top Secret 12 March 1968



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## LAOS

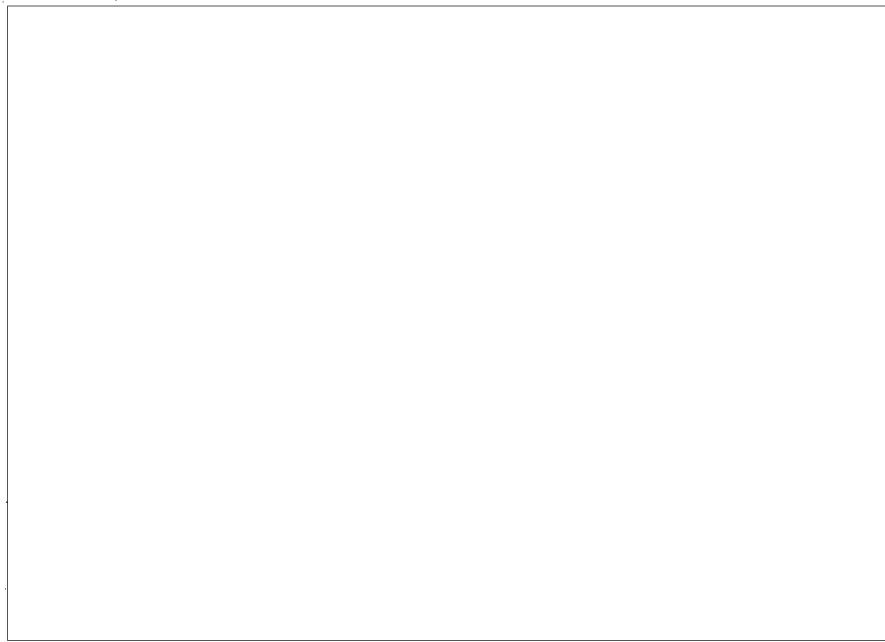


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**DAILY BRIEF**  
**12 MARCH 1968**

**1. South Vietnam**

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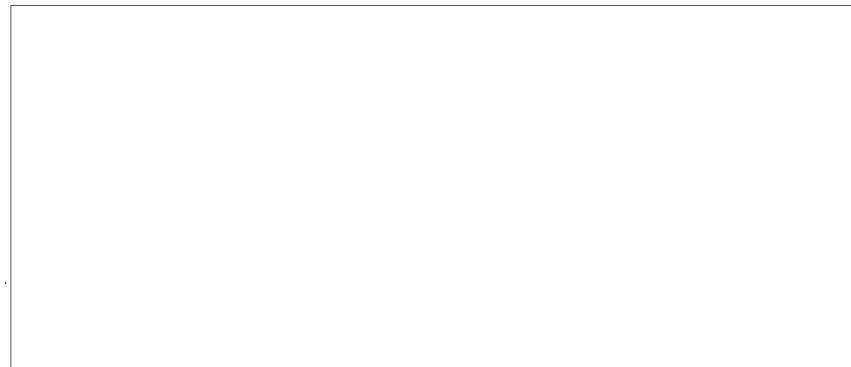


**2. Laos**

There are a number of signs pointing to a new round of Communist attacks in the southern part of the country. A significant enemy build-up in the Bolovens Plateau region is apparently under way, and there may be as many as four North Vietnamese regiments currently in the Saravane-Sedone valley area. The Communists are also stepping up pressure near Thakhek.

**3. Cambodia**

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4. Soviet Union



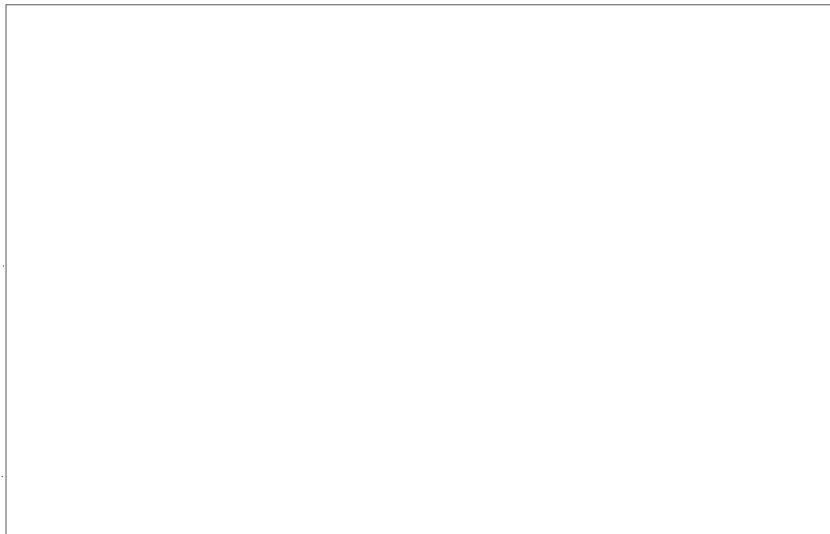
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5. Soviet Union



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**6. Panama**

The National Assembly ended a four-hour session last night without taking a vote to impeach Robles. After hearing the investigating commission's recommendations that the charges against the President be accepted, progovernment deputies asked to have all the documentary evidence read into the record--a tactic that may well tie things up for several days.

**7. Okinawa**

Local leftists protesting against B-52s at Kadena Air Base, Okinawa, have also stirred up publicity about the special reconnaissance aircraft there.

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[redacted] we anticipate more headlines and perhaps demonstrations against these planes. Contingency plans at Kadena are already in effect.

**8. Poland**

Student rioting in Warsaw resumed yesterday and now there are signs that the unrest is spreading to other elements of the population. The party press, for instance, admits that more than half of those arrested are not students, but does not identify them. There are also rumors that workers in the capital are preparing to strike at the "opportune" moment to protest against police handling of the disturbances.

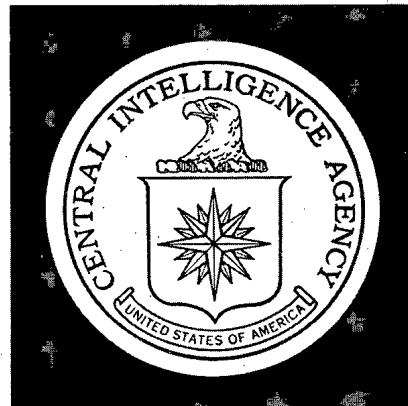
**9. East - West Germany**

The East Germans have decreed that members of the neo - Nazi German Nationalist Democratic Party, or people "engaged in neo-Nazi activities," are banned from entering East Germany and transiting to West Berlin. In essence, this means the East Germans have devised another issue which they can use to interfere with traffic to Berlin. Allied access is not affected.

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*FOR THE PRESIDENT'S EYES ONLY*

## Special Daily Report on North Vietnam



**Top Secret**

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16  
12 March 1968

Special Daily Report on North Vietnam  
for the President's Eyes Only

12 March 1968

I. NOTES ON THE SITUATION

Hanoi Official Agrees to Discuss POW Issue: The chargé of the North Vietnamese Embassy in Vientiane has agreed to meet with US Embassy officials to discuss the prisoner of war issue. Efforts to contact the chargé on the same subject last year were rebuffed. In a conversation at a reception on 8 March, the deputy chief of the US mission informed the chargé of US plans to release three North Vietnamese sailors in reciprocity for Hanoi's release of three pilots. When the chargé was told of earlier US efforts to contact him, he invited the US official to meet with him to discuss the POW issue. When asked about his remark to Ambassador Sullivan last month implying that Hanoi might release additional US prisoners, the chargé replied that he personally believed that further releases could be expected in line with the "humanitarian" policy of the Liberation Front.

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Hanoi Plays Up Thieu-Ky Friction: Radio Hanoi, in a broadcast to South Vietnam on 10 March, zeroed in on political instability in Saigon in the wake of the Tet offensive and attempted to dramatize Western press reports of friction between Thieu and Ky. The

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commentary used recent changes in the South Vietnamese Army's command structure, the arrest of prominent civilian politicians, and the refusal of the National Assembly to grant Thieu emergency powers to illustrate its thesis that the Saigon government is about to collapse. All elements of this government are "quarreling like cats and dogs," according to the broadcast. Vice President Ky was described as "pouring everything into an effort to overthrow Thieu" and Thieu was reportedly trying to curb Ky's powers. All of these internal problems, concluded the broadcast, make the US position in South Vietnam increasingly difficult.

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#### Hanoi Sends Students Abroad:

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Hanoi is continuing to send large numbers of students abroad for technical training. The ministry informed the provinces that an estimate of the number of students for study abroad has been decided upon and that if the provinces were in agreement with the figures, student files should be sent to Hanoi during March. The number of students for foreign training included 400 from populous Nghe An Province, and 20 each from sparsely populated Lai Chau and Lao Cai provinces.

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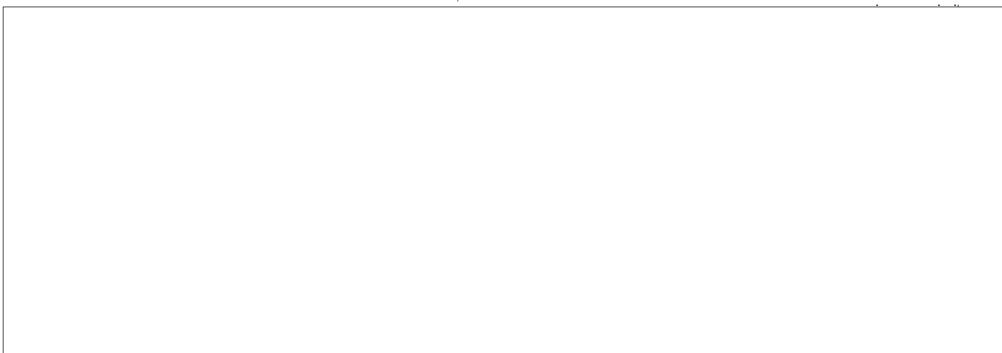
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## II. NORTH VIETNAMESE REFLECTIONS OF US POLITICAL ATTITUDES ON THE WAR

Hanoi Reports Antiwar Activity: In its 9 March English language broadcast, Hanoi radio continued its policy of reporting statements and meetings in the US protesting the war. It reported that 20 of the 30 members of the faculty of the University of Chicago Divinity School had signed a statement protesting the war and supporting those students who resisted being drafted into the armed forces. A teach-in held on 6 March at Southern Connecticut State College and addressed by Yale University chaplain William Coffin, Jr. was also reported. Coffin was described as one of the five American intellectuals being prosecuted for their antidraft roles. He was quoted as saying that "what is traitorous in this country is not to dissent but to remain blindly submissive." Finally, a press conference held in Washington on 6 March by Boston University professor Howard Zinn (who was involved in the release of the three US pilots) was recounted. Zinn compared the magnanimous release of the pilots to the "heinous act of the US authorities in prosecuting the five antiwar American intellectuals."

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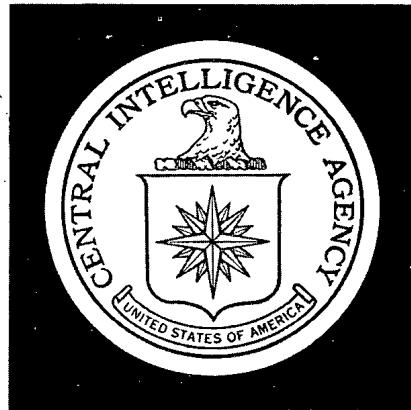
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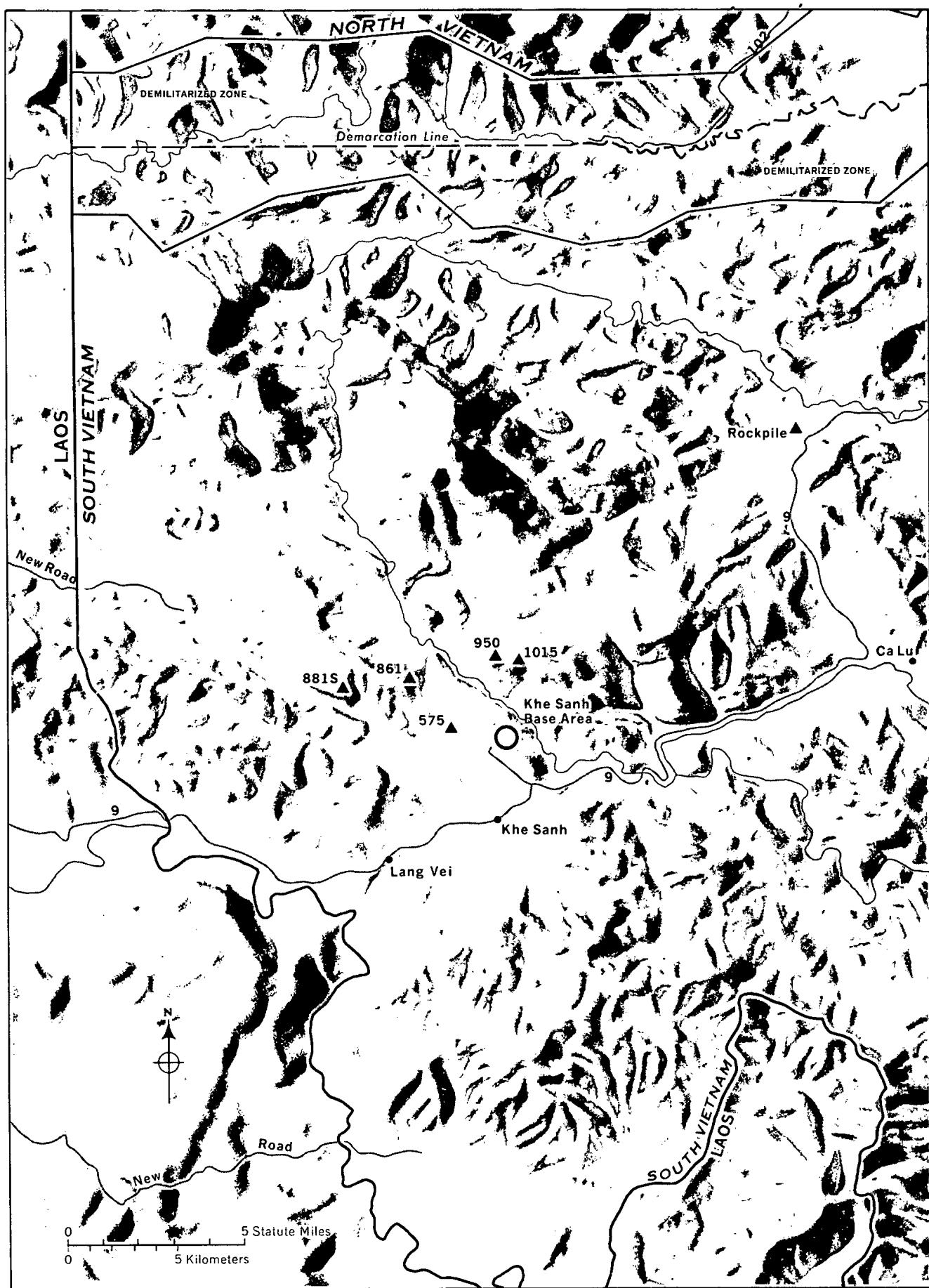


# *The President's Daily Brief*

~~Top Secret~~ 13 March 1968



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DAILY BRIEF  
13 MARCH 1968

1. Vietnam

Military activity remains at a low level in most of South Vietnam.

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Clouds obscured most of the territory photographed on the BLACK SHIELD mission of 8 March, but good coverage was obtained around Khe Sanh.

The photographs showed further development of the Laotian road network to the west of Khe Sanh. In addition to Route 9, the Communists have built (over the past several months) two spurs running east from Route 92. These roads appear to have advanced about two miles since January and are now well within South Vietnamese territory.

All of the routes west of Khe Sanh appeared to be in serviceable condition. No vehicles were photographed, but extensive tracking suggests that moderate to heavy traffic uses these roads.

2. Panama

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### 3. Eastern Europe

Police in Warsaw had to use tear gas again yesterday to put down demonstrations, and students in other Polish cities are beginning to voice support for their colleagues in the capital.

The government is cracking down on people it thinks instigated the demonstrations or failed to rein in the demonstrators. Yesterday, for instance, it fired three high government officials whose children had been seen leading the protestors. The official line has begun to take a heavily anti-Semitic slant.

There may be unrest in the labor movement, too, the government's propaganda to the contrary notwithstanding. At least, that was what four workers claimed yesterday when they turned up at our embassy to ask if they could use its printing press to print an anti-regime pamphlet. (This may have been a provocation; the embassy turned down their request.)

Labor leaders in Czechoslovakia are also having their troubles. Prague radio yesterday announced the resignations of three of them, including the head of the central council of trade unions. This official said he took on himself part of the blame for various "shortcomings" in the labor movement. The union hierarchy has been a Novotny stronghold.

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4. Egypt-Israel

Both Jarring and the Israelis think Cairo will soon take its grievances back to the Security Council.

Nasir's domestic troubles probably are behind his renewed intransigence. Our embassy in Cairo believes that the recent student and worker demonstrations have made Nasir back away from even indirect talks with the Israelis. The regime apparently plans to have another go at diverting internal public opinion with a noisy hassle in the UN.

5. Communist China

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6. [redacted]

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*FOR THE PRESIDENT'S EYES ONLY*

## Special Daily Report on North Vietnam



**Top Secret** 50X1

16  
13 March 1968

Special Daily Report on North Vietnam  
for the President's Eyes Only

13 March 1968

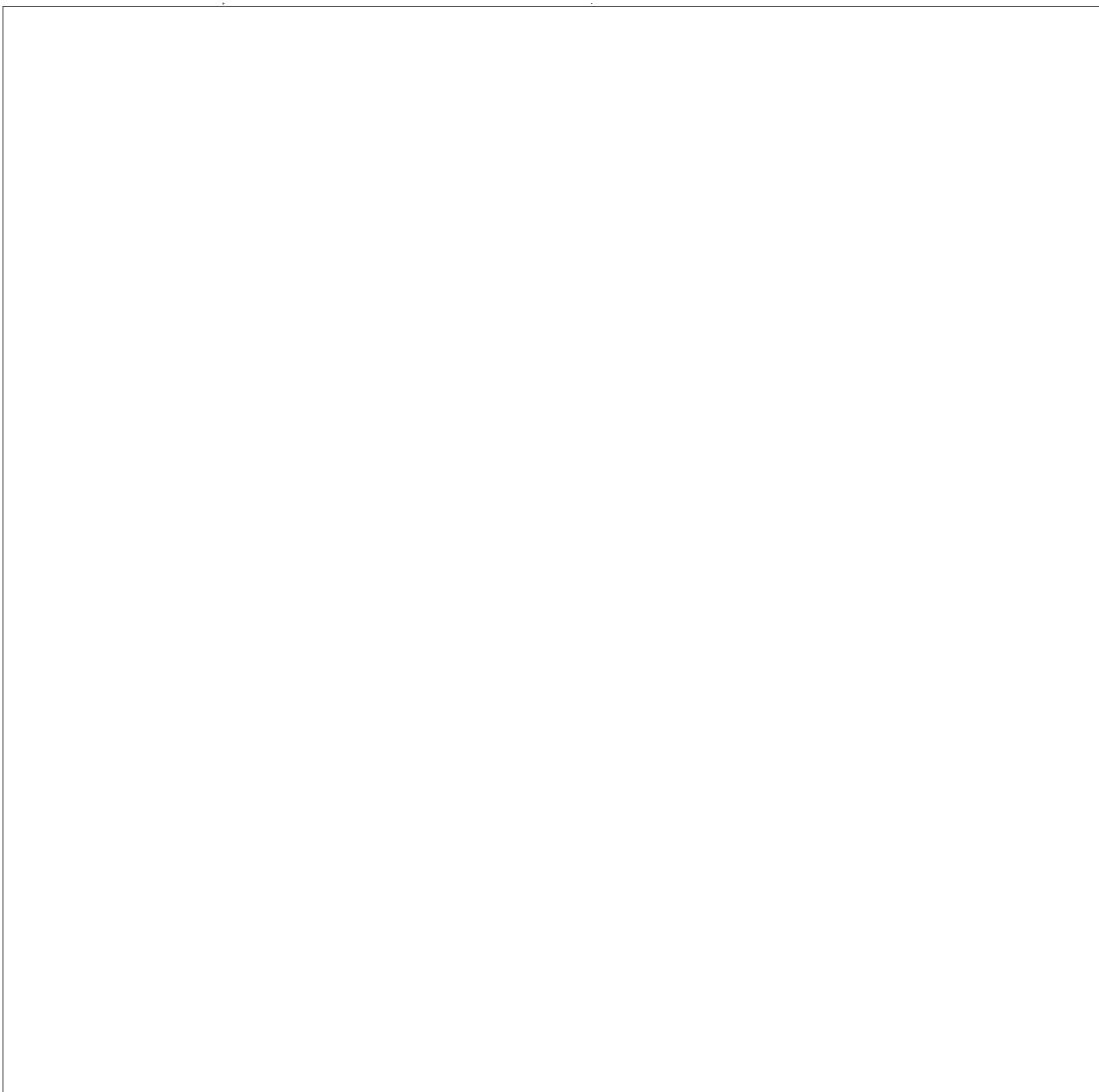
I. NOTES ON THE SITUATION

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## Conditions in Haiphong:

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[redacted] the people in the port city appeared to be well or at least adequately fed but poorly dressed. [redacted] a large number of children in the city--probably just for the holiday. The officials [redacted] seemed confident in ultimate victory, but [redacted] not be sure about the civilians. [redacted] work in the port area continued on an around-the-clock basis.

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Hanoi Calls Local Elections: Hanoi announced in an 11 March domestic broadcast that the triennial election of representatives to people's councils in North Vietnam's two autonomous zones, 17 provinces, and two special cities will be held in April. These organizations carry out functions on the local level similar to the National Assembly.

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The most recent election in North Vietnam was held last April when representatives for the districts, small towns, and provincial capitals were voted into office. In the upcoming vote, the Communist Party, as usual, will present the electorate a list of acceptable candidates from whom to choose.

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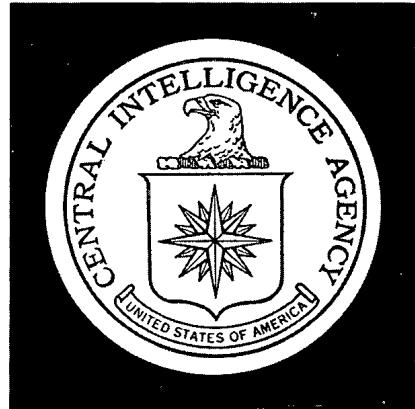
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## II. NORTH VIETNAMESE REFLECTIONS OF US POLITICAL ATTITUDES ON THE WAR

Hanoi Reports Court-martial of USAF Captain: Hanoi has been quick to comment on the court-martial of Captain Dale Noyd. In an 11 March broadcast, the North Vietnamese recounted the particulars of his trial and conviction, and noted that despite his punishment, Noyd continued to voice his disapproval of the war in Vietnam, where he considered the US was fighting a war of aggression. The same broadcast also noted that according to a recent Gallup Poll, more Americans now than at any previous time feel the US was wrong to get involved militarily in Vietnam. The broadcast commented that this poll also showed that at present "the Americans have become increasingly concerned about the cost in lives and money caused by the US war of aggression in Vietnam."

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# *The President's Daily Brief*

~~Top Secret~~ 14 March 1968



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DAILY BRIEF  
14 MARCH 1968

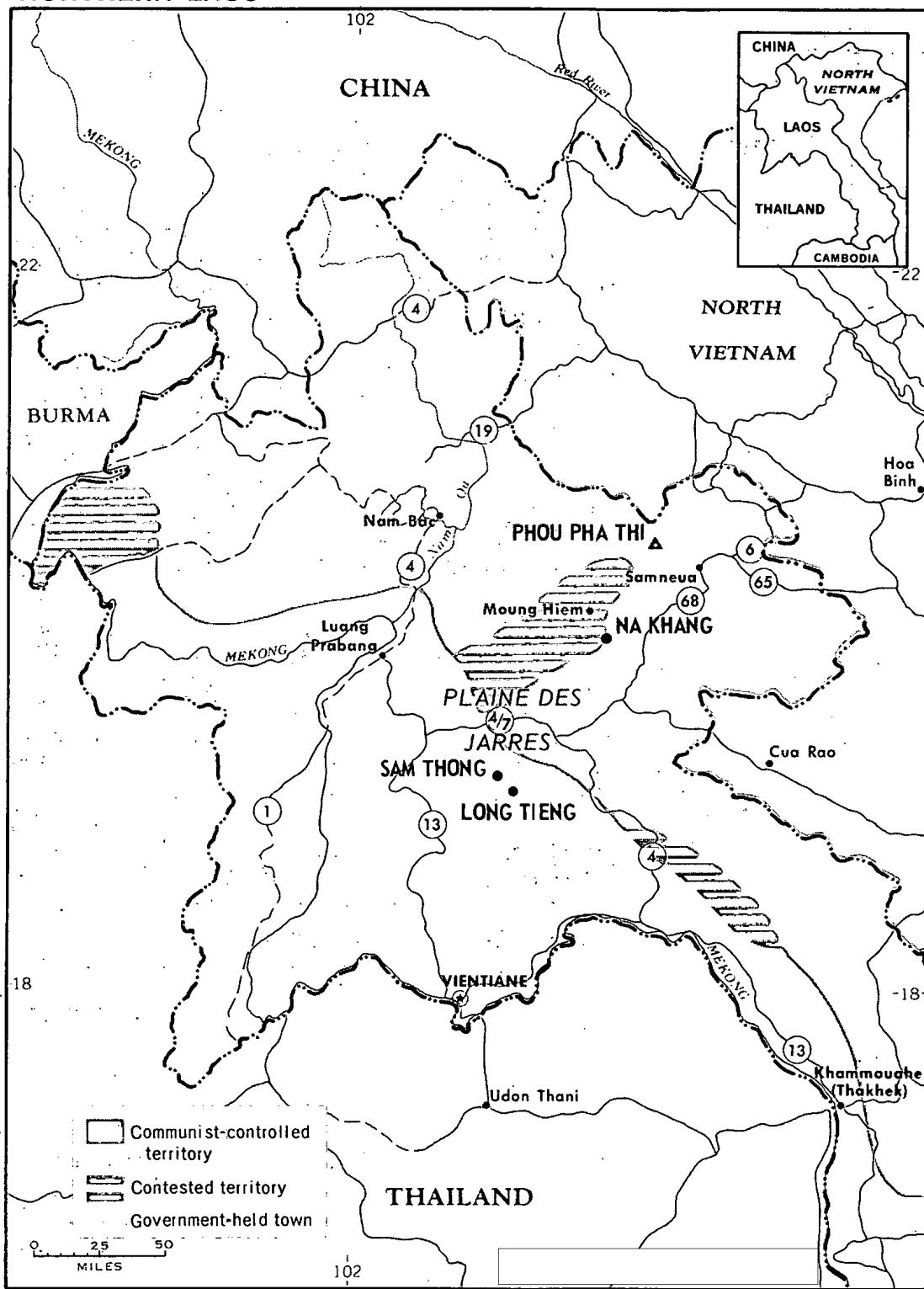
1. South Vietnam

Vice President Ky has told Ambassador Bunker that the situation in IV Corps is not good at all. According to information given Ky by General Thang, the new commander, some 2,000 regular and irregular troops in IV Corps are still unaccounted for, and 367 outposts had either been overrun or their complements withdrawn. Ky claimed, however, that Thang was rapidly gearing himself to move over to the offensive in the delta.

Ky thinks Saigon needs to raise another 100,000 to 125,000 men. He also observed that in view of what he claimed to be the enemy's superior weaponry, better equipment for South Vietnamese forces is more important than having more American troops.

2. Cambodia

## NORTHERN LAOS



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### 3. Communist China

There are signs that the Cultural Revolution disorders have had an effect on some military weapons programs.

The most telling indication is a speech--just recently come to light--that Chou En-lai made in mid-January, complaining of exceptional factionalism in the military industries. He mentioned specifically two rival factions thought to be in a ministry involved with the production of missile components and lamented that some factory equipment had been damaged.

Work has continued in the advanced weapons program despite disorders created by the Cultural Revolution. In all defense industries in which production can be gauged, output dropped in 1967. The Cultural Revolution played some role in this decline, although the exact extent cannot be determined.

### 4. Laos

The Communists are keeping up their pressure on government guerrillas in the northeast. [redacted] North Vietnamese and Pathet Lao battalions are consolidating their control of the area around Phou Pha Thi, which they captured Monday, ejecting government troops from several smaller outposts in the area. A likely next Communist target is the important guerrilla base at Na Khang. The loss of Na Khang in addition to Phou Pha Thi would just about put the government out of the business of observing and harassing the enemy in the northeast.

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The Communists are also continuing their limited offensive against government positions south of the Plaine des Jarres. So far, however, they do not appear disposed to push as far south as Meo leader Vang Pao's headquarters at Sam Thong or the guerrilla base at Long Tieng.

There have been no new reports of significant enemy activity in southern Laos the past two days.

**5. Gold Rush**

Yesterday was the worst yet with sales on the London gold market reaching \$174 million. Sales for the first three days of this week are already as high as last week's five-day total of \$395 million. The British pound also took a beating yesterday after London published figures showing that February was a bad month for Britain's trade balance.

**6. Poland**

Ambassador Gronouski reports that Radio Free Europe broadcasts to Poland during the present crisis have been "especially appreciated by the Polish audience." They are listening particularly to RFE's detailed up-to-date accounts of developments in the country and to comparative treatment with developments in Czechoslovakia.

[redacted] the broadcasts are forcing the Polish media to commit embarrassing gaffes in handling the story.

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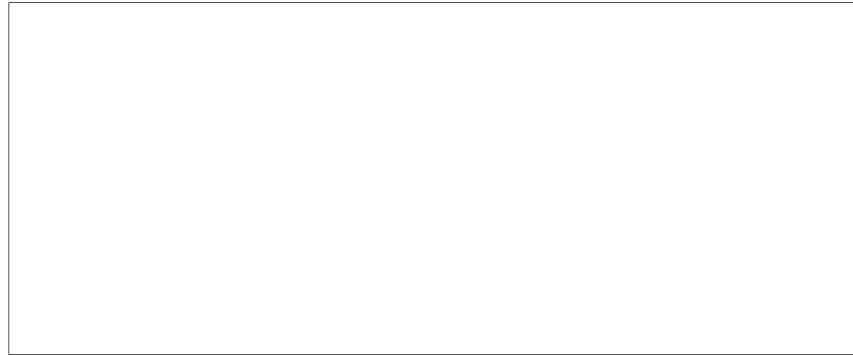
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There were no new student outbursts in Warsaw yesterday, but widely scattered demonstrations continued elsewhere. The increasingly anti-Semitic slant in the party's counterpropaganda suggests the hardliners may be trying to improve their position at the expense of a moderate Jewish faction associated with Gomulka. Gomulka himself has been lying low since the riots broke out six days ago, a failure in leadership which could be held against him later on.

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## 7. Panama

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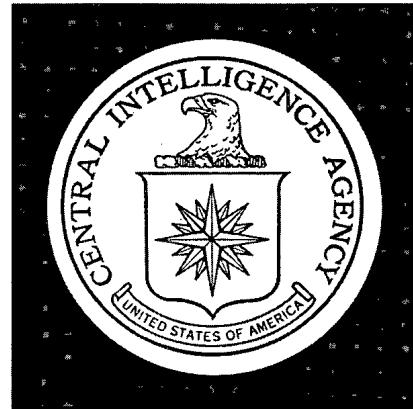


[redacted] the opposition has drawn up what seems to be a more leisurely timetable for completion of impeachment proceedings against Robles. Final assembly determination of Robles' "guilt" would be taken by March 26, after which the National Guard Commandant would be ordered to replace him with the pro-Arias vice president. If the Guard refuses, Arias would then call his followers into the streets.

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*FOR THE PRESIDENT'S EYES ONLY*

## Special Daily Report on North Vietnam



**Top Secret 50X1  
16  
14 March 1968**

Special Daily Report on North Vietnam  
for the President's Eyes Only

14 March 1968

I. NOTES ON THE SITUATION

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Hanoi on Prisoner Exchanges: The North Vietnamese chargé in Vientiane held the door open to further discussions on the exchange of prisoners during an initial meeting with US Embassy officials on 12 March. He also delivered a strong propaganda condemnation of US harassment of North Vietnamese coastal shipping and seizure of North Vietnamese personnel from these vessels. The protest, in the form of an aide-memoire, suggests that it is intended as a North Vietnamese position paper.

The chargé requested that the 12 March discussions be given no publicity. In this meeting the North Vietnamese also officially agreed to accept the three North Vietnamese naval personnel whom the US proposes to repatriate, thus clearing the way for their return to Hanoi on the next ICC flight scheduled for this Friday.

The official aide-memoire seems to set the stage for Hanoi's future actions on the prisoner issue. It attempts to make a distinction between captured American pilots--whom the North Vietnamese regard as criminals--and the "hundreds" of North

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Vietnamese civilians whom Hanoi claims the US has captured in North Vietnamese waters, "arrested, and illegally retained." The memoire insists that the prisoner issue is not one of reciprocity. The US is obliged, according to this argument, to return its North Vietnamese prisoners, whereas Hanoi has released the American pilots as a gesture of good will. Using this rationale, Hanoi clearly intends to retain the initiative and the control over the timing of prisoner releases.

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Communists Plan World-wide Vietnam Demonstrations: The Communist-front World Federation of Democratic Youth has called on its affiliates to organize a "thousand demonstrations" world-wide for one month beginning 24 March. The demonstrations are to be against US policy in Vietnam.

Most likely trouble spots are in Scandinavia and elsewhere in Western Europe where radical "new left" groups are already conducting or preparing for Vietnam protest demonstrations. There could be violence against US property in these places.

The Communists' world youth group is also promoting the idea of a meeting during the next few weeks between "representatives of progressive American and Vietnamese youths."

\* \* \*

Hanoi Comment on Saigon Politics: The North Vietnamese are continuing to give close attention to the political situation in South Vietnam. In its English language broadcast on 13 March, Hanoi claimed that recent changes in the personnel of the Saigon administration and evidence of assembly dissatisfaction with the Thieu government had demonstrated the "sharp contradiction among the puppets and the scramble between Thieu and Ky for power." Quoting Western press stories, the broadcast noted that seven of the 44 province chiefs had been "fired," that the assembly had rejected Thieu's request for more power, and that a petition of no confidence in the Loc cabinet had been circulated among a number of senators.

\* \* \*

## II. NORTH VIETNAMESE REFLECTIONS OF US POLITICAL ATTITUDES ON THE WAR

US Senate Foreign Relations Committee Hearings: At last check, neither Hanoi nor the National Liberation Front has reported or commented on the hearings.

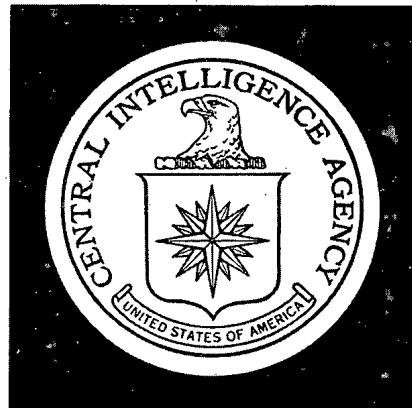
More Hanoi Comment on US Attitudes: Hanoi continues to publicize US editorial opinion critical of the American policy in Vietnam. In an international English language broadcast on Wednesday, Hanoi reported that the 10 March issue of Newsweek had commented editorially that after three years of gradual escalation, "President Johnson's strategy for Vietnam has run into a dead end." Newsweek was also quoted as saying that the President's strategy was a failure and urged him to get the US out of its dismal situation by stopping the war in Vietnam.

The New York Times of the same day was also reported to have called the US war in Vietnam "this vain and costly effort," and to have pointed out that it was clear that American military might could not achieve a meaningful victory in Vietnam. The Times urged an eventual orderly withdrawal from Vietnam, according to the broadcast.

\* \* \*

Antiwar Activities Reported: In its latest broadcast wrapping up antiwar activity, Hanoi reported on 12 March that three more US soldiers had deserted in Japan to protest US policy in Vietnam. The broadcast also reported that opposition to the war has increased sharply in the past year at the University of Massachusetts. It quoted a recent survey conducted by a graduate student seminar which indicated that 73 percent of the students who responded said they would vote against President Johnson in the election and that 78 percent of the graduate students said they oppose US involvement in Vietnam.

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# *The President's Daily Brief*

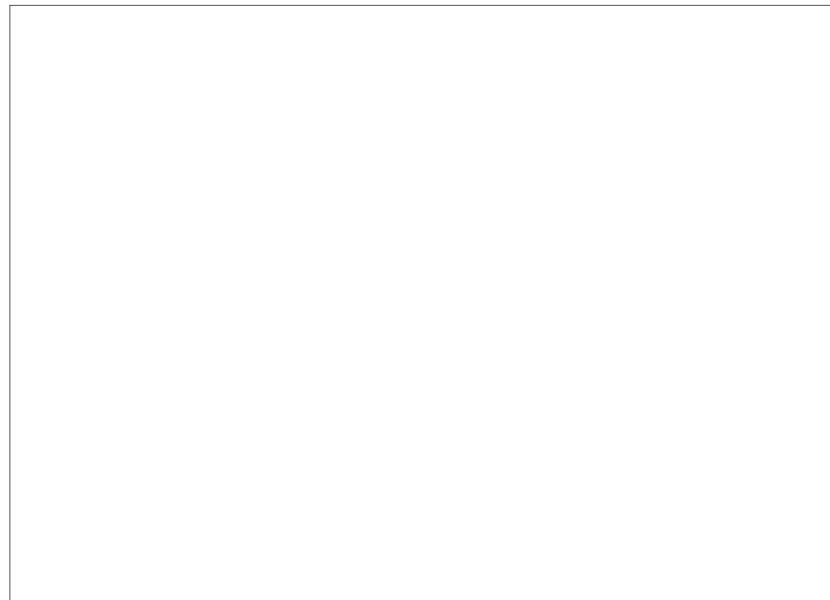
Top Secret 15 March 1968



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DAILY BRIEF  
15 MARCH 1968

1. North Vietnam



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2. South Vietnam

[redacted] Commu-  
nist forces may be preparing for an-  
other round of coordinated attacks in  
various areas of the country in the  
near future.

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3. Japan

The local Communists are taking dead aim at all US activities in Japan and Okinawa related to the war in Vietnam. The prospect is for more demonstrations, perhaps violent ones. Sato, who faces upper house elections early this summer, is in a cautious mood and will try to avoid doing anything that might further stir up this hornet's nest.

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#### 4. Panama

Last night the assembly finally voted to impeach President Robles. The trial is set for 24 March. The President was not suspended from office last night, as he legally could have been. His removal is likely to await the expected guilty verdict, probably on 27 or 28 March.

General Vallarino's day of decision could thus be nearly two weeks away, but the chances of a compromise solution now seem remote indeed.

#### 5. Eastern Europe

New street demonstrations took place in Poznan and Lodz yesterday. Warsaw students have not yet been brought to heel. The party continues its heavy-handed efforts to discredit the student "agitators," but there is some evidence that it is now groping for ways to open a dialogue with them.

In Czechoslovakia there was more bad news yesterday for the beleaguered Novotny. The suicide of Deputy Defense Minister Janko dramatizes the desperation and isolation of those who tried to save Novotny last January. Janko was in command of the armored forces and was probably partly responsible for the ill-fated effort to bring out tanks in Novotny's behalf.

In Moscow, the press and radio are silent on recent Polish and Czech developments. [redacted]

[redacted] We have no doubt, however, that the men in the Kremlin are watching these events intently, even anxiously.

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## 6. Thailand

Bangkok is making a long-overdue reappraisal of its efforts to suppress Communist-led guerrillas in the north. Senior army leaders now admit [redacted] that they have made little progress against the guerrillas, that their forces are suffering increasing casualties, and that the government's harsh tactics against the local tribesmen have only worsened the situation.

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The government is now seeking new approaches. There is no sign yet, however, that it realizes that its best hope for a lasting solution is to win over the people in the affected areas.

## 7. Sweden

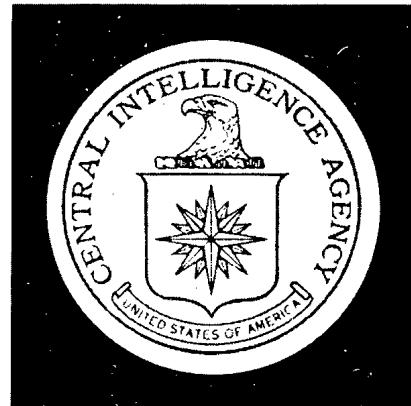
Leaders of the principal opposition parties have publicly closed ranks behind the government on the matter of Ambassador Heath's recall. This was perhaps to be expected. Now the Swedish press is beginning to take a healthy look at the basic issues, especially the damage to Sweden's neutrality brought about by the antics of Education Minister Palme.

The ambassador's recall is also getting a lot of attention elsewhere in Scandinavia, but editorial opinion is mixed. Some papers--and most of those in Denmark--are blasting the US for trying to "intimidate" Sweden. Others are critical of Sweden for moving beyond neutrality toward the Communist position on Vietnam.

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*FOR THE PRESIDENT'S EYES ONLY*

## Special Daily Report on North Vietnam



**Top Secret**

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**16**

15 March 1968

**Special Daily Report on North Vietnam  
for the President's Eyes Only**

**15 March 1968**

**I. NOTES ON THE SITUATION**

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North Vietnam Continues Postwar Reconstruction  
Plans:

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Hanoi has never dropped its reconstruction plans. Although some major aid projects were suspended in 1965 and 1966, projects like the Thac Ba hydropower plant have been receiving periodic maintenance to prevent their deterioration,

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Another index of Hanoi's continuing investment for the future is the large number of North Vietnamese students that have been sent abroad for long periods of study in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

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## II. NORTH VIETNAMESE REFLECTIONS OF US POLITICAL ATTITUDES ON THE WAR

Comments on Foreign Relations Committee Hearings: Initial Hanoi commentary on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearings has centered on the statements on the Gulf of Tonkin incident. A Hanoi domestic broadcast on 13 March noted that Secretary Rusk was "strongly criticized" at the hearing when he "pledged for the US aggressive policy in Vietnam." According to this account, Rusk

was "forced" to give a clear explanation about the "fabrication" of the Tonkin incident. The broadcast also said that severe questioning of Rusk on this point reflected the "great worries" of a number of US senators about the consequences of differing views on Vietnam policy in the US. Statements critical of US policy by Senators Morse, Fulbright, and Mansfield were offered to support that contention.

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The Hanoi party daily, Nhan Dan, in an article broadcast on 14 March, also offered a detailed discussion of the Tonkin debate both prior to and during the Senate hearings. It alleged that the administration's claims concerning the incident were "deceitful and slanderous maneuvers" and that American public opinion was finally seeing through "Johnson's facade." Nhan Dan claimed that the reason the incident was being discussed now was primarily because of recent US "failures" in Vietnam.

Summing up its view of the Senate debate, Nhan Dan claimed that never has the US been criticized and condemned so strongly and isolated so seriously as it is now. Never has it been confronted with so many difficulties and such grave internal strife as now. Antiwar opposition, the paper contended, will grow as Communist successes in Vietnam mount.

\* \* \*

Antiwar Activity: Hanoi, in its English language broadcast on 13 March, noted that some 1,000 New York University students and faculty members had recently demonstrated against Dow Chemical Company recruiting on the campus. The broadcast also reported that a political party called "For Peace and Freedom" has come into being in Pennsylvania. One of the points in its program, according to the Hanoi statement, is to demand an end to the "dirty war pursued by the US in Vietnam."

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*Top Secret*



# *The President's Daily Brief*

Top Secret 16 March 1968



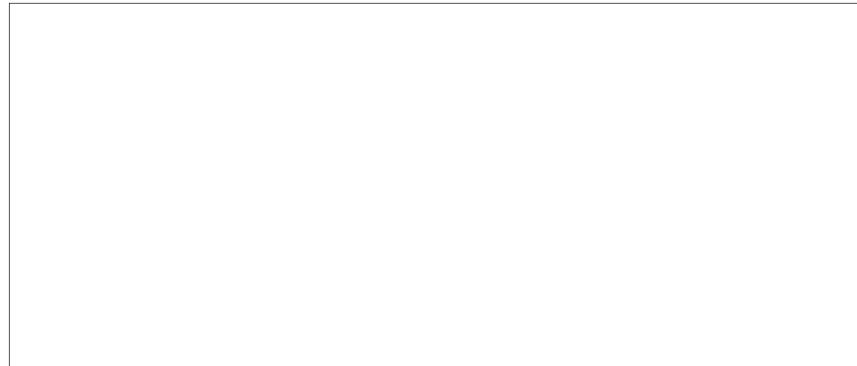
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DAILY BRIEF  
16 MARCH 1968

1. South Vietnam

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2. Czechoslovakia

Two of Novotny's staunchest supporters--the secret police chief and the prosecutor general--were ousted yesterday. The premier of Slovakia and a number of other big guns have also resigned. The defense minister could go at any time. In sum, the liberals are well on their way toward sweeping the conservatives out.

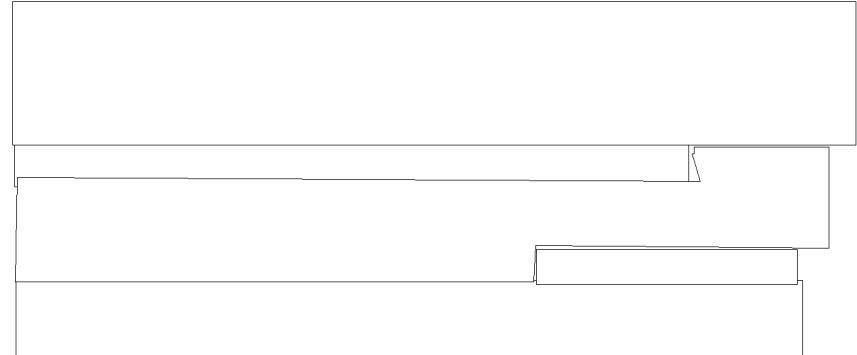
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[redacted] Lt. Gen. Janko, who committed suicide in Prague on Thursday, was deeply involved in marshaling military support for Novotny. [redacted] Janko's suicide to mounting political pressures which were put on him by the liberals after Novotny was ousted.

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3. Soviet Union

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4. Poland

There were more violent student-police clashes in Poznan yesterday, and students in Warsaw and Krakow have gone on strike. Active support from other segments of the population is not materializing, however. At least some of the workers and other elements are sympathetic to the students but are afraid to act, knowing that continuing unrest will only benefit the party hard-liners.

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5. Uruguay

A leftist weekly in Montevideo this week published a letter signed by two national leaders of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee asking support for H. Rap Brown and the Negro liberation movement. The letter asks for support which demonstrates the "international links" of the "struggle against racism, capitalism and imperialism."

The letter says, "no doubt that Brown will be sentenced to five to ten years. This should be protested along with the killing at Orangeburg. The type of protest is up to you; we suggest as objectives the US Embassy, USIS, and American installations and businesses."

"With cooperation of the people of the world, this enemy of humanity will be destroyed."

6. Guatemala

Terrorism in Guatemala City is expected to rise in coming weeks.

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7. Colombia

More violence is expected here too. In Bogota and other major cities, terrorist bombings and harassing activities are planned in hopes of disrupting the congressional elections tomorrow. Chances for this are not good.

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8. Philippines

The Philippine civic action group (Philcag) in South Vietnam has become embroiled in a maneuver by opponents of President Marcos. A coalition of opposition senators, in attacking the pro-Marcos leadership in the senate, has proposed that the Philcag engineering unit be replaced by a medical outfit.

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9. Nigeria

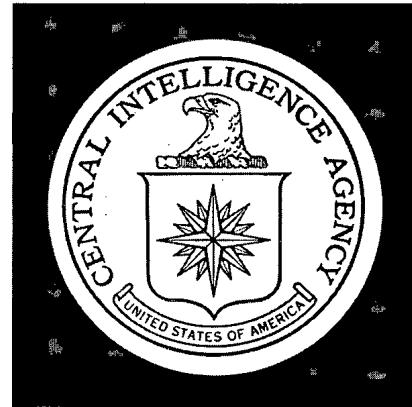
The current fighting is the heaviest of the war

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*FOR THE PRESIDENT'S EYES ONLY*

## Special Daily Report on North Vietnam



**Top Secret**  
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16 March 1968

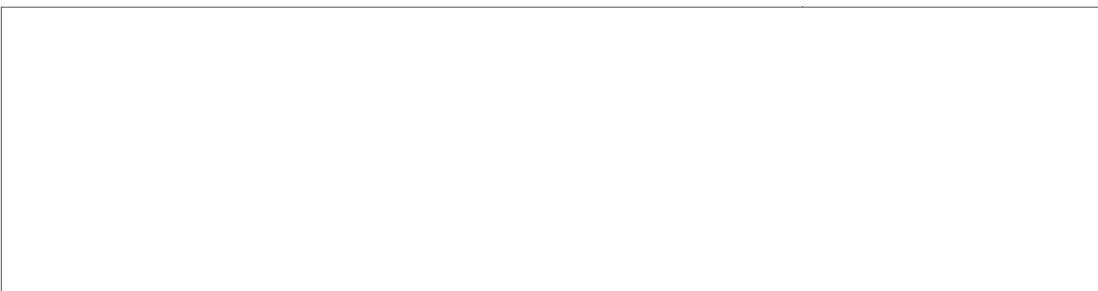
Special Daily Report on North Vietnam  
for the President's Eyes Only

16 March 1968

I. NOTES ON THE SITUATION

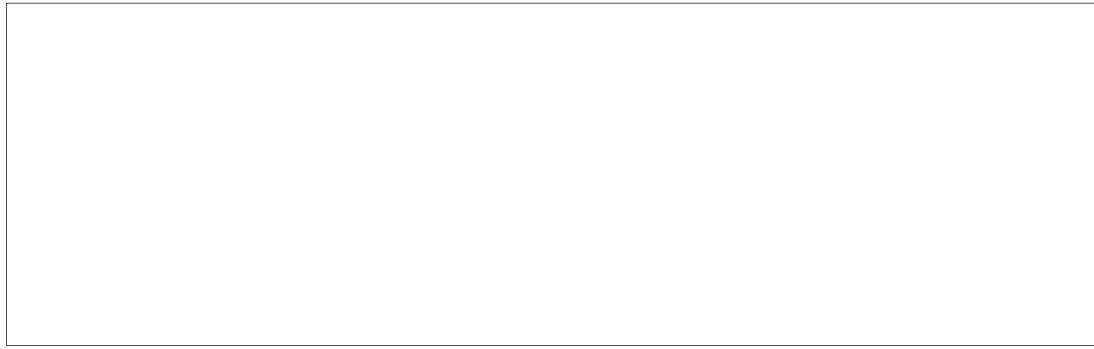
Swedish Red Cross Official to North Vietnam:  
The secretary general of the Swedish Red Cross, Olaf Stroh, will visit North Vietnam soon to discuss possibilities for Swedish aid to the civilian population there and in Viet Cong - controlled areas in South Vietnam. Stroh's trip, if carried off, would mark the first visit of a Western Red Cross official to Hanoi since the bombing of the North began.

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II. NORTH VIETNAMESE REFLECTIONS OF US POLITICAL ATTITUDES ON THE WAR

More from Hanoi on US Domestic Criticism: Hanoi is continuing to give unusually detailed propaganda treatment to current domestic criticism of US policy

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in Vietnam. The most recent statements contend that there is a growing body of popular opinion spearheaded by such "influential" senators as Morse, Fulbright, McCarthy, and Robert Kennedy opposing the war--particularly the commitment of more men and material.

One broadcast described the "fierce interrogation" Secretary Rusk was subjected to as he attempted to "defend US policy" at the Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearings. It quoted statements by members of the committee rejecting Rusk's defense of the US position. Another broadcast ridiculed President Johnson's plea on 12 March for perseverance in the war and pointed out that many senators as well as former members of the administration were now in opposition to US policy. An editorial in the New York Times questioning the right of the administration to follow the path of escalation in a war which is not supported by the people formed a key portion of this broadcast.

Hanoi's army paper, in an article broadcast on 14 March, offered the most detailed comment to date on the issue of sending more troops to Vietnam. It reported much of the speculation in the US press about the number of troops to be sent and the measures the US would take in order to obtain them. The paper also claimed that the mere fact that the US felt compelled to send more troops to the war was an admission its policy had failed. It also spoke of the deep division in the US Government created by the troop issue and warned that even 200,000 more troops for Vietnam would not save the US position, but merely provide additional targets for Communist forces which will ultimately triumph.

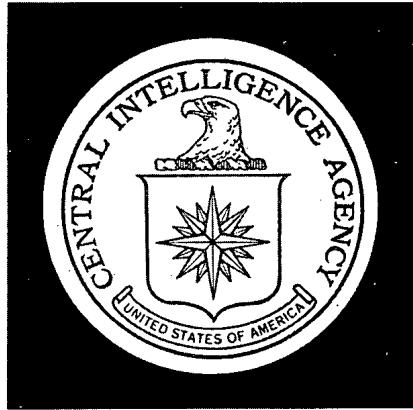
Despite the fulsome treatment given these matters, Hanoi has yet to comment on the outcome of the primary election in New Hampshire.

\* \* \*

US Deserter's Statement Reported: The Viet Cong radio Thursday broadcast what it claimed was a statement by a Negro noncommissioned officer of the First

Infantry Division who it said deserted early last month. The statement criticized US policy in Vietnam and appealed to US servicemen to "avoid a useless death by refraining from participating in any military operation, by refusing to go into battle, by demanding to be sent back to the US."

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# *The President's Daily Brief*

~~Top Secret~~ 18 March 1968



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DAILY BRIEF  
18 MARCH 1968

1. South Vietnam

The large-scale allied operation around Saigon, besides inflicting heavy casualties on the Communists over the weekend, may have been partly responsible for the withdrawal of large enemy units from positions close to the city. Three battalions have stayed behind, however, perhaps to harass and delay allied forces.

2. Czechoslovakia

Party boss Dubcek made a major speech Saturday fully associating himself with the changes that are sweeping Czechoslovakia. However, he also staked out limits within which reforms ought to occur. He indicated, for example, that while the government must be responsive to popular opinion and should involve interest groups like the students and the farmers in decision-making, the political system must remain Communist.

With an obvious eye to the Soviets, Dubcek promised Czechoslovakia would stand "unshakably" loyal to its Communist allies, even though it would try to restore traditional links with the rest of the world.

3. Soviet Union -  
Czechoslovakia

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**4. Poland**

The focus of the crisis is shifting from the streets to inner-party circles. A major effort to purge Jewish and liberal elements from the party-state apparatus seems to be under way. It may reach the party hierarchy before the end of the year when the party congress is scheduled to meet.

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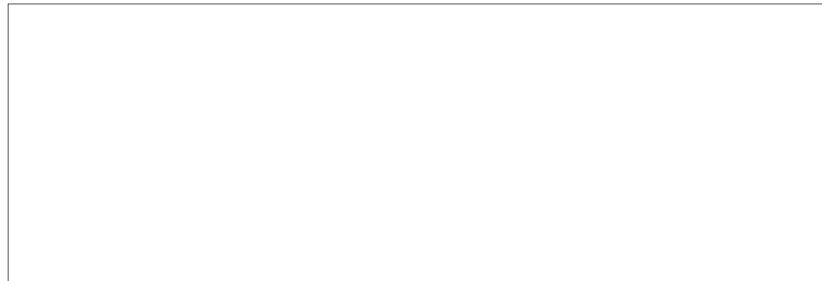
**5. Bulgaria -  
Soviet Union**

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## 6. Panama

Robles is trying to get a public statement out of National Guard Commandant Vallarino and his top aides denouncing the impeachment proceedings and giving him the guard's full support. Vallarino, temporizing as usual, is not expected to give his answer until some time this week--if then.

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## 7. West Germany

Bonn seems to be edging closer toward approval of the draft nuclear non-proliferation treaty, even though strong opposition within the government still remains. One of the harbingers of possible forward movement on the issue was Finance Minister Strauss' recent promise that acceptance of the treaty would not lead to a break in the government coalition.

## 8. Egypt

Nasir

[redacted] Thursday, seemed in no hurry to move the Arab-Israeli impasse off dead center. He indicated he would prefer to live with things as they are for two or three years rather than resume hostilities or attempt serious negotiations. Nasir claimed the internal situation in the "Arab World" (Egypt is what he meant) makes any kind of talks impossible at this time.

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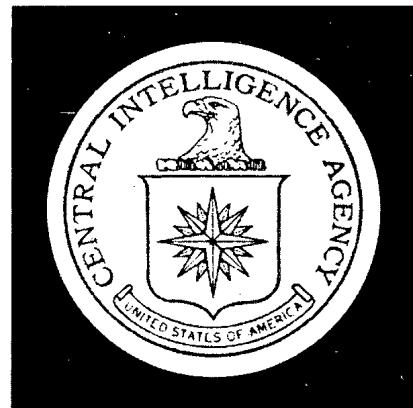
## 9. Cyprus

After a characteristic bit of last-minute brinksmanship, President Makarios has apparently decided to lift the ban Wednesday on ambassadorial contact with Turkish Cypriots. His sudden switch came only after Ambassador Belcher and his colleagues made it clear that they intended to keep an appointment to see the Turkish Cypriot vice president this Thursday, ban or no ban.

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*FOR THE PRESIDENT'S EYES ONLY*

## Special Daily Report on North Vietnam



**Top Secret**

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16

18 March 1968

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Special Daily Report on North Vietnam  
for the President's Eyes Only

18 March 1968

I. NOTES ON THE SITUATION

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ICC Plane Delayed: The International Control Commission (ICC) plane scheduled to fly from Vientiane to Hanoi on Friday was cancelled due to a communications failure. Scheduled to make the flight were US writer Mary McCarthy and Franz Schurmann, a California professor. The three North Vietnamese naval prisoners, whom Hanoi has agreed to allow to be returned to North Vietnam via the ICC flight, might also have been aboard the cancelled flight.

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The next ICC flight to Hanoi is on 19 March. According to the US Embassy in Vientiane, Miss McCarthy and Professor Schurmann hope to take it. The embassy is also hopeful that the bureaucratic difficulties with the ICC over the return of the three POWs will be cleared up so that they may take the flight on the 19th also.

\* \* \*

Danish Ambassador to Visit Hanoi: The Danish ambassador accredited to Peking is to be the next in the string of Western ambassadors to visit Hanoi at the latter's invitation. One Copenhagen newspaper, commenting on the Danish Government's announcement of the impending visit, said the ambassador is to seek Hanoi's reaction to "the proposed Danish-Dutch initiative for a solution of the war." This, presumably, is a reference to the Dutch scheme for getting various West European governments to join it in an appeal to Hanoi to name the date and place for peace talks to begin.

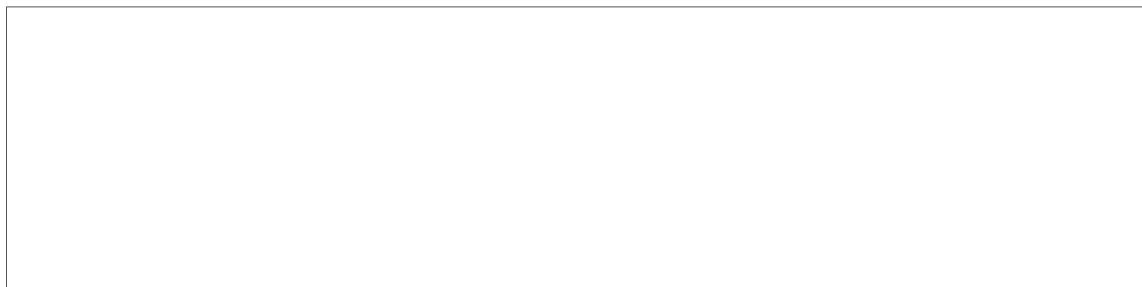
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North Vietnamese Diplomat Travels to Finland: Finland appears also to be on the list of selected Western governments with which Hanoi is attempting to establish contact. According to the US Embassy in Moscow, the North Vietnamese ambassador there, who recently spent several days in Sweden, is now planning to visit Helsinki. Hanoi's purpose appears to be two-fold. Initially, it hopes to outline its position on the war and to receive official or popular support in the countries visited. Secondly, Hanoi has also been probing the countries concerned about possible diplomatic recognition. Feelers in this regard have already been put out in Switzerland, Sweden, and Austria.

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Hanoi Feted Visiting French Communist Delegation: Hanoi turned out an impressive gathering of party leaders headed by Party First Secretary Le Duan to fete a French Communist Party delegation which recently visited North Vietnam. In several speeches, Le Duan stressed the close relationship between the French and Vietnamese parties and voiced the determination of the Vietnamese people to fight "perseveringly and vigorously" for a long period to achieve peace. He tied the war in Vietnam to the struggle of the world revolutionary movement and claimed that the war was in defense of the socialist camp. Le Duan also took note of the broad support for Vietnam developing in France and singled out as an example the current collection of goods and funds for a shipment of supplies to North Vietnam.

\* \* \*

Hanoi Foreign Trade Official in Poland: The Polish press has reported that North Vietnamese Minister of Foreign Trade Phan Anh has left Poland after three days of talks with Polish economic officials. No details were given on the discussions nor any indication of new trade or aid agreements stemming from the talks. Prior to arriving in Poland, Anh spent several days in East Germany attending the Leipzig Fair. He will probably make stops in other East European countries, including the Soviet Union, to discuss aid matters before returning to Hanoi.

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## II. NORTH VIETNAMESE REFLECTIONS OF US POLITICAL ATTITUDES ON THE WAR

Hanoi Still Silent on New Hampshire Primary: At last check, Hanoi had not yet reported factually or commented on the New Hampshire primary or on the presidential hopes of Robert Kennedy.

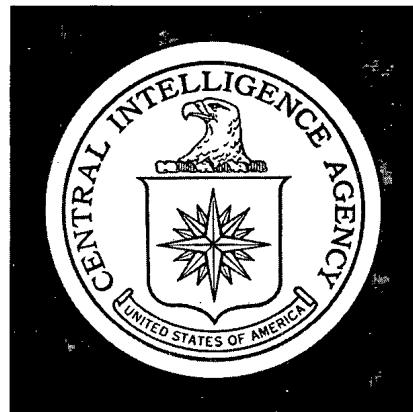
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Hanoi Reports Alleged Insubordination of US Troops: In its English language broadcast on 16 March, Hanoi listed what it claimed were several incidents of insubordination among US forces in the past several weeks. It reported that one US battalion had refused to board helicopters to rescue "American and puppet troops" under fire in Saigon. Several alleged antiwar actions by US servicemen at bases in South Vietnam, as well as individual cases of desertion, were reported also.

\* \* \*

Antiwar Activity: War protest activity in the US continues to be regularly reported in the Hanoi news media. In Hanoi radio's English language broadcast on 16 March, student and faculty protests at Columbia University were recounted. A statement by three New York men who recently turned in their draft cards at the Brooklyn Recruitment Center was also reported in the same broadcast. The men stated, according to Hanoi, that the US must be held responsible for the destruction and massacre of the Vietnamese people.

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# *The President's Daily Brief*

~~Top Secret~~ 19 March 1968



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DAILY BRIEF  
19 MARCH 1968

1. Vietnam

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2. Poland

For the first time in the current crisis, uniformed soldiers armed with automatic weapons are being seen in the streets of Warsaw. Armed police are also coming in from other cities.

Rumors abound that Gomulka is shortly to deliver a major speech, perhaps today.

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The security reinforcements in the capital may be to help control the crowds that would be rounded up for a Gomulka speech.

Unrest continues in other Polish cities.

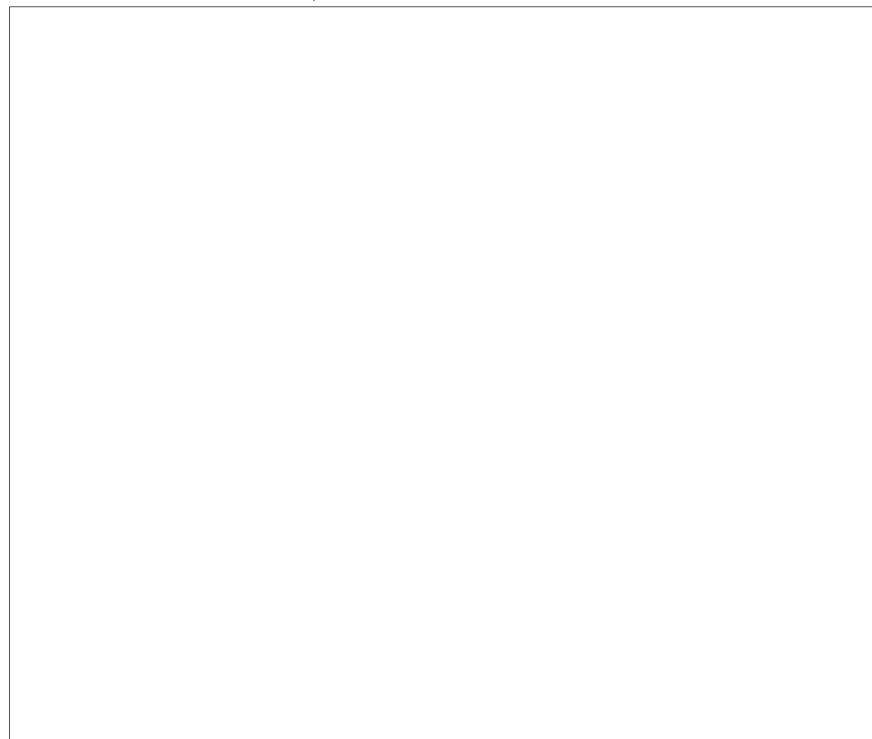
3. France

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**4. USSR-Space**

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**5. Israel**

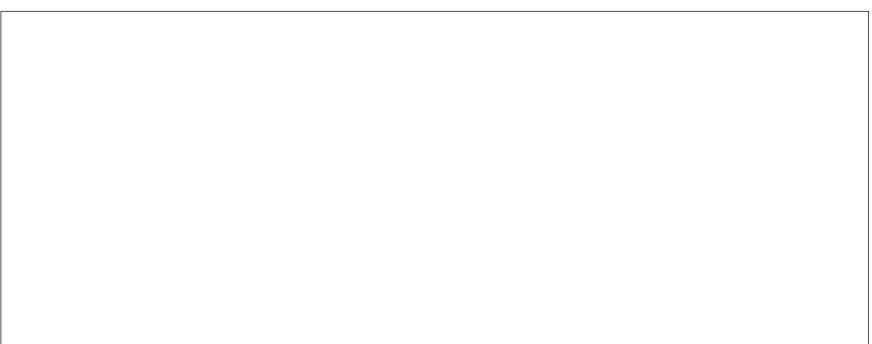
The Israelis are grim in the wake of yesterday's terrorist incident near the southern port of Eilat. At last word, two adults were dead and 27 children wounded after a school bus hit a mine. This surely raises the chances of a bigger than usual Israeli retaliation against Jordan.

**6. Egypt**

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**7. Nepal**

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## 8. Iran

The Shah is putting the squeeze on the Western oil consortium, and this time he is deadly serious. He insists that it must increase production over the next five years at a rate far greater than the consortium can entertain. He has given it until 20 April to come up with a solution. If it does not, he may well seize consortium territory, including producing oil wells, so Iran can produce more on its own. He says he must have the income for Iran's development program.

## 9. Panama

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## 10. Chile

President Frei does not have the muscle to fight hard for his vital anti-inflation program. His able new finance minister resigned in protest last weekend over the President's failure to back him up in the face of heavy political fire. The result could well be a new surge of inflation and more budgetary problems. This would only benefit the Communist-Socialist coalition in the coming congressional elections, now only a year away.

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*FOR THE PRESIDENT'S EYES ONLY*

## Special Daily Report on North Vietnam



**Top Secret**<sup>50X1</sup>  
16  
19 March 1968

Special Daily Report on North Vietnam  
for the President's Eyes Only

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19 March 1968

I. NOTES ON THE SITUATION

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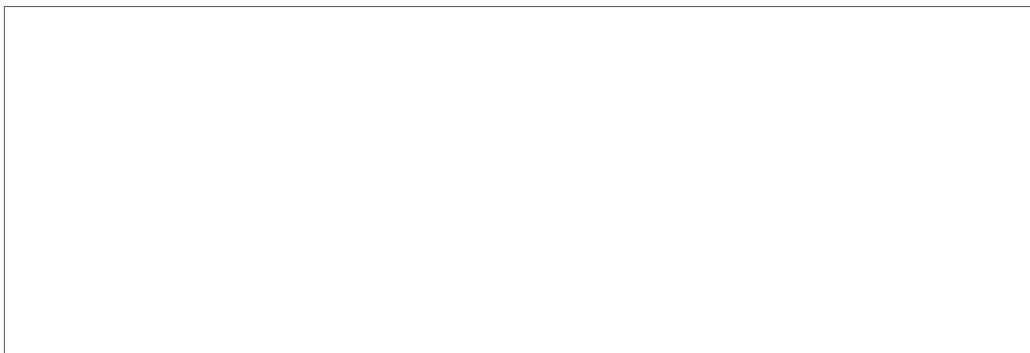
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## II. NORTH VIETNAMESE REFLECTIONS OF US POLITICAL ATTITUDES ON THE WAR

Initial Hanoi Commentary on New Hampshire Primary: Hanoi's first reference to the 12 March primary election in New Hampshire--a commentary in the Hanoi daily Nhan Dan which the Hanoi domestic service broadcast on 15 March--noted that President Johnson led Senator McCarthy in the voting by a margin of less than five percent. It claimed this was a "heavy blow" to the President's political prestige and influence, and that McCarthy's "victory" reflected the "disappointment of the American people with Johnson's conduct of the Vietnam war." The commentary quoted Senator Robert Kennedy to the effect that the vote reflected "a very strong antiwar feeling" in the US. It noted that both Kennedy and Governor Rockefeller were considering entering the presidential race. The broadcast concluded that "the heavy losses suffered by the US aggressive troops in Vietnam will certainly be advantageous cards in the hands of any Johnson opponent."

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*Top Secret*



# *The President's Daily Brief*

Top Secret 20 March 1968



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DAILY BRIEF  
20 MARCH 1968

1. South Vietnam

South Vietnam's military leaders seem to be pushing for a greater voice in the government.

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2. United Kingdom

Jenkins' budget appears just tough enough to satisfy foreign bankers. Up till now, they have felt that the Labor government was really not biting into the problem of getting Britain to pay its own way.

The budget's new tax measures are designed to cut domestic consumption by nearly \$2 billion, an amount above the figures called for by many financial observers. An increase in the sales tax on most consumer goods and in the tax paid by employers on personnel engaged in service rather than production will provide the bulk of the revenue.

The budget can probably be gotten through Parliament in two or three weeks. Jenkins took a little of the sting out by leaving income taxes untouched, by providing for a small increase in family allowances, and by exempting beer and ale from the new round of taxes.

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**3. Poland**

The full text of Gomulka's speech yesterday is not yet in, but an official summary shows that for the most part the Polish leader was temporizing in the political crisis generated by the riots. By postponing major moves, Gomulka undoubtedly hopes to gain time to re-establish a modicum of party unity. The thrust of the speech, however, indicates that the party hardliners currently have the big voice. For one thing, Gomulka admitted that while the party is not anti-Semitic, it is anti-Zionist, and said that Jews who "consider Israel their fatherland" should emigrate.

**4. Eastern Europe**

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\* \* \*

Soviet press coverage of Czech developments is picking up a bit, but Moscow has yet to mention the wave of leadership changes and the demands for policy reform. Pravda describes the current round of provincial party meetings in Czechoslovakia--which in fact are producing bitter factional fights--as "routine accountability and election conferences."

The Ulbricht government is clearly upset by the "democratization" going on in Prague. East German press commentary on the Czech situation has been thoroughly misleading; Prague radio has even had to deny an East German newspaper's charge that the entire development was "the work of Western imperialists."

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## 5. Cambodia

We have an official Cambodian account of a recent meeting between one of Sihanouk's deputies and the Liberation Front's representative in Phnom Penh.

The Cambodian initiated the meeting to complain about Viet Cong rice smuggling and other unauthorized border activities, and to warn about "serious obstacles" if these actions are not stopped. He made it clear that Cambodia feels it is under increasing pressure from the US over the sanctuary problem.

The Front man, with conciliatory language, admitted there might have been instances when the Viet Cong crossed the border in "error." He went so far as to ask for a list of violations so they could be stopped.

This is only one of a number of indications recently that the Cambodians are taking additional steps to keep the war outside their borders.

## 6. Guatemala

The fate of the Archbishop of Guatemala--abducted by terrorists on Saturday--is still in doubt.

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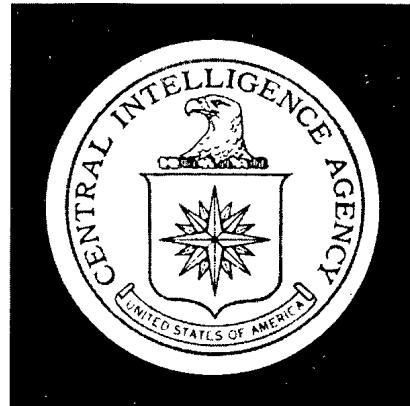
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There is increasing speculation that the prelate was abducted by extreme right-wing opponents of the President. High government officials, ranking members of the ruling Revolutionary Party, and local church leaders surmise that these extremists hope to force the Mendez government to fall.

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*FOR THE PRESIDENT'S EYES ONLY*

## Special Daily Report on North Vietnam



**Top Secret**

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16  
20 March 1968

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Special Daily Report on North Vietnam  
for the President's Eyes Only

20 March 1968

I. NOTES ON THE SITUATION

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UPI on North Vietnamese Attitude: K. C. Thaler, UPI correspondent in London, has published another piece on Hanoi's attitude toward negotiations based on unidentified East European sources. Although we agree with Thaler that Hanoi is not interested in negotiations except on its own terms, we have no confidence in the details of his story or in his sources, who clearly are expressing opinions not based on any inside information from Hanoi. Thaler, for instance, says his sources assert that "hardliners" are firmly in the saddle in Hanoi and are "more self-assured than ever" because they believe political developments in the US are working in their favor. These sources say that Hanoi feels it cannot lose by waiting and may win by just standing pat through the summer and waiting for the results of the US elections. Meanwhile, goes the story, the Communists are continuing to inflict casualties on US forces in hopes of putting additional pressure on US public opinion.

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Hanoi doubtless is encouraged by rising anti-war pressure on the administration and probably will seek to encourage this pressure whenever possible. The Communists are not sitting back and waiting for events in the US to hand them a victory, however. Their expectations for eventually prevailing in Vietnam continue to rest primarily on their belief that they can frustrate US programs in South Vietnam and prolong the war until the US is willing to compromise its objectives. Their military and political efforts in the South are geared mainly to this strategy and not to a hope of influencing the US public.

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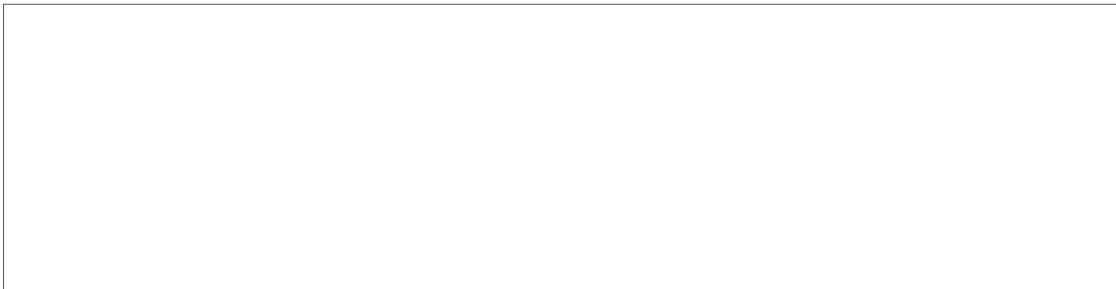
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Anti-US Meetings Scheduled in Europe: Two conferences on Vietnam--one in Sweden and the other in France--are scheduled for this Saturday. The French Communist Party is sponsoring a meeting of "French Intellectuals for Vietnam," which apparently is to be attended by several North Vietnamese representatives. The conference in Sweden will be run by the coordinating committee set up at last summer's Stockholm conference. Various unspecified US citizens reportedly are to attend. The meeting will provide a test of whether the Swedish non-Socialist parties have succeeded in muzzling Socialist Education Minister Palme, a vociferous opponent of the war.

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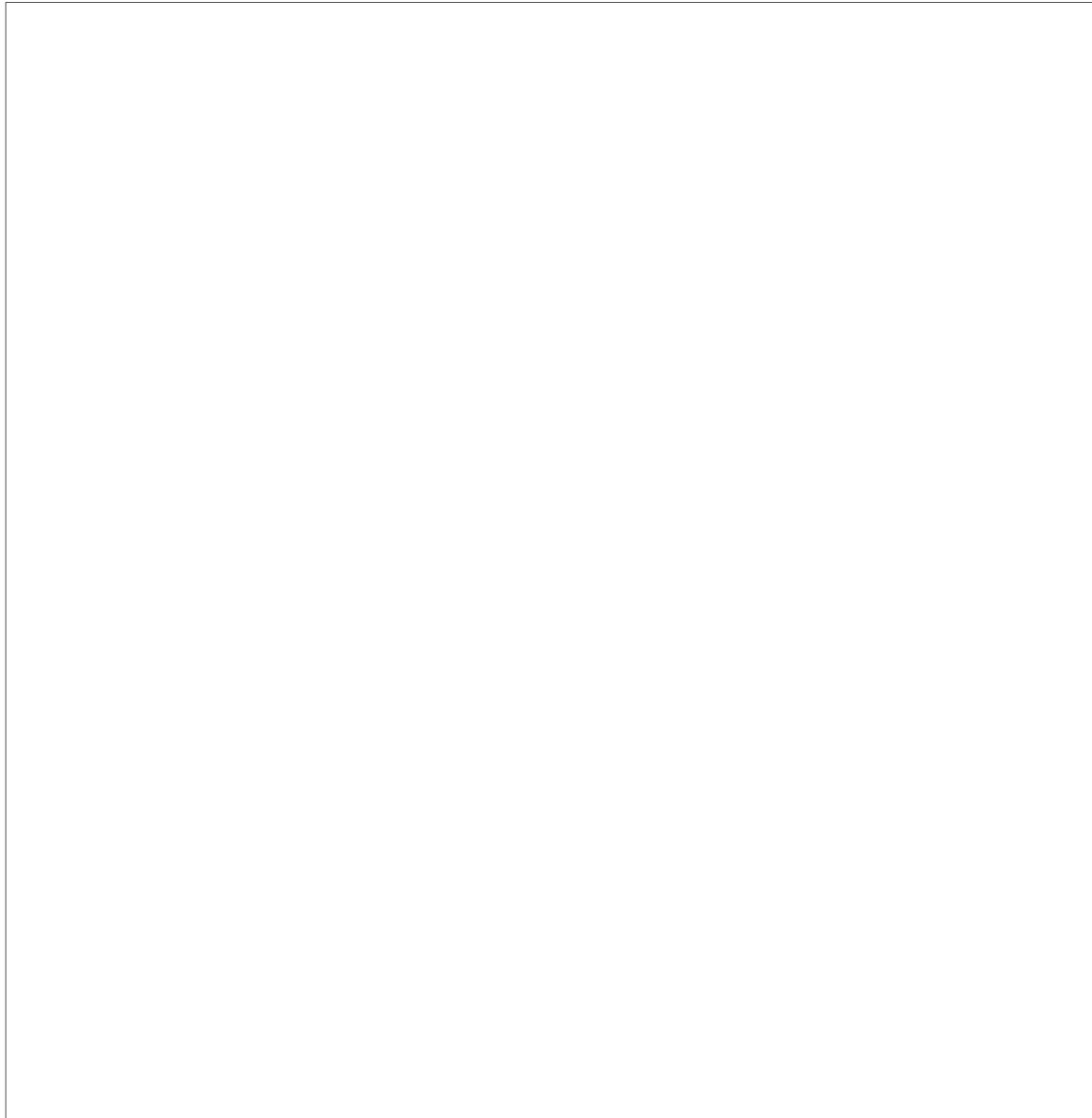
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Mai Van Bo to Switzerland: Mai Van Bo, the North Vietnamese representative in Paris, arrived in Switzerland on 19 March for a week of discussions with Swiss officials. His visit follows up a trip to Hanoi late last month by the Swiss ambassador to Peking

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The dispatch of Bo--Hanoi's chief spokesman in the West--suggests that Hanoi does not intend to limit its discussions in Bern to humanitarian or Red Cross matters as it has done in the past. Bo will probably provide the Swiss with a full and detailed briefing on the North Vietnamese position on the war, negotiations, and possibly on matters related to the Geneva accords. He may also be expected to probe further on the question of more formal diplomatic recognition.

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Danish Minister Pushing Dutch Proposal: A Danish minister is making the rounds in Europe to drum up support for the proposed Dutch demarche to Hanoi and Washington. The minister--whom our embassy terms inept and visionary--is alleged to believe that the Dutch draft is too much like the San Antonio formula. He is trying to get something "closer to what Hanoi might accept."

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## II. NORTH VIETNAMESE REFLECTIONS OF US POLITICAL ATTITUDES ON THE WAR

Hanoi Publicizes Alleged Letter by Marine Officer: In its English language program to American servicemen in South Vietnam on 14 March, Hanoi broadcast what it claimed was a letter from an unidentified Marine lieutenant to Senator Fulbright. The Marine told of having his early idealism shattered when he realized that the war in Vietnam was being directed against the innocent populace and for a government which the South Vietnamese people do not support. The Marine claimed that there were many other Americans in Vietnam who shared his view and he thanked Fulbright for his efforts to "bring out the truth and to get this thing stopped."

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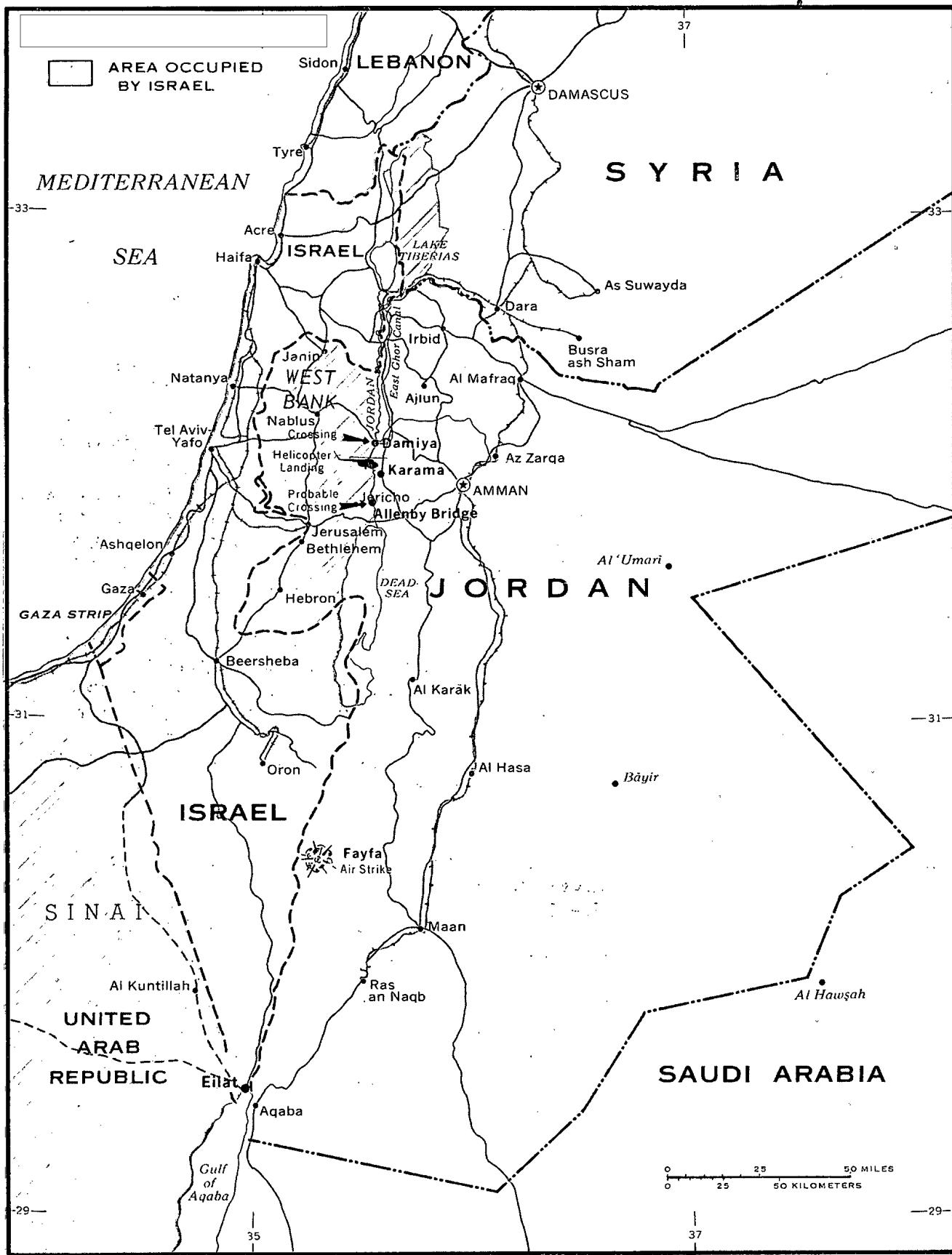
# *The President's Daily Brief*

Top Secret 21 March 1968



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PRESIDENT'S DAILY BRIEF  
21 MARCH 1968

LATE ITEM

Israel-Jordan

Information as of 0400 EST indicates that fighting is still going on north of the Dead Sea, where the Jordanians apparently are resisting strongly.

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DAILY BRIEF  
21 MARCH 1968

1. Jordan-Israel

The Israelis moved into Jordan early today. Their troops, supported by tanks, crossed the cease-fire line at several points. There were at least two helicopter-borne incursions, and Israeli fighters have been flying supporting missions.

Tel Aviv claims its aim is to wipe out terrorist bases near the cease-fire line, and it says that once this has been accomplished, its troops will return home. Even if they do, the Israeli action has made King Husayn's position even more tenuous than it was before. [redacted]

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2. Vietnam

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## 3. Poland

We have some more on the atmospherics surrounding Gomulka's speech to party functionaries on Tuesday. They provide a good index of the cross-currents now operating in Poland.

The audience was in a light-hearted mood to begin with, but Gomulka was very serious and finally told his listeners to pay attention. His attack on "Zionists" got loud applause--so loud that Gomulka had trouble restoring order. By contrast, his hour-long hymn of praise for Polish-Soviet ties met with stony silence. He did get a good reaction when he implied that some of the leaders of the demonstrations would be punished.

Gomulka tried to gloss over the depth of student opposition--a ploy which does not seem to be attracting many students back to the fold. He was harsh with the university faculty and with several liberal writers. Interestingly, although he flailed away hard at antiregime Poles abroad, he played down his attack on Radio Free Europe. This probably reflects RFE's current popularity inside Poland.

4. North Korea -  
South Korea

Yesterday's blast that North Korea had been attacked by "imperialist aggressor troops" may have been stimulated by an actual incursion on 19 March by a South Korean raiding party. Pyongyang, which would probably be stepping up the southward infiltration of agents anyway at this time of year, may use the raid as an excuse for even greater activity.

## 5. Guatemala

The archbishop who was kidnaped last Saturday--apparently by army rightists--turned up safe and sound yesterday in an outlying Guatemalan city. There is still no information on what the kidnapers were trying to accomplish.

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## 6. Cuba

In a series of austerity measures last week, Castro decreed the expropriation of all remaining private businesses (mostly lunch counters and the like), closed all bars and cabarets, and suspended the national lottery. The impetus for these moves seems to have come as much from Castro's peculiar brand of puritanism as from Cuba's current economic problems. Castro said, for instance, that the lottery was an example of "material incentives" which "stimulate greed." He even mused about banishing money--"that instrument of evil."

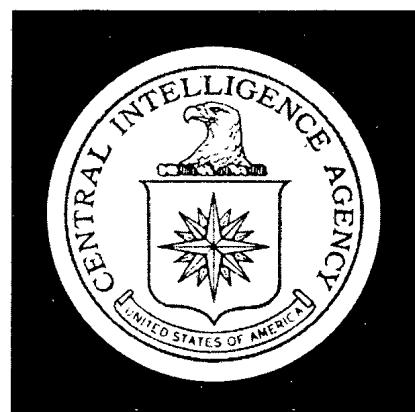
The bar closures may also be an effort to shut off criticism of the government. Castro earlier inveighed against "coffee house pundits," and he apparently doesn't like barroom philosophers either.

## 7. India

Another state government in northern India collapsed on 18 March, and still another is in the midst of a debilitating parliamentary crisis. Direct rule from New Delhi may be the only answer for both of them. If this happened, it would mean that a total of five of India's most populous states had fallen into political paralysis.

*Top Secret*

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*FOR THE PRESIDENT'S EYES ONLY*

## Special Daily Report on North Vietnam



**Top Secret**

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16

21 March 1968

Special Daily Report on North Vietnam  
for the President's Eyes Only

21 March 1968

I. NOTES ON THE SITUATION

Hanoi Again Rejects San Antonio Formula: North Vietnam has issued another point-by-point rejection of the US position on a bombing halt and negotiations. An article in the 11 March issue of the Hanoi weekly Vietnam Courier entitled "True Nature of Johnsonism" again sums up what is now the stock North Vietnamese response to President Johnson's San Antonio formula. The article asserts that despite repeated protestations of good intentions by the President and Secretary Rusk, US sincerity is "seriously questioned" both at home and abroad. It underscores once again that North Vietnam categorically rejects the principle of reciprocity no matter how US spokesmen choose to phrase it. The San Antonio formula, according to the Communists, is simply "diplomatic jargon" designed to "ward off criticisms and cover up fresh escalations."

Like other recent North Vietnamese pronouncements on this subject, the new Courier article describes the series of statements by Foreign Minister Trinh and Paris representative Mai Van Bo as steps intended to answer US objections to a bombing halt. As Hanoi did at the time each of these statements was issued, the article tries to convey the impression that the DRV has modified its position and that the next step is for the US to halt the bombing without asking for additional "concessions."

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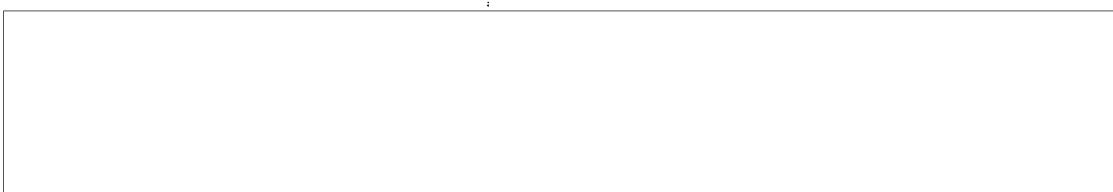
Hanoi on Khe Sanh: Hanoi is continuing to grind out propaganda commentaries characterizing the US position at Khe Sanh as all but hopeless. In a broadcast of 20 March, the "critical situation" at Khe Sanh was held up as a reflection of the over-all position of "defense and failure of the US in South Vietnam." The broadcast listed a long series of strategic factors favorable to the Communist forces in the area and noted that "like a punctured balloon" US officials have stopped "clamoring for defending Khe Sanh at all costs and have begun talking of withdrawal."

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Next ICC Flight from Vientiane Delayed: The ICC flight scheduled to make its normal run from Vientiane to Hanoi on 22 March has been cancelled. The next flight is now set for the 29th. The delay will give the US Embassy in Vientiane time to try to straighten out bureaucratic difficulties with the ICC over the release of the three North Vietnamese rural POWs. As the case stands now, the ICC is still boggling on the issue of allowing the POWs to ride on the ICC flight without official assurances from Hanoi that they will be accepted. The commission has reportedly requested authorization from Hanoi but has not yet received a reply.

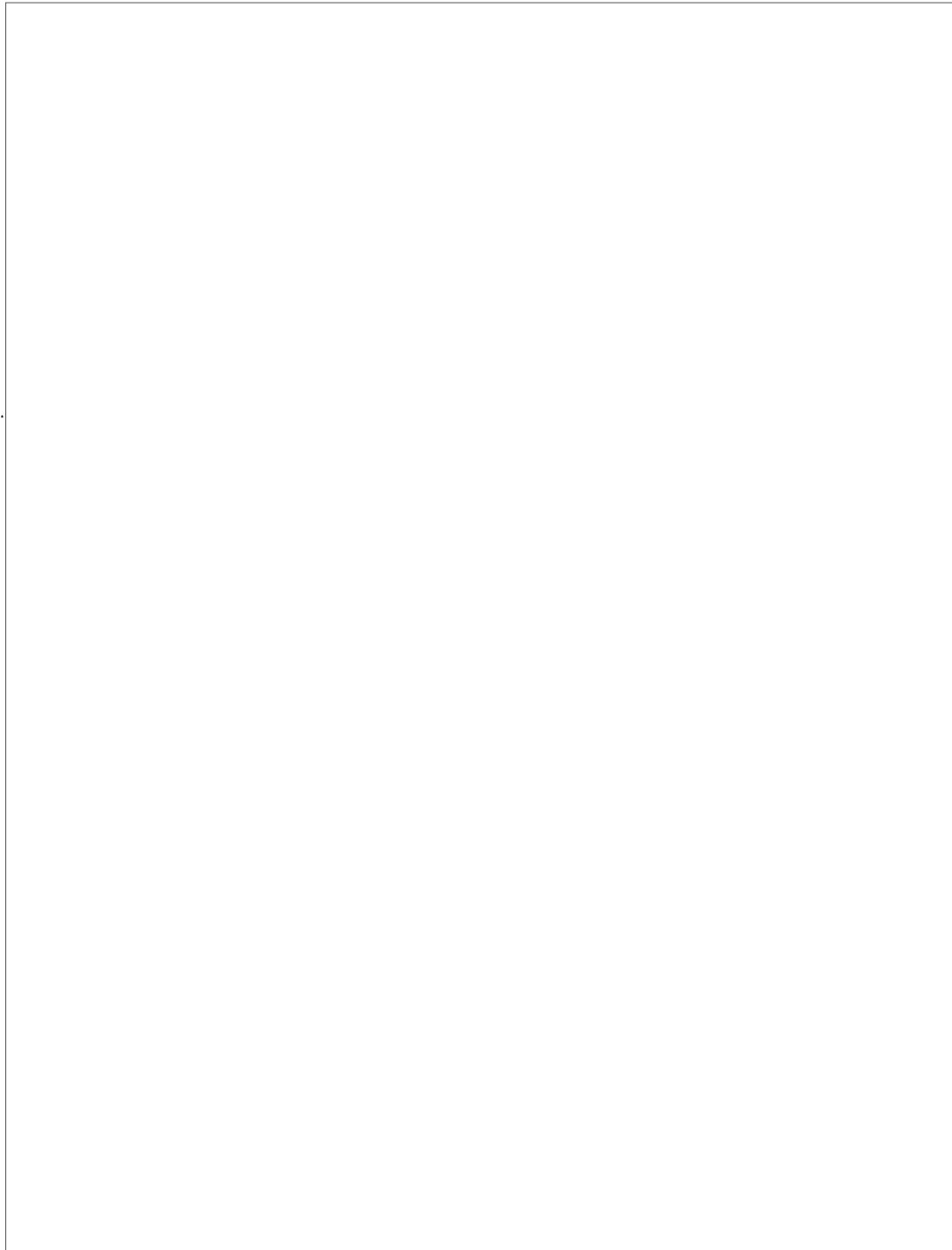
[redacted] Walter Cronkite had also been invited to make this flight.

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II. NORTH VIETNAMESE REFLECTIONS OF US POLITICAL  
ATTITUDES ON THE WAR

Hanoi on US Elections: North Vietnamese propaganda coverage of the US elections is picking up, but the regime is still feeling its way on the issue.

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In the past week, there was one mild commentary on the New Hampshire primaries but the treatment was studiously restrained. On 20 March, however, the party daily, Nhan Dan, for the first time took note of Senator Robert Kennedy's candidacy, which it said has "really rendered the race...wonderfully hard and fierce." New Hampshire showed that "the majority" of Americans are "very disgusted with the war" and that because of its costs in men and material wealth, the Johnson administration's "influence has seriously decreased among common US people." The New Hampshire election, said Nhan Dan, is a "severe warning" to the President about his "maneuver of intensifying and extending the war."

\* \* \*

More on Senate Hearings: Hanoi continued its coverage of Secretary Rusk's appearances before the Fulbright committee with a radio commentary on 16 March in which the two-day session was said to have produced "unprecedentedly acute wranglings." Rusk's testimony, said the radio, showed that despite "defeats" on the Vietnamese battlefield, the US is "still persevering in its aggressive will." It attributed the vigor of the debates to the "heavy setback" the US has recently received in Vietnam, and claimed that developments since the Tet offensive have pushed the US military into a "perilous predicament." Because of this, the antiwar movement in the US is "mounting every day."

*Top Secret*



# *The President's Daily Brief*

~~Top Secret~~ 22 March 1968



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DAILY BRIEF  
22 MARCH 1968

1. Vietnam



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Intercepts suggest at least 14-- and perhaps as many as 16--infiltration groups passed through the Thanh Hoa area of North Vietnam in the first two weeks of March. Four of these units reported strengths to higher headquarters which averaged out to about a battalion apiece. If the others were of roughly the same size, we would guess that close to the equivalent of two divisions came through Thanh Hoa.



2. Burma

According to a captured document, the Peking-oriented White Flag Communists have been ordered to mount a terrorist campaign on 28 March to celebrate the twentieth anniversary of their insurgency. Much of the action would probably occur in the countryside of southern Burma, where most of the 4,000 White Flags operate, but there might also be isolated acts of terrorism in Rangoon.

We doubt the Communists can cause a very big stir. Neither the White Flags nor any other insurgent group in Burma can carry on a sustained campaign. Besides, the government is already conducting precautionary sweeps.

**3. Israel-Jordan**

The border is quiet. Israeli troops have withdrawn after the most serious military operations since the June war.

Casualties seem to have been fairly heavy on both sides, although accurate figures are hard to come by. The Israelis claim they killed 150 "saboteurs" and inflicted substantial losses on regular Jordanian Army units. In addition to one aircraft and several armored vehicles, Tel Aviv admits to losing 21 killed and 70 wounded.

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King Husayn has called for an Arab summit conference, which will probably be held soon. So far, Egypt, Lebanon, Iraq, Sudan, and Yemen have said they will come. Husayn's request for a meeting was couched in terms clearly intended to show how fed up he has become with all of the empty sloganizing about Arab unity.

In the United Nations, the odds are that the Security Council will not go along with Jordan's demand for punitive measures against Israel. However, the council may condemn breaches of the cease-fire from whatever source and demand that past resolutions be carried out.

**4. Rhodesia**

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## 5. Czechoslovakia

President Novotny is all but out. He has indicated he is ready to resign, and the Central Committee has announced it is ready to allow him to shed the burdens of office.

His most likely successor is Joseph Smrkovsky, a leading advocate of "democratization."

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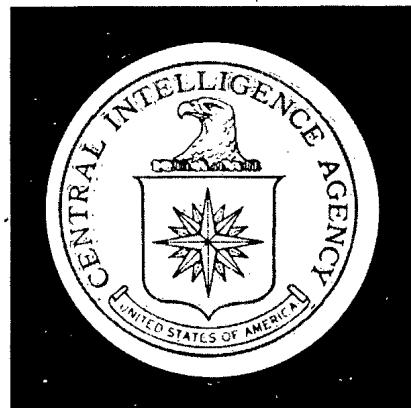
Ambassador Sullivan reports a distinct change in the comportment of the Czechoslovakian chargé in Vientiane since the big changes in Prague. Not only has the chargé spoken gleefully to his Western colleagues about developments at home, but he has also begun to be more objective about Communist activities in Laos. For example, he recently spoke critically to Americans and Lao-tians of North Vietnamese/Pathet Lao shelling of Saravane and Attopeu.

Sullivan suspects other East Europeans there share the Czechoslovak's doubts about Ho Chi Minh's abuse of his neighbors.

## 6. Nigeria

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*FOR THE PRESIDENT'S EYES ONLY*

## Special Daily Report on North Vietnam



**Top Secret**  
16

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22 March 1968

Special Daily Report on North Vietnam  
for the President's Eyes Only

22 March 1968

I. NOTES ON THE SITUATION

Swedish Soundings in Hanoi: Recent Swedish probeings of North Vietnam's position on negotiations evidently turned up nothing new. Ambassador Petri, Sweden's envoy to Peking, visited Hanoi as part of this effort in late February and early March. He gave a rambling account of his adventures to US Embassy officers in Stockholm on 15 March. Petri refused to be pinned down on details of just who said what and to whom, but his message was both clear and familiar: Hanoi is not interested in negotiations except on its own terms.

Petri was told by the North Vietnamese a year and a half ago that if the bombing is stopped, "we know what we will have to do." He says this ambiguous statement still characterizes the basic North Vietnamese position. The leaders in Hanoi firmly rejected the concept of reciprocity and said the President's San Antonio formula is unacceptable because it would be "capitulation."

Petri's impressions of the Communist scenario for negotiations is standard stuff. He said Hanoi would respond promptly to a bombing halt which is "definite and conclusive," but he also made clear that the North Vietnamese think of postbombing talks only as preliminaries for setting up negotiations with the Liberation Front. These, in turn, would be concerned basically with working out a US withdrawal. Hanoi rules out participation in negotiations by the present Saigon government, but Petri suggested that a "suitable" government (a coalition?) in Saigon could take part.

Petri also received the standard Vietnamese Communist pitch of how Hanoi cannot speak for the National Liberation Front. He apparently buys the dubious proposition of "differences" between the Front and Hanoi over negotiations. His contacts with both parties convinced him that Hanoi is more interested in negotiations than spokesmen for the Front, whom he characterized as "tough guys" operating independently of the North Vietnamese.

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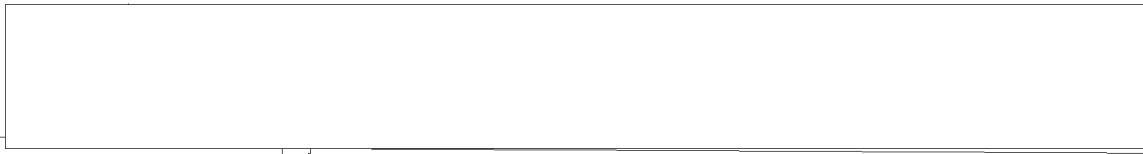
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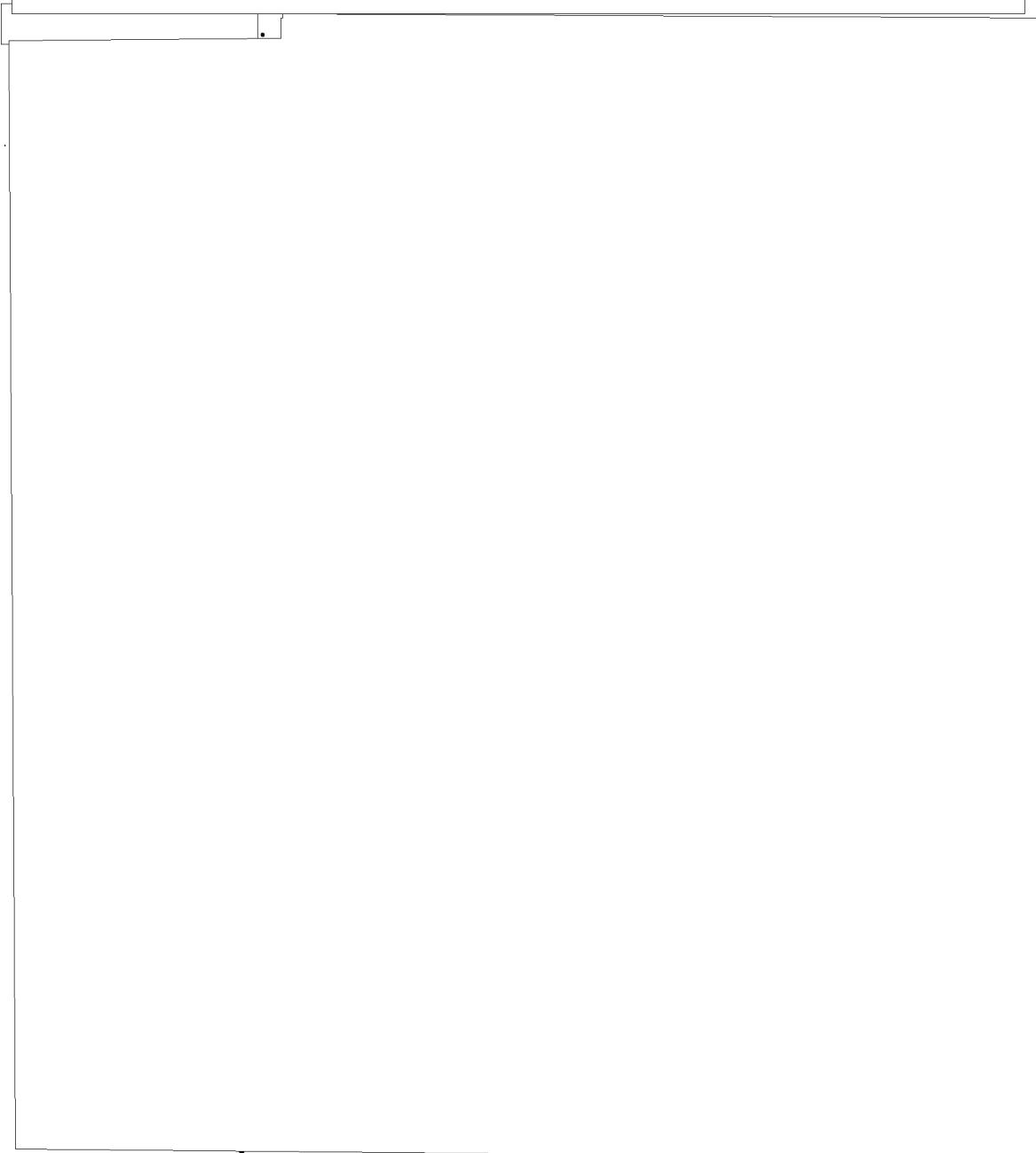
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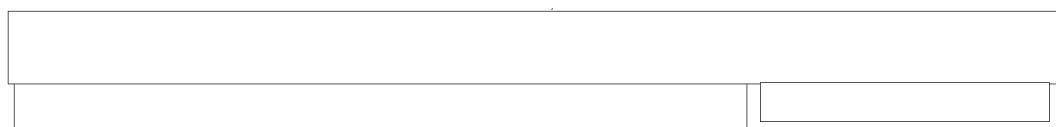
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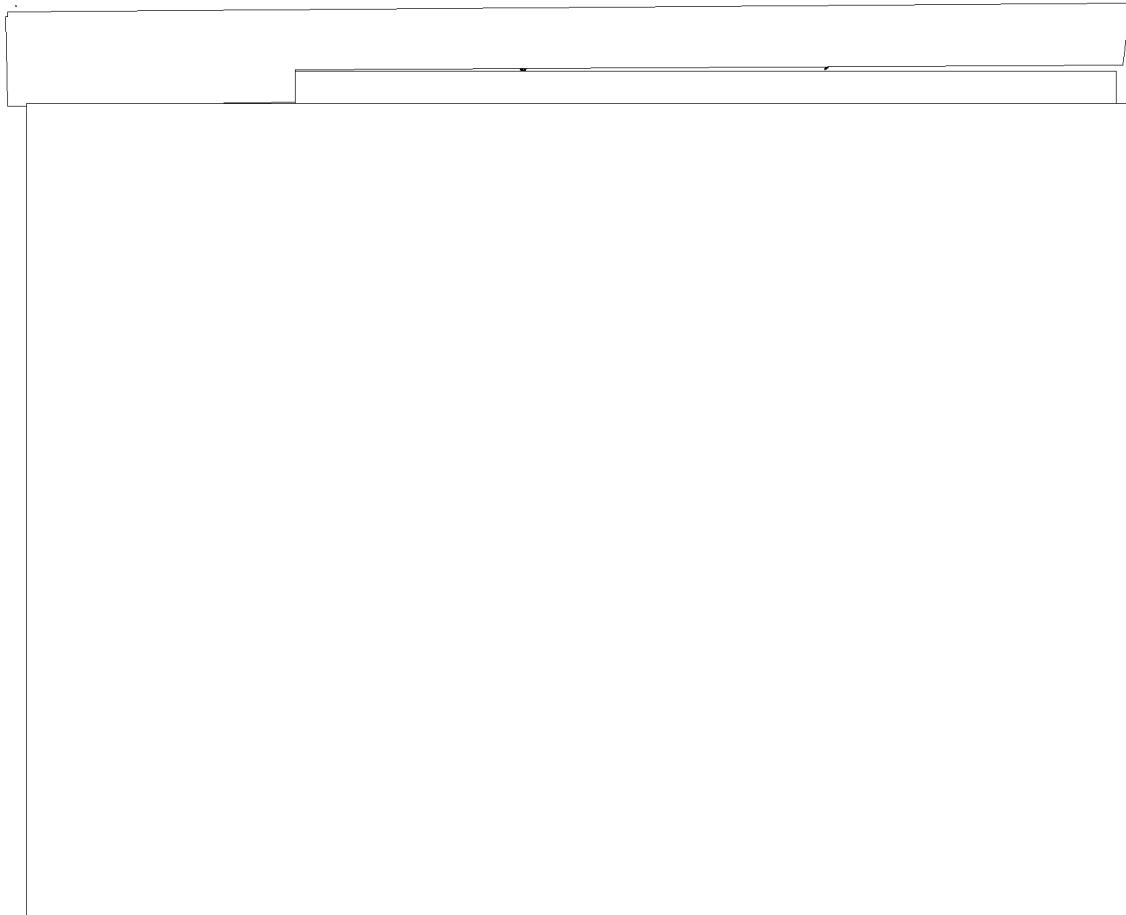
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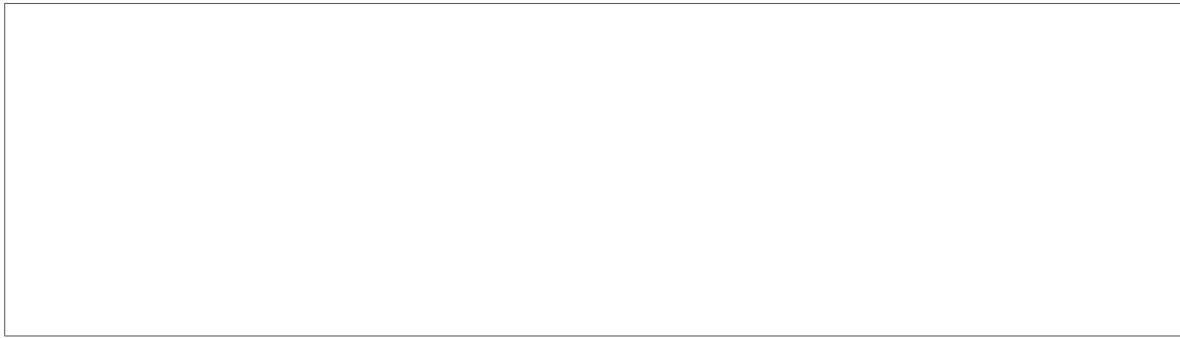
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## II. NORTH VIETNAMESE REFLECTIONS OF US POLITICAL ATTITUDES ON THE WAR

Hanoi may be Intensifying Effort to Influence American Opinion: In recent weeks, North Vietnam has opened its doors to selected American leftists and influential correspondents. [redacted]

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writer Mary McCarthy and Professor Franz Schurmann are now in Hanoi, and American newsmen William Baggs and Harry Ashmore have been given permission to make

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another trip. Walter Cronkite has also apparently received permission to enter North Vietnam.

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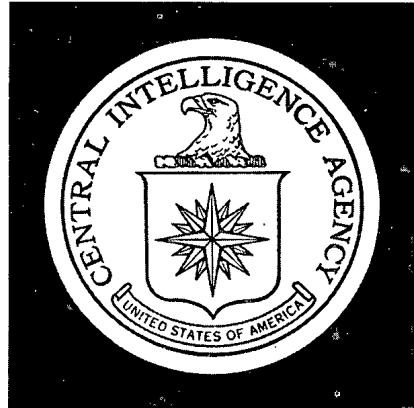
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Hanoi Highlights Critical Statements in US Press:  
In its English language broadcast on 20 March, Hanoi gave particular attention to recent comments in US news media critical of the US position on Vietnam. The broadcast quoted the Long Island daily Newsday stating that the US position in Vietnam was steadily deteriorating and that US troops should be withdrawn. The news department of NBC was also quoted as saying that the war in Vietnam was being lost when judged against the Johnson administration's expressed reasons for pursuit of the conflict. Recent statements by NBC correspondent Frank McGee and Walter Cronkite of CBS questioning the US commitment were also reported. In sum, the broadcast noted that the American press has underlined that the US cannot turn the tide of the war even by sending in more troops.

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*Top Secret*



# *The President's Daily Brief*

~~Top Secret~~ 23 March 1968



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DAILY BRIEF  
23 MARCH 1968

1. North Vietnam

New armed units are apparently being organized in North Vietnam and seem to be moving southward through the central part of the country.

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It is still unclear whether the new groups are headed for South Vietnam or whether they are to stay in the country to free regular troops for duty in the South. It is also possible that they are being mobilized because of some new concern in Hanoi about an invasion from the South.

2. Korea

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3. Philippines

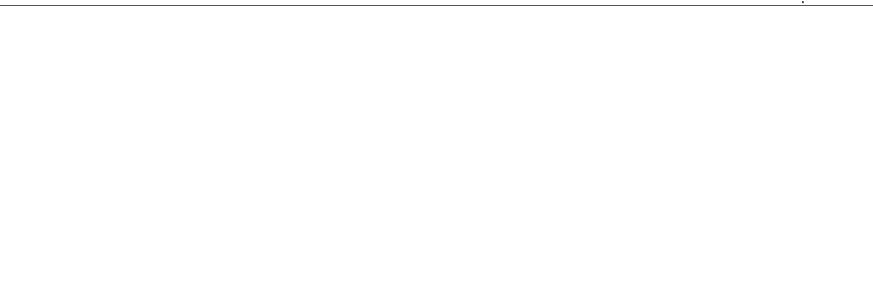
Marcos has got himself in a first-class mess. Some energetic newsmen are playing up the discovery of a secret training camp on Corregidor that was apparently training Philippine guerrillas to infiltrate Malaysian Borneo. Congress is demanding a full investigation, and Marcos is said to feel he has no choice but to agree. This won't help his already difficult relations with Congress, to say nothing of Philippine-Malaysian relations.

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#### 4. Eastern Europe

An unusually tight curtain of secrecy surrounds the East German city of Dresden as top Communist leaders from six countries gather for their weekend conclave. Even the fact that the meeting is taking place is unknown to the public.

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The meeting was clearly arranged on short notice and on an urgent basis. Events in Poland and Czechoslovakia, as well as Rumania's recent defiance of bloc solidarity, are likely to be at the heart of the discussions.

#### 5. Rumania

The government appears to be bracing for some kind of political or economic pressure from its Warsaw Pact allies. Its fears may be justified, and could explain the efforts it has been making in recent days to strengthen ties with Yugoslavia. This may also be behind the sudden call for Ambassador Bogdan to come home from Washington for consultations.

Rumania is evidently the one pact member not represented in Dresden this weekend.

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**6. Poland**

Prudent police action in Warsaw yesterday has, at least for now, cooled student agitation. Tension is still high, however, and Gomulka has not yet succeeded in insulating the public from the student campaign. In fact, Warsaw's industrial workers may be warming up a bit to the student cause.

**7. Panama**

Hope remains that this weekend will pass without serious violence--but it is sure to be eventful. Robles' opponents remain dead set on pressing impeachment proceedings, and the Assembly is to meet for that exact purpose tomorrow. A guilty verdict could come tomorrow night or on Monday.

Most of the leading players are now trying to keep cool. Robles apparently intends to ignore the Assembly proceedings in the expectation that the Supreme Court will "rectify" the situation after 1 April. Arnulfo Arias, still scrupulous about following the constitutional path, has warned his hotheads to stay in line. Vice President Max Delvalle, an Arias man, is preparing to be sworn in as president but says he will step down if the court rules against him.

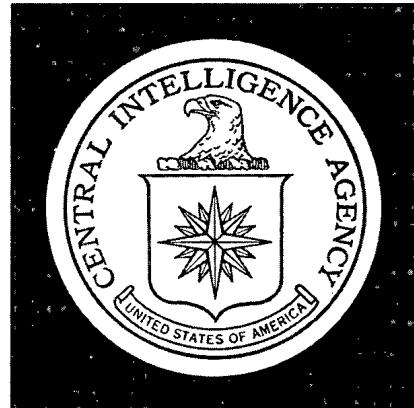
All this display of reason and moderation could evaporate quickly, however. It could happen during the big demonstrations Arias is trying to pull off tomorrow.

**8. Sweden**

The government clearly intends to press on with its critical line against the US. Government leaders were as abusive as ever during this week's parliamentary debate on foreign policy. Even the opposition--also with its eye on the September elections--seems to have decided to get what political mileage it can from the Vietnam issue.

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*FOR THE PRESIDENT'S EYES ONLY*

## Special Daily Report on North Vietnam



**Top Secret** 50X1

16  
23 March 1968

Special Daily Report on North Vietnam  
for the President's Eyes Only

23 March 1968

I. NOTES ON THE SITUATION

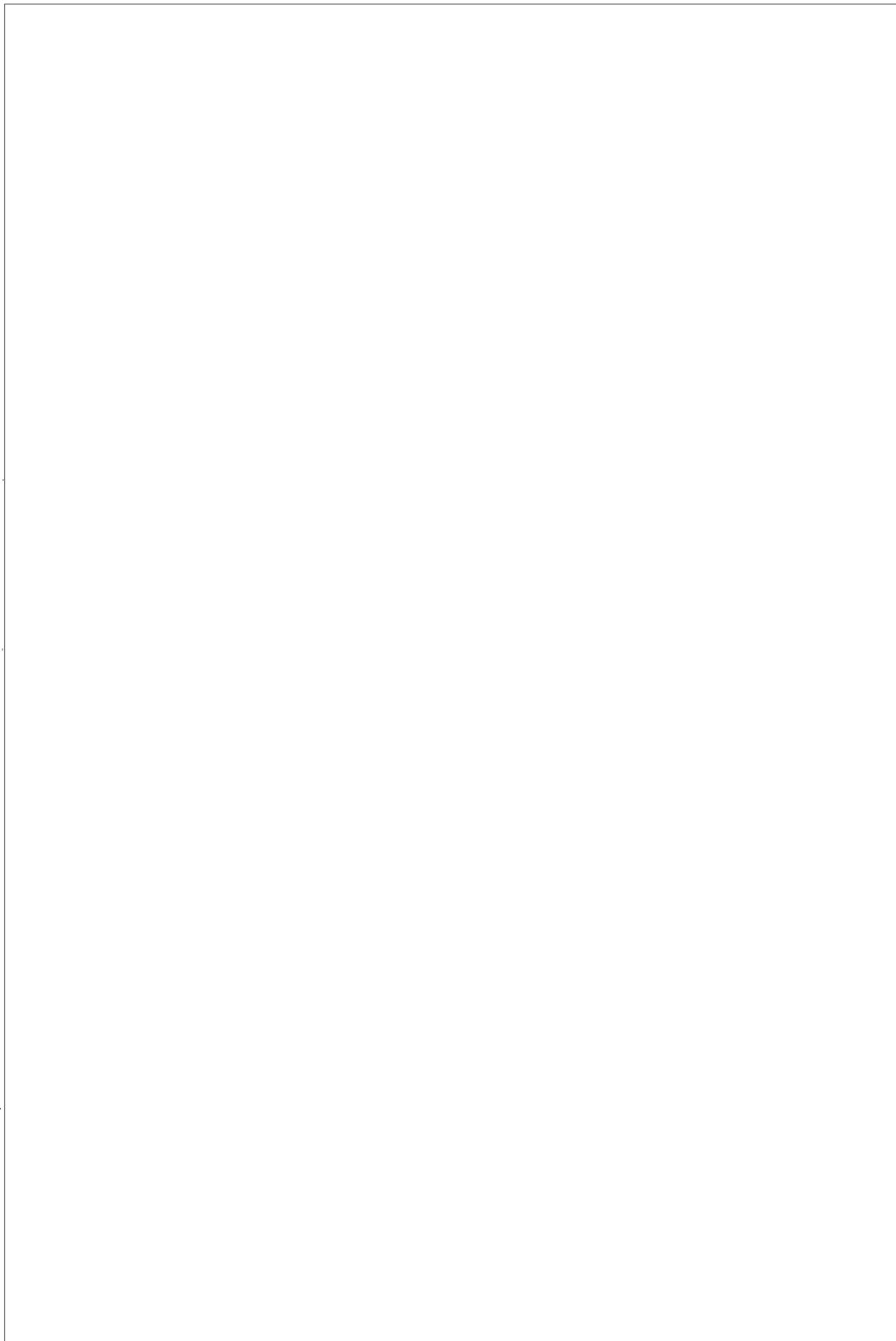
Contacts with Switzerland: The North Vietnamese apparently received less than the full establishment of diplomatic relations which they were seeking from Switzerland. Less formal "contacts" have been set up. The recent talks with the Swiss have nevertheless again served Hanoi's purpose of publicizing its position on the war by putting the Communist case before a wider Western audience.

A communiqué was issued by the Swiss Government on 22 March at the end of a four-day visit by Mai Van Bo, Hanoi's representative in Paris. It says that Bo expressed a desire for an exchange of ambassadors, but the Swiss claimed the time was not yet ripe for such a move. The day before, Mai Van Bo was quoted as saying that Swiss "recognition" of North Vietnam would take place in a few days.

The communiqué also notes that Switzerland remains ready to make available its good offices to help end the war, and that during the visit Bo repeated Hanoi's standard line of being ready to negotiate any time the US unconditionally halts the bombing.

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Hanoi's New Sedition Law; Hanoi has just publicized a new decree on "crimes against the state" which was put into effect last November. A broadcast of the new law on 21 March, and an accompanying Nhan Dan editorial on the same day, claim that the new law is a formal codification and updating of existing regulations. This explanation appears reasonable. The law was passed at a time when the Hanoi regime was instituting a general tightening up of internal security procedures throughout the country.

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The need for new security procedures does not appear to come from any significant increase in dissidence. New procedures were necessitated in part by the evacuation of large segments of the population from urban areas and a breakdown in traditional security procedures.

An unusual admission in the newspaper editorial of 21 March, however, is the reference to security problems in the North Vietnamese Army and to antiwar sentiment among the population at large. Hanoi does not usually publicly admit the existence of such problems. The editorial specifically included "army elements who did not want to transform themselves"--a possible reference to resistance to the draft or to a reluctance to accept combat assignments. The editorial also listed "the prevention of the Northern people's support for the liberation war in the South" as one of the crimes of counterrevolution.

The new law also includes certain "counterrevolutionary crimes" which have a distinct foreign flavor--as though it were aimed at aliens fostering subversion of North Vietnam from outside its borders. Captured US pilots, for example, could be accused of some of the crimes listed in the new law. Other crimes would seem to apply specifically to the operation of US naval forces off the North Vietnamese coast. Such crimes could have been included in an effort to lay the legal groundwork for Hanoi's handling of captured American prisoners.

Most of the crimes included in the new law, however, have been crimes for years and would be crimes against the state in any society. Furthermore, both the law and the editorial stress the fact that the regime will not treat the accused harshly or abusively.

The punishments threatened range from a two-year prison term to capital punishment, but the accused are promised leniency if they can demonstrate that they were "forced, misled, or enticed." The emphasis on leniency and the routine nature of the new law tend to reinforce the belief that the regime's concern about security does not represent extreme anxiety, but is rather the usual and periodic type of warning which Hanoi frequently gives to recalcitrants, malingeringers, and grumblers in an effort to keep them in line.

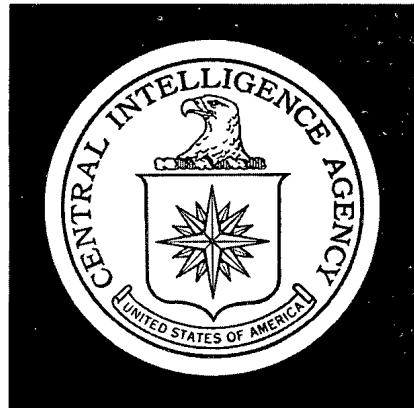
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## II. NORTH VIETNAMESE REFLECTIONS OF US POLITICAL ATTITUDES ON THE WAR

There is nothing of significance to report.

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*Top Secret*



# *The President's Daily Brief*

*Top Secret 25 March 1968*



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DAILY BRIEF  
25 MARCH 1968

1. Vietnam

Still more evidence that Hanoi is embarked on a major new infiltration effort into South Vietnam has appeared in communications intelligence over the weekend. The first units in the new wave--ones that apparently set out from North Vietnam in late January--already seem to be turning up in an enemy base area in South Vietnam's Quang Tri Province.

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2. Panama

Arnulfo Arias proclaimed a general strike late last night after General Vallarino announced his refusal to recognize Robles' impeachment until the Supreme Court has ruled on the Assembly's action.

Events took an ugly turn shortly after midnight when the National Guard stormed into Arias' party headquarters with tear gas and made a number of arrests. This could set the stage for wider violence today.

Vallarino's forces are heavily deployed at key points in the capital and will probably be able to contain serious violence there. They will be hard pressed, however, if trouble spreads to other cities.

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### 3. Eastern Europe

Brezhnev and Kosygin worked hard in Dresden over the weekend to head off further deterioration in bloc solidarity. It was hard going at times, and the results are sure to be less than they had hoped for.

Difficulty in reaching a consensus, especially on economic matters, is evident in several portions of the communique where it says simply that "views were exchanged" on certain questions.

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The communique does say that the participants agreed to take "immediate" measures to "consolidate the Warsaw Pact and its armed forces," and that agreement was reached to hold a top-level economic conference in the near future.

What these plans may come to in a practical way remains to be seen. The Rumanians have already set the precedent that attendance is no longer mandatory at these meetings.

### 4. Poland

The Catholic hierarchy has jumped into the fray with a statement condemning the government's "brutal use of force" against student demonstrators. The statement, signed by Cardinal Wyszynski and all the other Polish archbishops, was read during Sunday services throughout the country.

This will further stimulate public support for the student cause, but it came too late to help the Warsaw students who had already been forced into abandoning their sit-ins.

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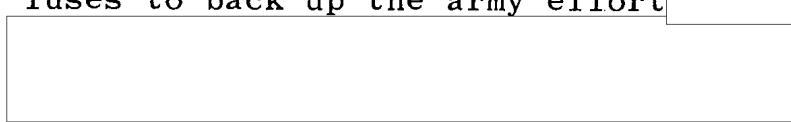
5. Arab States -  
Israel



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6. South Yemen

Aden has been in turmoil most of the past week as army leaders stepped up their drive to eliminate extremists from the ruling National Liberation Front. The government apparently refuses to back up the army effort



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7. Malaysia-  
Philippines

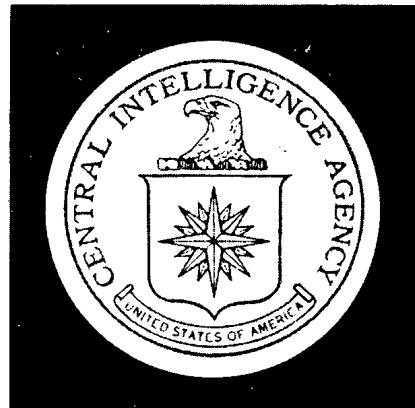


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**Top Secret**



*FOR THE PRESIDENT'S EYES ONLY*

## Special Daily Report on North Vietnam

**Top Secret 50X1**

16

25 March 1968

Special Daily Report on North Vietnam  
for the President's Eyes Only

25 March 1968

I. NOTES ON THE SITUATION

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Conditions in Hanoi:

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morale still appeared to be high  
among the inhabitants of Hanoi.

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going about their work cheerfully and their attitude toward controls as "disciplined." The Doumer bridge was still down, with no work in progress, but 20 kilometers south, a new pontoon bridge permitted a limited amount of alternating traffic to flow in both directions.

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## II. NORTH VIETNAMESE REFLECTIONS OF US POLITICAL ATTITUDES ON THE WAR

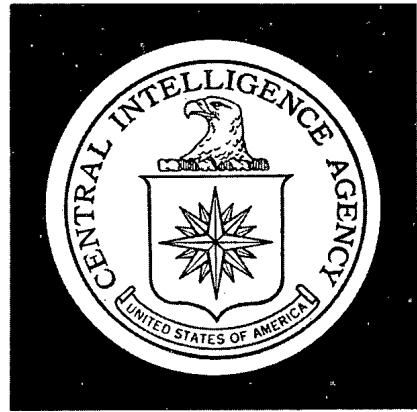
Communist Commentary on General Westmoreland's Transfer: Hanoi, with considerably more speed than usual, has already commented on the transfer of General Westmoreland. A Nhan Dan editorial on 24 March claimed--predictably--that the change in command was another indication of the over-all failure of US policy in Vietnam. Westmoreland's removal, said Nhan Dan, had nothing to do with his ability to command. The main thrust of the editorial was an attempt to discredit over-all US policy in Vietnam and the US President in particular.

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Hanoi Notes Student Harassment of Secretary Freeman: Hanoi propaganda has picked up Western press reports of the student harassment of Secretary Freeman in Wisconsin last week. In a broadcast in English on 24 March, it described the students as "angrily protesting" and frequently interrupting the speaker. The same broadcast also cited several other expressions of antiwar feeling in the US: a letter protesting the war in the New York Times written by a "former director of the economic aid program in Vietnam, Gardner"; a New York Times interview with "four businessmen connected with the Home Trade for Peace in Vietnam Organization"; and a speech by "well-known American writer (James) Michener in Caracas"--all denouncing the US role in Vietnam.

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*Top Secret*



# *The President's Daily Brief*

~~Top Secret~~ 26 March 1968



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DAILY BRIEF  
26 MARCH 1968

1. Vietnam

While military activity in South Vietnam remains at a low level, we continue to get more signs of heavy enemy infiltration into South Vietnam. Truck traffic through the Mu Gia Pass is at the highest level since just before the Tet offensive. Some of the trucks carry troops--a highly unusual procedure which suggests that the movement has a good deal of urgency behind it. Some Communist messages convey the same sense of urgency.

2. Panama

Max Delvalle, the Arias supporter whom the Assembly elected to the presidency yesterday to replace Robles, has called the Assembly into special session this afternoon to make changes in the electoral code.

This throws down the gauntlet to the National Guard, which refuses to recognize the impeachment of Robles and says it will not let the session meet. The confrontation could lead to violence, although Arias and his supporters seem to lack the resources in either manpower or equipment for an effective challenge to the Guard.

The general strike proclaimed yesterday by the Arias forces shows no sign of getting off the ground.

### 3. Laos

The United States Intelligence Board has approved a Special National Intelligence Estimate on Communist intentions in Laos over the next two to three months. The estimate notes that the Communists could in fairly short order reduce the area controlled by Vientiane to a few enclaves.

It points out that the Communists might press ahead if, for instance, they saw an advantage in creating a "second front" in Laos to spread US resources. They might also do so if they thought it advisable to strengthen the Communist hand in any negotiations by taking as much territory as possible in Laos.

But, on balance, the estimate concludes that the Communists will probably content themselves with the capture of a few more positions and then reduce their pressure during the rainy season which begins in May.

### 4. Cambodia

**5. Communist China**

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**6. Saudi Arabia**

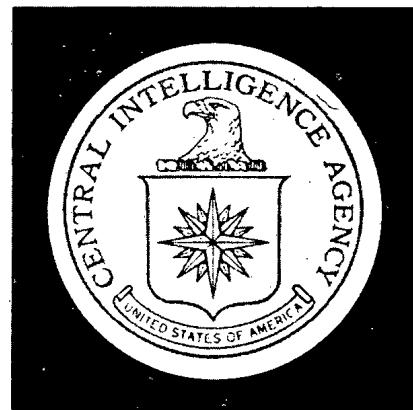
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**7. Soviet Union -  
Cuba**

Growing political irritations between Moscow and Havana seem to have had little effect on their economic relations. The trade protocol for this year, announced last week after six months of negotiations, calls for a ten percent boost in trade. Also, according to press reports, Moscow is shelling out more credits. The new credits would presumably be to refinance previous ones and to cover Cuba's balance of payments deficits.

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*FOR THE PRESIDENT'S EYES ONLY*

## Special Daily Report on North Vietnam



**Top Secret 50X1  
16**

26 March 1968

Special Daily Report on North Vietnam  
for the President's Eyes Only

26 March 1968

I. NOTES ON THE SITUATION

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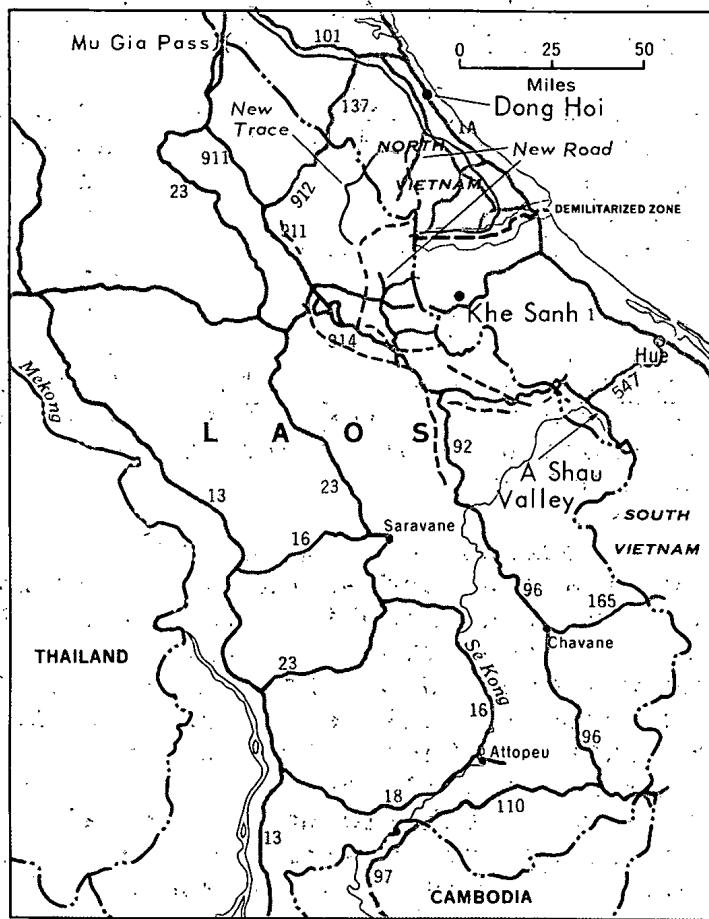
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Paris Rally in Support of Hanoi: The embassy in Paris reports that the meeting of French intellectuals in support of Hanoi was a relatively quiet affair receiving only light press coverage. About 5,000 people reportedly attended, an appeal was signed, and plans for future publicity programs were discussed.

Organizers of the rally, as well as the Communist paper L'Humanité, tended to downplay the official status of the two Vietnamese Communist delegations. Their individual credentials as prominent "Vietnamese intellectuals" were featured instead.

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Communist Road/Communications Construction



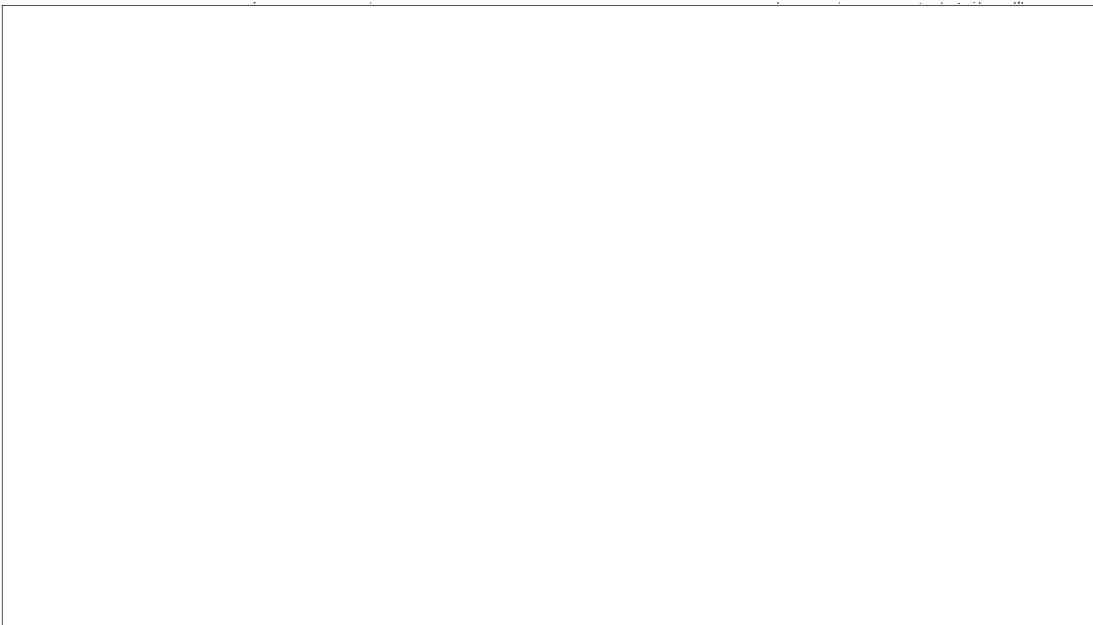
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25 MARCH

— Existing land line  
- - - Communications construction



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\* \* \*

New Communist Road Construction: The Communists are constructing a new high-quality road which will considerably shorten supply routes from North Vietnam to the western DMZ area.

Aerial photography of 8 March shows the rapid construction of a new road--about 16 miles in two months through most difficult terrain--from Route 101 near Dong Hoi, North Vietnam, southward within a few miles of the western end of the Demilitarized Zone. The new road probably will be extended to connect with border routes in Laos. Once the connection is made, the Communists will be able to move supplies more directly from North Vietnam to the Khe Sanh and A Shau Valley areas, by-passing the longer existing logistics routes--Mu Gia Pass and Route 912.

The 8 March photography also showed a trace for a telecommunications line generally paralleling the new road. The line is apparently intended to connect an existing land line at Dong Hoi with lines under construction within the Laos panhandle.

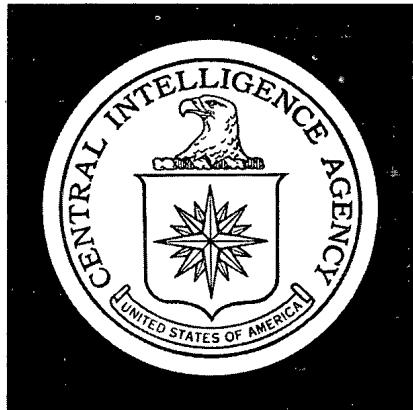
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## II. NORTH VIETNAMESE REFLECTIONS OF US POLITICAL ATTITUDES ON THE WAR

Hanoi Reports Grand Central Station Demonstration:  
Hanoi's international service on Monday reported the hippie "be-in" and war protest last Saturday at New York's Grand Central Station. The hippie aspects of the demonstration were suppressed, however, and the demonstrators were referred to merely as "American youths."

*Top Secret*



# *The President's Daily Brief*

~~Top Secret~~ 27 March 1968



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DAILY BRIEF  
27 MARCH 1968

1. Panama

Panama City has now calmed down after the rioting last night, but there will probably be more trouble today.

National Guardsmen during the evening prevented "President" Delvalle and his aides from entering the Assembly building. The Guard fired tear gas into the crowd accompanying Delvalle after stones and bottles were thrown. The gas spread into nearby slum areas, forcing hundreds to flee.

Despite orders from General Vallarino, guardsmen continued to use tear gas to break up the crowds. By late evening the Guard had the situation under control in the downtown area, although there were reports of sporadic violence in other parts of the city.

Arias forces are again calling for a general strike, and as a result of last night's trouble, some businesses will likely be closed today. Delvalle and several pro-Arias deputies plan a march through the downtown area this morning, and some of the deputies will again try to enter the Assembly building.

2. Communist China

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**3. Communist China**

According to foreign newsmen in Peking, massive demonstrations yesterday denounced three senior military officers as "plotters." The three men--not previously under serious attack--are Acting Chief of Staff Yang Cheng-wu, the Air Force Political Commissar, and the Peking Garrison Commander. Yang has evidently been a protégé of Defense Minister Lin Piao; his dismissal might be the sign of more weakening of the leadership group around Lin and Mao. The disgrace of these prominent military figures could well be a tip-off that a major power play is under way.

**4. France**

The French press has given extensive and favorable coverage to the Sargent Shriver nomination.

**5. Jordan-Israel**

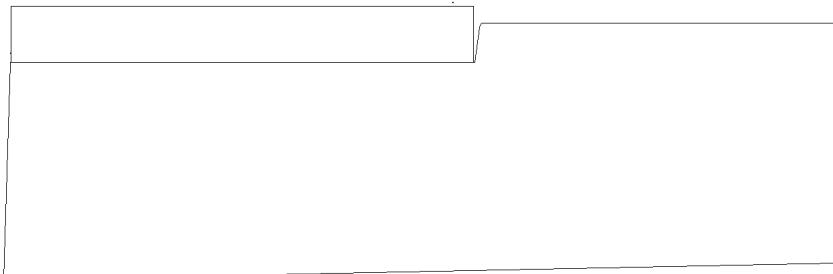
The Jordanian chief of staff has told the embassy in Amman that Israel is moving more troops into the northern section of the border, including an additional battalion of tanks.

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The Jordanians may be overreacting this time, but another clash is likely sooner or later.

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6. Liberia

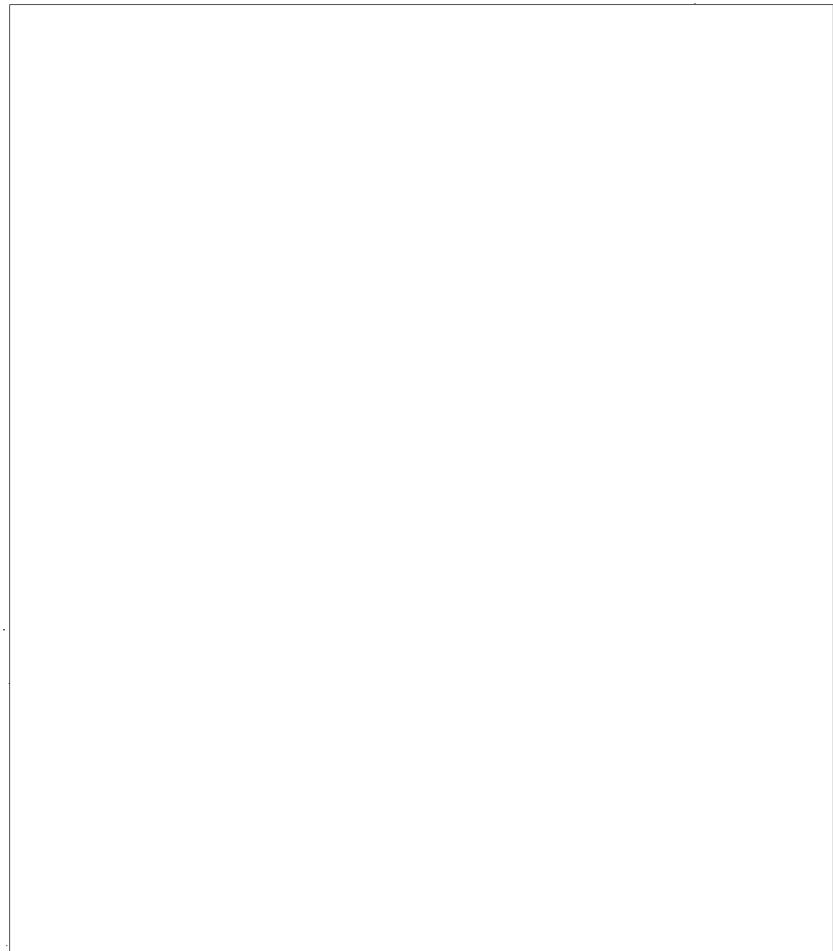


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7. Rhodesia



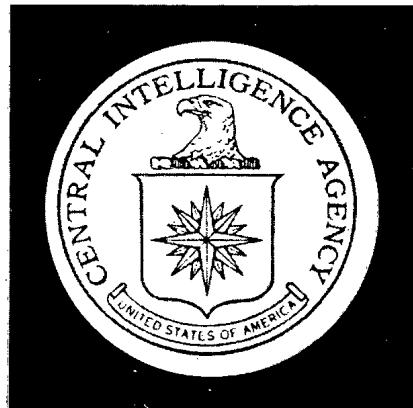
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**8. Nigeria**

Federal forces now hold almost half of Biafra, including a sizable chunk of the heavily populated Ibo heartland. Vigorous Biafran counterattacks are in progress, however, and these will probably force federal commanders to regroup and resupply before pushing on.

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*FOR THE PRESIDENT'S EYES ONLY*

## Special Daily Report on North Vietnam

**Top Secret** 50X1

16

27 March 1968

Special Daily Report on North Vietnam  
for the President's Eyes Only

27 March 1968

I. NOTES ON THE SITUATION

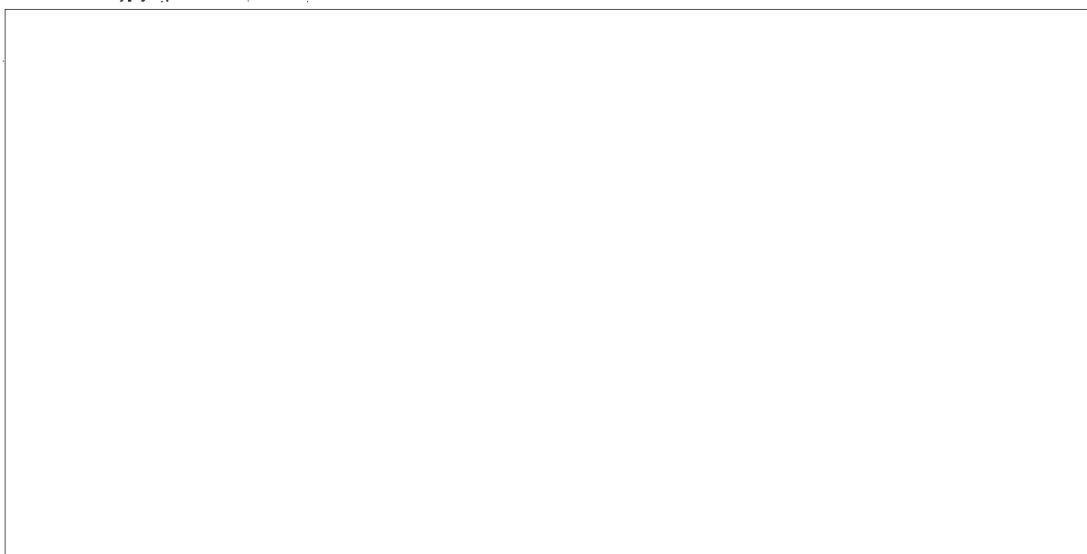
Hanoi's Propaganda Line in Stockholm: The chief North Vietnamese delegate to the Stockholm conference on Vietnam, Nguyen Thanh Le, used the meetings in an attempt to convince European audiences that the Communist Tet offensive had virtually destroyed the presence of the Saigon government throughout South Vietnam. He took special pains to enhance the status of the Front by stressing its alleged independence of Hanoi.

[redacted] the Hanoi spokesman claimed he had no idea why the Front changed its military tactics and decided to go after the cities in South Vietnam, and that he was not privy to their plans. He also said he was unaware of any Chinese Communist criticism of this military approach.

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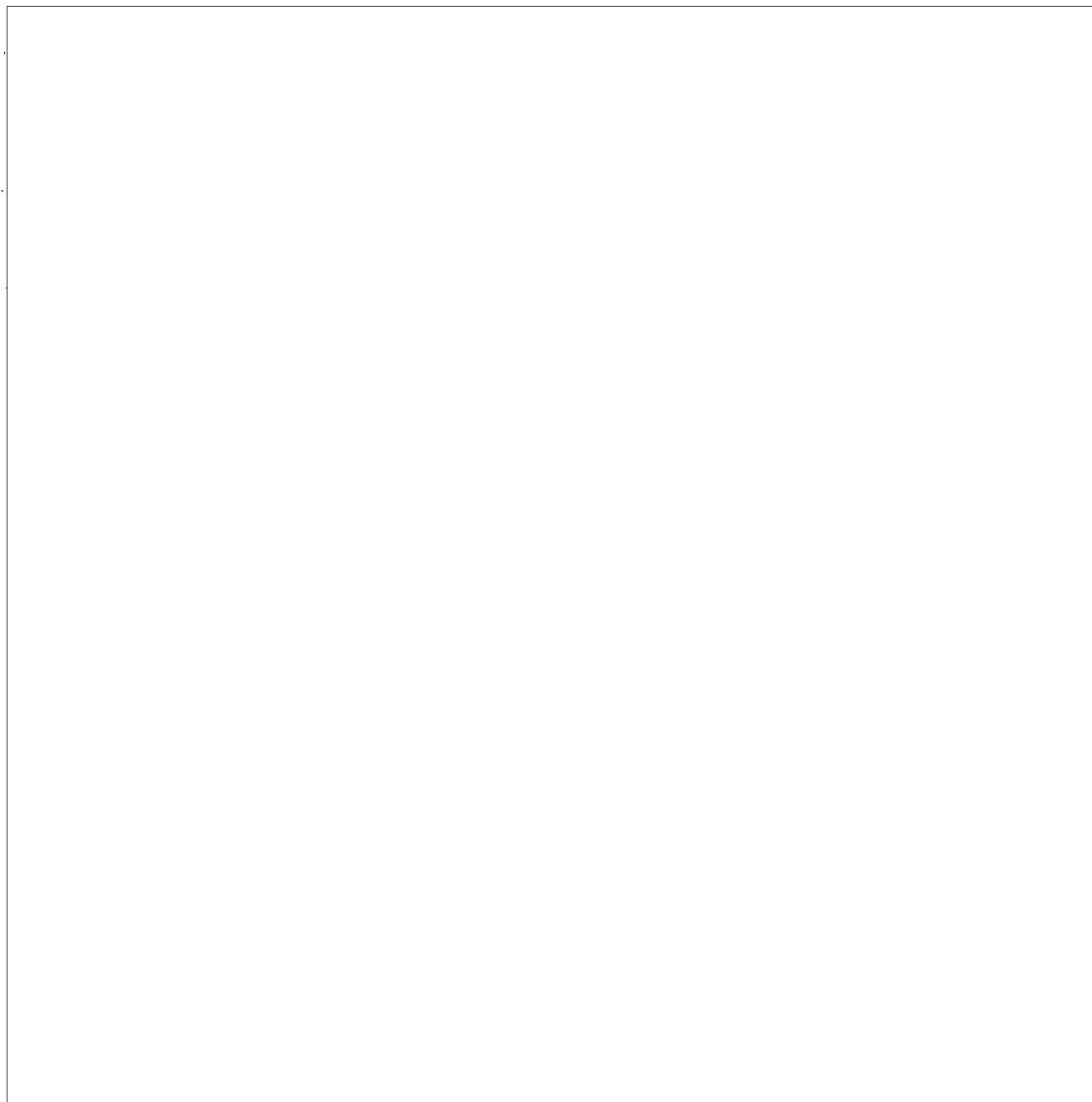
Le provided the usual Communist optimistic view of the accomplishments of the Tet offensive, using developments in Hue to illustrate his points. He claimed that Saigon's local administrative strength in Hue had been reduced from 3,000 to 150, and that the Communist-sponsored "popular revolutionary committee" was still in existence and functioning there. He was particularly proud of the damage done to the South Vietnamese pacification program, which he described as "ruined." He told his interviewer not to believe the documents which the US claimed to have captured in South Vietnam because many of them were invented by US psychological warfare experts.

Asked if it would not be better to seek negotiations with the Johnson administration now rather than risk having to deal with a more hawkish Republican administration in November, the Hanoi spokesman said that the Communists were confident of winning the military contest in the South and saw no need for negotiations at the present time.



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## More Hanoi Observations:

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[redacted] dispersed open storage areas for vehicles and material are used widely to avoid bomb damage. [redacted] fire engines and military vehicles parked under trees in downtown Hanoi, apparently instead of in central garages where they might be easier targets. Vehicle repairs were also being carried out in the open.

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[redacted] piles of construction material, fuel, bridge sections, and food grains along roads leading into the city. Each supply area extends no more than 100 yards along the road, and there is an open space of at least the same distance between each area. Four-man air raid shelters were seen at about 20-yard intervals along the same sections of road.

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[redacted] concluded from the external appearance of the main Hanoi thermal power plant that it was completely undamaged and in normal operation.

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[redacted] the city's power supply seemed reasonably normal, but this can be attributed at least in part to the many small generators used throughout Hanoi, as well as to the fact that foreigners get preferential service.

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[redacted] people in Hanoi are becoming noticeably thinner, but [redacted] no signs of large-scale mal-nutrition or of epidemics. [redacted] despite privation and loss of efficiency, people's morale was generally high.

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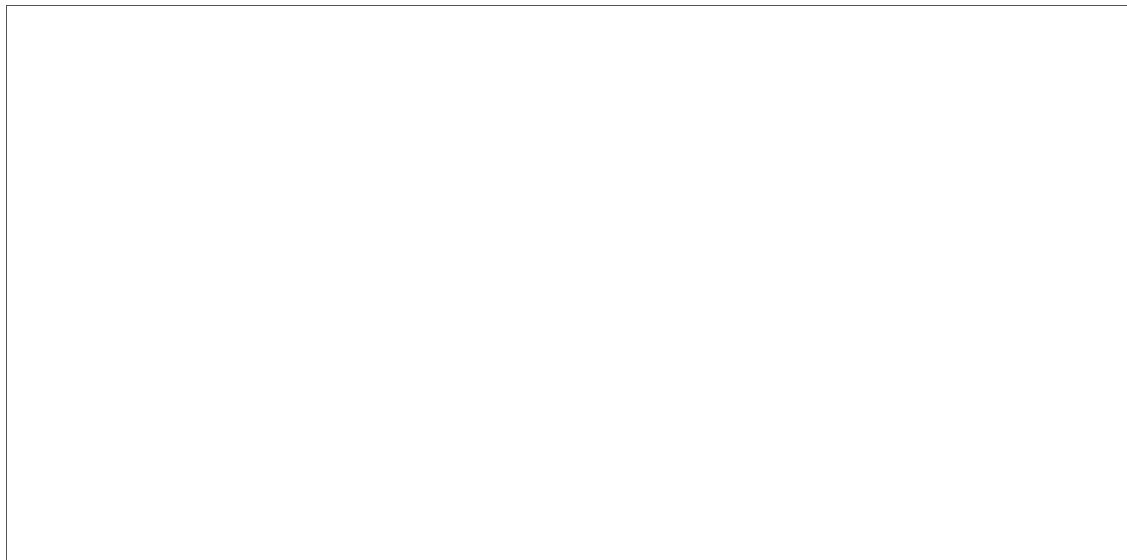
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## II. NORTH VIETNAMESE REFLECTIONS OF US POLITICAL ATTITUDES ON THE WAR

Hanoi Propaganda: Hanoi's international broadcast in English on 26 March featured the Moscow TV appearance of Army deserter James Wright. The broadcast pointed out that Wright formerly served in Vietnam and quoted his comments on the "senseless killing of Vietnamese civilians" and "the aspirations of a small country for independence."

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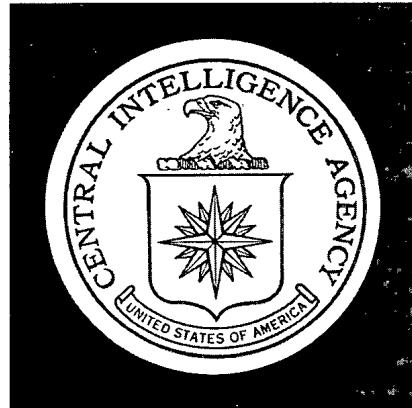
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More on General Westmoreland: Hanoi radio's domestic broadcast on Sunday carried another "analysis" of General Westmoreland's transfer. The theme is that the General's "dismissal" proves the "unavoidable bankruptcy" of US strategy in Vietnam.

\* \* \*

More Hanoi Comment on US: In a broadcast on Monday to South Vietnam, Hanoi radio stated that during the previous four days President Johnson had delivered three speeches "in which he boastfully said that the Americans will win." The broadcast then went on at length quoting contrary opinions from such US magazines as Newsweek, US News and World Report, and the American Daily News.

*Top Secret*



# *The President's Daily Brief*

~~Top Secret~~ 28 March 1968



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DAILY BRIEF  
28 MARCH 1968

1. North Korea

Satellite photography of 16 March shows the USS Pueblo at the Najin naval shipyard, only about 20 miles from the Soviet border. It was moved there some time after 22 February.

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2. Israel

Last week's big raid into Jordan was costly, and the Israeli public is grumbling. Despite heavy casualties and much foreign criticism, the country's borders are no more secure now than before.

Harsh comments about government policy are being heard increasingly [redacted] 50X1 [redacted] and are appearing in the Israeli 50X1 press. Somewhat defensively, government leaders are trying to justify the action and the hard-line policy on which it is based.

Ambassador Barbour thinks this has become the first visible rift in a long time between the public and the government on an important security issue. Yet few Israelis in or out of government can see an obvious alternative to present government policy.

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## 3. Panama

The anti-Robles forces failed to arouse public fervor for the demonstrations they hoped to pull off yesterday, and attempts to promote a general strike have faltered. It now appears that they have little alternative but to await a judicial ruling on Robles' impeachment after the Supreme Court reconvenes next Monday.

## 4. Czechoslovakia

Dubcek intends to nominate 73-year-old General Ludvik Svoboda to fill out the remaining 18 months of Novotny's presidential term. Svoboda is something of a national hero, partly because of his World War II exploits, but he is poorly equipped to be president and will probably be little more than a figure-head for Dubcek. Svoboda's selection will nevertheless be played as a gesture to Russian feelings since he is a well-known advocate of a strong alliance with the Soviet Union.

The election of a president by the National Assembly on Saturday will not, however, be a completely cut-and-dried affair. There are other contestants.

## 5. Poland

Some Warsaw students are getting set for another round of protest action today. The uproar they created last week has already warmed up the long-simmering factional rivalries inside the top party leadership. It is too early to see where all this will lead. It is already clear, however, that for the first time Gomulka has been forced to share his tight grip on the policy levers in Warsaw.

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6. Greece

The junta has yet to generate much public interest in its proposed move toward constitutional government. Most Greeks remain apathetic, and leading politicians of the old regime imply that they will boycott the constitutional debate and the referendum set for late this summer.

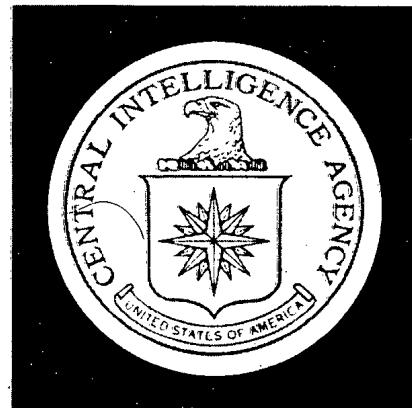
7. Indonesia

President Suharto got most of what he wanted from Congress yesterday-- a five-year term as full president and postponement of the scheduled congressional elections. The civilian-dominated Congress did, however, put some brakes on the emergency powers given Suharto two years ago. This should help appease those who have been worried about the predominant role of the military in the executive branch.

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*FOR THE PRESIDENT'S EYES ONLY*

## Special Daily Report on North Vietnam

**Top Secret** 50X1

16  
28 March 1968

Special Daily Report on North Vietnam  
for the President's Eyes Only

28 March 1968

I. NOTES ON THE SITUATION

Hanoi Calls on Public for an All-out Effort: An editorial published in Hanoi's party daily on Sunday calls on the North Vietnamese public to redouble its efforts in support of the war in the South. "Now is the time," it said, "to concentrate all our forces" and devote "everything to the struggle." The theme is not new, but the editorial has an unusual sense of urgency about it. It describes current developments in the South as "a new situation." It characterizes the fighting there as "a general offensive and uprising," terms which the Communists used frequently at the start of the Tet offensive but which have been used only sparingly since then. The editorial also talks of "mobilizing" the troops and the people of the North, suggesting that a special manpower roundup may be under way.

\* \* \*

Front Interview: A prominent Liberation Front spokesman has portrayed the Communist Tet offensive as a giant step toward making the US position in the South untenable, but not as an attempt to seize power in one fell swoop. Like other Vietnamese Communist spokesmen, he offered no hints of a willingness to compromise and made clear that the Communists continue to seek a settlement wholly on their terms.

Nguyen Van Tien, the head of the Liberation Front delegation in Hanoi, told a Japanese correspondent in a two-hour interview on 25 March that "most" of South Vietnam has been "liberated" since the Tet offensive and that the allied forces are "surrounded" by a "great sea" of hostile humanity. He claimed the offensive's purpose was not to occupy the cities but to disorganize allied forces and create psychological unrest.

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Tien questioned US interest in a peaceful settlement, but he said that if Washington "respects the Vietnamese people's fundamental rights," then there are "many ways to hold talks." He made clear that North Vietnam's offer to talk in return for a bombing halt did not commit the Communists to over-all peace negotiations. He said the Front supported Hanoi's demand for an unconditional bombing halt, but he went on to stipulate that if the US wants "peace talks," it "should end its aggression in South Vietnam" and withdraw all its armed forces.

Tien dodged a question about what kind of government would appear in the South after the war. He said it would be a "highly flexible coalition government," and explained that this was made clear in the Front's political program last summer.

Tien also played down the significance of Khe Sanh and said the Communists did not consider it a second Dien Bien Phu.

\* \* \*

#### Increased Security in Hanoi:

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[redacted] the foreigners who were recently stopped or detained for questioning include two Swedish diplomats who visited recently, the French News Agency correspondent, and the Indian military representative to the International Control Commission in Hanoi.

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It is not certain if these individuals were indiscreet in their wanderings or if North Vietnamese security forces are simply more vigilant. The latter seems likely in view of the newly published security decree.

\* \* \*

[redacted]

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Administrative Changes near the Chinese Border:  
Communications intelligence indicates that the North Vietnamese have adjusted their local administrative boundaries in the northwestern part of the country near the Chinese border.

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## II. NORTH VIETNAMESE REFLECTIONS OF US POLITICAL ATTITUDES ON THE WAR

North Vietnamese Army Newspaper Comments: Hanoi's army daily on 25 March claimed that the recent Tet offensive had contributed significantly to a political crisis in the US in which President Johnson was increasingly isolated from his colleagues and his critics. The army editorial was broadcast both to audiences in North Vietnam and in English to Havana for replay to the US.

The domestic broadcast indulged in unusually harsh language, calling the US President a wounded "wild beast" who "shouted for war." The broadcast to Havana zeroed in on the President's critics within his own party and said President Johnson was facing his "darkest tragedy" since his accession to the presidency. The newspaper reported that Senator Robert Kennedy and Senator McCarthy were using the Vietnam question as a "trump card," and that the New York Senator was demanding an end to the war, a change of US policy, and the removal of the President.

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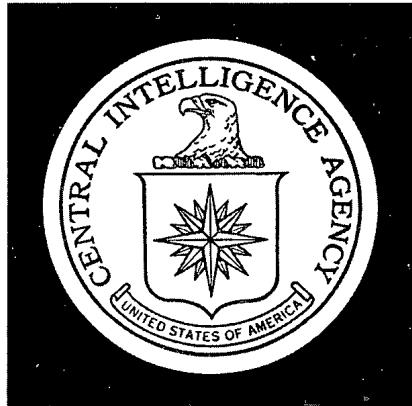
Hanoi Reports AP Criticism of Westmoreland's Strategy: Hanoi's international service on 27 March reported an analysis of US military strategy and tactics by Peter Arnett of the Associated Press. According to the broadcast, Arnett said that General Westmoreland will be remembered above all for his use of massive firepower--so massive that "aircraft and artillery are called in to do the job that infantrymen did in other wars.... More and more Americans...see this massive use of firepower as the major weakness in US military tactics in Vietnam," Arnett is represented as saying.

\* \* \*

"Antimilitarist" Meeting of "Black Americans": Two hundred members of the "antimilitarist movement and organizations of black Americans" met recently in Illinois, according to the Hanoi international service. The meeting allegedly drafted a "common program of action" against the war in Vietnam and against US racism, and decided to organize an antiwar demonstration next August in Chicago.

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*Top Secret*



# *The President's Daily Brief*

~~Top Secret~~ 29 March 1968



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President's Daily Brief  
29 March 1968

LATE ITEM

Israel

Four Israelis were killed this morning by a terrorist mine on a farm inside Israeli territory south of Lake Tiberias. A US citizen--a recently arrived volunteer worker--was seriously injured. A Foreign Ministry official in Tel Aviv told Ambassador Barbour shortly thereafter that Israel "must take action." Although the official did not speak specifically of military action, the ambassador notes the obvious danger that the Israelis will mount another reprisal. This is true even though they acknowledge that past reprisals have not stopped the terrorists.

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DAILY BRIEF  
29 MARCH 1968

1. Vietnam

Signs are accumulating in intercepts

[redacted] that a new Communist offensive may be imminent. In the past few days there have been six references in Communist traffic to "N-Day," the Communist equivalent of D-Day. Dates between 28 March and 2 April have been mentioned. The last multiple references to "N-Day" came just before the Tet offensive.

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We believe the heaviest attacks could come in the central highlands, co-ordinated perhaps with assaults against urban areas and/or against military installations in the north. An offensive in the area northeast of Saigon is also possible. Our information suggests that mortar, rocket, and artillery attacks will be featured, although ground attacks into towns cannot be ruled out.

2. Panama

The pro-Arias National Union yesterday got out its biggest crowd so far, and the result was the most serious clash yet with the National Guard. The demonstration--a peaceful protest march by pro-Arias women--drew 15,000 people. As the crowd was dispersing, hoodlums and pro-Arias activists went into action, burning cars, looting stores, and attacking Guardsmen. Two people reportedly were killed before the Guard got things back under control.

There may be more violence in the three days before the Supreme Court meets on the impeachment crisis. The Guard can probably keep the lid on, however--although at the cost of increasing popular resentment.

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### 3. Czechoslovakia

Dubcek yesterday made his strongest affirmation yet of Czechoslovak sovereignty. His assertion that "responsibility for our internal developments... rests primarily with...this Communist Party" was a reply to heavy-handed East German criticism, as well as to the more tactfully expressed concern of other Soviet bloc parties.

Dubcek made his remarks at a Central Committee meeting which saw the elevation of liberals to two key party posts and the resignation of Novotny from the party's presidium and secretariat. Ludvik Svoboda, a military hero known for his advocacy of strong ties with Moscow, was named state president, but he is almost certain to be merely a figurehead.

### 4. Poland

Although the government forestalled an open student demonstration in Warsaw yesterday, student militants are still demanding redress of their grievances, including reinstatement of dismissed faculty members. They have been warned that the government would equate further disturbances with antistate activity, but there are rumors that another student rally is planned for next week.

### 5. Guatemala

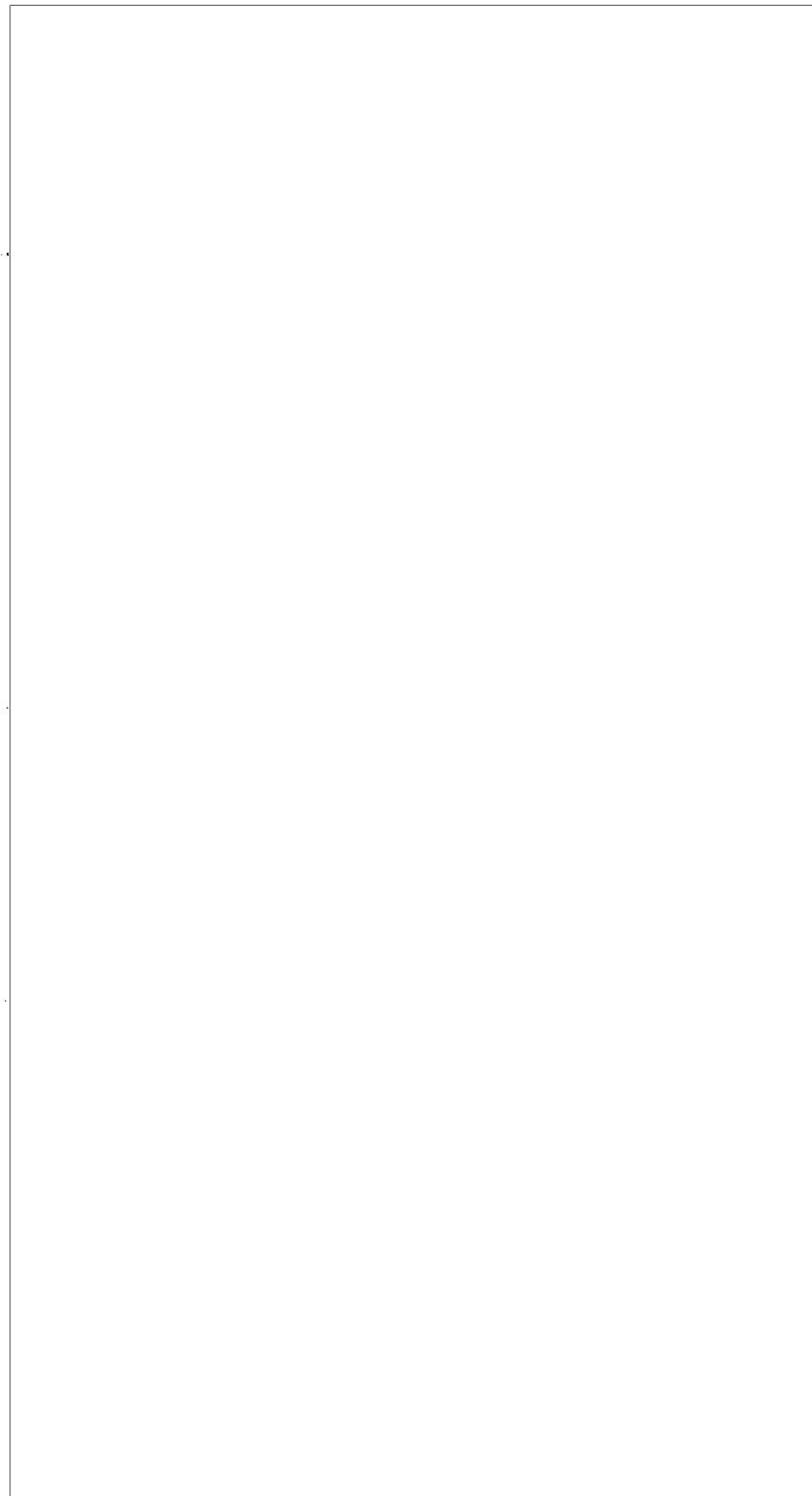
President Mendez has moved to replace the commander of the powerful army unit in Zacapa and the commander of the honor guard in Guatemala City. He has also fired his defense minister and persuaded the legislature to censure his vice president, and the commander of the national police reportedly has also been replaced. Some of these men seem to have been involved in anti-Mendez plotting and may have been privy to the kidnapping of the Catholic archbishop two weeks ago.

Mendez is taking his political life in his hands in moving against the country's traditional arbiters of power, but he seems to be getting away with it so far.

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6. Soviet Union

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**7. Jordan**

Fatah terrorists have come out of the shadows and are now operating openly in Jordan. They apparently control much of the Jordan Valley, where Amman's authority has almost evaporated. In Amman itself, the terrorists--or hoodlums posing as terrorists--now carry arms and aggressively solicit funds for "Palestine." Taking advantage of an unprecedentedly high level of anti-American popular sentiment, these elements have begun applying their coercive collection techniques to US citizens.

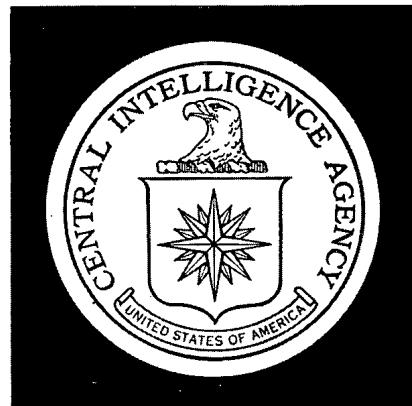
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**8. New Zealand**

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**Top Secret**



*FOR THE PRESIDENT'S EYES ONLY*

- 1.) Special Daily Report on North Vietnam
- 2.) North Vietnamese Reflections of US Political Attitudes

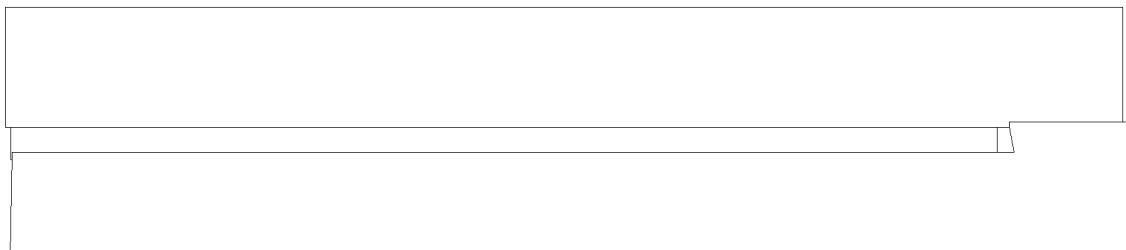
**Top Secret** 50X1  
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29 March 1968

**Special Daily Report on North Vietnam  
for the President's Eyes Only**

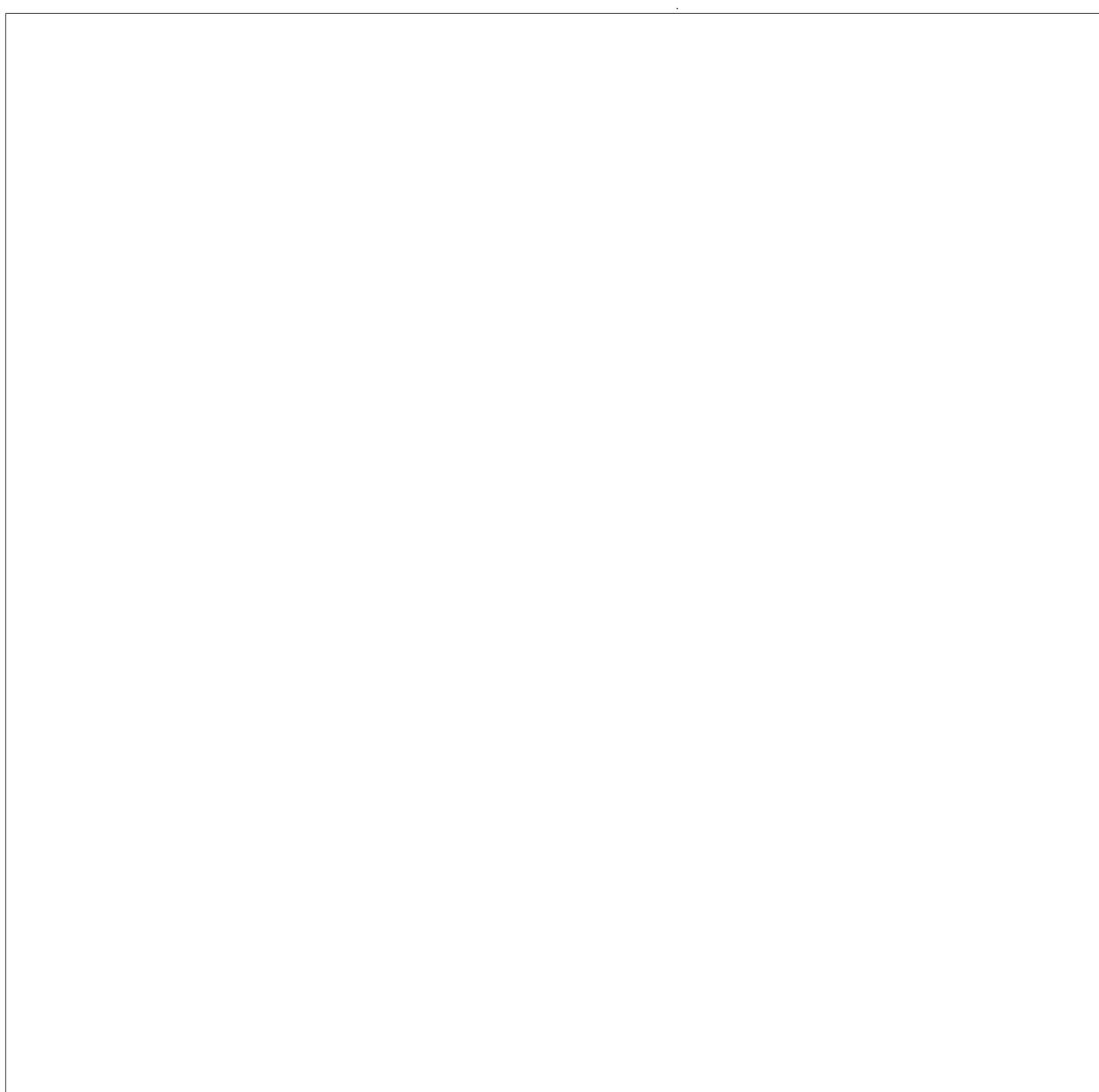
**29 March 1968**

**I. NOTES ON THE SITUATION**



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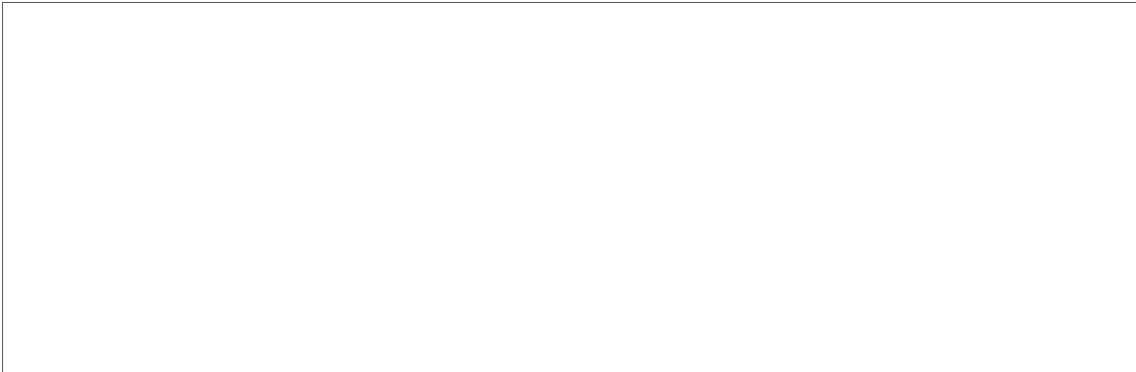


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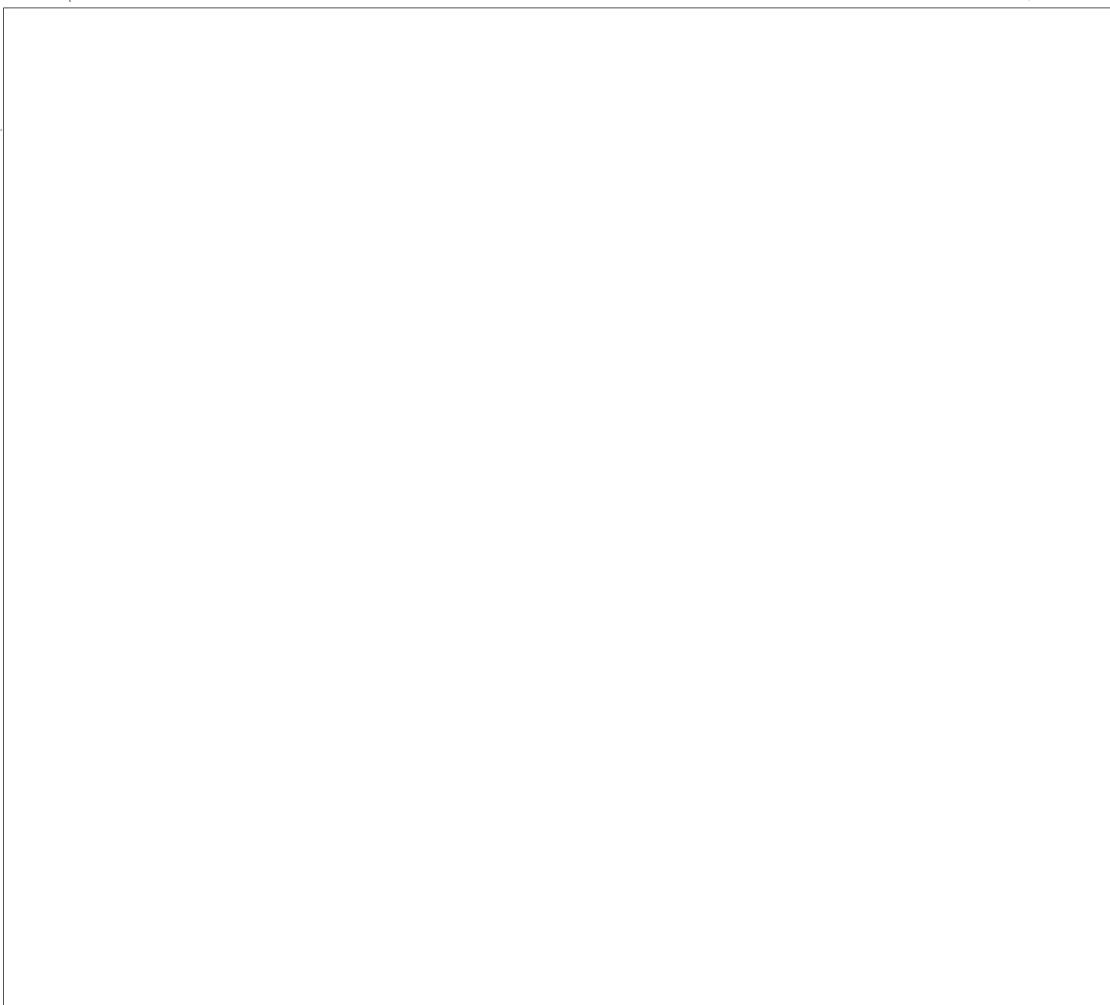
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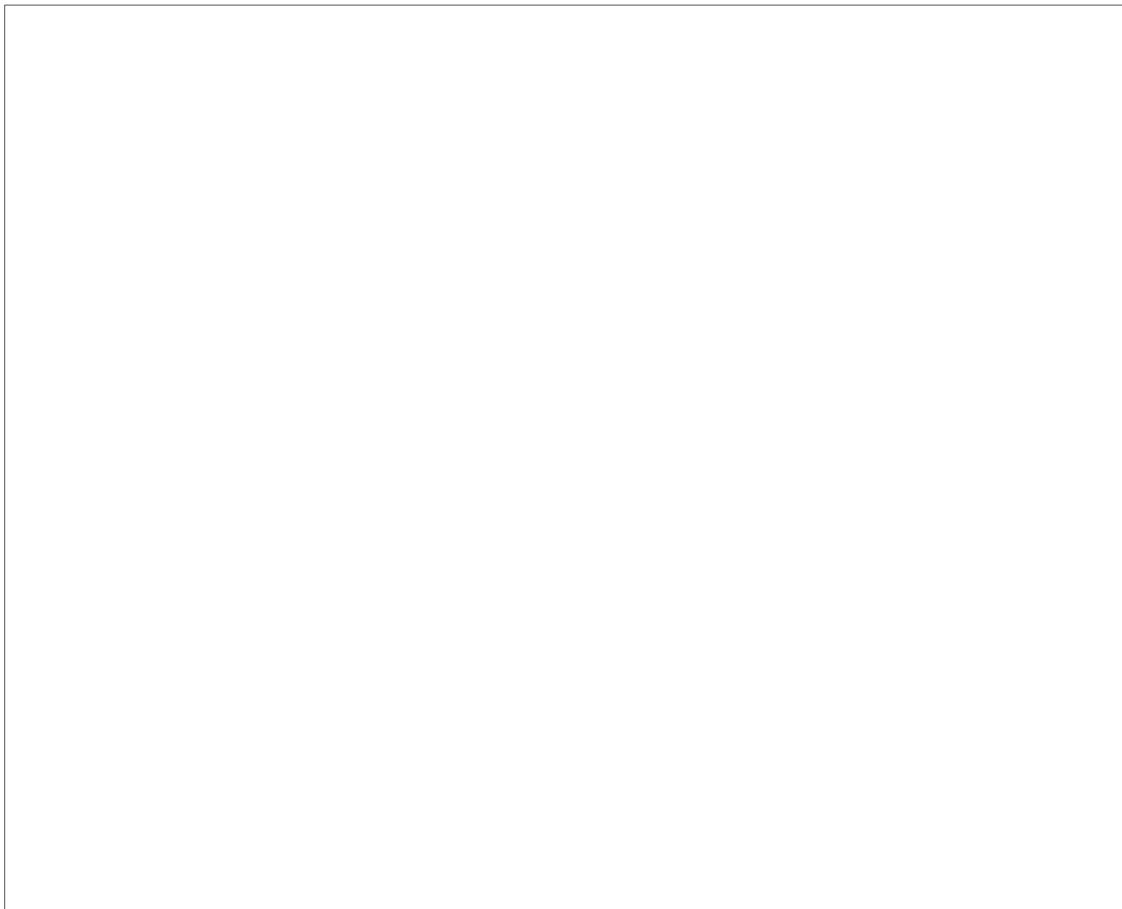
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More on Front Interviews: The Japanese correspondent who interviewed Liberation Front representative Nguyen Van Tien in Hanoi on 25 March continues to publish copy on the interview. In the 27 March issue of Asahi, Tien is quoted at greater length on the accomplishments of the Tet offensive.

He claims that the Communists still have local troops and guerrilla forces inside the city of Hue and that the Communist - sponsored Revolutionary Administrative Committee is still functioning. Tien alleged that Hue was virtually under a state of siege, surrounded by Communist troops who were poised to strike at "any time."

He also claimed that the Tet offensive had enabled the Liberation Army to "double its strength."

Hanoi's Deputy Foreign Minister Off to Africa: North Vietnam has opened up its drive for recognition in African countries by sending Vice Foreign Minister Hoang Van Loi and a group of Foreign Ministry officials to Algiers. The Algerian Government informed Western news agencies on 27 March that the arrival of the North Vietnamese delegation was expected on 3 April as the first step on its tour. Hanoi seems to be after diplomatic recognition in Africa, as well as political support for its position on the war and negotiations--the same objectives it is seeking throughout western Europe.

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## II. NORTH VIETNAMESE REFLECTIONS OF US POLITICAL ATTITUDES ON THE WAR

Hanoi Quotes US Press: Although Hanoi's coverage of the US political scene has picked up somewhat in the last two weeks, yesterday's domestic broadcast quoting the North Vietnamese Army newspaper was an unusually direct and independent commentary linking the war to the elections. More typical treatment is found in an item on Hanoi radio's international service on 28 March which leaned entirely on quotes from the US press.

The item played up colorful sentences from US news media on the war, which the broadcast described as an "undeniable stalemate." The New York Times and Newsweek were singled out as "demanding an end to the present US strategy in Vietnam." Hanoi quoted the Times at length on the transfer of General Westmoreland and on the results of the Communist Tet offensive. It stressed the alleged frustration the offensive produced in Washington, the economic impact of the war, and widespread popular opposition to administration policies in Vietnam.

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Hanoi Cites Antiwar Petition: Hanoi radio's international Service yesterday cited "reports from Washington" that "more than 1,500 American public

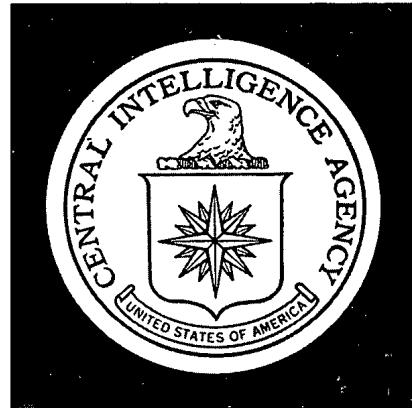
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servants have signed a petition to US President Johnson demanding an end to the US dirty war in Vietnam." Among other things, the broadcast also noted the Illinois attorney general's recent expression of "anxiety over the aggressive policy pursued by Johnson and company," a speech by Mayor Lindsay opposing "foolish escalation," and John Kenneth Galbraith's recent address in which, according to Hanoi, he "demanded a cessation of the US war in Vietnam."

\* \* \*

Hanoi Broadcasts US Serviceman's "Appeal": Hanoi's English language broadcast to American servicemen in South Vietnam on 27 March carried an "appeal" by one "McKinley Nolan," who was described as a US enlisted man who defected from the 1st Infantry Division. The American-accented voice claiming to be Nolan said he had been treated well and went on to give a standard Communist spiel on the war. The "appeal" closed with a suggestion that US troops ask to return to the US. Once home they were admonished not to interfere with the antiwar demonstrators "who are rising up to overthrow the American Government."

*Top Secret*



# *The President's Daily Brief*

~~Top Secret~~ 30 March 1968



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DAILY BRIEF  
30 MARCH 1968

1. South Vietnam

The series of attacks forecast in "N-Day" messages has not yet materialized, but Communist intercepts still point to early wide-ranging actions.

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2. Jordan-Israel

Yesterday's exchange turned out to be short-lived, but it was fairly intensive while it was in progress. In addition to the artillery duel all along the Jordan valley, Israeli planes strafed Jordanian artillery positions.

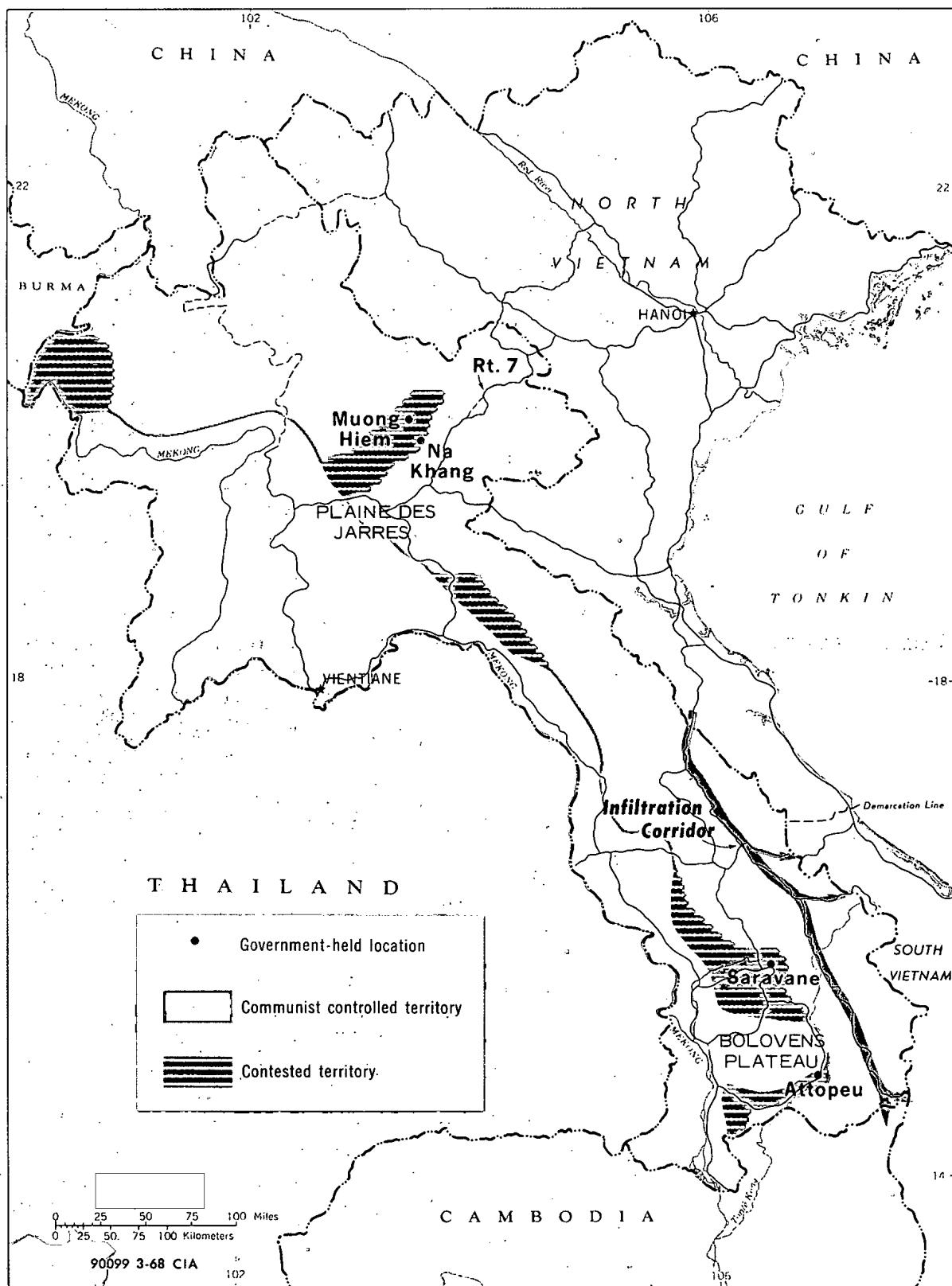
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The Israelis may have held off on follow-up ground action because of domestic criticism of last week's attack. Critics said it cost too much in terms of lives and equipment for what was accomplished.

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Both Jordan and Israel have called for a Security Council meeting. The council is expected to meet at 10:30 this morning.

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**Military Position in Laos Remains Unchanged**

### 3. Laos

Fighting has tapered off recently, but the Communists are capable of resuming their dry season offensive at any time. In the northeast, they have not yet made their expected attacks against two key government guerrilla bases, but we believe they will before the monsoon season starts in late May.

Heavy truck traffic from North Vietnam toward the Plaine des Jarres indicates that the Laotians may be on firmer ground than usual this year in making their annual prediction of a Communist offensive in that area.

In the south, the North Vietnamese have not pressed their threat to Saravane and Attopeu. It may be that all they intended was to screen the substantial movement now under way of men and material through the infiltration corridor.

### 4. North Korea

Satellite photography of 16 March suggests the North Koreans have begun to take the Pueblo's electronic gear apart. Although the major antenna housings seem still to be intact, the boom of what looks like an automotive crane extends over the Pueblo's well deck. At the rate the dismantling process seems to be going so far, the North Koreans will probably have to hold the Pueblo for quite some time if they plan a full study of the ship and its gear.

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### 5. Cuba

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## 6. Guatemala

The army, obviously caught by surprise, has not yet reacted to President Mendez' sudden shakeup of the command structure.

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This may make it easier for the Communists to carry out their terrorism, however, which would soon get Mendez in hot water again with the military. The new defense minister, while popular, is probably not tough enough to keep the army in line.

## 7. Czechoslovakia

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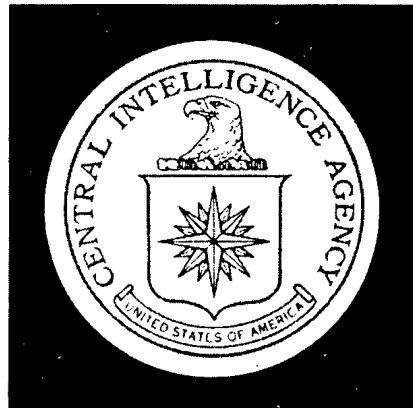
## 8. Nepal

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*Top Secret*

**Top Secret**



*FOR THE PRESIDENT'S EYES ONLY*

- 1.) Special Daily Report on North Vietnam
- 2.) North Vietnamese Reflections of US Political Attitudes



**Top Secret** 50X1

16

30 March 1968

Special Daily Report on North Vietnam  
for the President's Eyes Only

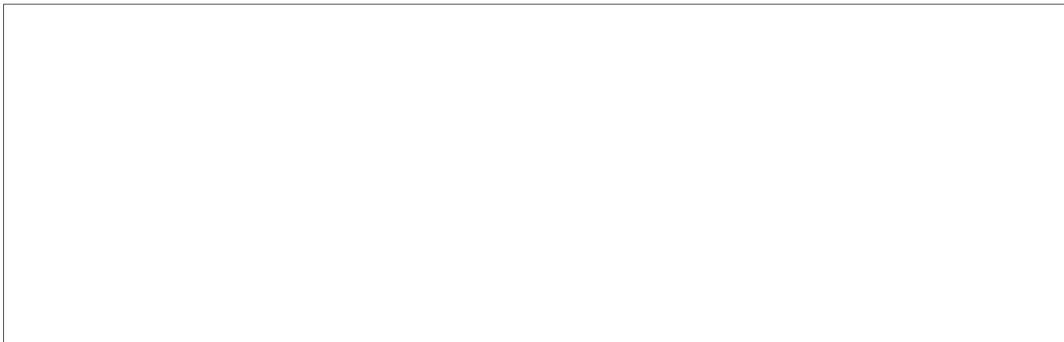
30 March 1968

I. NOTES ON THE SITUATION

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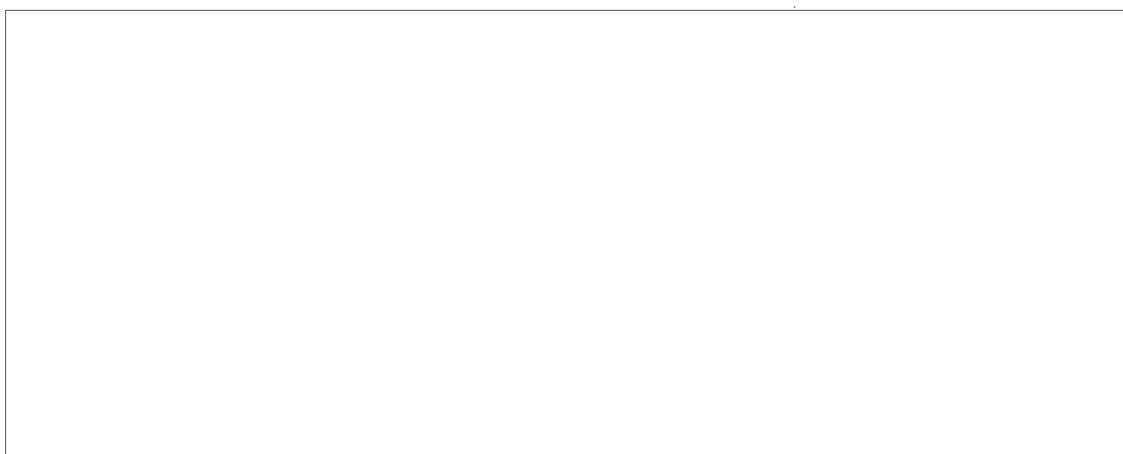


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Collingwood in Hanoi: CBS announced this morning that Charles Collingwood is in North Vietnam for an "indefinite stay." Collingwood went to Hanoi on yesterday's ICC flight from Vientiane.

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in the North Vietnamese capital [redacted] the population of the city is about 300,000. This represents a reduction of the city's prewar population by about two-thirds and is in line with the government's aim to evacuate more than half a million Hanoi residents. This goal was probably accomplished by last fall; [redacted] suggests that the regime has finally been successful in making it stick. Earlier evacuation measures have been frustrated by people gradually drifting back home.

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[redacted] the bombed-out railroad workshop at Gia Lam has not been repaired, but work continues at the yard on damaged locomotives.

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## II. NORTH VIETNAMESE REFLECTIONS OF US POLITICAL ATTITUDES ON THE WAR

Hanoi on Khe Sanh Defenses: A Hanoi radio international broadcast in English yesterday quoted a Christian Science Monitor article of 22 March on the military vulnerability of Khe Sanh. As usual, the broadcast selected out the Monitor's critical comments on US military defenses without adding much original commentary. This type of treatment is a standard North Vietnamese propaganda technique and seems to be deliberately chosen to appeal to Western audiences. The North Vietnamese are apparently aware that their own propaganda commentary does not go over well with foreign audiences [redacted]

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In their brief broadcast of the article on Khe Sanh, for example, the North Vietnamese quoted the Monitor as saying the Marines at Khe Sanh were worried about their capability to maintain their supplies and to counter Communist firepower. They also highlighted the criticism of the straight-line trenching system at Khe Sanh, which made it possible for the enemy to roll grenades like bowling balls down the trenches.

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*Top Secret*