

The President's Daily Brief

1 December 1971

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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

THE PRESIDENT'S DAILY BRIEF

1 December 1971

PRINCIPAL DEVELOPMENTS

Indian and Pakistani officials are expressing still more pessimism on the chances for peace, Prime Minister Gandhi delivered a particularly tough speech to parliament yesterday, and Peking has issued its strongest accusations against India in the current phase of the crisis. (Page 1)

In Cambodia, Communist troops are pressing hard against the government's Chenla II force along Route 6 and the situation has been declared critical. (Page 3)

On Page 4 we discuss some implications of last Sunday's elections in Uruguay.

At Annex, we examine the current status of the Cyprus dispute, especially the disturbing effect caused by General Grivas' presence on the island.

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INDIA-PAKISTAN

Both Indian and Pakistani officials are expressing growing pessimism on the chances for peace. Ambassador Keating describes the Pakistani high commissioner in New Delhi as "resigned" to the likelihood of war. The Indian ambassador to Afghanistan yesterday told US Embassy officers in Kabul that he anticipated hostilities within one week. In Karachi, the Indian deputy high commissioner, previously an optimist on the likelihood of avoiding war, expressed the opinion that a full-scale conflict could erupt at any time. Apparently in line with this thinking, virtually all dependents of Indian officials in Karachi have left by air for New Delhi since last Sunday.

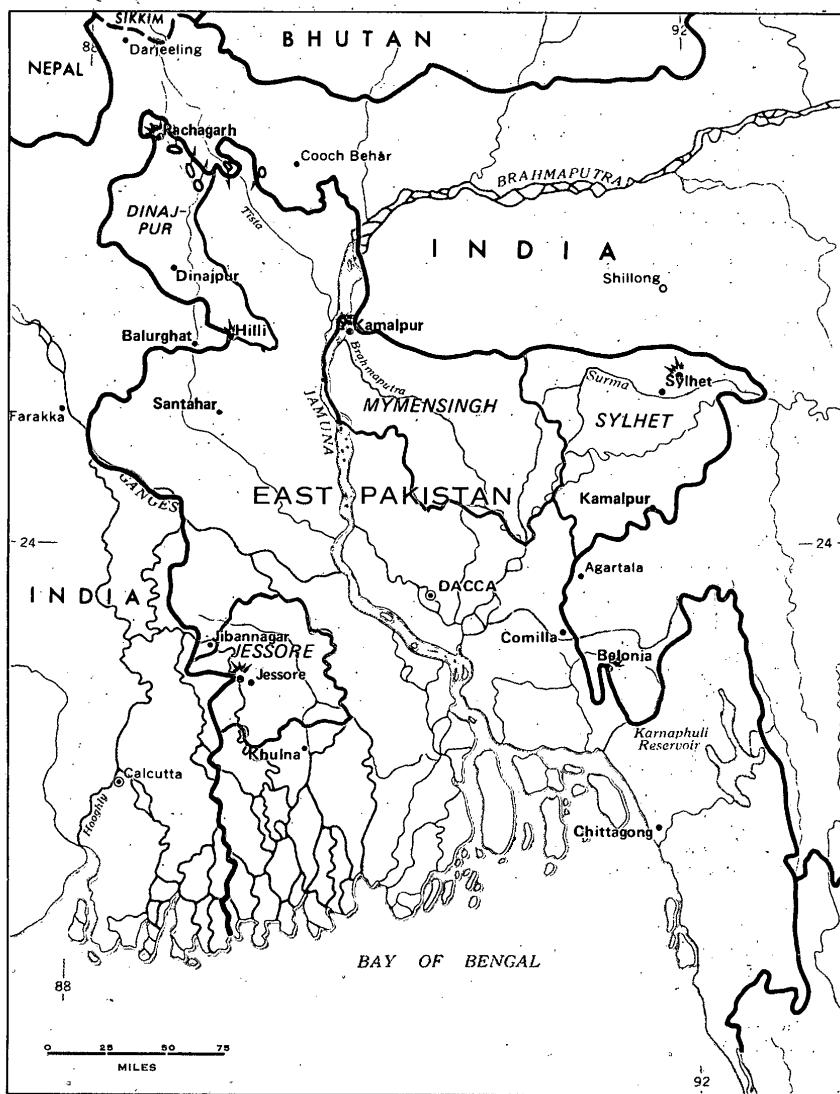
Prime Minister Gandhi told the upper house of parliament yesterday that the presence of West Pakistani troops in East Pakistan constitutes a threat to India's security. She warned that India would not stand by while Bengalis in East Pakistan were "annihilated."

These tough statements further escalate India's pressure on Islamabad into either accepting a political settlement or initiating full-scale war with its more powerful neighbor. Mrs. Gandhi also may be setting the stage for a still more active role for the Indian armed forces in support of the guerrilla offensive in East Pakistan.

The Bangla Desh radio has broadcast the longest and most vitriolic attack on the US Government in some time. Washington is charged with attempting to destroy the unity between the Bangla Desh regime and the guerrilla forces and seeking to "internationalize" an internal Pakistani crisis so as to give President Yahya a chance to recoup his dwindling strength.

The radio attacks conceivably could lead to guerrilla action against US personnel or facilities in East Pakistan although, as in the past, the broadcast tended to differentiate between the government and people of the US.

Chinese Vice Premier Li Hsien-nien on Monday voiced Peking's strongest and most authoritative accusation against India in the current phase of the crisis, but again made evident China's desire



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for a political settlement. Li accused India of carrying out subversive activities and military provocations as well as invading and occupying Pakistani territory. Li lashed out at the USSR indirectly, accusing it of supporting and encouraging the Indians, but his criticisms did not match those delivered last Friday at the UN by Deputy Foreign Minister Chiao Kuan-hua, who called the Indo-Soviet treaty signed last August essentially a military alliance, adding that it had led to "bare-faced aggression against Pakistan."

Despite this step-up in Peking's public expressions of concern, these harsh words do not show any change in China's basic policy of maintaining cautious political and military assistance to the Pakistan Government, while urging it to work as rapidly as possible toward a political settlement within East Pakistan and with India.

In New York, the president of the UN Security Council has circulated to Council members Yahya's letter to Secretary General Thant requesting that UN observers be sent to the Pakistani side of the East Pakistan borders. Thant commented that the matter was beyond his competence and should come before the Security Council under the terms of the UN charter.

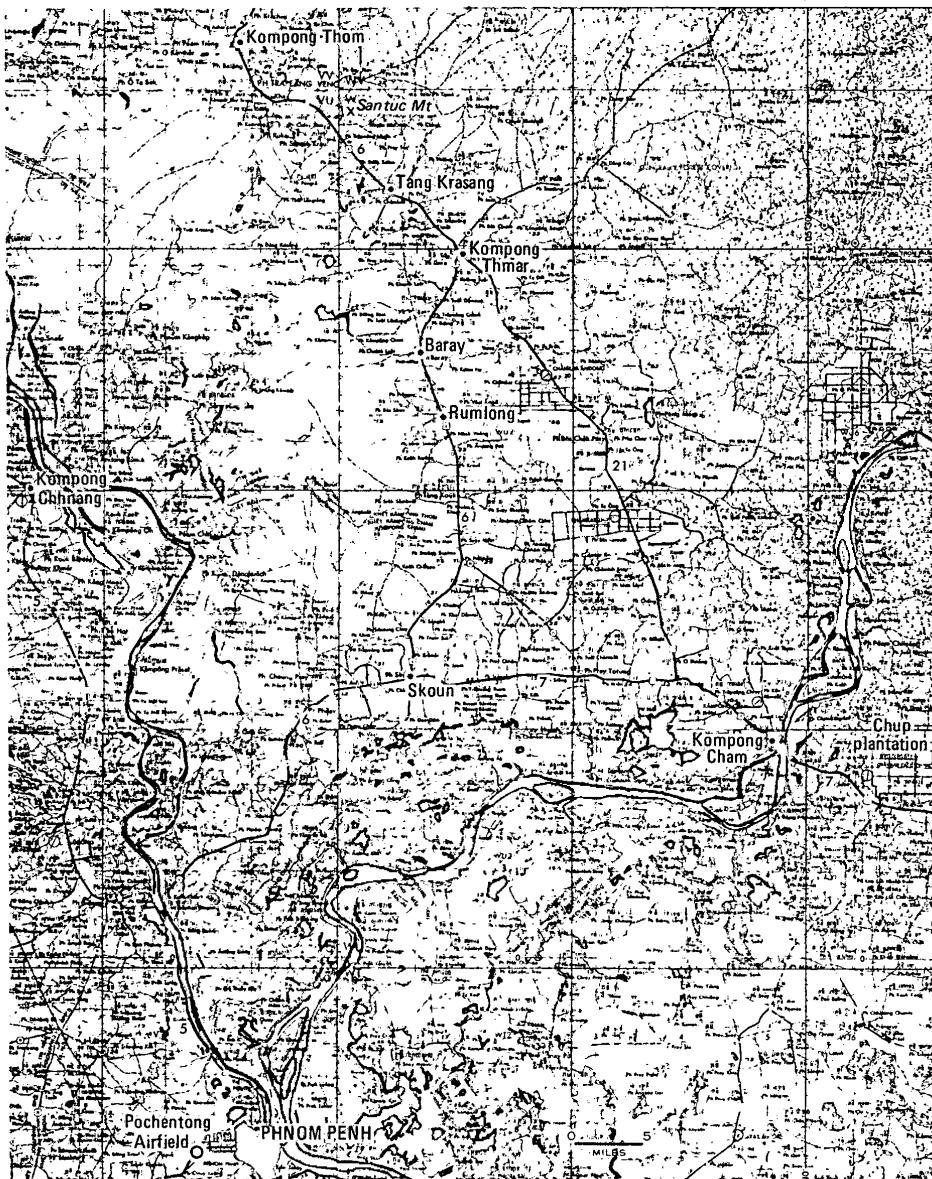
Thant's conception of a limited mandate for himself and the need for a formal decision by the Security Council in order to dispatch UN observers kills any immediate prospect that a mission will be sent. Yahya's appeal will remain in limbo unless some member formally requests a Council meeting to deal with the question.

The military situation has not changed significantly. Clashes continue near Jessor, and New Delhi admits that Indian troops are still involved in the fighting inside East Pakistan near Hilli. To the north, a battle appears to be continuing near Pachagarh--which the Pakistani Army has abandoned under pressure--and other clashes are occurring near Kamalpur in Mymensingh District, inside the northern border of Sylhet District, and along the eastern border of East Pakistan in the Belonia salient.

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The border between India and West Pakistan remains generally quiet.

CAMBODIA: Route 6 Area



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CAMBODIA

Communist troops have surrounded some of the government's Chenla II units near Kompong Thmar, the logistics base for the operation's northern force

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South of the town, the Communists have captured a portion of Route 6 and isolated the government base at Baray, where heavy fighting now appears to have broken out. In addition, US aerial observers have reported that there is fighting along Route 21 south-east of Kompong Thmar and that some retreating government troops have abandoned weapons, ammunition, and vehicles. This morning the US defense attaché reported that the Chenla II situation had been declared "critical," with the Communists now occupying three portions of Route 6.

In resuming the offensive in the area, the Communists may be trying to take advantage of the fact that almost 20 battalions of government troops, including several elite Khmer Krom units, have been diverted to the defense of Phnom Penh. Although there are still about 22,000 government troops in the Chenla II force, those in the northern part remain cut off and dependent on aerial resupply. The government had planned to build a series of strongpoints along the road, but will probably be unable to hold such positions if the Communists keep up the pressure.

Since two regiments of the Vietnamese Communist 9th Division--the 95C and 271st regiments--have moved north into the Kompong Thmar area since the South Vietnamese began their offensive east of the Mekong, it seems unlikely that the Communists will be quickly drawn away from the Route 6 area by South Vietnamese operations. Continued Communist attacks on the Chenla II forces may prompt Phnom Penh to ask that South Vietnamese troops be sent to operate west of the Mekong, as they did last year at this time.

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

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URUGUAY

With reporting from some rural districts still incomplete and a substantial absentee vote in Sunday's general elections uncounted, the incumbent Colorado Party is maintaining a precarious lead over the Blanco Party. Under Uruguay's complex election law, if this lead holds the presidency will go to Juan Maria Bordaberry, handpicked choice of President Pacheco. If the Blancos pull ahead, Wilson Ferreira will succeed Pacheco. The Communist-led Frente Amplio coalition nationwide attracted less than 20 percent of the vote, but finished a strong second in the Montevideo mayoralty race with some 30 percent. The final outcome may not be clear for several days, until the 100,000 remaining ballots are counted.

We expect that Bordaberry would operate much in the Pacheco pattern--championing tough security measures against leftist terrorists, blaming Congress for its refusal to grant him increased police powers, and following conservative economic policies. Ferreira, on the other hand, effectively articulated a platform calling for selected nationalization and land reform, and his approach might lower tensions of recent years by reducing the appeal of the extreme leftist forces. Neither man would have majority support in Congress.

With the Congressional representation of the Frente Amplio participants at last somewhat increased, it is in a position to generate additional legislative problems for any new president. Judging by the intra-Frente difficulties encountered during the campaign, however, there is a question whether the Frente will be able to hold together as a coordinated political force for the longer term.

Some of the Uruguayan leftists, however, will be receptive to the Tupamaro terrorists' charge that the system is so rigged that a "popular" victory can come only by force of arms. In any event, the Tupamaro operational standdown during the election period could end soon, especially if Bordaberry is confirmed as the winner. Security force operations will also be less restricted than they were in the campaign period, at least until Pacheco leaves office in March.

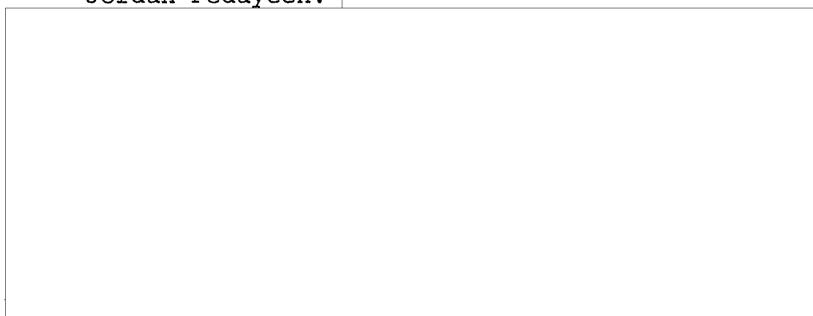
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NOTES

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Jordan-Fedayeen:

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Persian Gulf: Last night Iraq announced it was breaking relations with Britain and Iran because of Iran's occupation of the islands of Abu Musa and the Tunbs earlier in the day. Otherwise Arab reaction has been limited, despite an exchange of fire on one Tunb that resulted in the death of four and possibly eight local police as well as three Iranians. Iraq and Yemen (Aden) may try to raise the issue in the UN, but most Arab states are preoccupied with other issues.

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A DECEPTIVE QUIET ON CYPRUS

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Secretary General Thant will formally report today that little progress has been made toward resolution of the intercommunal strife on Cyprus. Later this month the Security Council will consider whether to renew the mandate of the UN peacekeeping force on the island; there are signs that some nations contributing troops to the force are considering dropping out. Although the situation on Cyprus has been remarkably quiet for several months, old animosities remain and threaten again to burst into violence.

The presence on Cyprus of General George Grivas has introduced a new air of uncertainty into the situation. Since Grivas arrived clandestinely in early September, there has been a revival of speculation concerning enosis--union of Cyprus with Greece--or double enosis--partition of Cyprus between Greece and Turkey. Speculation in Athens, Ankara, and Nicosia about such radical solutions is undercutting efforts to negotiate a settlement.

Grivas is a naturalized Greek of Cypriot origin who has made his mark as a leader of guerrilla forces. He led a resistance movement in Greece during World War II and directed the Cypriot struggle against the British from 1955 to 1959. After hostilities again broke out between Turkish and Greek Cypriots in 1964 Grivas organized the Cyprus National Guard, became the supreme commander of the Cyprus Armed Forces, promoted union with Greece, and ultimately became the bête-noir of Archbishop Makarios. Grivas apparently never forgave Makarios for accepting the London-Zurich Agreements of 1959, which made Cyprus an independent republic rather than opening the way for enosis. His difficulties with Makarios prompted numerous threats to resign as commander of the Cypriot Army, but he remained until late 1967, when he was withdrawn by Athens under Turkish pressure. Then, as now, Makarios had no intention of giving up supreme power as head of a sovereign state. He sees no future for himself under enosis--single or double.

Both the Turkish Cypriots and the mainland Turks despise Grivas. The Turks believe he was the direct cause of the sacking of a Turkish Cypriot village in 1964 and the death of some 27 Turkish Cypriots there. There are no present indications that Grivas has the large force of old behind him, but his almost legendary role in the turbulent Cypriot problems during the past two decades has raised fears that he will attract a new following in the coming months.

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Grivas, now 74 years old, is at his best as an elusive and mysterious organizer of guerrilla units. Possibly with the connivance of the Greek Government, he escaped surveillance from his home in Athens in late August, and a few days later arrived secretly on Cyprus to begin testing his support in the villages. As expected, Turkey initially insisted that Makarios and the Greek Government apprehend the General and return him to Athens. When it became apparent that Grivas was more interested in challenging Makarios than in terrorizing the Turkish Cypriots, however, the Turks noticeably softened their objections.

[redacted] Grivas is forming illegal armed groups. They estimate that Grivas has the necessary weapons to arm a force of 400 to 600 men with mortars and light machine guns. It is also reported that the General could equip a reserve force of 1,000 to 2,000 men with small arms. General Angelis, commander of the Greek Armed Forces, anticipates that Grivas will begin an active phase against Makarios within the next few weeks. Grivas has disguised his moves, however. Although he has not surfaced on the island, rumors about his plans have put Makarios on the defensive. The Archbishop reportedly has been arming his own loyal bands. He has also been removing officials whose loyalty he questions. Thus far, Makarios has forced at least five Greek Cypriot officials to resign. US observers on the island believe that if the Archbishop continues his purge, he will drive others, who would otherwise remain neutral, over to Grivas' side.

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One critical element in Grivas' fortunes is the extent to which the Greek Government will support him. Athens denies any involvement in the affair but has made no effort to inhibit the General's activities and, indeed, seems to be using Greek assets in Cyprus to support him. The Greek-sponsored press and mainland Greek officers on the island have been accused of disseminating pro-Grivas propaganda. Athens' official hands-off attitude in the present circumstances clearly helps Grivas more than Makarios.

Although Grivas' motives are not clear, his past actions provide some insights into his present plans. As an ardent anti-Communist, he is violently opposed to Makarios' dealings with the Communist bloc. The General reacted strongly against the gains the Communist Party of Cyprus made in the July 1970 Cypriot

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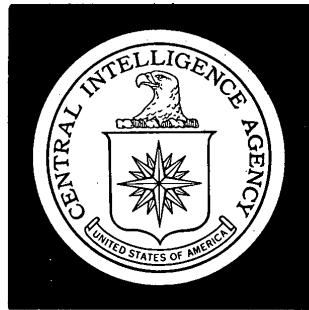
elections. He also strongly opposed Makarios' trip to Moscow last spring. Because of Makarios' continuing flirtation with the Communists, several sources believe that Grivas' primary goal now is double enosis. Grivas had always wanted complete union with Greece but now is said to be willing to accept double enosis rather than see a further rise of left-wing influence on the island.

The latest intercommunal meeting between Greek and Turkish Cypriot representatives occurred shortly after Grivas arrived on Cyprus. As expected, it failed to break the stalemate of many years over the degree of autonomy for Turkish Cypriots. No further meetings have been scheduled.

Meanwhile, despite considerable discussion, Greek and Turkish foreign ministers have been unable to find a way to resuscitate the intercommunal talks that would be acceptable to all parties. Their activities, however, have stimulated rumors in Nicosia to the effect that Grivas has their support for double enosis. The two foreign ministers have sought the help of Thant, who in turn has been unsuccessful in efforts to interject a UN participant--along with Greek and Turkish constitutional experts--into the intercommunal talks. None of the affected parties is completely satisfied with this proposal, and Makarios' suspicions of Athens and Ankara will probably defeat it.

As the year draws to a close, some of the nations (particularly Canada) contributing troops to the UN peacekeeping force on the island are threatening to withdraw from Cyprus unless the intercommunal talks are resumed. Makarios cannot be counted on to give in to this pressure either. If he does not, however, the situation could easily deteriorate and the Archbishop would run the risk of bringing about what he fears most--an effort by the Greek and Turkish governments to unseat him and divide the island among themselves.

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PRINCIPAL DEVELOPMENTS

The continued border fighting in East Pakistan apparently is giving the Mukti Bahini guerrillas a freer hand in the interior, while spurring President Yahya toward increased political activity in West Pakistan. (Page 1)

The Cambodian Government is now abandoning major portions of Route 6 under continued Communist attacks. (Page 3)

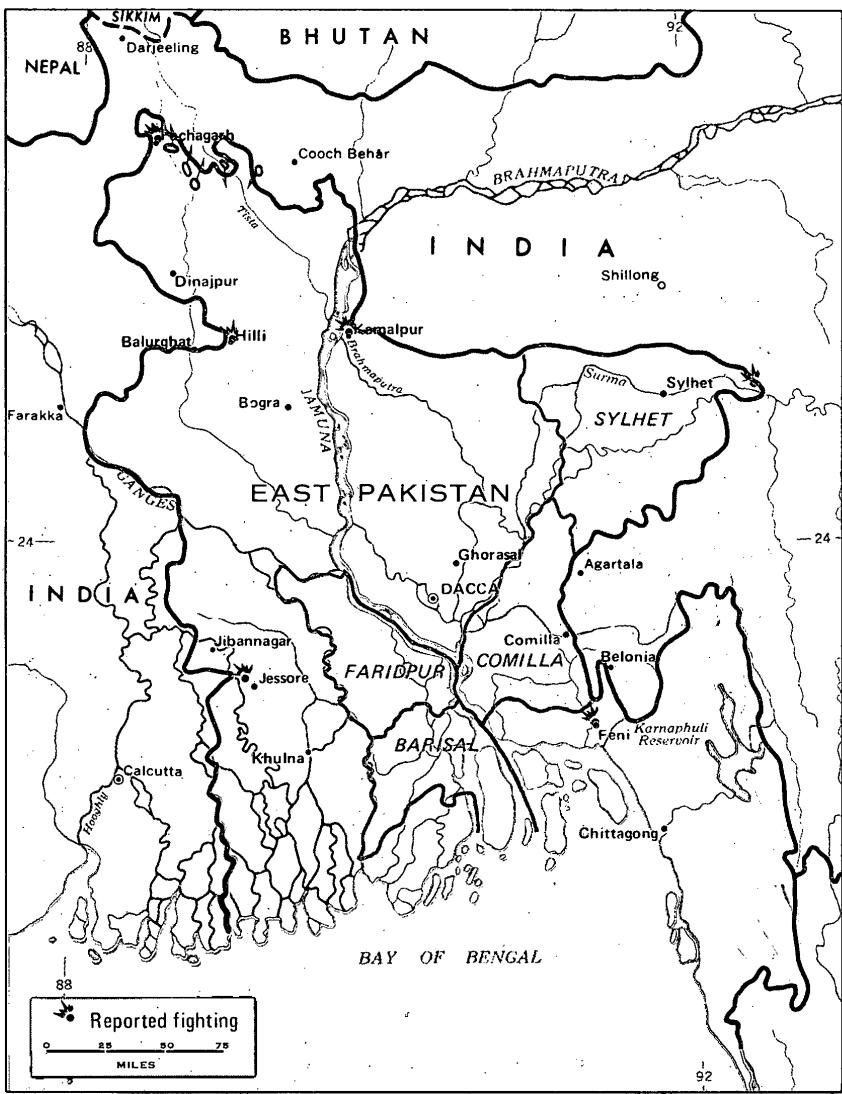
The inter-German negotiations to implement the Four-Power Berlin accord are moving toward an early agreement. (Page 4)

Peking's first major pronouncement on domestic politics since the purge of Lin Piao is discussed on Page 5.

The North Vietnamese moved a heavy volume of supplies into northern Laos during November. (Page 6)

Fidel Castro is planning to depart Chile soon and his next stops may be Peru and Ecuador. (Page 7)

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INDIA-PAKISTAN

Fighting continues along the East Pakistani border near Jessore, Hilli, Pachagarh, and Kamalpur. The Indians have admitted their troops crossed the border at Hilli and the Pakistanis now acknowledge the loss of Pachagarh. The Indians claim that the Mukti Bahini have laid siege to Feni, an important road and rail point between Chittagong and the rest of East Pakistan, but this has not been confirmed. The Mukti Bahini also claim to have liberated several remote border towns in Sylhet District.

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The movement of Pakistani troops to the border areas apparently is giving the Mukti Bahini a freer hand in the interior. Government security forces have abandoned a small area about 15 miles to the west of Dacca, and to the east, the town of Ghorasal is now flying the Bangla Desh flag. The Indian press also alleges that the guerrillas now control all of Faridpur and Barisal districts.

The strain on Pakistani troops appears to be growing, and they may be taking out their frustrations on the local population.

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that the army does not have enough men on hand to permit its troops at the border to move to rear areas for rest whereas the Indians are constantly rotating in fresh units. The liaison officer said he believes war might be necessary and that defeat would be no worse than letting matters go on as they are.

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In West Pakistan, President Yahya has met with the leaders of the country's largest parties--Nurul Amin, an East Pakistani still friendly to the government, and left-leaning Z. A. Bhutto from the West. A Pakistani press report claims that Bhutto has agreed to serve as deputy prime minister in a civilian coalition government headed by Amin.

Under mounting Indian military pressure in the East, Yahya may see the turning over of power to civilians as the only way he can avoid choosing between war with India and negotiations with the Bengalis. He may decide to establish such a government even before promulgation of a constitution, now scheduled for 20 December.

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CAMBODIA: Route 6 Area



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CAMBODIA

Yesterday morning nine battalions of the government's Chenla II force on Route 6 were driven from their base at Baray by heavy Communist ground attacks, supported by recoilless rifle and rocket fire. The government troops and their dependents were withdrawn toward Tang Kouk, some ten miles to the south, but had to destroy several tanks, armored vehicles, and artillery pieces in their retreat.

Farther north, a five-battalion government force under attack in Kompong Thmar has been digging in near the center of the town after abandoning all outlying outposts. To avoid the loss of additional battalions, Prime Minister Lon Nol has now ordered the evacuation of Kompong Thmar.

Lon Nol's order suggests that he is giving up the idea of maintaining a large force north of Tang Kouk, where the Chenla II operation began last August. The prime minister now intends to try to hold positions south from Tang Kouk to Skoun, and he has ordered battalions now in the Phnom Penh area to be returned to Tang Kouk.

Communist propaganda is portraying the Route 6 campaign as a major setback for the Lon Nol government and for the "Khmerization" of the Cambodian war. The propaganda calls for the "complete smashing of Operation Chenla II," and has mentioned Tang Kouk as a principal target.

Current Communist troop dispositions suggest that the enemy will keep pressure on the remaining Chenla II-North forces for at least the next several days.

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WEST GERMANY

Egon Bahr, West German negotiator for the inter-German talks, apparently expects to conclude an agreement by this weekend. In response to allied reservations over language in the inter-German draft which tends to undercut the Four-Power Berlin agreement, Bahr has agreed to make one more effort to win East German acceptance of Western language. Bahr has scheduled a meeting with the allied ambassadors this morning and afterward with the West German cabinet, presumably to review his progress thus far.

Bahr apparently also anticipates an inter-Berlin agreement by 8 or 9 December. These counterpart negotiations between the West Berlin Senat and East Germany have progressed more slowly, but their negotiators now plan to meet daily.

Progress at this pace would mean that, when the NATO ministerial meeting opens, those allies who want early progress toward a Conference on European Security and Cooperation would have stronger arguments for their position.

The developments reported by Bahr follow the recent visit to Moscow of West German Foreign Minister Scheel, who apparently reached agreement with Soviet leaders on tying together the various agreements in play among the USSR, East Germany, and the Western Allies. Moscow, in an effort to increase pressure on Bonn for early ratification of the Soviet - West German treaty, took the position that it will delay signing the final protocol of the Four-Power Berlin agreement until Bonn begins the process of ratification. Scheel apparently made a lukewarm attempt to convince the Soviets that such linkage would further complicate the ratification process and might precipitate a negative public reaction to the treaty. Bahr, however, commented on Tuesday that he considered the Soviet suggestion "more or less acceptable." [redacted]

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According to Scheel, Bonn has agreed to submit the treaty for ratification following the signing of the inter-German accord. To help the ratification process along, the Soviets told Scheel they will make a statement expressing their satisfaction with the inter-German agreement.

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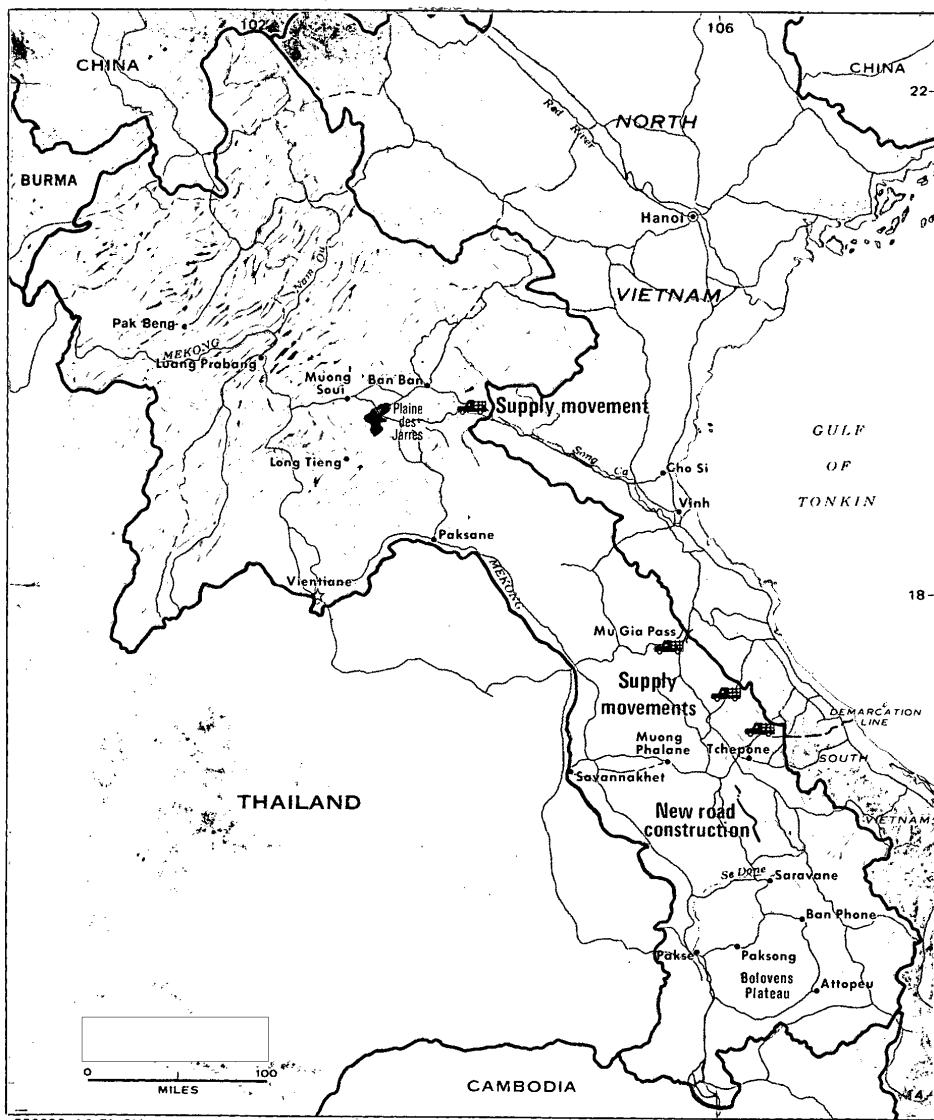
COMMUNIST CHINA

A joint editorial published in People's Daily, Red Flag, and the Liberation Army Journal on 30 November has provided the first public rationale for the recent leadership upheaval. It carries a veiled, yet unmistakable, implication that Lin Piao fell because he was involved in a "conspiracy." It forcefully reaffirms party supremacy over the military. In addition, the editorial fails to praise the political rectitude of the military or to cite its important role in civil administration, giving a careful reader the impression that Lin's fall could lead to a diminution of the military's authority in China.

The editorial conveys the impression that the recent purge involved only a handful of "anti-party elements" at the top and even implies that others who may have been peripherally involved will not suffer serious consequences. Nevertheless, we believe that selected changes in personnel assignments in the provinces are almost certainly in the offing. At the national level, Peking is still operating with a rump politburo that has about a dozen of its 25 seats vacant. A new defense minister and a new army chief of staff also have to be appointed, and both jobs are considered sensitive.

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Dry Season Resupply Campaign in Laos



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LAOS

According to a recently intercepted message, some 2,000 tons of supplies were shipped from North Vietnam toward the Plaine des Jarres during the first three weeks of November.

This delivery rate, about 100 tons daily, far exceeds estimated daily consumption in this region and points to a Communist supply buildup. Other intercepts indicate that weapons and ammunition comprised a significant portion of the supplies.

To the south, the Communists are constructing another major north-south road through the central Laotian panhandle. If it is extended farther south to the Ban Phone area, it could become an important route for supplies bound for Cambodia.

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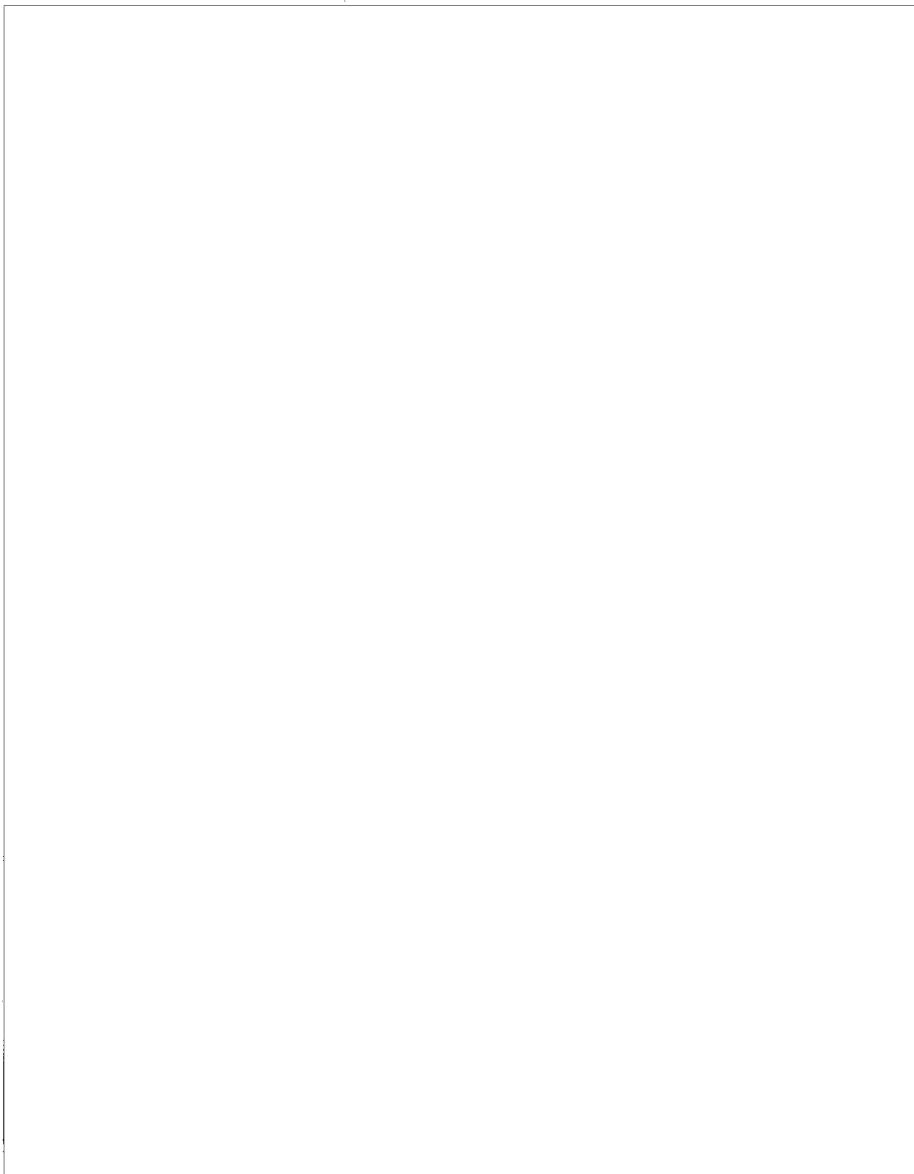
CUBA - SOUTH AMERICA

Fidel Castro is preparing to leave Chile, apparently satisfied with his visit and its impact on the rest of the hemisphere. In contrast to his boorish appearance in New York some years ago, in Chile Castro has been well behaved and discreet in his public pronouncements. Except for last night's violent antigovernment and anti-Castro demonstration by women in Santiago, Castro was generally well received by a curious public and frequently showed that he still retains the capability of capturing the acclaim of crowds. The length of his visit, however, eventually bored many Chileans.

Castro's next stops should be in Peru and Ecuador, but he may change his mind about going to Lima after Peruvian President Velasco Alvarado publicly implied that Castro had not been officially invited. His visit to Ecuador looks firm, since President Velasco Ibarra announced that he would meet with Castro at the Guayaquil airport. Both Peru and Ecuador wish to revise OAS sanctions against Cuba and perhaps ultimately to establish diplomatic relations with the Castro regime.

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NOTES

Jordan-Fedayeen:

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South Vietnam:

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South Vietnam: Prices so far have risen much less than expected since the government announced its series of economic reforms in mid-November. In Saigon, despite sharp increases in the cost of some key commodities such as rice, condensed milk, and sugar, the overall retail price level is up only 1.9 percent. Outside the capital, prices have gone up somewhat more, but the stability of the Saigon markets has exerted a settling influence. The complexity of the reforms is still causing considerable confusion among the public and in the business community, but as the higher cost of imports becomes more apparent, the upward pressure on prices will resume.

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PRINCIPAL DEVELOPMENTS

In the East Pakistan fighting, the Mukti Bahini and
the Indians have scored gains in several areas.

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[redacted] (Page 1)

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Military reverses are causing political reverberations in Cambodia. (Page 3)

Satellite photography of the USSR shows that some incomplete Y-class ballistic missile submarines are being modified. (Page 4)

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The Warsaw Pact communiqué seeks to increase pressure on the West to adopt a more forthcoming attitude toward a Conference on European Security.
(Page 6)

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[redacted] 50X1

South Vietnam [redacted]

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[redacted] (Page 7)

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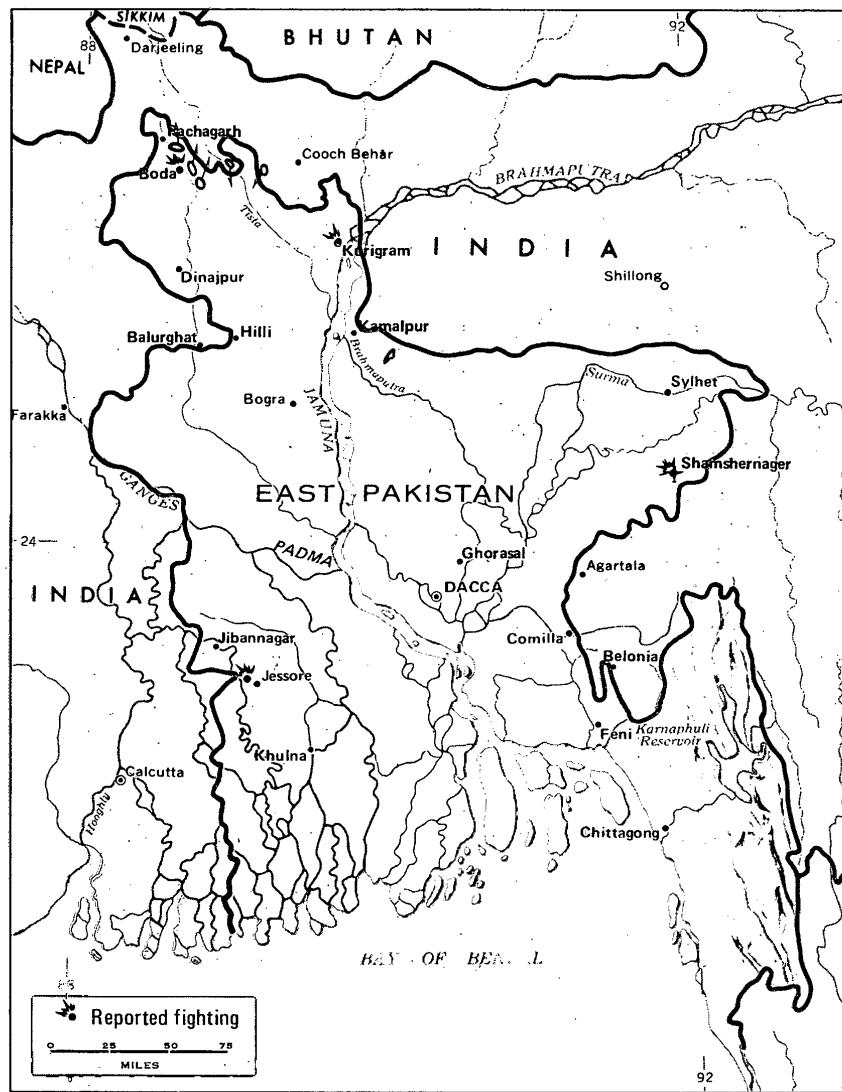
Tito has intervened with Croatian party leaders in an attempt to bring them into line with federal party policies. (Page 8)

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At Annex, we discuss Egyptian diplomatic [redacted]
[redacted] intentions as the UN begins its annual debate on the Middle East situation.

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INDIA-PAKISTAN

The Mukti Bahini and the Indians have made gains in several areas. Fighting is underway for control of Shamshernagar Airfield.

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Guerrillas and Indians have advanced to within a few miles of Boda and Kurigram

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The Feni area has been quiet since 30 November, but almost all the Pakistani troops there are on line with little reserve.

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although the initial attacks last month were made by the Mukti Bahini, he is now facing Indian regulars. Indian artillery has disrupted traffic on the road from Chittagong at a point about 15 miles south of Feni, but the railroad remains open.

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Fighting continues in the Jessore area, but there is no firm evidence of any significant Indian gains there.

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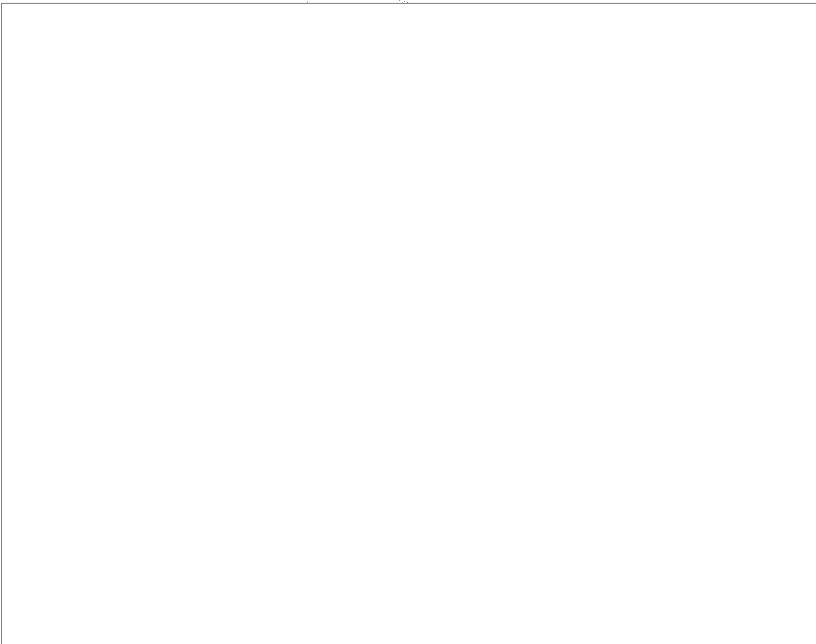
In numerous public statements over the last several days Mrs. Gandhi has insisted that India will proceed according to what it perceives to be in its best national interest, regardless of the advice and actions of foreign powers. Her remarks

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to the upper house of parliament on Tuesday seem to indicate India will not be deflected from its present course of pressing for an early resolution of the crisis. The Prime Minister did not, however, refer to demands from the opposition for immediate recognition of Bangla Desh, but instead again emphasized the necessity of an immediate dialogue between Islamabad and the elected Bengali leaders, including their "undisputed leader" Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. India remains adamantly opposed to UN Security Council involvement and Mrs. Gandhi has publicly spurned Pakistan's request to have UN observers posted on Pakistani territory near the Indian border.

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CAMBODIA

Military reverses are causing political reverberations in Phnom Penh. Civilian leaders in the cabinet have been remarkably frank and caustic concerning the deficiencies of the army.

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The civilian leaders were reacting to the generals' assertions that the army was spread too thin to provide better security for Phnom Penh, and that civilian commandos would have to play a greater role in the capital's defense. The meeting took place before this week's rout on Route 6.

Much of the grumbling is the natural reaction of civilians to battlefield reverses and to the military's growing political role. Although the critics might have some influence on Lon Nol's policies, they will not have a major impact on the political situation as long as Lon Nol holds things together. Any serious threat to political stability would have to come from the military establishment itself. There is as yet no evidence, however, of any restiveness in either the ranks or the officer corps in reaction to the recent military setbacks.

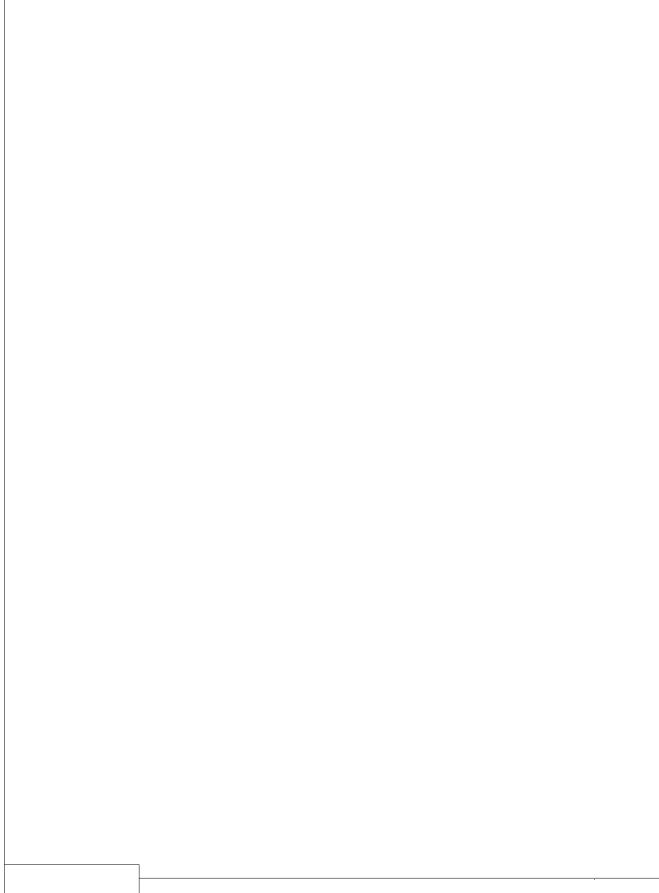
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USSR

Satellite photography of the Severodvinsk ship-yard discloses that some of the incomplete Y-class ballistic missile submarines there are being constructed differently than were previous units of this class. At least one of the hull sections that comprise the missile bay has been lengthened. Not all 15 of the hull sections that make up this submarine have been photographed recently, so we cannot say with certainty that the over-all length of the submarine will be increased.

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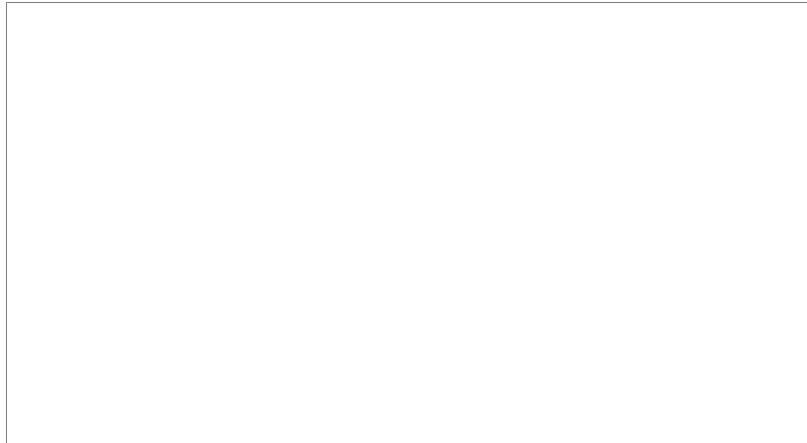
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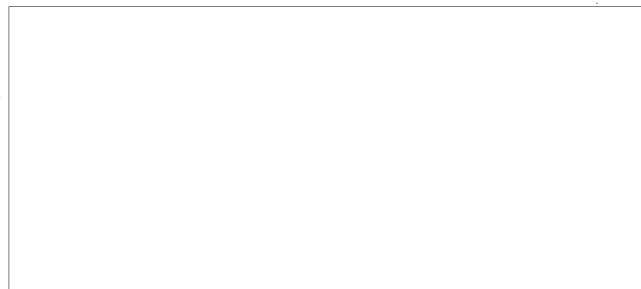
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USSR - MIDDLE EAST



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WARSAW PACT

The Pact foreign ministers have issued a communiqué following their meeting in Warsaw that is aimed at splitting the NATO ministers from the US on the issue of early convocation of a Conference on European Security. The statement stresses that European states can overcome "certain forces that are placing preconditions" in the way of a conference. With France already on record in support of the USSR's position and West Germany dodging the issue, that seems to point the finger at the US. The Pact said it was ready to appoint plenipotentiaries to the multilateral preparatory talks proposed by the Finns in 1970 and called on other "interested parties" to follow suit so that a full conference can be convened next year. The communiqué said nothing about mutual force reductions, an omission that suggests the Soviets want to see how their conference proposal fares before committing themselves on a way to discuss troop withdrawals.

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SOUTH VIETNAM



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NOTES

Yugoslavia: Tito has angrily intervened with Croatian party leaders, trying to bring them into line with federal party policies. The proximate cause of his action has been the failure of the Croatian party to put down a strike of Zagreb university students, who want to be free of federal control. Tito has called the students "counter-revolutionaries" and believes that Croatian leaders are encouraging the youngsters by their toleration of the strike. Tito is more concerned, however, that this episode could lead to a significant awakening of Croatian nationalism that would greatly complicate his task, and that of his successors, in maintaining a unified state. Croat leaders have met Tito part way on the strike issue, but apparently they believe that this kind of intervention by Tito jeopardizes the durability of the liberal reforms so painstakingly developed over the past five years. They are likely to insist on keeping the autonomy they have gained during that time.

USSR-Cuba: The two Soviet naval TU-95 reconnaissance aircraft that flew to Cuba on 25 November left Havana's Jose Marti Airfield early this morning and are currently en route back to the USSR. The TU-95s may overfly the US Navy task group, including the aircraft carrier Kennedy, that is now in the mid-Atlantic on the way to the Mediterranean. The Soviet Kresta-class missile cruiser, one F-class submarine, and the tanker are east of Bermuda and also heading for home. The Kashin-class destroyer and other F-class submarine remain in the port of Mariel on the northern coast of Cuba. These two units operated with Cuban Navy ships on 30 November.

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EGYPT-ISRAEL

Sadat, having disparaged US mediation efforts and having affirmed a decision to fight, has succeeded in raising the temperature in the Middle East. The diplomatic and military evidence indicates that his tactics are geared to the UN debate rather than imminent military action.

The Diplomatic Ploy

Up to this point the Egyptians have appeared willing to accept a moderately worded Middle East resolution and to waive demands for a reference to sanctions against Israel if, by doing so, they could obtain US support and isolate the Israelis. Their minimum demands include an endorsement of the 1967 resolution, reactivation of the Jarring mission, and a call on Tel Aviv to respond to Jarring's memorandum of last February requesting Israel's views on a settlement. The Egyptians have probably calculated that, should their effort to gain US support fail, they could place the onus on Washington for its "obstructionist tactics" and float a harsher resolution, which would then have a better-than-even chance for passage.

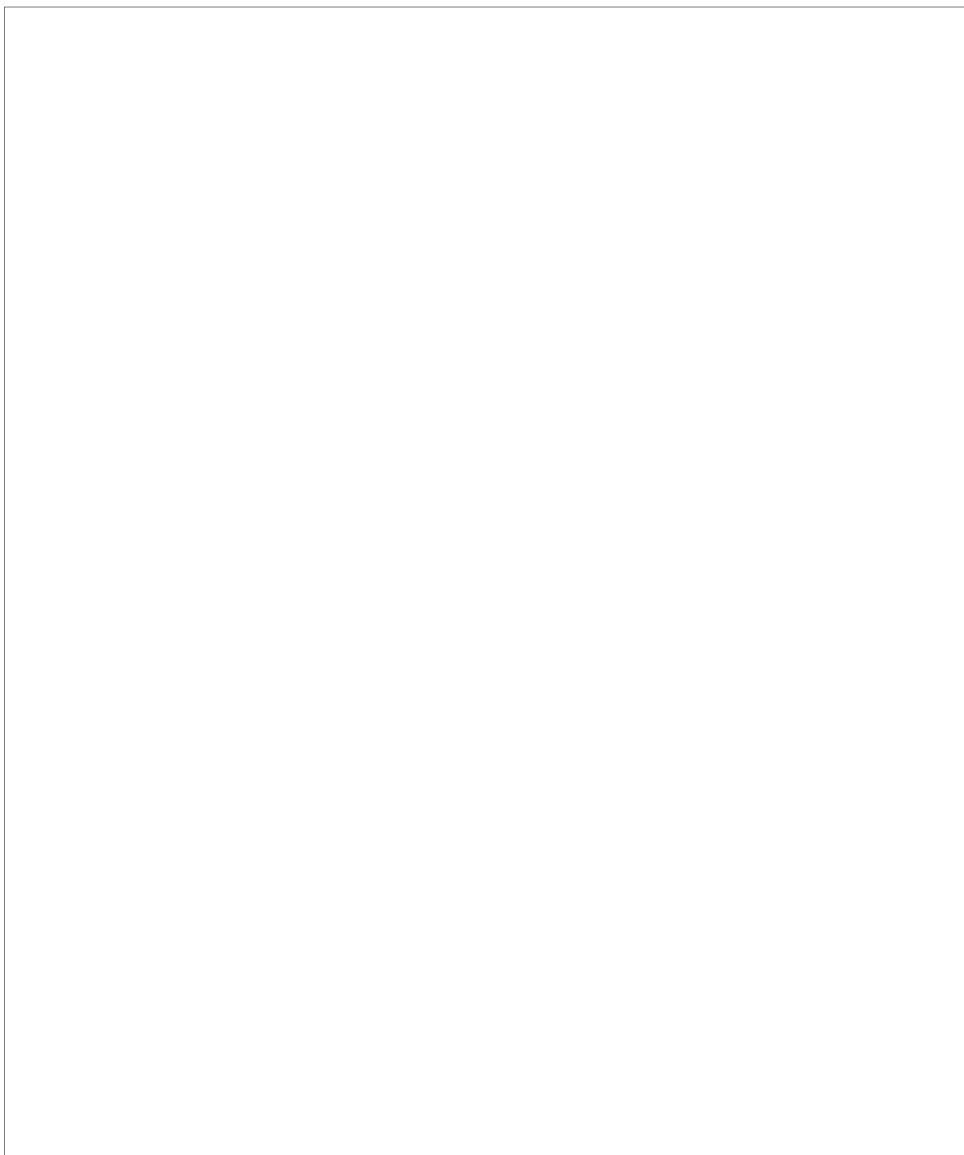
This UN initiative serves for the moment Cairo's purpose of keeping world attention on the issue, and justifies holding military moves in reserve. In talks with US officials earlier this week, Foreign Minister Riad indicated considerable flexibility on the timing for another round of fighting, thus softening the impact of Sadat's dramatic pronouncements two weeks ago stressing the inevitability of hostilities. It is true that Egyptian forces are better prepared now for any sort of engagement with the Israelis than they were in 1967. But they cannot force the Israelis out of the occupied territories, or even hold a piece of the east bank of the Suez Canal for more than a few hours.

The Soviet View

The Soviets appear to be taking Sadat's tough talk in stride. Since the six-day war it has been customary for Moscow to put the best face possible on the more extravagant remarks out of Arab capitals. Moscow went to great lengths to play down Sadat's speeches in July branding 1971 as the "year of decision." The USSR, according to a Soviet Foreign Ministry Near East expert, viewed Sadat's recent pronouncements as tailored for domestic purposes. At

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two public lectures last month, Moscow audiences were told that Sadat's rhetoric was "a pressure tactic on Israel to carry out the 1967 Security Council resolution."

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Soviet inability to devise a strategy that will produce an Israeli withdrawal from Arab territories remains a sore point between the Soviets and the Egyptians and probably contributes to Cairo's frustration.

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The Short-Run Outlook

If Egypt fails to win any political victories at the UN, Sadat's warlike talk could play a part in slowly conditioning the masses to an inevitable "battle." While Cairo can, to some extent, manipulate the popular mood, there is some danger that over time the media will amplify the militant propaganda, a bellicose and cocky mood will spread, and Egypt's leaders will come in some measure to believe their own propaganda. The period just before the 1967 war demonstrates how quickly the Egyptian national mood can shift from everyday concerns to "the battle of honor." This kind of pressure, plus the hope that the great powers would have to extricate Egypt from any disasters, plus sheer frustration could well persuade Sadat that the time for military action was at hand.

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4 December 1971

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THE PRESIDENT'S DAILY BRIEF

4 December 1971

PRINCIPAL DEVELOPMENTS

The war between India and Pakistan is discussed on
Page 1.

Egyptian Foreign Minister Riad yesterday delivered
a moderate exposition of well-known views at the
start of the UN Middle East debate. *(Page 2)*

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(Page 3)

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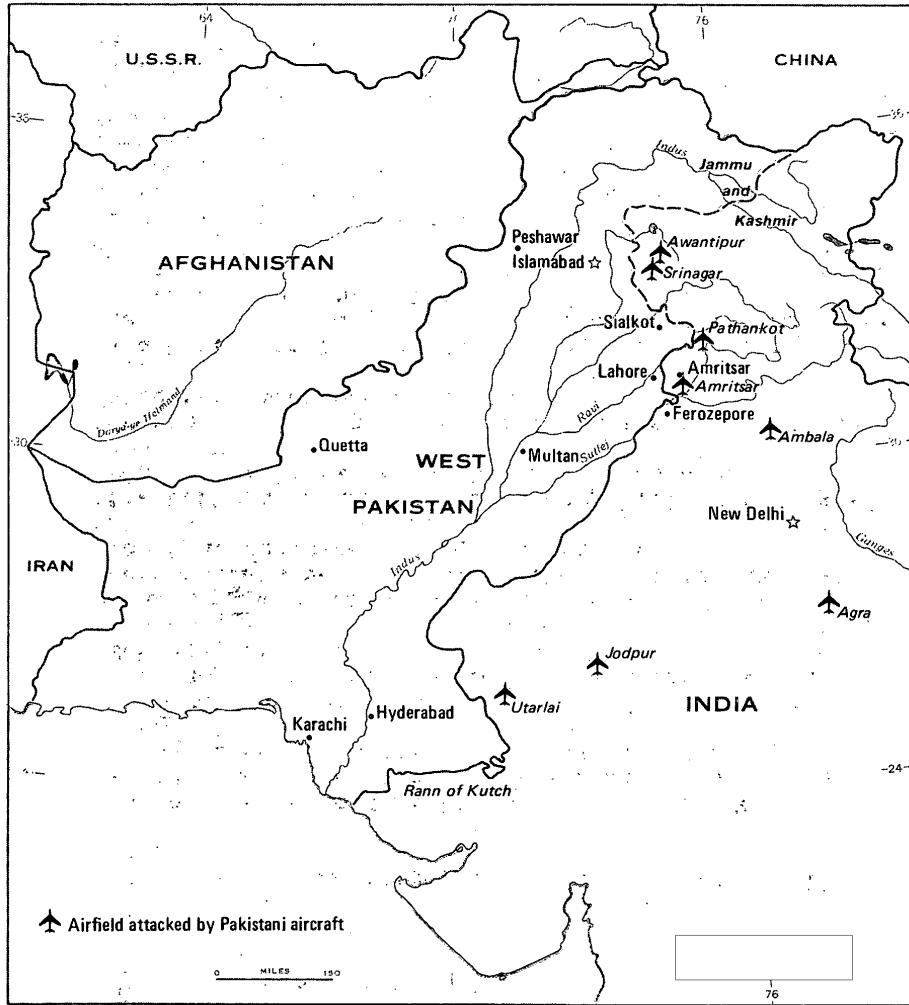
Reactions from Group of Ten nations to US willingness
to devalue the dollar take the line that real
negotiations can now begin. *(Page 4)*

The USSR has again tested its capability to intercept
a satellite in earth orbit. *(Page 5)*

Castro finally let loose a few blasts in his last
speech before leaving Chile. *(Page 6)*

The future of Turkish Prime Minister Erim, who
resigned yesterday, lies in the confidence the military
have in him. *(Page 7)*

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INDIA-PAKISTAN

President Yahya Khan's declaration of war goes one step beyond Prime Minister Gandhi's announcement yesterday that in the face of Pakistani air attacks, she had no choice but to put India on a war footing. There is as yet no clear evidence regarding Pakistani claims of Indian ground attacks in the west, Islamabad's rationale for yesterday's air strikes in the west. In any case, both sides now have traded air attacks, and further, heavier fighting has apparently begun in the east.

The Pakistani Air Force hit some eight air-fields in Kashmir and western India, and India bombed Lahore and the Karachi port area, where petrol storage tanks were set on fire. The Indians also attacked Dacca airport, reportedly with MIG-21s.

The Indian Government has decreed a state of emergency which is expected to be ratified during a special session of parliament today. In Pakistan, which has been under a state of emergency since late last month, the government has ordered the mobilization of ex-servicemen and "essential persons." Pakistan has reportedly banned all commercial flights into and over both wings of the country and canceled all Pakistan International Airlines flights. This could complicate plans to evacuate all US dependents and nonessential personnel from Karachi, action the US consul has urgently recommended. India also apparently has halted flights into New Delhi and Calcutta.

In East Pakistan, major Indian Army and Air Force attacks have been launched. According to a press report, the Indian military commander in the area said these are aimed at forcing the surrender of the Pakistani Army and the establishment of an independent Bangla Desh. The US consul in Dacca reports that Pakistani forces in the East wing were beginning to feel the strain even before this latest round, and that there has been a sharp rise in brutal reprisals by the army in response to increased Mukti Bahini pressure.

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

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UN - MIDDLE EAST

Riad's restrained exposition of the Arab case in his speech yesterday at the UN confirms earlier indications that the Egyptians, for the moment, have in mind a relatively temperate resolution which could gain broad international support. While discussing Cairo's strategy at the UN with US officials this week, Riad made a strong pitch for US support in the world body. He said that Cairo's minimum substantive demands are an endorsement of the 1967 Security Council Resolution 242, reactivation of the Jarring mission as well as a response by Tel Aviv to Jarring's memorandum of last February, and a provision barring Israel from changing the status of the occupied territories.

The Egyptians appear less confident of solid African support for a harsh resolution calling for sanctions against Israel. Cairo now seems intent on isolating Tel Aviv by gaining an overwhelming vote for a noncontroversial statement of their position. They probably calculate that if they fail to gain US support, they could submit a more stringently worded resolution, placing the onus on Washington. In their view, such a resolution would have a better-than-even chance for passage.

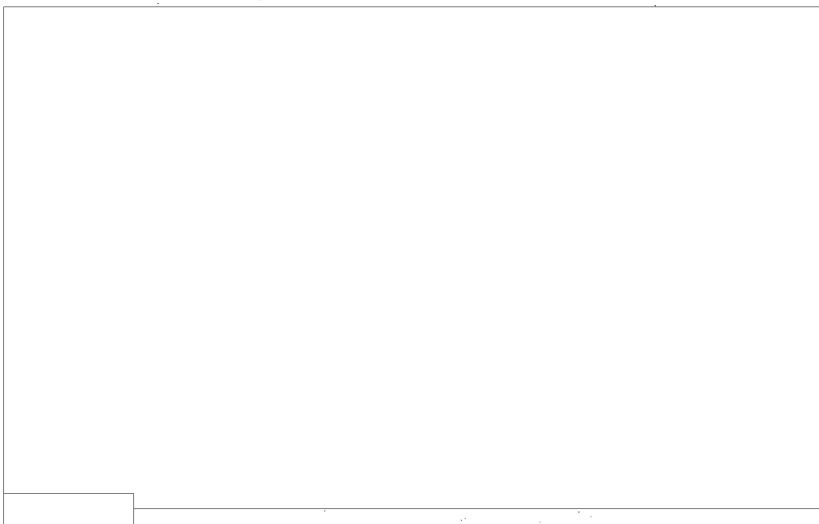
Probably with Israeli encouragement, Costa Rica has drafted an alternative text to the one the Egyptians have in mind. The appearance of the two texts should lead to considerable backstage negotiations during the debate, which may last for a week to ten days.

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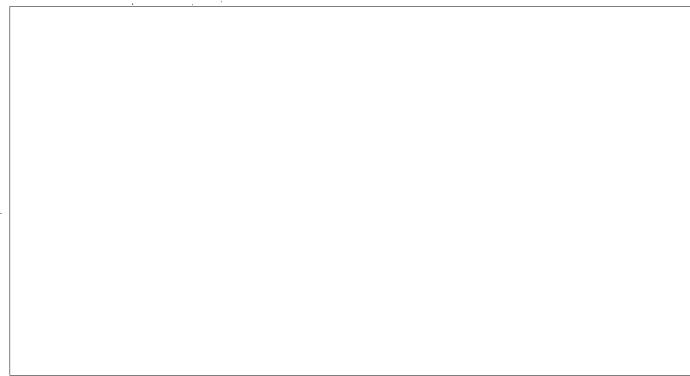
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INTERNATIONAL MONETARY DEVELOPMENTS

The willingness indicated by the US at the Rome conference to devalue the dollar if acceptable concessions are made by other Group of Ten countries has at least partially broken the international monetary deadlock. Most foreign press commentary so far has taken the line that, even though a final settlement was not reached in Rome, real negotiations have now begun in an atmosphere of cooperation, with the US having provided the breakthrough. Observers have noted, however, that even if an agreement is reached on currency realignment, more fundamental and longer-term issues--dollar convertibility into gold, reduction of the role of key currencies, and the scope of future trade negotiations--remain unresolved.

Widespread speculation in anticipation that the dollar will be devalued has driven the dollar to record lows on foreign money markets, while gold has risen to \$43.75 per ounce. The only major currency not subject to heavy pressure has been the pound. The Bank of France is buying dollars to maintain the commercial franc ceiling, and the French Government is implementing additional financial controls.

Until now the franc has not been subject to much pressure. Paris apparently now fears that its present two-tier exchange system may no longer be adequate to prevent speculation. To prevent appreciation of the franc and preserve a stronger bargaining position, the government is also enacting several measures to restrict capital inflows.

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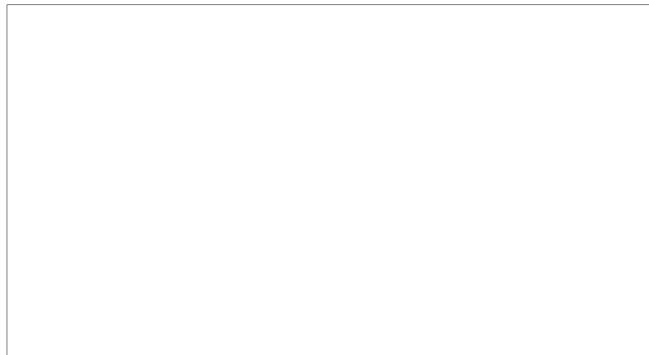
USSR

The Soviets have conducted another test of their capability to intercept a satellite in near earth orbit. The target satellite--announced by TASS as Cosmos 459--was launched on 29 November from Plesetsk. Yesterday morning the interceptor satellite was launched from Tyuratam.

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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

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CUBA-CHILE

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[redacted] Castro stated in effect that Chile's revolutionary process could be defended only by using violence.

These remarks reflect Castro's long-held belief--based on his own experience--that any "revolution" has to be defended against hostile elements. While he may now believe that each country must undergo its own distinct revolutionary process, he clearly is not discounting violence as a means to maintain revolutionary impetus. In public, at least, Castro made a great effort throughout his visit to keep out of Chile's domestic problems. Only in his farewell speech and in response to antagonistic questioning from Christian Democratic students did he drop his facade of neutrality. On these occasions, he argued vehemently that the Chilean "revolutionaries"--the Allende government--had the right and the duty to defend themselves against "fascists and reactionaries"--the opposition political parties.

Within Allende's coalition, there are strong differences over the wisdom of using violence against the opposition. The Movement of the Revolutionary Left and most of Allende's hard-line Socialist Party consider it a necessity, while the Communist Party considers violence usually counterproductive. It was a Communist goon squad, however, that used the roughest tactics against the women's demonstration on 1 December.

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

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NOTES

Chile-USSR: Chile's foreign exchange reserves have fallen substantially since Allende's election in September 1970, and this has forced Santiago to request its foreign creditors to renegotiate its debts, half of which are with the US.

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USSR: The Soviet Mars 3 probe apparently went into orbit around the planet on 2 December.

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2, meanwhile, continues to circle the planet.

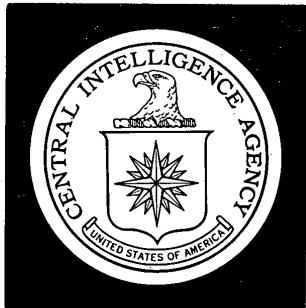
Mars
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Turkey: Prime Minister Erim, whose government resigned yesterday following the withdrawal of 11 technocrats from the 26-member cabinet, will remain in a caretaker status until a new government is formed. The withdrawing ministers had felt that parliament was frustrating the government's economic reform program and that recent conciliatory moves by Erim toward the dominant Justice Party would only encourage further obstructionism. The resignations of the reform-minded cabinet members have probably damaged the military's confidence in Erim's leadership, and much will now depend on whether and how rapidly he can form a new cabinet acceptable to both parliament and the military high command.

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The President's Daily Brief

Sunday
5 DEC 1971
~~December 1971~~



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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

SUNDAY CABLE
5 DEC 71

INDIA-PAKISTAN

Prospects for any effective UN action to halt hostilities were not enhanced by last night's lengthy, polemical Security Council debate. The US-sponsored draft, although supported by China, was blocked by a Soviet veto, and none of the three drafts still before the Council has a strong chance of adoption at today's session. The Soviet draft focuses heavily on the need for a political solution in East Bengal, and a second draft couples a cease-fire call with the controversial troop withdrawal proposal. Some Western members, however, are still hopeful that a third draft resolution for a simple cease-fire may avoid great power veto.

As military operations continue, the strategies of both sides are becoming clearer. Pakistan, on the defensive in the East, is attempting to compensate for anticipated defeat there by offensive moves in the West aimed primarily at Kashmir. India, on the other hand, is still limiting itself largely to defensive actions on the West while trying to achieve rapid military victory in East Pakistan. An official of the Ministry of External Affairs has told the US Embassy in New Delhi that India will shift to an "all-out response" in the West if Pakistani "aggression" persists after the East falls.

In the air war, both sides have issued what are no doubt exaggerated claims of enemy aircraft downed while minimizing their own losses. In the East, where the Indians have an eight-to-one advantage in fighter aircraft, New Delhi hopes to achieve early destruction of the Pakistani Air Force. Dacca had undergone at least ten airstrikes as of mid-day yesterday, aimed chiefly at the airfield and military cantonment. In West Pakistan, various airfields have been attacked, with POL storage areas around Karachi a prime target.

The Indian naval blockade of ports in both East and West Pakistan has been accompanied by a warning that neutral vessels may be searched if suspected of carrying contraband. US officials in Calcutta have reported that a US flag vessel owned by American Export Isbrandisen Lines, the SS Expeditor, was stopped in international waters by the Indian Navy sometime during the night of 4-5 December and forced to move into Indian waters near the Port of Madras. The Indians say they have conducted airstrikes or shelling attacks on two major ports in the East and to have sunk a Pakistani destroyer in a naval battle off Karachi.

The heaviest ground fighting continues to be in East Pakistan where [redacted] the Pakistani Army is hard pressed and has given some ground, although still inflicting heavy casualties. New Delhi claims that several towns have been taken by its forces and the Mukti Bahini guerrillas, but there is as yet little confirmatory evidence. In the West, Pakistan has claimed "major advances" in Kashmir and the Indians have admitted some losses of territory.

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Arrangements have been concluded for a Pan American aircraft to land at Karachi this morning to evacuate American dependents. UN officials in New York are trying to arrange a temporary cease-fire in the Dacca area of East Pakistan so that UN personnel there may be evacuated. Landing conditions currently are hazardous and the airfield is considered likely to be unusable in another day or so.

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

SUNDAY CABLE
5 DEC 71

SOUTH KOREA

President Pak Chong-hui is planning a series of moves
that will increase his personal power.

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These moves are the culmination of a two-month-long government campaign in which the threat from the north has been given extensive play in the press as well as in official statements and documents. Since there is no evidence suggesting such an attack is imminent, the motivation for Pak's new measures seems clearly political.

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Concern [redacted] over the state of the economy undoubtedly is a factor in Pak's desire for a tighter grip on affairs. This desire has probably been reinforced by his success in quashing student disorders and recent factionalism in his own party through decisive action. These seem to us insufficient reasons, however, for Pak's taking a major political step that risks serious domestic and international criticism. It may be, therefore, that the new measures represent the start of a longer range plan to curb the political intrigues already unleashed by Pak's pledge to retire in 1975 and to prepare a case for prolonging his tenure in office.

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SUNDAY CABLE
5 DEC 71

NOTE

Cambodia: Prime Minister Lon Nol has ordered a comprehensive assessment of the Chenla II campaign, which officially terminated yesterday, in order to determine "what went wrong" with the operation. Several government units located about 12 miles west of Phnom Penh were attacked by the Communists early on Saturday, but casualties apparently were light. The South Vietnamese forces operating in eastern Cambodia have reported an increase in the number of small clashes in recent days, but their dry season campaign has yet to encounter any substantial enemy resistance.

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6 December 1971

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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

THE PRESIDENT'S DAILY BRIEF

6 December 1971

PRINCIPAL DEVELOPMENTS

Developments in the Indo-Pakistani war are reported on *Page 1*.

President Pak's new emergency measures in South Korea are designed to serve political ends rather than any genuine new threat from North Korea.
(Page 3)

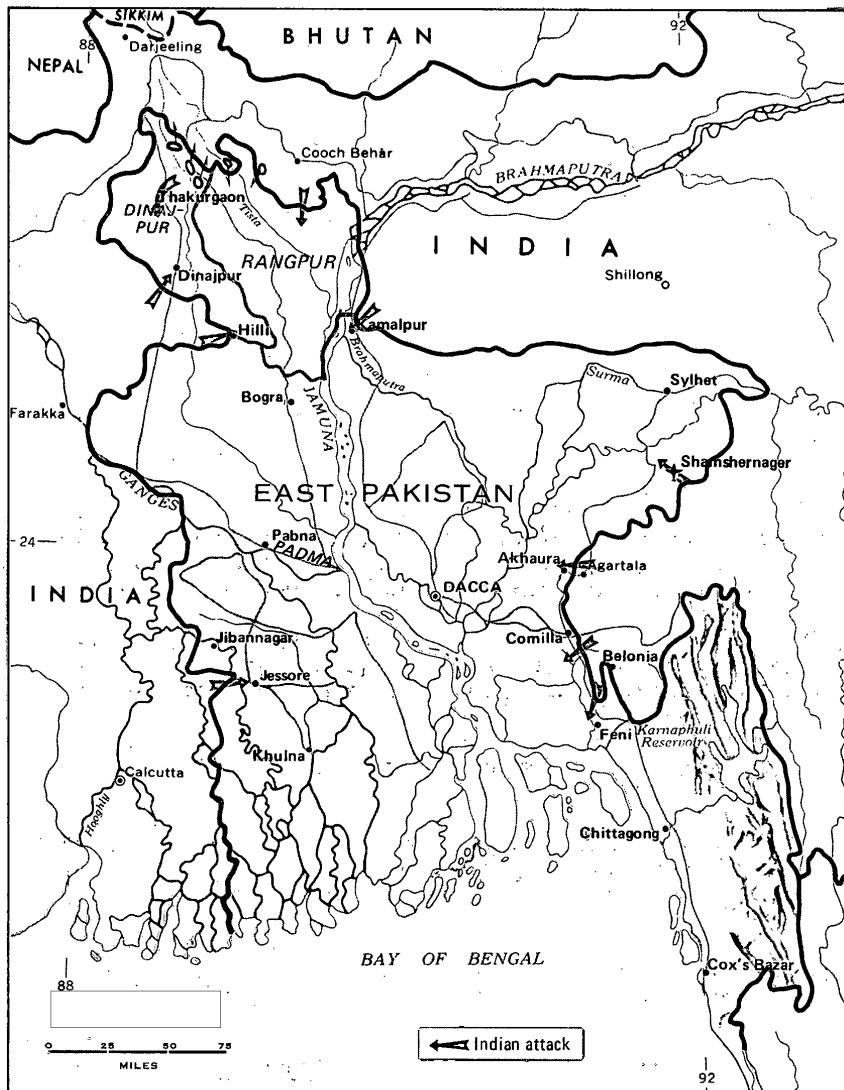
A contingent of Libyan commandos has arrived in Syria. *(Page 4)* 50X1

[redacted] Jordan [redacted] 50X1
[redacted] [redacted] 50X1

(Page 5)

At Annex, we comment on the regime of Brazilian President Medici and on its new mark of self-confidence, reflected in Medici's decision to visit the US.

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY



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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

INDIA-PAKISTAN

Indian forces continue to advance in East Pakistan. They are making major thrusts in the two northwestern districts of Dinajpur and Rangpur, where they outnumber Pakistani troops two-to-one, and claim the capture of Kamalpur in neighboring Mymensingh District. The Indians say they are making progress in the Sylhet and Jessore areas and that on the east they have cut road and rail networks south of Comilla. Indian capture of the town of Akhaura [redacted] will give them a base for a drive on Dacca from the east.

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Heavier ground fighting is beginning to develop on the western front where Pakistani forces have launched offensives at three points into India's Punjab Province northwest of New Delhi, as well as into Kashmir. [redacted]

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[redacted] The Indians, who admit these drives have cost them some territory, claim they are making some advances farther south into Pakistan's Sind Province. They still deny that they have launched any major invasion of West Pakistan.

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The Indians continue to bomb and strafe targets in both East and West Pakistan. Fuel storage tanks in the Dacca and Chittagong areas of the East and near the port of Karachi in the West are being hit hard. In contrast to previous Indo-Pakistani conflicts, the navies of both countries have also been active. Pakistan has admitted the loss of at least one destroyer in a naval battle yesterday off the Karachi coast.

The numerical superiority of India's fleet should give it a decided advantage in any further combat.

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Prime Minister Gandhi today announced the long-anticipated recognition of Bangla Desh as an independent nation. [redacted]

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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

India is continuing to receive full public support from the Soviets, and Moscow is holding itself aloof from any attempts to end the hostilities. Soviet officials are adhering to the line that Pakistani repression of the Bengalis is to blame for the situation and that the conflict can only be resolved through a political settlement in East Pakistan. In an apparent reference to China, a TASS statement yesterday warned all governments to refrain from steps that might involve them in the conflict and aggravate the situation. An official in Premier Kosygin's party in Denmark also stated that the situation was different from 1965 and implied that the Soviets would not act as mediators as they did then at Tashkent.

Peking has condemned Indian and Soviet actions in the crisis and Chinese officials have held the USSR responsible for instigating India's "aggressive" policy. All Chinese statements reaffirm their "firm support" for Islamabad, but give no specifics on the actual nature of Chinese assistance and no indication that China intends to become involved directly.

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

SOUTH KOREA

President Pak is initiating a series of moves that will increase his personal power. In a statement to the nation last night, Pak declared a "state of national emergency" just short of martial law.

[redacted] he will also call for legislation giving him powers to strengthen the defenses of Seoul and to place more restrictions on the press. Some major personnel changes may also follow. He will not, however, move against the National Assembly or seek the use of troops. The announced purpose of Pak's action is to "awaken" the populace to the growing threat of attack from North Korea.

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These moves are the culmination of a two-month-long government campaign in which the threat from the North has been given extensive play in the press as well as in official statements and documents. Since there is no evidence suggesting an attack is imminent, the motivation for Pak's new measures seems clearly political and two of Pak's closest advisers have admitted as much to Ambassador Habib. In fact, CIA Director Yi Hu-rak told Habib on Thursday that the US should regard Pak's coming moves as "concrete evidence of future Korean self-reliance," given the US intention ultimately to withdraw its own forces.

Concern over US intentions as well as over the state of the economy undoubtedly is a factor in Pak's desire for a tighter grip on affairs. This desire has probably been reinforced by his success in quashing student disorders and recent factionalism within his own party through decisive action. These seem to us insufficient reasons, however, for Pak to take a major political step that risks serious domestic and international criticism. It may be, therefore, that the new measures represent the start of a longer-range plan to curb the political intrigues already unleashed by Pak's pledge to retire in 1975 and to prepare a case for prolonging his tenure in office.

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

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ARAB STATES - FEDAYEEN

A contingent of Libyan "commandos" numbering about 300 arrived in Syria recently for the announced purpose of reinforcing the Palestinian guerrillas.

If the contingent joins fedayeen forces near the Jordanian border, it could add to the instability in that area and complicate the anticipated reopening of the border to commercial traffic. Libyan Prime Minister Qadhafi has long sought to station troops in Syria, but Damascus had been reluctant to go along. Qadhafi most likely brought the Syrians around by promising them increased financial support.

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JORDAN

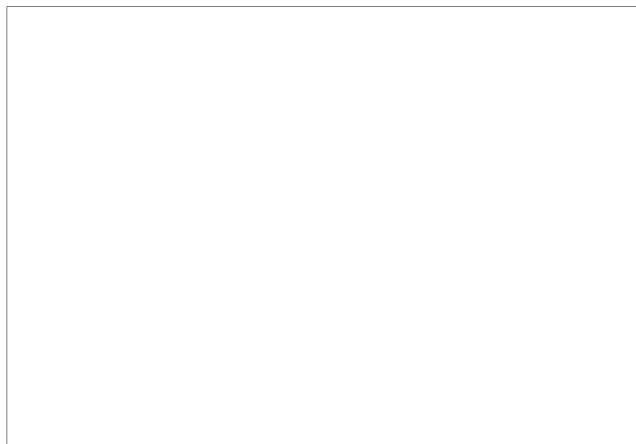
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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

NOTES

Cambodia: Prime Minister Lon Nol has ordered a comprehensive investigation of the Chenla II campaign, which was ended officially on Saturday, in order to determine "what went wrong." Several government units located about 15 miles west of Phnom Penh were attacked by the Communists during the weekend, leading to sharp fighting around some positions. The South Vietnamese forces operating in eastern Cambodia report an increase in the number of small clashes in recent days, but their dry season campaign has yet to encounter any substantial enemy resistance.

West Germany - East Germany: Initialing of the inter-German and inter-Berlin agreements, which had been anticipated on Saturday, is not now expected before 7 December at the earliest. The delay was caused by the West Berlin Senat, in part to permit its negotiator to clear up a few technical problems that remain in the draft inter-Berlin agreement.

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Libya

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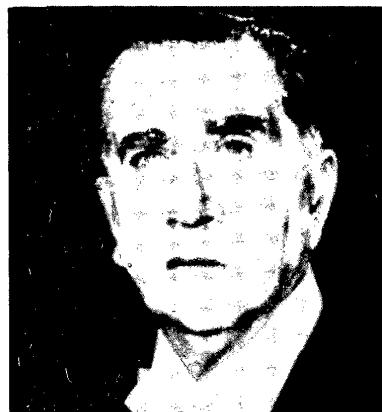
FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

BRAZIL

President Emilio Medici's visit to Washington, more than anything else, is a mark of his confidence that Brazil has been brought out of the chaos of the early 1960s and is now stable, prosperous, and moving toward a better future. He and his government are flattered by the US invitation and consider it as recognition of Brazil's important international status. Until now, Medici has felt that domestic problems were too pressing for him to stray far from home, and he has participated in summit talks only with his immediate neighbors.

The strength and stability of Medici's government derive from a military oligarchy that brooks no serious opposition. The government has also adopted some programs that have earned broad popular support. Medici himself is a former troop commander as well as the former director of the national intelligence service, and was selected for the presidency by his military colleagues because of his excellent record and his avoidance of identification with any faction in the armed forces. As was the case with his two military-backed predecessors, presidential powers have been substantially expanded under his rule. Individual rights have been restricted or even abrogated, the federal government has amassed new powers at the expense of the states, and the legislative and judicial branches have been brought to heel by the executive. Within the executive branch, only a few trusted advisers, most of them active or retired military officers, have daily access to Medici. They are coming with him to Washington.

A return to direct presidential elections and broad public participation in political life in Brazil is a distant prospect. Medici has maintained that political liberalization is possible only to the extent that it contributes to achieving his principal economic, social, and security objectives. He has said that he hopes to see "democracy" firmly installed by the end of his term in March 1974, but insists that Brazil has never known real democracy, and when it does come, it will be a uniquely Brazilian "democracy" molded to the country's special needs.



Emilio Medici

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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

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A political realist, Medici has given selected civilians a voice in his administration and has given Congress an opportunity to discuss--and at times criticize--programs submitted by the executive branch. Two political parties--the pro-government National Renewal Alliance and the opposition Brazilian Democratic Movement--are operating because the administration wants them to, but neither has strong public appeal nor internal unity. Politicians occasionally call for greater participation, but they are fully aware that they are operating "on probation" and that if they exceed their bounds, Medici will not hesitate to deny them any role in determining the nation's course.

The only institution in Brazil that is largely immune from government reprisal is the Roman Catholic Church. Its effectiveness as a national conscience is limited, however, because of its size and diversity. The clergy are more prone to speak out on issues that directly affect them than on broad social themes. Today, more churchmen favor more of the government's programs and are reluctant to risk alienating it.

Medici's rule, however, is not simply a matter of a more or less benevolent dictatorship. His considerable successes have led to widespread tacit acceptance of his policies, and some active support. By the time he came to power in October 1969, inflation was already on the wane, and under him it has been brought to a rate that is acceptable by Brazilian standards. This has had a major share in promoting impressive economic growth, as have Medici's new steps to open up the western frontier regions and his drive to modernize the economy.

Medici also has succeeded in curbing, by drastic measures, the wave of urban terrorism that had security forces and many foreigners deeply concerned. Shortly before his inauguration, the terrorists added the abduction of US Ambassador Elbrick to their long list of "victories" that included aircraft hijackings, murders, bombings, bank robberies, and thefts of weapons. The ruthless repression of suspected terrorists continues, even though they are now only a minor embarrassment and no threat to government stability. Medici has learned to live with the worldwide opprobrium that has resulted from torture and murder of certain prisoners, and he apparently believes that in this case the end is accepted by the majority of the populace as justification for the means.

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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

Medici is skilled in fostering nationalism and has gained considerable support for his administration. Popular pride in Brazil's accomplishments and potential is growing. The public strongly approves Medici's expansion of Brazil's territorial waters claim from 12 to 200 miles. Although close friendship and cooperation with the US is a cornerstone of his foreign policy, Medici's readiness to pursue Brazil's economic interests even though it might result in friction with the economically advanced powers has also received a warm response.

Medici has inaugurated a number of social and economic projects intended to better the lot of the majority of Brazil's 93 million people, most of whom have seen little change in their lives under the military-backed governments since 1964. For example, major programs to expand literacy, modernize agriculture, and to create a nationwide transportation system have generated public support. This is in part due to Medici's capable public relations staff, which stresses his commitment to bettering the lot of the masses of "silent Brazilians." There are, of course, still major areas of poverty, much of the country remains underdeveloped, and some drastic social reforms are needed, but perhaps for the first time in a generation, many Brazilians have hope.

Medici also is not averse to throwing Brazil's considerable weight around in order to forestall the growth of leftist political strength in neighboring countries.

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Brazil remains firmly against the readmission of Cuba to the Organization of American States, and will remain opposed to the establishment of diplomatic relations between Cuba and Latin American nations.

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The President's Daily Brief

7 December 1971

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THE PRESIDENT'S DAILY BRIEF

7 December 1971

PRINCIPAL DEVELOPMENTS

India is trying to win quickly in East Pakistan while fighting a holding action on the western front. (Page 1)

The North Vietnamese have captured Saravane in south Laos and appear to have set the stage for renewed action in the north. (Page 3)

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Cambodian Prime Minister Lon Nol appears to be in serious political trouble. (Page 4)

Tokyo [redacted]

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[redacted] Hanoi. (Page 6)

Japan's 1971 trade surplus may top \$7 billion, the largest recorded by any country in 20 years. (Page 7)

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Infiltration from North Vietnam is continuing at a rate roughly similar to that of last year. (Page 8)

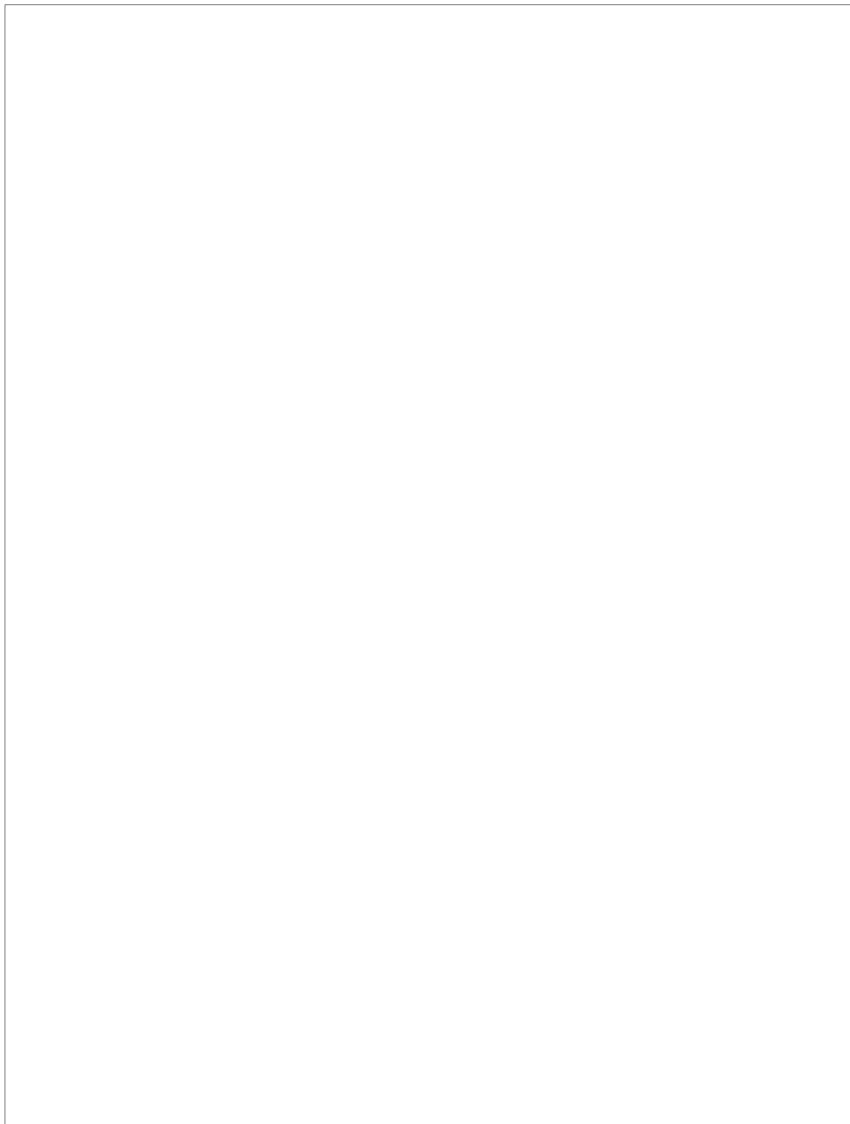
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[redacted] Syria. (Page 8)

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INDIA-PAKISTAN

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[] Indian forces have met stiff resistance at several points, but the Indians appear to be generally gaining ground and are not known to have suffered any significant setbacks. They have made sizable inroads in the northwestern portion of the province, and they claim to have captured or surrounded a number of important towns and key locations elsewhere.

This morning an Indian spokesman in New Delhi claimed Indian forces had reached the airfield at Jessore. The Pakistanis have indicated that they will try hard to prevent the loss of major centers such as Dacca or Jessore, but with India dominating air and sea routes, the Pakistani troops in the East have little hope of receiving supplies or reinforcements. They also have no apparent means of escaping from the province. Their resistance to India's advancing forces has probably been partly due to their fear of falling into the hands of the Bengali guerrillas, many of whom undoubtedly want revenge for Pakistani atrocities against the Bengali populace.

[] the Indian Army is seeking to counter this problem by broadcasting to Pakistani troops that all prisoners will remain under Indian control and receive good treatment. East Pakistan's Biharis, a non-Bengali Muslim minority, are also in danger of Bengali reprisals because of the assistance many Biharis have given to the Pakistani Army.

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On the India - West Pakistan front, Pakistani forces have advanced a few miles into Indian territory at several points, and may be planning stronger thrusts. The Indians in turn have made some encroachments in Sind Province, but they claim they are not seeking any permanent territorial gains in West Pakistan. Mrs. Gandhi has indicated that additional troops will be transferred to the western front once Indian objectives have been achieved in the East, but it is not clear whether the Indians then intend to increase their offensive efforts in the West.

In the air war, India has apparently established domination of the skies over East Pakistan. Pakistan continues to vie with the Indians for air superiority

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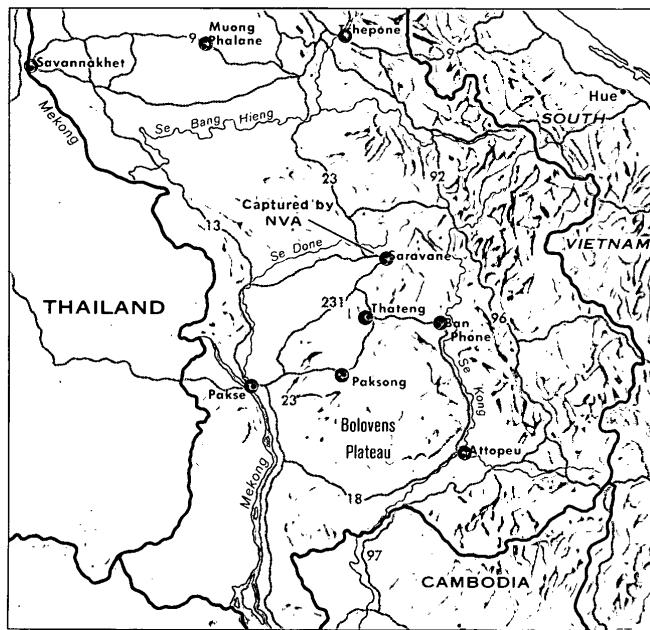
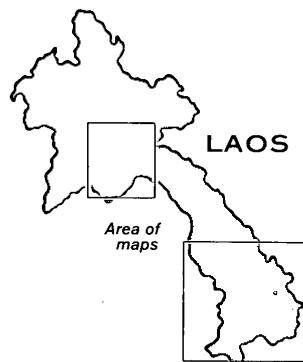
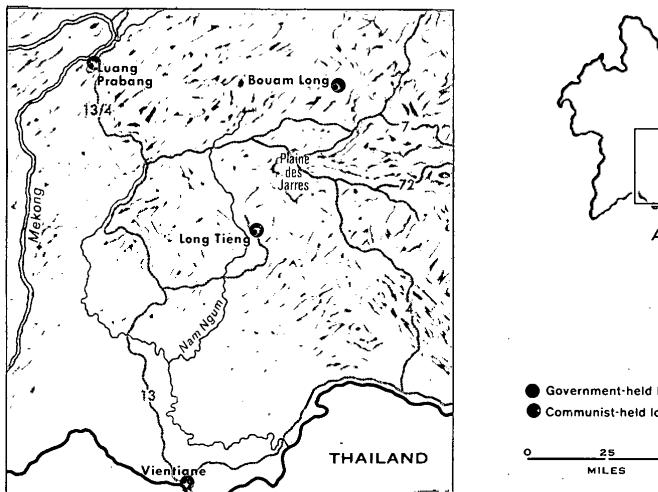
FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

on the western front, however. India is bombing and strafing assorted military targets in and around Karachi, Lahore, and Islamabad, while Pakistani planes yesterday attacked two air bases in western India and are said to have strafed Bombay.

Meanwhile, a Canadian C-130 aircraft sent by the UN to evacuate personnel under UN auspices from Dacca was attacked and hit, apparently by Indian Air Force planes, as it approached its destination. The aircraft returned to Bangkok. The attack occurred during a period when the UN believed it had obtained a temporary cease-fire agreement for the evacuation from Dacca.

At the UN, with the USSR expected to continue blocking Security Council efforts to halt the fighting before East Pakistan falls, the Council has approved a US-backed proposal that the General Assembly take up the issue this morning. Any resolution adopted in the General Assembly would be merely a recommendation, however. China, meanwhile, is becoming more vehement in its condemnations of Indian and Soviet actions in the crisis, but there are no indications that Peking intends to depart from its policy of avoiding direct involvement. Chinese media now appear to be preparing their readers for an eventual Pakistani defeat.

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LAOS

A North Vietnamese force of some three to five battalions yesterday overwhelmed a Lao Army battalion defending the depopulated town of Saravane and forced it to withdraw westward. The size of the Communist force tends to confirm earlier indications that new enemy units--probably elements of the 2nd Division--are moving into south Laos for a dry season offensive. Two irregular task forces are still keeping the enemy off balance along the northern edge of the Bolovens Plateau, but enemy resistance has been increasing during the past few days.

If units of the North Vietnamese force now around Saravane turn south, they could pose a significant threat to the government's ability to operate in the Bolovens area.

In the north, major troop deployments from North Vietnam into the area of the Plaine des Jarres now appear complete. Since the movement began in mid-October, more than 5,000 and possibly over 10,000 troops have been sent into north Laos. Pilots and ground observers have reported improvements in the North Vietnamese road net east of the Plaine during the past week, and aerial observers believe that a new road now links Route 7 in the north with Route 4 in the south. If true it would permit supplies to be trucked along the eastern edges of the Plaine. In addition, the Communists are improving Route 72, a main road between the North Vietnamese border and the southern Plaine.

The North Vietnamese thus appear to have set the stage for renewed action in the north.

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

CAMBODIA

Key government officials have now joined civilian critics in blaming Lon Nol for the collapse of the Chenla II operation.

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There is also new evidence that Lon Nol's special relationship with Sirik Matak has deteriorated. Matak recently had a cordial meeting with In Tam, the energetic opposition leader, at which Matak stated that he was "incapable" of continuing his present association with Lon Nol.

Matak may be upset by the fact that, contrary to their "understanding," Lon Nol has again assumed the burden of running the government. Matak may be trying to dissociate himself from what increasingly appears to many in Phnom Penh as a bankrupt leadership.

Any move to oust Lon Nol or shift him to an honorific post will need the backing of the military. There is still little information on how the military leaders are reacting to recent reverses, but some will undoubtedly cite Lon Nol's excessive control over battlefield tactics as a major factor. Some military leaders apparently believe Lon Nol is overly optimistic in his military planning.

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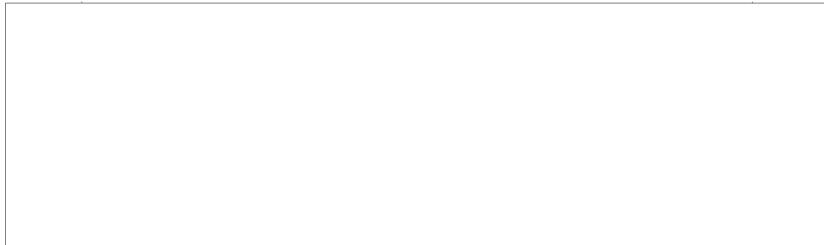
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In any case, as the prime mover behind the Chenla II offensive, Lon Nol could hardly escape blame for its failure. Nor is it surprising that the criticisms of him which precipitated the political crisis last spring would surface again. The stage has now been set for another period of political maneuvering in Phnom Penh, but it is far from certain that the disparate elements who are unhappy with Lon Nol can agree on a successor.

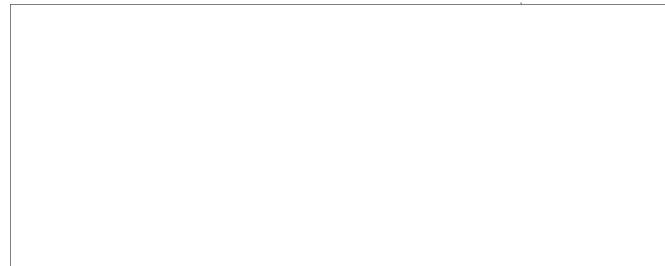
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JAPAN - NORTH VIETNAM



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JAPAN

The over-all Japanese trade surplus this year could easily exceed \$7 billion, the largest recorded by any country in the last two decades. Despite the US surcharge and appreciation of the yen, the number of export letters of credit opened last month--a leading indicator of exports--was up 26 percent over the November 1970 level. Actual exports to the US are reported to have been 22 percent higher than during November 1970. Meanwhile, imports continue to increase only slowly because of the country's economic slowdown.

According to press reports, Tokyo is becoming increasingly concerned that its continued export surge could lead to foreign demands for more export restraints.

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NOTES

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Indochina: During October and November, 24 infiltration groups and seven small special-purpose groups were detected at way-stations in southern North Vietnam and adjacent areas of Laos. Analysis of the identification numbers of the new groups suggests that an additional 34 groups started south but have not been detected thus far. Although the evidence available this year is less complete than in the past, we can estimate with a fair degree of confidence that troop movement so far this season is probably between 25,000 and 32,000 personnel. Approximately 36,000 men departed North Vietnam in the same period last year.

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THE PRESIDENT'S DAILY BRIEF

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PRINCIPAL DEVELOPMENTS

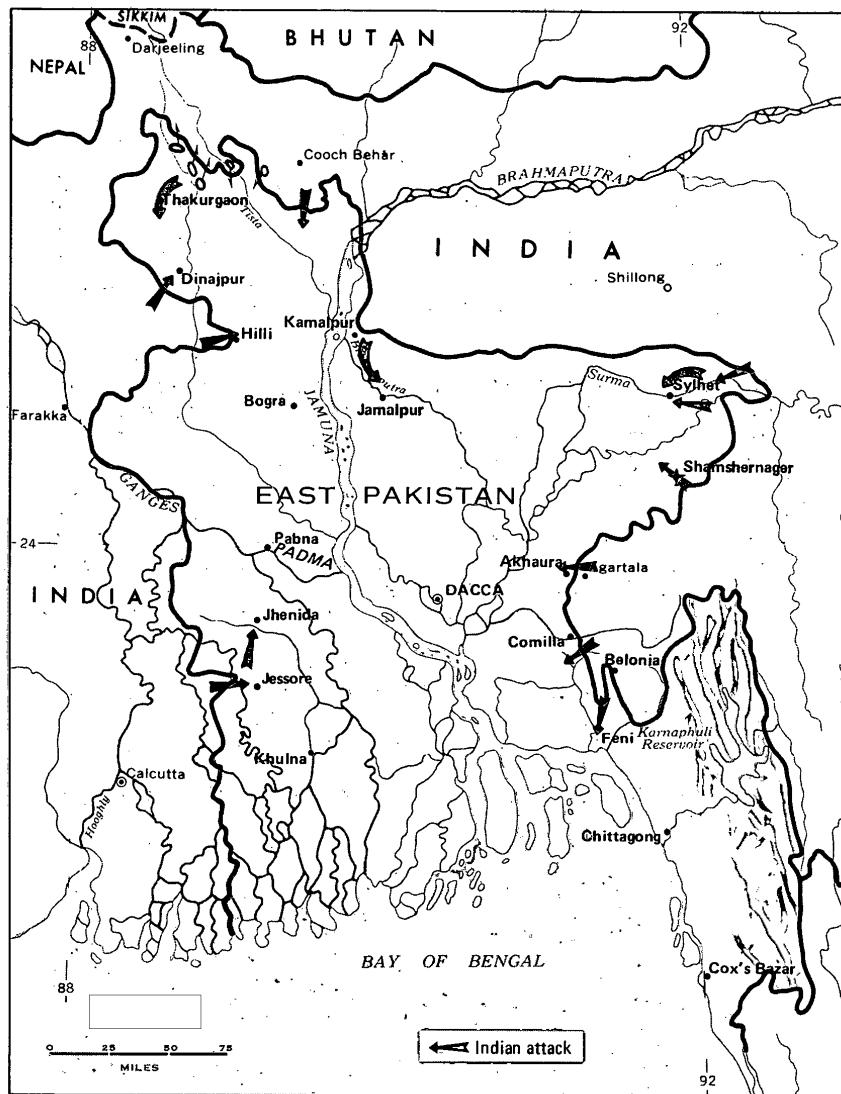
The India-Pakistan situation is discussed on *Page 1*.

Large numbers of Communist troops are reported around Cambodia's capital (*Page 3*), and the opposition to Prime Minister Lon Nol's conduct of the war now includes high-ranking military figures. (*Page 4*)

Libya is withdrawing its financial assets from the UK. (*Page 5*)

Peru is moving to have the Organization of American States review its policy toward Cuba. (*Page 6*)

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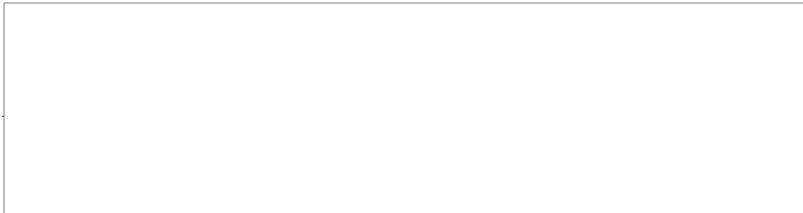
FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

INDIA-PAKISTAN

Indian forces in East Pakistan continued to gain ground yesterday. They captured the airfield and military base at Jessore, although the town itself was still being contested. The Indians also claimed to have taken Sylhet town in the northeast and to be moving on Jamalpur in the north. Pakistani forces apparently are still holding out in Hilli and Comilla.

With the Mukti Bahini holding sway over much of the countryside, particularly in the northwest and to the south of Dacca, the Indians and guerrillas appear to control about half the province. According to Indian radio reports, as areas are "liberated" they are being turned over to the Mukti Bahini for administration. There is no good evidence yet, however, that Pakistani forces in East Pakistan are falling into disarray or abandoning military discipline. In fact, the Indians have apparently suffered fairly heavy casualties in some encounters.

In the West, Indian officials have indicated some concern over the Pakistani offensive in Indian Kashmir and have admitted the loss of the town of Chhamb near the border. The Pakistanis' other drive into Kashmir has yet to take Poonch, however, and their offensive toward Amritsar in India's Punjab State may have been halted. Indian forces in turn have penetrated a few miles into West Pakistan near Sialkot and both sides continue to make air strikes on the western front, but neither has yet gained the upper hand.



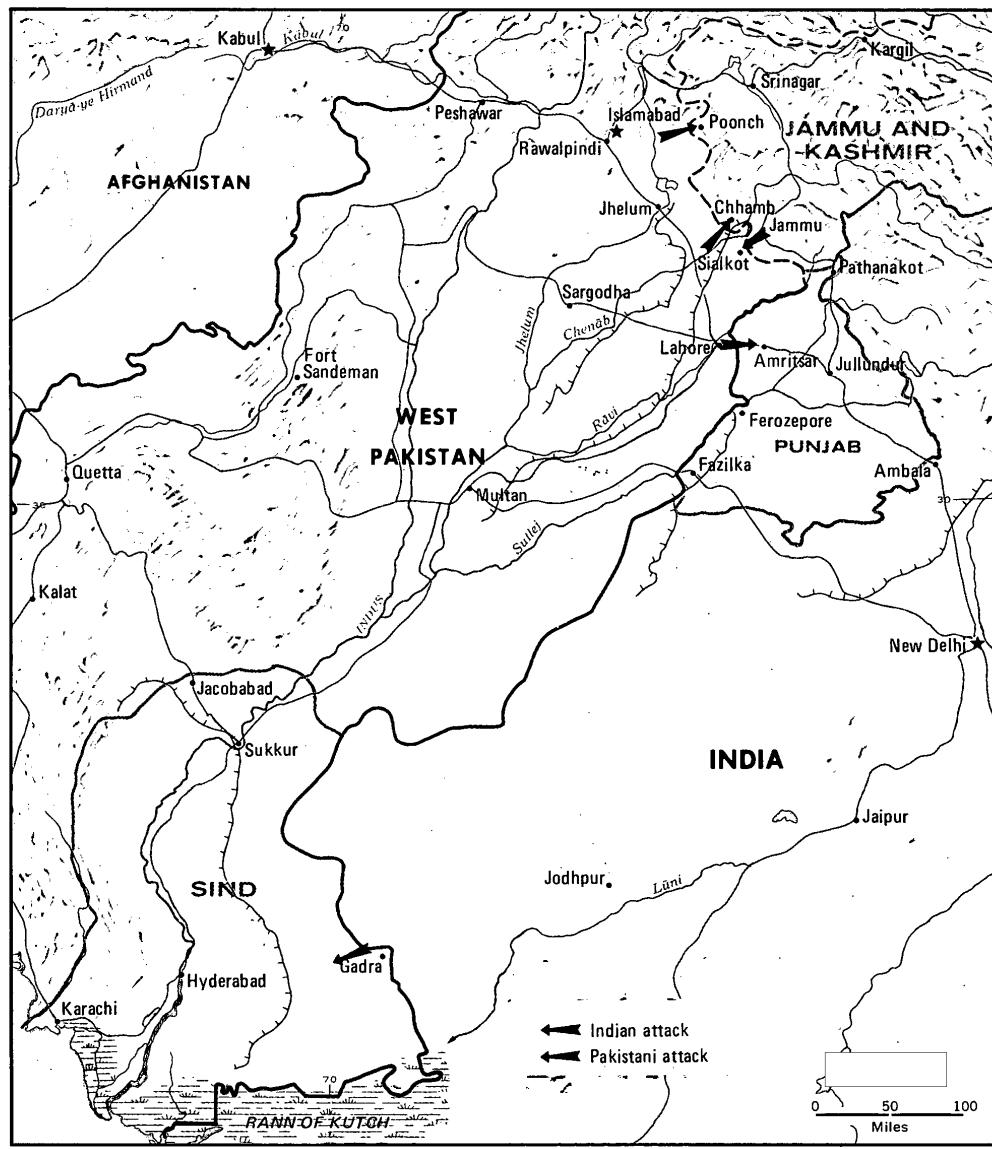
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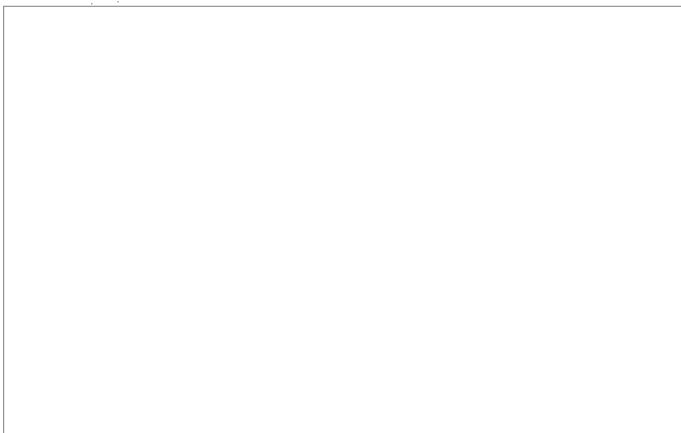
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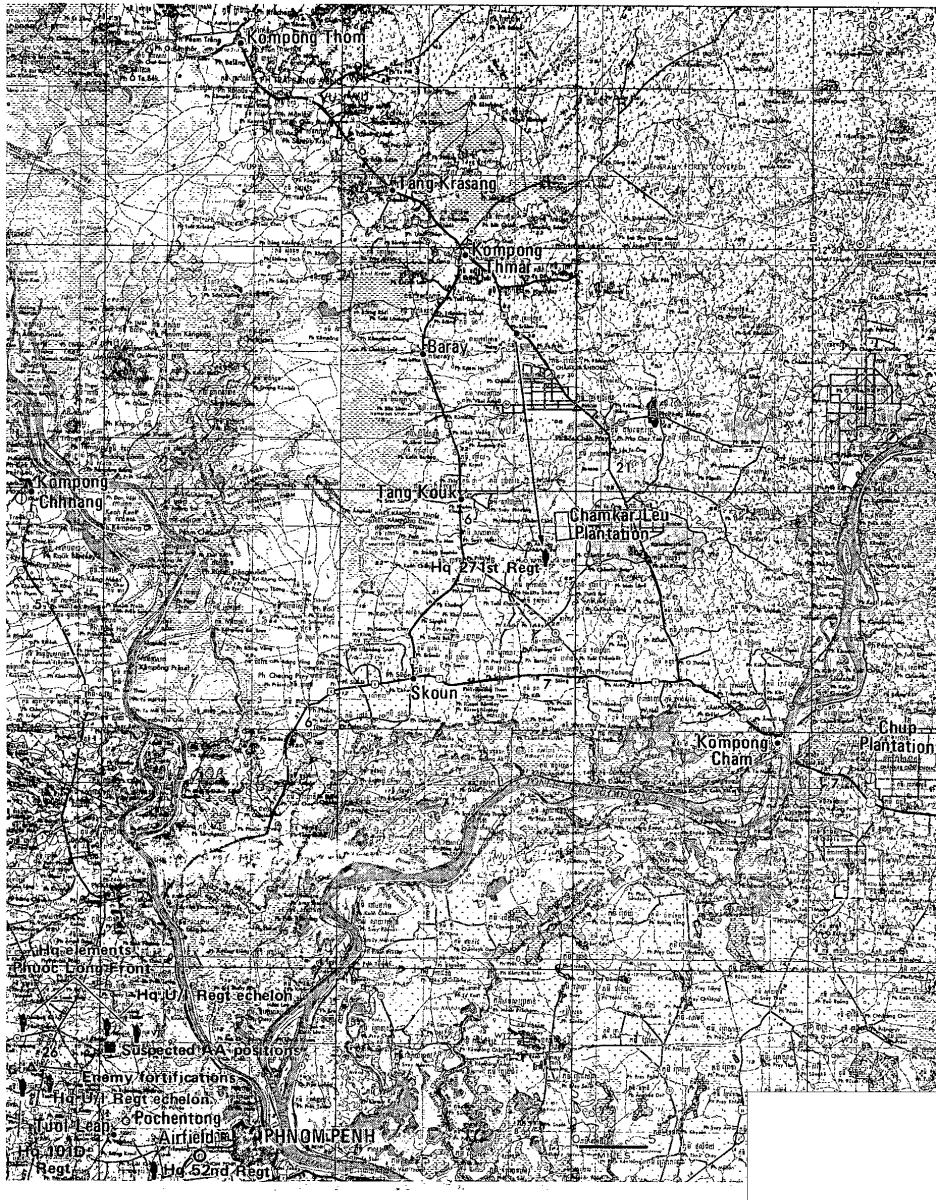
Moscow has not followed New Delhi's lead thus far in recognizing Bangla Desh and probably will hold off doing so in order to avoid a rupture in diplomatic relations with Islamabad. Peking has denounced India's recognition of Bangla Desh and has again criticized Moscow for its role in the crisis, alleging that the Soviets encouraged the Indians to invade East Pakistan and create a Bengali state.



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CAMBODIA: Route 6 Area



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CAMBODIA

Cambodian commanders report that large numbers of Communist troops are in the Phnom Penh area, and intercepts confirm the presence of additional enemy troops there. A regimental-level radio station has been located near the crossroads town which the Communists overran on Monday. This unit, as well as another new regimental-level unit further to the west, are subordinate to the Communists' Phuoc Long Front.

The Phuoc Long Front, which now appears to have at least four regiments, these two and the 101D and 52nd regiments, moved into the Phnom Penh area early last month.

US aerial observers continue to note extensive Communist fortification efforts west of Phnom Penh. Fresh enemy trenching and bunker construction has been observed along Route 26 near the headquarters of the 101D Regiment, and what appear to be several 12.7-mm. antiaircraft positions have been located in the same area.

The government may have as many as 20 battalions engaged in defensive operations near Phnom Penh, as well as other troops in the capital itself. Its efforts to counter the Communists' presence continue to be ineffectual, however. Phnom Penh was shelled yesterday, when several mortar or rocket rounds fell on the city. Pochentong airfield was also hit but remains open to both military and civil air traffic.

In the Route 6 area, the Vietnamese Communist 271st Regiment, which was involved in fighting around Kompong Thmar last week, has moved south near the Chamkar Leu Plantation.

This move and Communist reconnaissance activity south of Tang Kouk could be the precursor of renewed pressure against government troops on Route 6. The Communist force now poses a threat to the remnants of the Chenla II forces between Tang Kouk and Skoun, as well as to government positions along Route 7.

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This is the first time that army leaders have confronted Lon Nol directly on the question of his "interference" in the war effort. If Lon Nol continues to be intransigent, he could cause some of the military leaders who have been his staunchest supporters to close ranks with Sirik Matak. It is becoming increasingly clear that Sirik Matak is seeking such support and is determined to force Lon Nol to delegate more authority.

With the scent of change in the air, politically ambitious figures are trying to take advantage of the situation, and there are a number of political alignments that could emerge.

white Sirik Matak
maneuvers against Lon Nol, an effort is also under way by Lon Nol's supporters to undermine Sirik Matak. Other reports indicate that Constituent Assembly President In Tam and another prominent civilian leader, Son Ngoc Thanh, are again being thought of as potential successors to Lon Nol or Sirik Matak.

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LIBYA-UK

The Libyan Government has announced its decision to withdraw its financial assets in the UK in retaliation for British complicity in the Iranian occupation of three islands in the Persian Gulf. The subsequent nationalization of British Petroleum in Libya is doubtless a further expression of Libyan pique.

Libya's action, however, will not have any immediate impact on the UK. Libyan assets there are probably no more than \$400 to \$500 million and British foreign exchange reserves are adequate to cover this. In fact, the UK added some \$400 million to its reserves in November alone.

Over the longer term such irrational acts could have a damaging impact. By the mid-1970s the Arab oil-producing states are expected to have accumulated financial reserves of some \$25 billion, one fourth of which will be held by Libya.

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PERU-CUBA

Peru intends to request that the general committee of the OAS Permanent Council meet Monday to re-examine the economic and diplomatic sanctions imposed on Cuba, according to Peru's ambassador to the OAS, Luis Alvarado. The general committee would then be asked to meet four days later to take up a resolution allowing OAS members to lift sanctions if they so desire. Alvarado assumes that the Council itself would not consider the question before January, when it will be Chile's turn to chair the Council.

Whatever the outcome, we expect Peru to resume diplomatic relations with Cuba after the OAS deals with the matter. Other countries, such as Ecuador, might well then follow Lima's lead.

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THE PRESIDENT'S DAILY BRIEF

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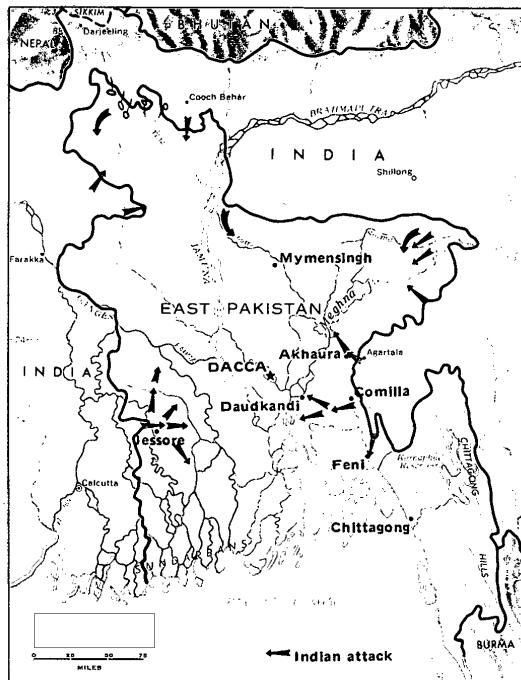
PRINCIPAL DEVELOPMENTS

The defense of East Pakistan is crumbling as Indian troops advance on nearly all fronts. (Page 1)

The North Vietnamese 320th Division appears to be headed for the central highlands in South Vietnam. (Page 3)

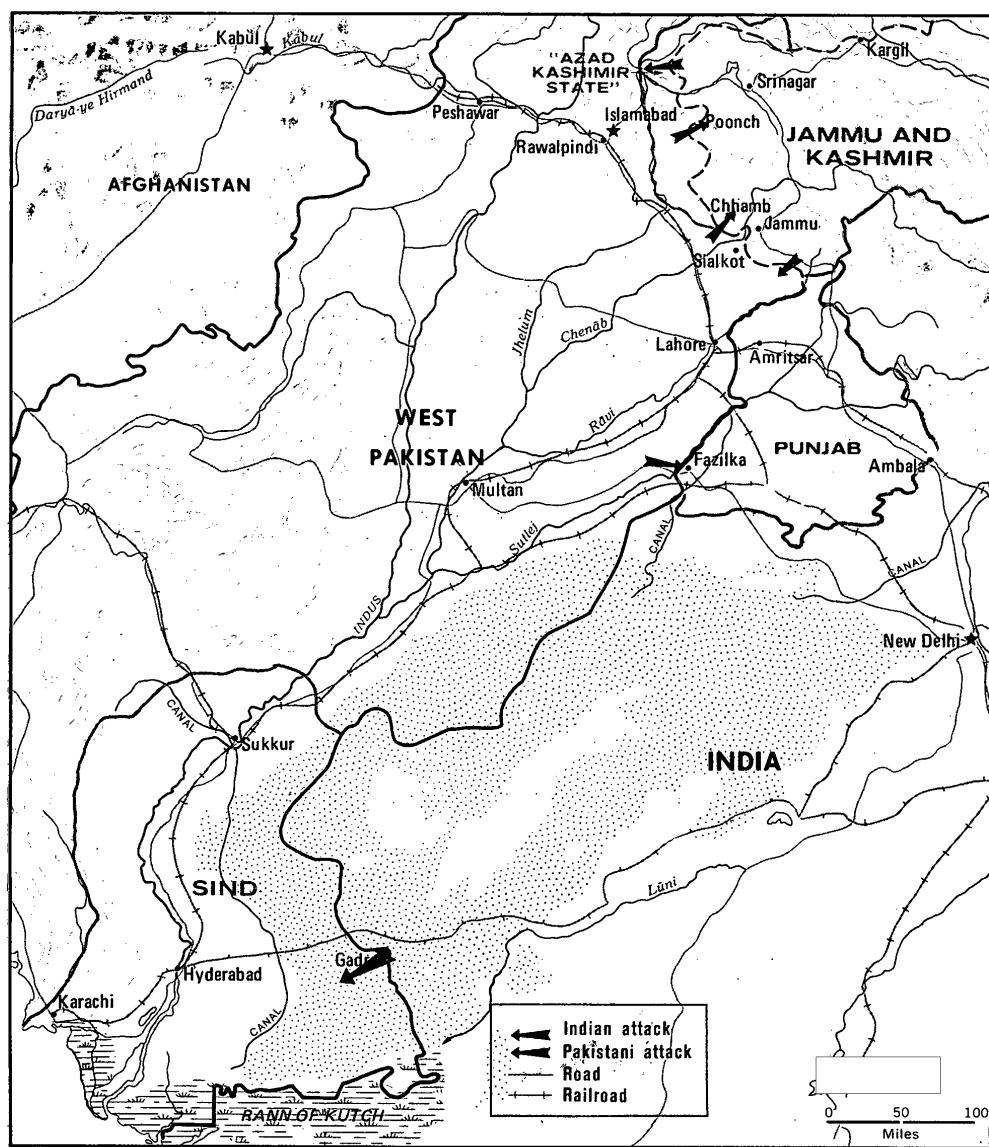
On Page 4 we note the latest reports of Lon Nol's resistance to pressure to give up personal direction of military affairs, and appraise the Communists' military threat to Phnom Penh.

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY



PAKISTAN

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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

INDIA-PAKISTAN

The defense of East Pakistan is crumbling as Indian troops advance on nearly all fronts. The town of Comilla was captured yesterday, and the Comilla military cantonment is under siege. When that falls, of the three major army bases in East Pakistan--Comilla, Jessore, and Dacca--only Dacca will remain in government hands.

The most immediate threat to the capital appears to be developing from the east. Indian troops, according to New Delhi, have reached the Meghna River at several points, including the ferry crossing at Daudkandi only 22 miles from Dacca. The drive may now face a major hurdle, however, if the Pakistanis can dig in and hold at the Meghna--a wide and difficult river to cross. This thrust, and a parallel drive into Feni to the south, have cut off two Pakistani brigades in the Chittagong District. For the present, the Mukti Bahini apparently have been assigned the primary task of eliminating resistance in this area with the help of Indian air strikes on the port of Chittagong.

Government forces in the northeast could be cut off from Dacca by the Indian offensive moving from Akhaura toward Mymensingh. In the extreme northwest corner of the province the Pakistani forces are falling back under increasingly heavy attacks from the Mukti Bahini. Farther south, the Indian drive that took Jessore is fanning out in an apparent effort to isolate the entire southwestern quadrant of the province from the capital.

Western correspondents have observed the civil population greeting the Indian forces as liberators. The Mukti Bahini continue active both in open engagements with West Pakistani troops and behind the lines. Most of the rural areas of East Pakistan have been in guerrilla hands for several weeks.

How long Pakistani resistance will continue depends on whether the West Pakistani forces are giving up as their posts are taken or are falling back in relatively good order toward a few urban centers, primarily Dacca, for a last-ditch defense. Despite some reports of desertions, there have been no indications yet that discipline is collapsing or that large numbers of Pakistani soldiers are surrendering. On the other hand, the major watercourses and Indian cuts in lines of communication will make any regrouping difficult.

(continued)

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

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On the West Pakistani front, the Pakistanis continue to press in the Chhamb area and also say they have taken Poonch. The Indians claim the capture of two towns northwest of Poonch, and say they have penetrated about six miles into West Pakistan near Sialkot. Farther south, the Indians also claim broad gains in Sind Province, but they are beginning to encounter opposition as they reach the more populous areas. [redacted] the Pakistani Army is about to launch a major ground offensive in the Punjab area.

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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

Communist 320th Division Going to Central Highlands



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INDOCHINA

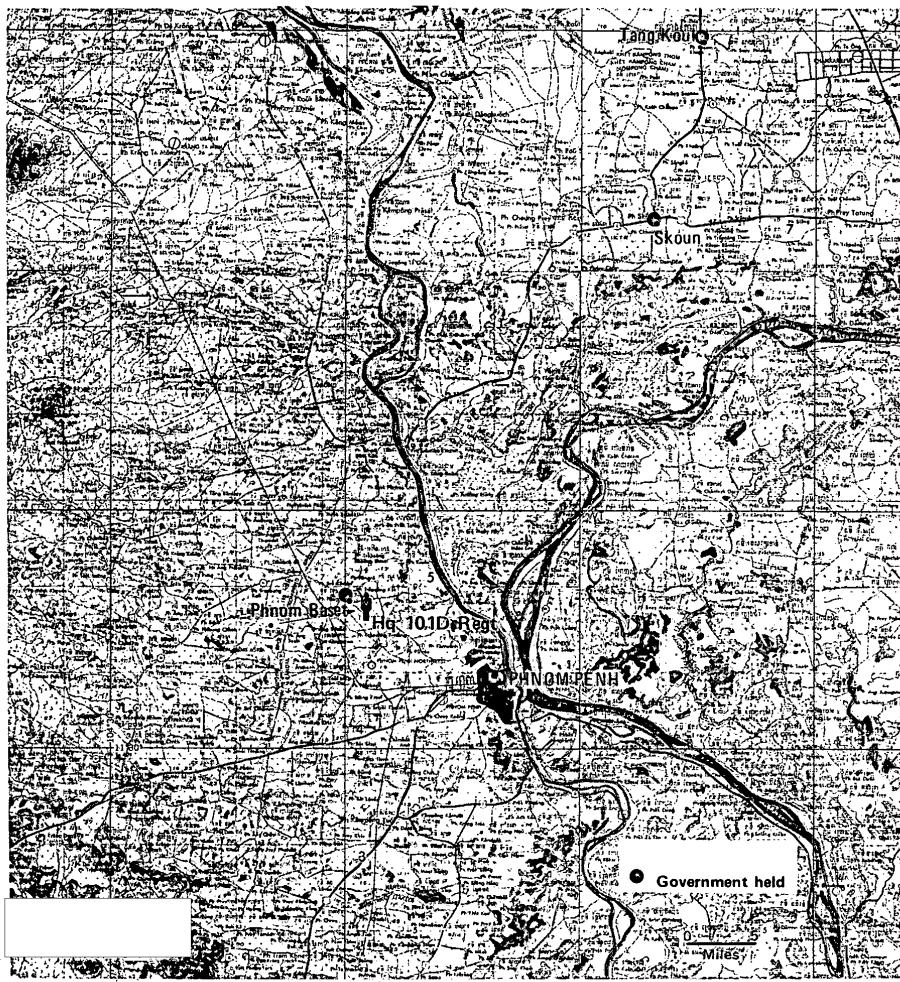
Intercepts indicate that the North Vietnamese 320th Infantry Division, which began moving southward in November, is en route to South Vietnam. On 2 December, the 320th established communications with the Communist B-3 Front in South Vietnam's central highlands, which is a good indication that the division is going to this area. Two days later a forward element of the division headquarters was located in Laos near the Ban Karai Pass.

If, as is usual, the 320th moves through North Vietnam by truck and through Laos by foot, all three of its subordinate regiments should arrive in the highlands by early January. This would be the first full infantry division to operate in the highlands in recent years, and its presence would nearly double the number of Communist combat forces available to protect infiltration routes and base camps in the tri-border area. At the same time, the Communist capability for launching large attacks into central South Vietnam would of course be substantially enhanced.

There are tenuous signs that a second North Vietnamese infantry division--the 324B--is also going south. During November, the 324B followed some of the same communications procedures as did the 320th.

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CAMBODIA: Phnom Penh Area



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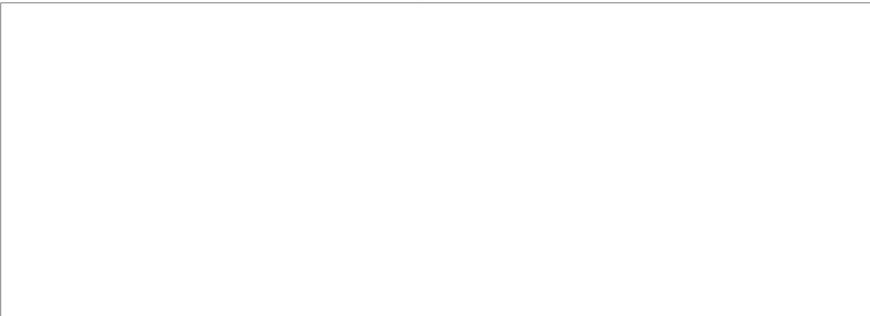
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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

CAMBODIA

Sirik Matak, Chief of State Cheng Heng, and several senior officers from the army general staff met with Prime Minister Lon Nol on Tuesday to propose reforms in the direction of military affairs, including a reaffirmation of the general staff's role in making and implementing decisions. According to the US Embassy, Lon Nol flatly dismissed the proposals and refused to relinquish personal direction of military affairs. He blamed the army's recent setbacks on inadequate South Vietnamese and US assistance.

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The political imbroglio could hardly come at a worse time. We reported in yesterday's President's Daily Brief that the North Vietnamese units are digging in along an arc about 15 miles north and west of Phnom Penh. We now have intercepts indicating that the headquarters of the NVA 101D Regiment has moved eastward and is within ten miles of the city. It seems likely that the 101D is moving against Cambodian positions near Phnom Baset. At last report, one Cambodian battalion there was in light contact with the enemy. The loss of Phnom Baset would further constrict the Cambodians' room for maneuver northwest of the city and would mean another breach of the city's outer defensive perimeter.

With as many as 6,000 main force fighting men for the first time within striking distance of the city, the Communists can exercise options that were not open to them just six weeks ago. At this juncture, it seems likely that they will try to keep the capital's troops on the defensive and to undermine the confidence of the city's

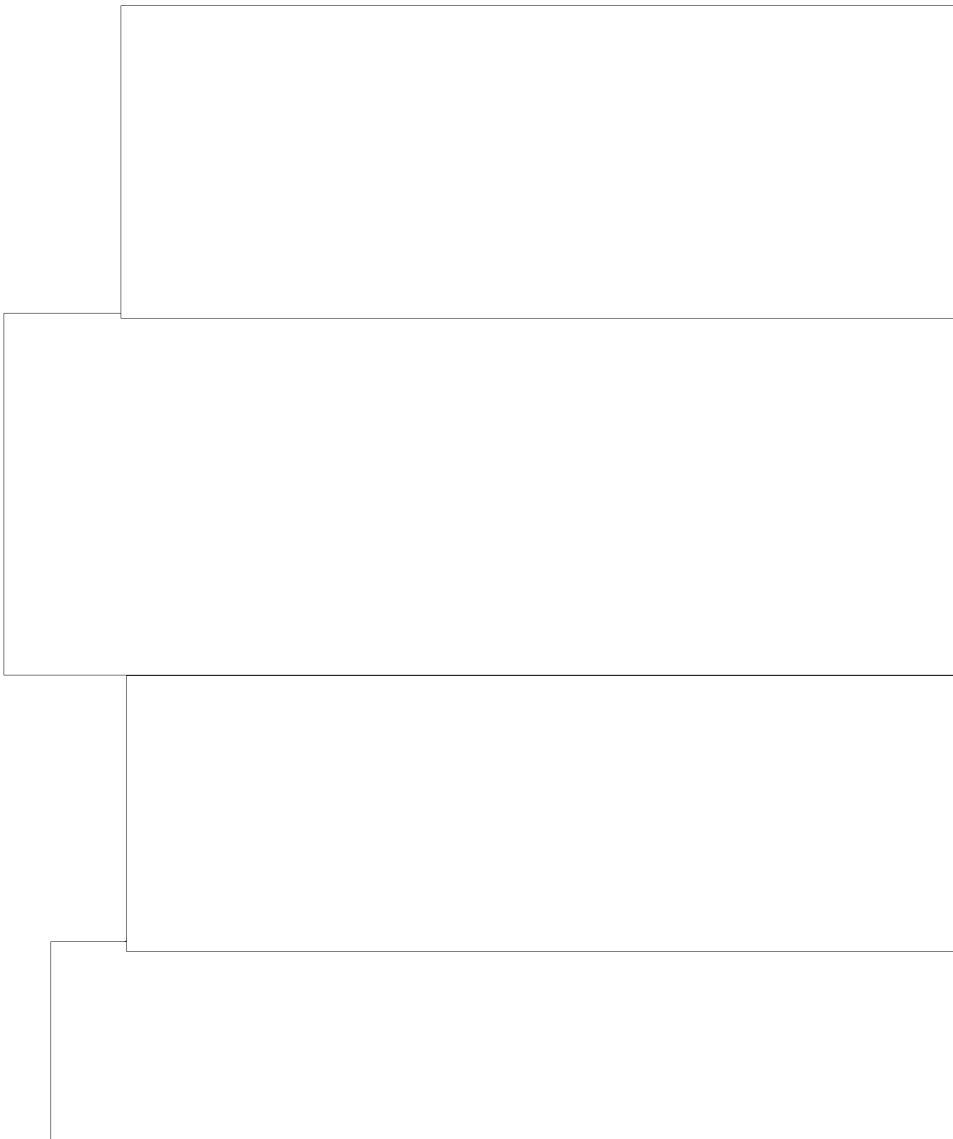
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population and the government's leaders. This will almost certainly entail more attacks on Phnom Penh's periphery, though it could also bring some action in the city itself. The Cambodians are being whipsawed between the Phnom Penh and Route 6 fronts, and something is going to have to give. There are additional signs that the Communists will soon renew their Route 6 offensive. With Cambodian morale low at Tang Kouk and Skoun, another serious defeat is a distinct possibility.

The Communists could mount a dramatic frontal assault with the objective of capturing Phnom Penh. But we doubt that the Communists believe that they are strong enough to overcome the force currently arrayed against them--45,000 Cambodian troops backed with allied air support. The enemy would also have to anticipate that South Vietnamese forces would come to help in the defense of the capital.

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NOTE

Communist China: An accumulation of evidence from satellite photography leads us to believe that a large industrial complex at Feng-chou in east-central China manufactures liquid propellant rocket engines, and possibly missile airframes as well. This would be the second such plant in China. The Feng-chou plant is equipped to test multi-stage systems of various sizes. We have already identified several multi-stage missiles in China.

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PRINCIPAL DEVELOPMENTS

Indian forces in East Pakistan continue to close in on Dacca, but there appears to be no major change in the fighting along the Indian - West Pakistani border. (Page 1)

In Cambodia, some Communist forces have moved farther from Route 6, and government troops have begun new operations in the Phnom Penh area. (Page 3)

Taipei's recent international setbacks have set off increased expectations of political reforms at home. (Page 4)

At Annex

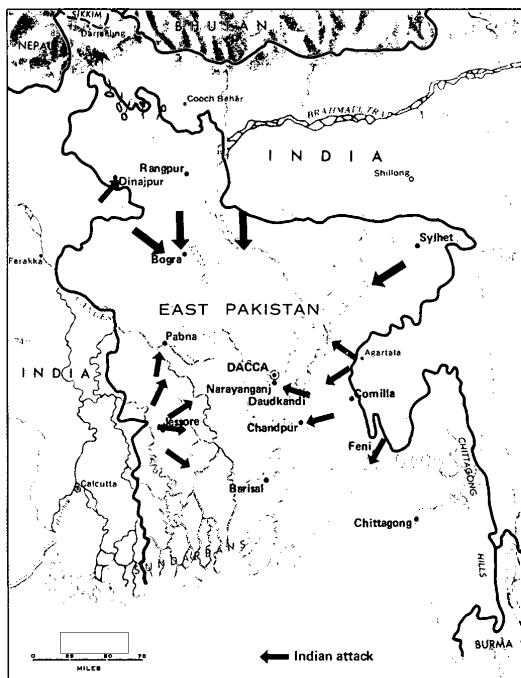
China and Indochina

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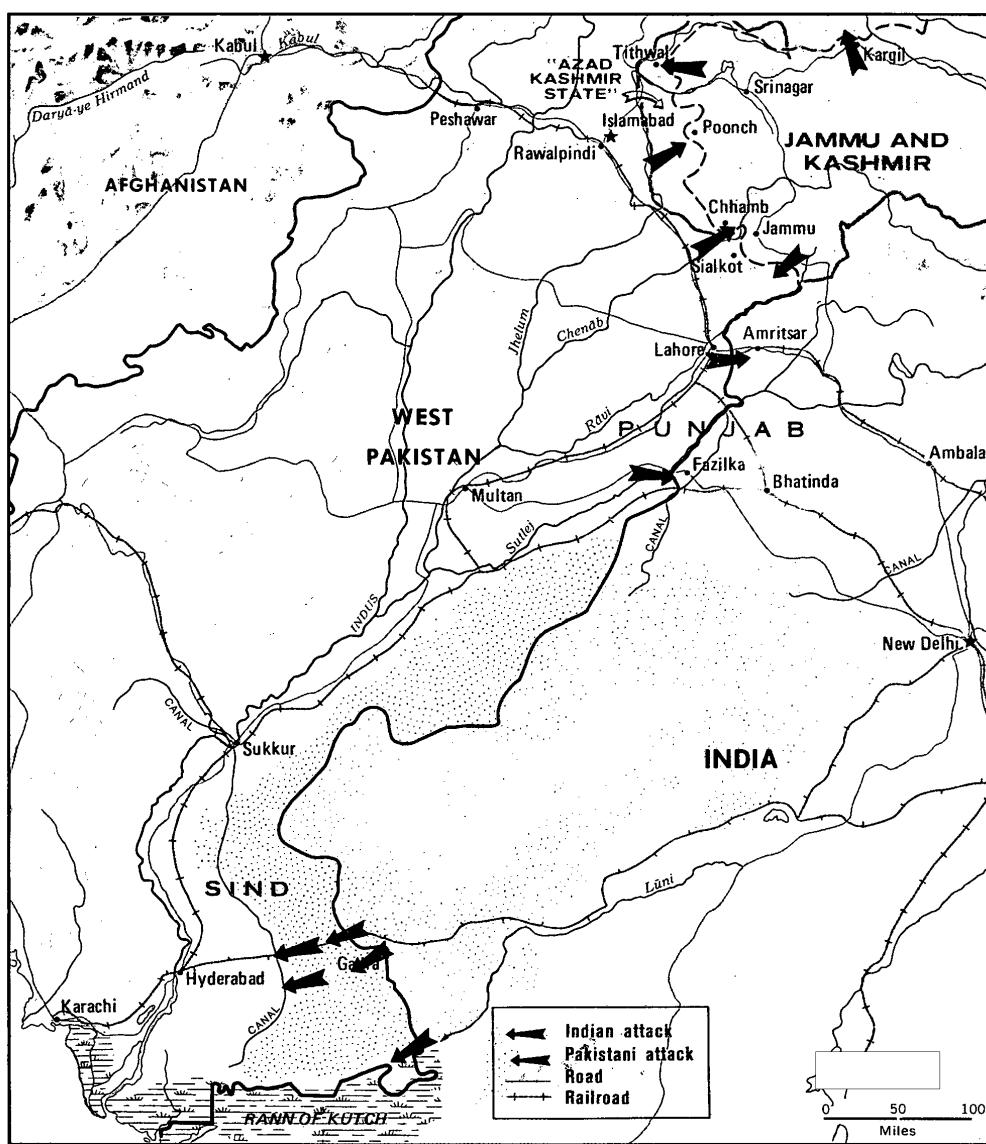
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PAKISTAN

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INDIA-PAKISTAN

Indian troops in East Pakistan are closing in on Dacca. The river town of Chandpur and the ferry crossing at Daudkandi apparently have fallen. The Dacca radio stopped its broadcasts at 8:15 AM on 10 December (last night at 9:15 PM EST) and has not been noted to have resumed. The Indian drives elsewhere in the province are maintaining their momentum although Pakistani forces are holding on in a number of isolated areas. In a radio appeal to Pakistani troops yesterday, Indian Chief of Staff Manekshaw urged them to surrender and said they faced "certain death" if they tried to escape by sea.

If Pakistani forces try to make a stand at Dacca, they are unlikely to be able to hold out more than a few days. The commander of India's eastern front has said that Pakistani troops trying to reach Dacca or to make their way to various ports are being attacked from the air. Orders are out to treat all captured Pakistani troops as prisoners of war, but the commander has admitted that, in areas where there are no Indian troops and the Mukti Bahini are in control, there may have been some "political eliminations."

On the western front, the Indians claim to have beaten back several Pakistani attacks in Kashmir around Poonch and to have made a slight advance near Chhamb, the area of the largest Pakistani offensive. The Indian drive in the Sialkot area has been halted, according to the Pakistanis, but in the south the Indians continue to push deeper into Sind Province with almost no opposition.

The Karachi area was heavily bombarded from the air again yesterday. The strikes of the past two days in the harbor area have dealt a major blow to West Pakistan's POL supply. According to an Esso official, about 30 percent of the port's oil storage capacity--some 15 percent of the country's total--has been destroyed or seriously damaged. Oil fires pose a threat to the remaining storage areas.

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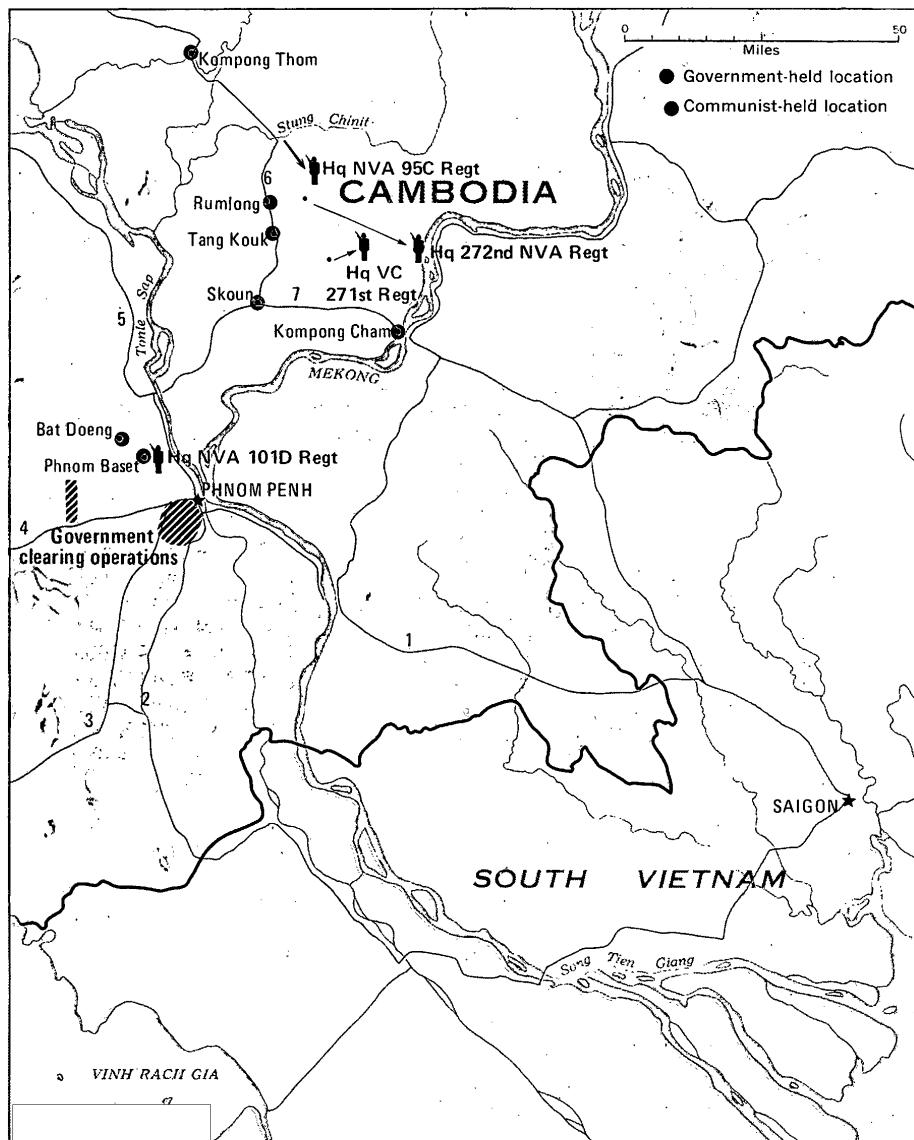
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There are now reports that the Indians are shifting some aircraft from the eastern to the western front where opposing air force strengths are now fairly even. Most of Pakistan's fighters are based in the north, where they have been supporting ground operations and attacking Indian airfields. There are fighter squadrons at Karachi, but they appear to have offered little opposition to Indian bombers.

On the sea, most of Pakistan's naval units have now been driven into Karachi port.

Both Indian Foreign Minister Singh and Pakistani Foreign Minister-designate Bhutto are expected to be on hand at the UN by today. Pakistan has accepted and India has now formally rejected the General Assembly's call for a cease-fire and troop withdrawal. There is a growing consensus at the UN that efforts to stop hostilities will soon have to be shifted back to the Security Council, although India and the USSR are likely to continue to block all cease-fire proposals at least until Dacca has fallen.



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CAMBODIA

Radio direction finding shows that the 271st Regiment of the Vietnamese Communist 9th Division, which had appeared to be moving toward remaining government positions on Route 6, has now shifted farther to the east. A second 9th Division regiment, the 272nd, apparently has left the Rumlong area of Route 6 and taken up a position near the west bank of the Mekong River. Current evidence suggests that only one North Vietnamese regiment, the 95C, remains within easy striking distance of government forces at Tang Kouk. An intercept of 6 December indicates that the Communists have been conducting reconnaissance of the Route 6 area near Skoun.

Government forces would be ill-prepared to withstand any determined Communist attacks. At Tang Kouk, for example, the morale of Cambodian officers and men is dangerously low.

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In the Phnom Penh area, elements of two government brigades have linked up with a battalion at Phnom Baset, 12 miles northwest of the capital. They encountered no resistance, but the presence of the North Vietnamese 101D Regiment near Phnom Baset may presage heavy fighting. Cambodian commanders are now reporting large enemy troop concentrations in the area.

The Cambodian Army has launched several new clearing operations around Phnom Penh. The largest, involving seven predominantly Khmer Krom battalions, will sweep between Routes 2 and 3 south of the capital, where several hundred enemy troops are said to be operating in small units. To the west of the city, another four battalions will try to maneuver behind suspected Communist positions.

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

NATIONALIST CHINA

Taiwan's recent international setbacks are giving new impetus to proposals for political reorganization and reform, long advocated in various student and press circles. Some Nationalist officials are now arguing cautiously for a clearer expression of Taiwan's "separate identity," and one, Vice Foreign Minister Yang Hsi-kun, has even proposed that the government system be drastically overhauled and the country be renamed "Republic of Taiwan."

With the surfacing of such sentiments among Nationalists, native Taiwanese are beginning to press their own aspirations more strongly. In early December, associates of one local politician passed the US Embassy a document that calls for an expanded Taiwanese role in a reorganized government, a reduction of military forces, and a policy of "political neutrality."

The government is trying to overcome its tarnished image and forestall outright domestic disaffection with talk of a program for "rejuvenation." Its plans, however, involve no curtailment of the power of Nationalists from the mainland and are no more than gestures toward the Taiwanese majority. No major government figure has endorsed Yang's proposals, and these represent--as does the Taiwanese document--mainly trial balloons to test the climate on Taiwan and in the US for significant change. The popular expectations aroused by such talk, however, are likely to increase the pressures on the government for an adjustment to "post-UN" realities.

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Jordan-Fedayeen:

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CHINA AND INDOCHINA

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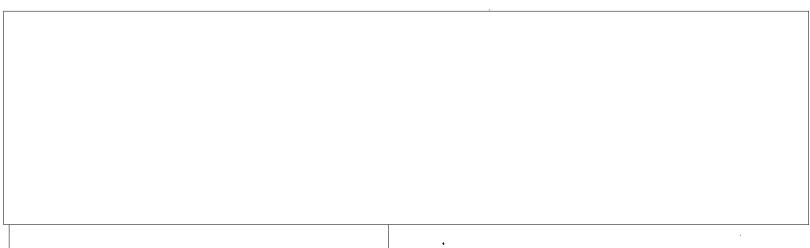


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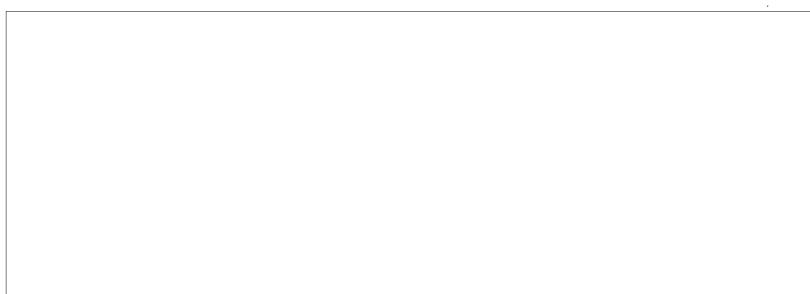
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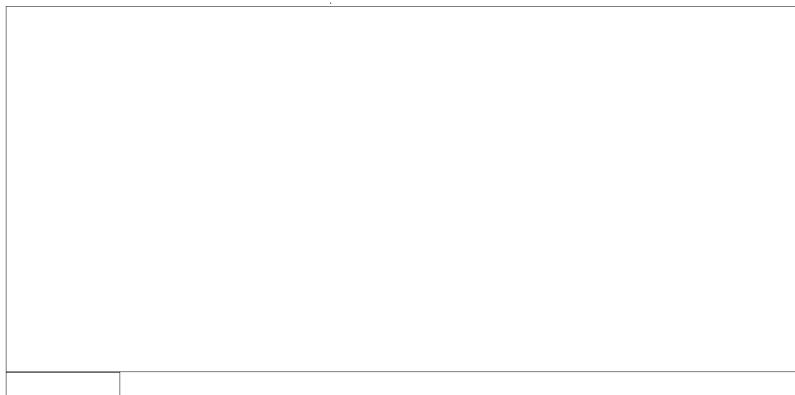
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The President's Daily Brief

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11 December 1971

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THE PRESIDENT'S DAILY BRIEF

11 December 1971

PRINCIPAL DEVELOPMENTS

New Delhi has ignored Pakistan's call for a cease-fire in the East and Indian forces are pressing the attack on Dacca. (Page 1)

[redacted] Peking [redacted] 50X1
[redacted] 50X1
Indochina. (Page 3) 50X1

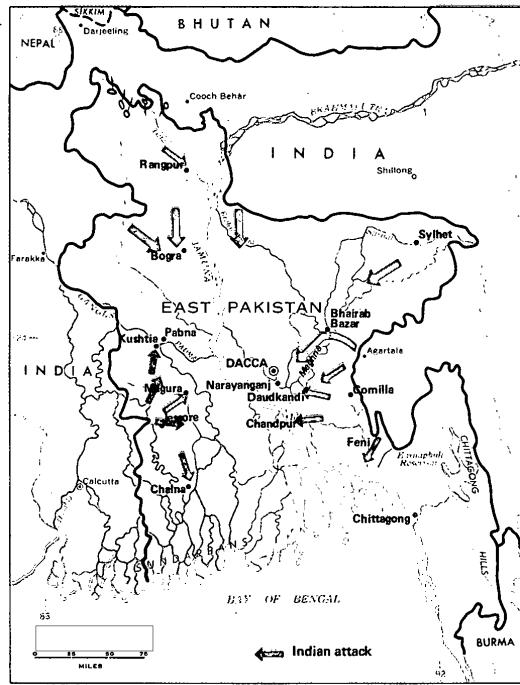
Another North Vietnamese Army regiment is preparing to move to South Vietnam. (Page 4)

The USSR [redacted] Japan [redacted] 50X1
[redacted] 50X1
(Page 4) 50X1

The inter-German and inter-Berlin agreements are to be initialed today. (Page 4)

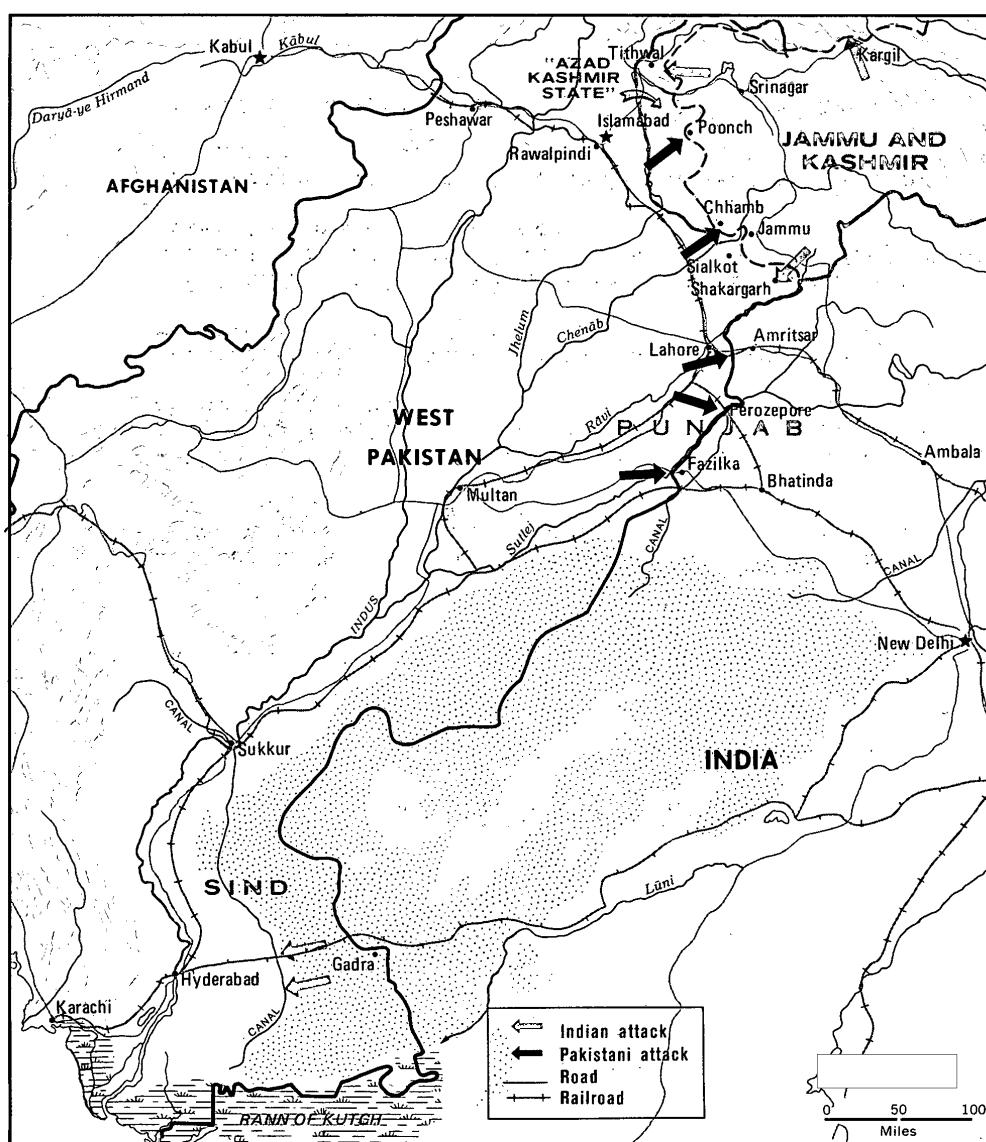
At Annex we discuss the Communist threat to Laos.

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY



PAKISTAN

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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

INDIA-PAKISTAN

The Indians are pressing their attack on Dacca. The Indian forces closest to the capital, those approaching from the east, control most of the Pakistani territory up to the Meghna River. The Indians have crossed the Meghna at Bhairab Bazar upstream from Dacca and have advanced to within 36 miles of the city. They are apparently meeting little resistance and claim that only the many small rivers in the area are blocking their way. The retreating Pakistanis are said to have destroyed many bridges.

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So far the Pakistani Army in the Dacca area has not shown much inclination to prepare for a last-ditch stand.

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Some Pakistani troops around Dacca are said to have been discarding their uniforms and donning civilian clothes. Some troops have made their way to port towns below Dacca only to find that Indian domination of the Bay of Bengal and the main river routes has closed off the possibility of escape by sea.

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Both sides continue to claim successes in the western front but neither appears to have made any important gains. In northern Kashmir, the Pakistanis say they have beaten back Indian counterattacks in the Kargil and Tithwal areas. They also claim to be gaining some ground amid heavy fighting in Indian territory near Chhamb. In the Sialkot sector the Indians are reported to have the initiative, and farther south, the Indians claim they have captured over 1,200 square miles in the sparsely populated Sind area.

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Pakistan has withdrawn a proposal for an immediate cease-fire and the transfer of political power in East Pakistan, replacing it with another

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offer which does not provide for an immediate political settlement. The new proposal, which is being submitted to UN Secretary General Thant, calls for an immediate cease-fire in the East and guarantees for the safety of Pakistani armed forces and other non-Bengalis in the province. The message to Thant makes it clear that Pakistan is not proposing a surrender by its armed forces. According to Pakistani Foreign Secretary Sultan Khan, Islamabad would also accept a cease-fire on the western front, on the basis of the recently passed UN General Assembly resolution or under the general terms of a cease-fire and a stand-fast to be observed by UN representatives. Negotiations for settlement of the war, troop withdrawal, and "satisfaction of Bengali aspirations" would follow.

There has been no Indian response as yet, but at this juncture, with the Indians so close to a complete victory in the East, they are unlikely to accept a proposition that does not include a surrender and an immediate turnover of power to the Bengalis.

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Moscow, in an authoritative article in Pravda yesterday, expressed discomfiture about the results of the UN General Assembly debate and concern about the fact that the crisis has brought Peking and Washington together on a major international issue. The author attributed the defeat of the Soviet General Assembly resolution to the fact that some countries--i.e., China and the US--hope to gain from the conflict while others were merely duped.

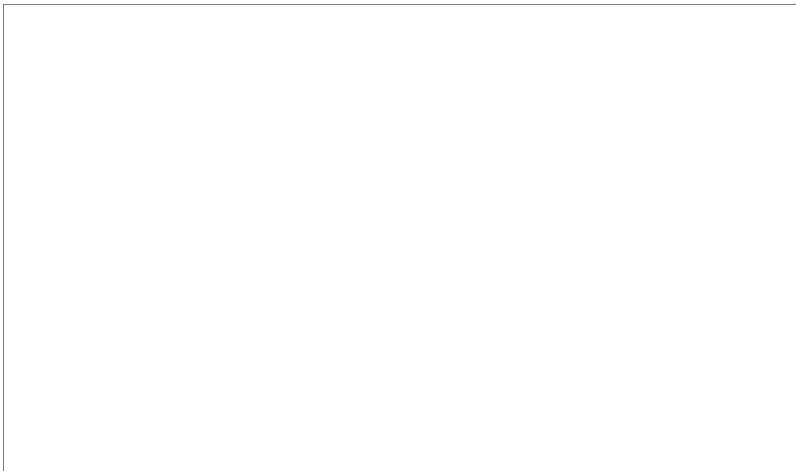
Secretary General Thant has agreed to an Indian demand that the UN withdraw all of its personnel from East Pakistan and close its operations there. Assistant UN Secretary General Henry in Dacca believes that India made this demand in order to force the UN to deal with Bangla Desh authorities by breaking UN ties with Islamabad's officials in the province.

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COMMUNIST CHINA - INDOCHINA

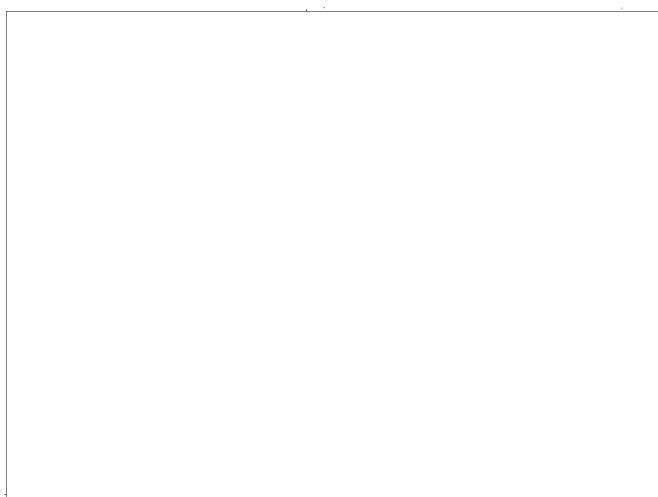
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NOTES

North Vietnam: Intercepts indicate that the North Vietnamese 304th Division is sending one of its regiments, the 24th, across the DMZ into Quang Tri Province. Small teams from the regiment have already conducted reconnaissance below the DMZ, and the regiment's main elements are scheduled to move south by next Thursday. We have no evidence that the rest of the division plans to move at this time. The 304th frequently rotates its three regiments in and out of Quang Tri to maintain pressure in this area, usually in the winter months. This movement would be in addition to the indications reported in The President's Daily Brief of 9 December that the 320th and possibly the 324B divisions are going south.

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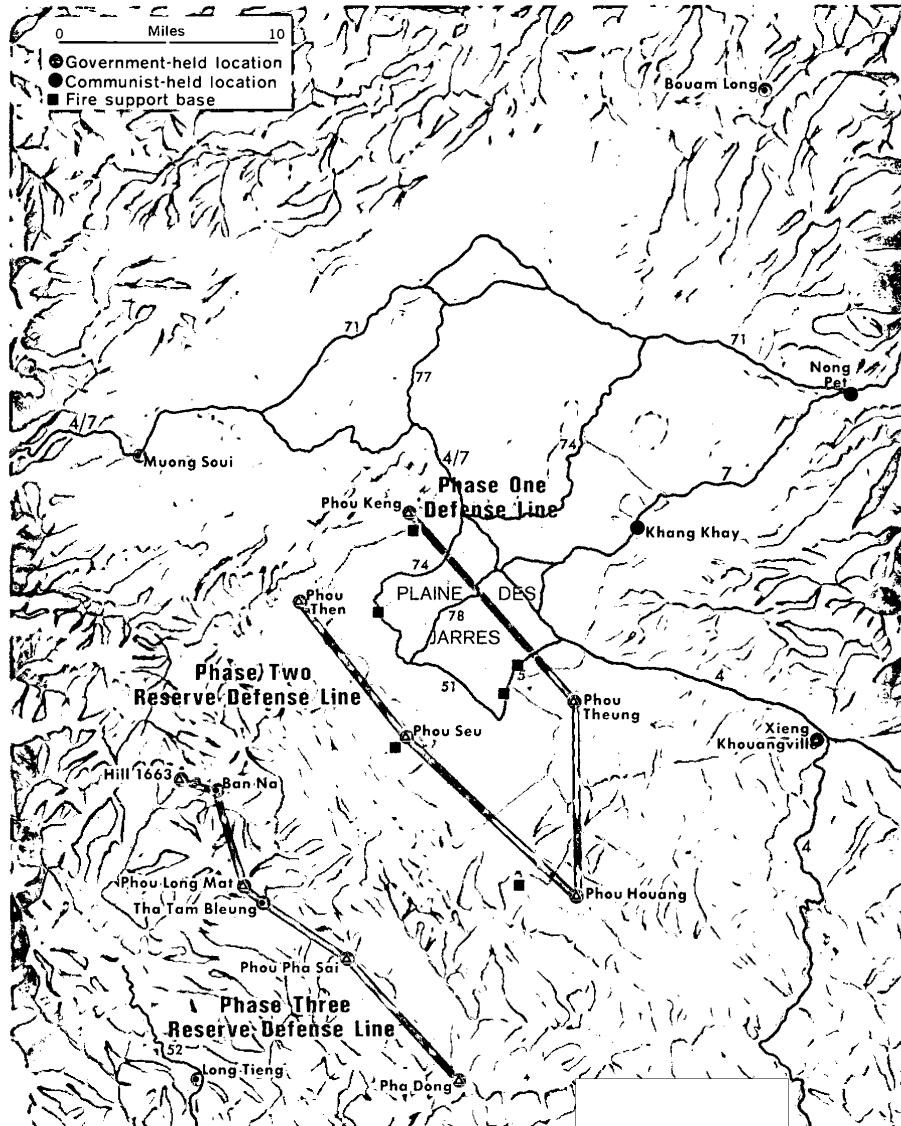
USSR-Japan: [redacted]

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West Germany - East Germany: According to both West and East German officials, the way has now been cleared for initialing the inter-German and inter-Berlin agreements today. The deadlock in the inter-Berlin talks concerning visits by West Berliners to East Berlin and East Germany was resolved yesterday.

LAOS: PLAINE DES JARRES AREA



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THE COMMUNIST THREAT TO LAOS

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The Communist dry season offensive in Laos is getting under way. We believe that the North Vietnamese effort will be stronger this year, particularly in north Laos, where irregular forces under Vang Pao appear to be confronting a larger and stronger enemy force than ever before. In the south, enemy forces seem likely again to overrun the Bolovens Plateau, but we expect them to stop short of major attacks on the principal Mekong River towns.

Plans for the Plaine des Jarres

The North Vietnamese this year have deployed the largest force they have ever committed to the Plaine. In the past two months, Hanoi has sent at least 5,000, and perhaps as many as 10,000, new troops into north Laos. With the addition of these troops, we estimate that the enemy now has between 18,000 and 23,000 men near the Plaine des Jarres. Enemy combat strength around the Plaine now appears to include two divisions--the 312th and 316th--plus at least two independent infantry regiments. The North Vietnamese also have made a major supply push into north Laos, and they are improving and expanding their road network east of the Plaine.

In addition, there has been a significant increase in the enemy's firepower. Intercepted messages indicate that sixteen 130-mm. field guns were to be sent to north Laos in November. This weapon has not been used in the north before, and its 17-mile range outdistances the government's largest piece by some eight miles. The new weapon will be vulnerable to allied air attack, but the North Vietnamese are also increasing their antiaircraft strength.

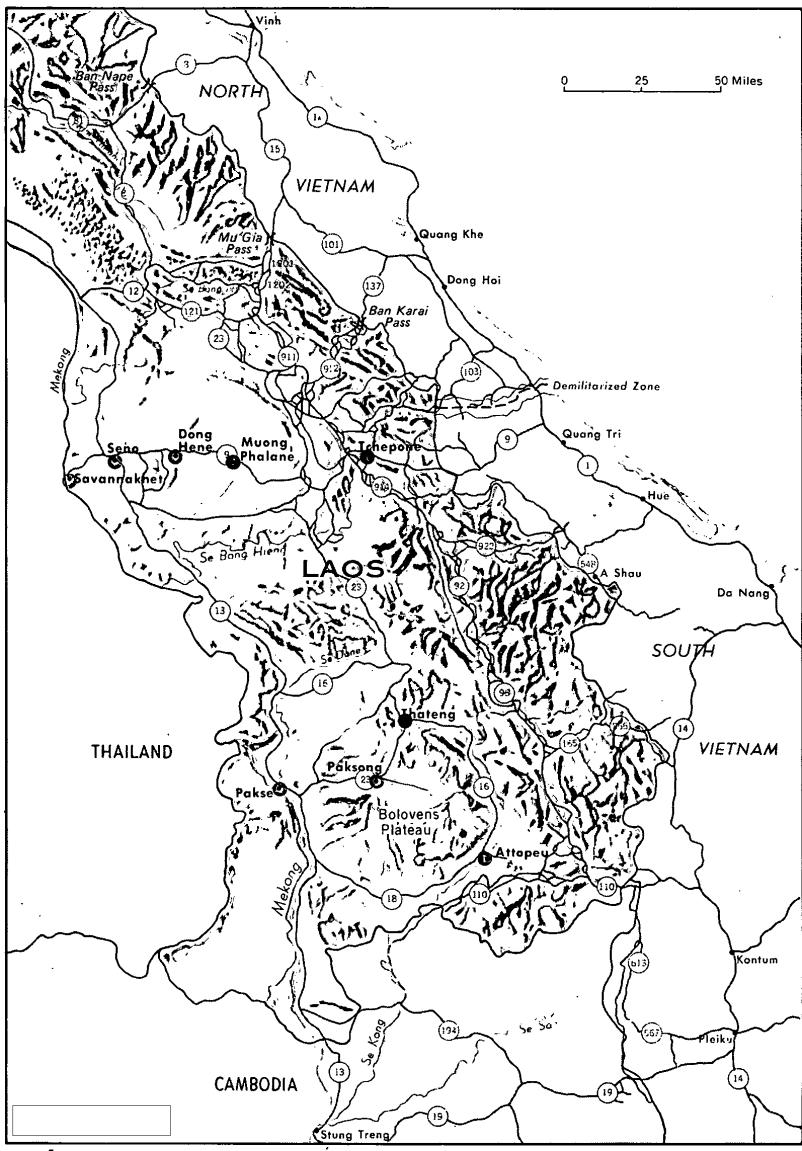
The North Vietnamese build-up stems at least in part from a recognition that Vang Pao's forces are larger and better deployed and supported than they were two years ago, when the North Vietnamese drove them from the Plaine. The irregulars number some 6,800 men, including 2,800 Thais who are deployed in and around a network of fire support bases. The irregular positions have been carefully prepared with an eye to preventing the over-extension of supply lines and the wide dispersal of forces that contributed to an easy North Vietnamese victory over the irregulars in 1970. New artillery bases provide strong interlocking fire support to the mobile irregular units, another factor that was lacking in 1970.

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Most government leaders doubt that all of the Plaine can be held, and in consequence a secondary line of defense has been prepared. In addition, there is a third line--the defensive strongpoints laid out in an arc around Long Tieng that blunted the Communist offensive last year.

If the North Vietnamese follow past practice, their offensive should begin next month. We do not believe that there is any current prospect of Lao peace talks that might delay it. The Communists have turned down all recent Lao Government initiatives to discuss a bombing halt and a cease-fire on the Plaine in preparation for neutralizing the area.

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If the North Vietnamese succeed in driving Vang Pao off the Plaine, we would expect them to undertake offensive operations to the southwest toward Long Tieng. In past thrusts toward that bastion, however, they have encountered difficulties in supplying their forces. The Communist drive in early 1970 ran out of steam on the threshold of Long Tieng, and during the last dry season they did not come as close. The magnitude of the North Vietnamese build-up for the coming campaign suggests that this season they may be willing to pay a higher price to take Long Tieng.

The War in South Laos

In south Laos the Communists' principal interest still is to protect and expand their lines of communication to South Vietnam and Cambodia. In past years their offensive efforts have been aimed largely at establishing buffer zones to keep government forces well away from the infiltration corridors.

As the need for more diverse routes to the south has grown, the Communists have pushed these buffer zones farther west. During the last dry season they made major gains in the Lao panhandle. In the central panhandle they made use of the forces they had deployed to counter the South Vietnamese Lam Son 719 operation to make a subsequent drive westward along Route 9 as far as the town of Dong Hene. The government regained some of this territory in the rainy season, but was stopped just west of Muong Phalane and has since been forced back almost to Dong Hene. Communist intercepts suggest that the enemy intends at the least to push through Dong Hene this year, and may attack Seno and the nearby training bases for irregular troops.

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Farther south, the North Vietnamese during the last dry season waged a determined and ultimately successful campaign to wrest control of the Bolovens Plateau from the government. In July, however, government forces managed to regain some portions of the western Bolovens and were later able to reopen Route 23 between the towns of Paksong and Pakse. This fall, irregular units have conducted operations aimed at disrupting the enemy's rear support areas just north of the Plateau. Fighting in these areas is now picking up, and there are indications that the North Vietnamese are reinforcing their units for a new campaign to regain the Plateau.

The government's gains during the past rainy season can largely be attributed to the fighting abilities and excellent materiel and advisory support of irregular units

These units will be spread thin if, as we expect, the Communists undertake offensives both along Route 9 and on the Bolovens. The North Vietnamese fought hard last year to capture the Plateau, and we expect an equally strong effort this year. They are likely to succeed, although government artillery and tactical air support will probably make the offensive costly. We do not believe, however, that the North Vietnamese have changed their basic objectives in south Laos to include wider territorial ambitions. Thus, the enemy is not likely to assume the risks involved in trying to take the major population centers along the Mekong such as Savannakhet or Pakse, although these areas are likely to be targets of harassing attacks.

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THE PRESIDENT'S DAILY BRIEF

13 December 1971

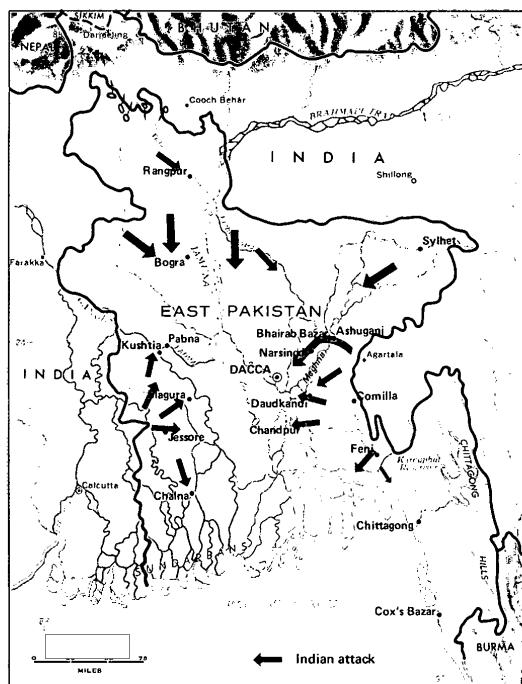
PRINCIPAL DEVELOPMENTS

Indian troops continue to move toward Dacca, while the western front remains essentially unchanged. Factional differences are sharpening within the Bangla Desh government-in-exile, whose leaders have crossed into Jessore. (Page 1)

Cambodian Government forces have lost a hill position 12 miles northwest of Phnom Penh, and South Vietnamese troops have engaged in some sharp fighting near Dambe north of Route 7. (Page 3)

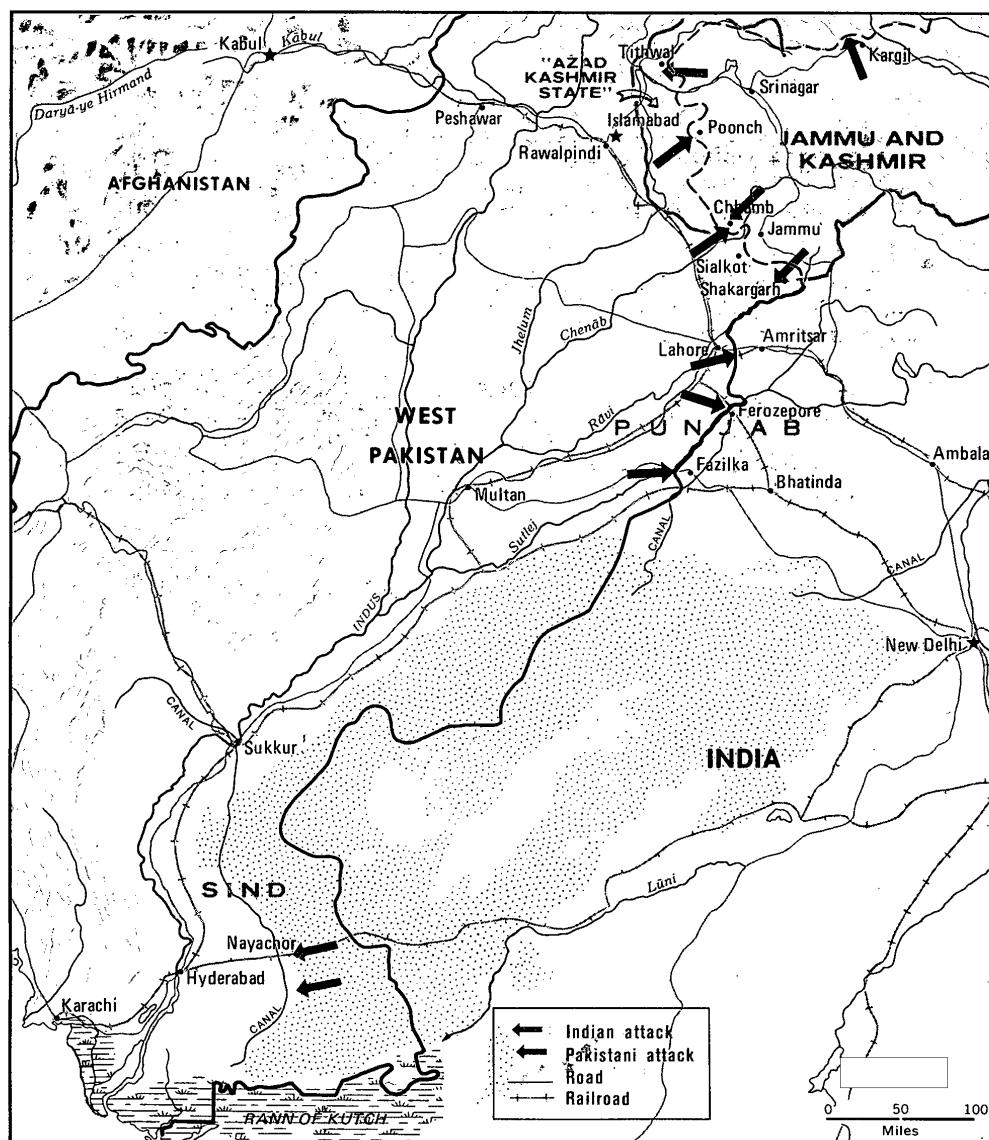
The Council of the European Communities has declared its readiness to begin trade negotiations with the US soon, but members doubt there is enough time for any results before the scheduled Group of Ten meeting late this week. (Page 4)

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY



PAKISTAN

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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

INDIA-PAKISTAN

Indian troops continue to close in on Dacca. The Indians report the capture of the town of Narsingdi some 25 miles to the northeast and, according to the press, Indian units have crossed the Meghna River at Daudkandi some 22 miles to the southeast. The Indians have about 60,000 men in three divisions moving toward the city. Opposing them are between 30,000 and 40,000 Pakistani troops, including those which have fallen back from other areas. Elsewhere in East Pakistan a few pockets of Pakistani resistance remain, but these are likely to fall soon after Dacca has been taken.

On the western front, little change has occurred. Each side admits it is encountering strong resistance in the Chhamb and Sialkot sectors. In sparsely populated Sind Province Indian forces have run into a tough fight near Nayachor, some 30 miles from the border.

The two top officials in the Bangla Desh government-in-exile, Acting President Syed Nazrul Islam and Prime Minister Tajuddin Ahmad, have crossed into Jessore with a contingent of guerrilla fighters and newsmen. [redacted] an interim capital may be set up either there or at Pabna.

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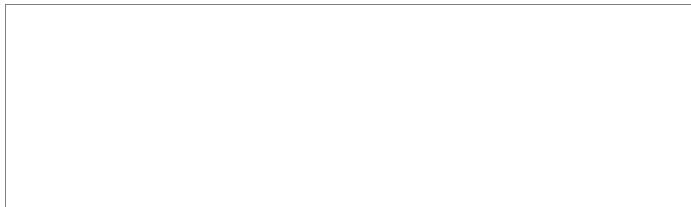
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The moderate, middle-class Awami League politicians who dominate the exile government have had their differences right along with the leftist members of the Bangla Desh movement, including Ahmad. The leftists' apparently strong ties with Moscow and especially with New Delhi should give them significant influence in the new state. Younger men who have been carrying on the guerrilla struggle within East Pakistan provide another crop of potential leaders, and we believe that their ideological orientation varies widely.

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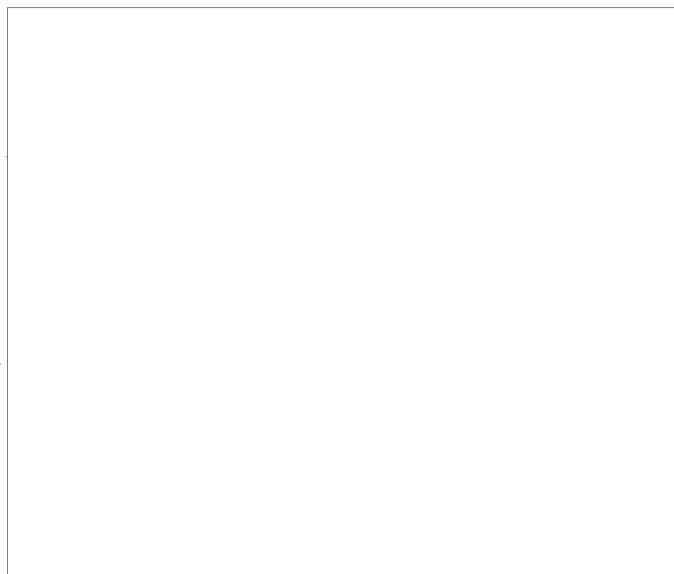
Indian Foreign Minister Singh and Foreign Secretary Kaul told Ambassador Bush in New York that India has no territorial ambitions in West Pakistan, but they indicated that this position could change if Pakistan continued the war in an effort to make gains in the West to compensate for losses in the East. When questioned, they would not commit themselves to the same extent with regard to the Pakistani territory of Azad Kashmir. On this subject Kaul would only say that India had no major ambitions.

* * *

A five-man Soviet delegation led by Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Kuznetsov has arrived in New Delhi for several days of consultations. An Indian spokesman stated that his government would bring up the question of Soviet recognition of Bangla Desh but, according to the US Embassy in Moscow, there are no indications that the Soviets are on the brink of recognizing Bangla Desh as yet.

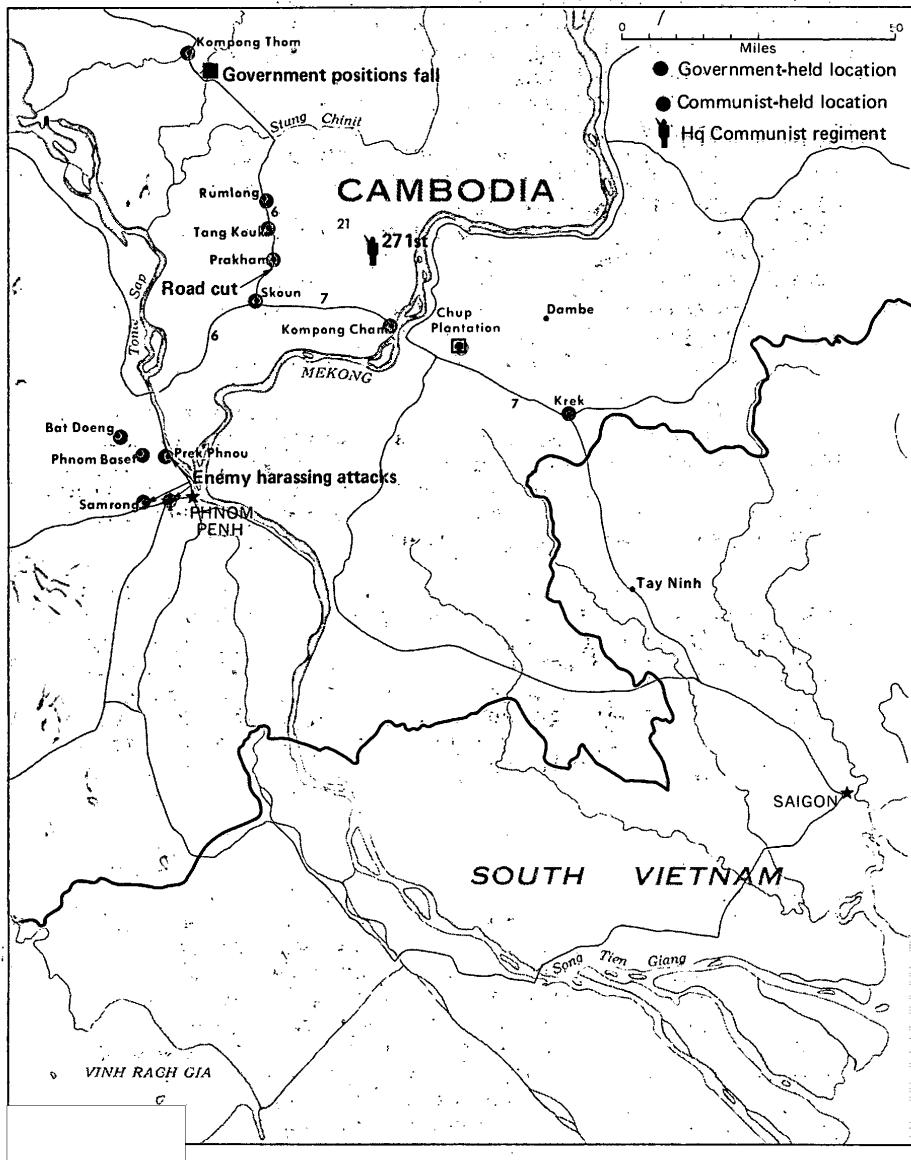


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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

CAMBODIA

A government hill position at Phnom Baset, 12 miles northwest of Phnom Penh, was lost during the weekend to a Communist force believed to include elements of the North Vietnamese 101D Regiment. The Communists also fired five rockets at Phnom Penh's airport again on Saturday night and conducted simultaneous harassing attacks against two nearby villages. So far, the government clearing operations south and west of the capital have made no significant contact with the enemy.

In eastern Cambodia, South Vietnamese troops encountered some sharp weekend fighting in the Dambe sector north of Route 7. They anticipate further resistance from the same enemy force--believed to include two North Vietnamese infantry regiments and an artillery unit--as they push west along Route 7 toward the Chup plantation.

On the Route 6 battlefield, the latest radio direction finding shows the 271st Regiment of the Vietnamese Communist 9th Division continuing to move eastward from the highway. Late last week the Communists overran four more small government positions on Route 6 a few miles south of Kompong Thom. Farther south, mining of a section of the road will make it difficult, until repairs can be completed, for the government to move supplies up the roadway to its units at Tang Kouk.

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

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INTERNATIONAL MONETARY DEVELOPMENTS

French opposition to a formal negotiating mandate for trade talks between the European Communities and the US before currency realignments are agreed upon was outlined by Foreign Minister Schumann at a meeting on Saturday of the EC Council. Schumann contended that statements made at the Group of Ten meeting earlier this month in Rome did not commit the Community to begin trade negotiations immediately. In his view currency realignments, including dollar devaluation, should come first. The Council on Saturday nevertheless adopted a declaration of intent to begin trade negotiations "as soon as possible."

Although most of France's EC partners favored formally setting up terms that would allow the EC Commission to begin trade negotiations, they apparently agree with Paris that the US has been "pressing too hard" on the trade issue. In any event, they believe that there is too little time to expect any results of negotiations before the Group of Ten financial talks scheduled for the end of this week in Washington. The EC permanent representatives in Brussels are unlikely to finish preparing the formal negotiating mandate before Wednesday at the earliest. Their discussions will include a few possible EC concessions already advanced by the Commission as well as suggestions of US reciprocity. The complexity of these issues may require extended deliberation among the Six.

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Arab States:

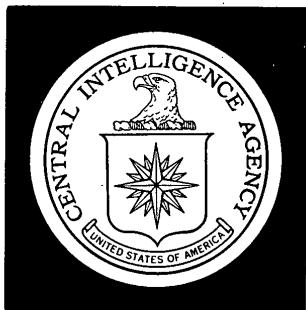
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Yugoslavia: Croat party boss Dabcevic-Kucar and her three main lieutenants quit under pressure yesterday after the firing by Tito of a Croat general and the arrest of 14 student nationalist leaders. These actions underscore the seriousness with which Tito views the threat to Yugoslav unity posed by Croatian nationalism. A new round of student trouble may well develop--at least one demonstration took place yesterday in support of the ousted leaders. After these dismissals, the new Croat party leadership will have great difficulty in restoring mutual confidence between Belgrade and Croatia.

Poland: The new leadership selected at the party congress on Saturday has a relatively progressive, modern cast and can be expected to support Gierek in attacking Poland's problems in a vigorous manner. Several of those advanced had played an important role in consolidating Gierek's power over the military and police. A similar shake-up in the government apparatus may follow soon. The congress also recommitted the party to Gierek's consumer-oriented policies, details of which he promised to air during parliamentary elections during 1972, a year early.

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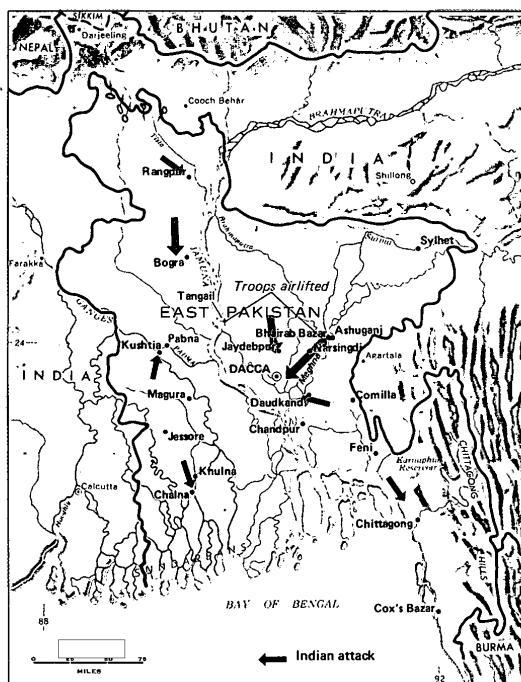
PRINCIPAL DEVELOPMENTS

The Indians say their main force driving toward Dacca is now only six miles from the East Pakistani capital, and some local Pakistani officials are again talking of a negotiated surrender. (Page 1)

China apparently has added a ninth army to its Pei-
king Military Region. (Page 3)

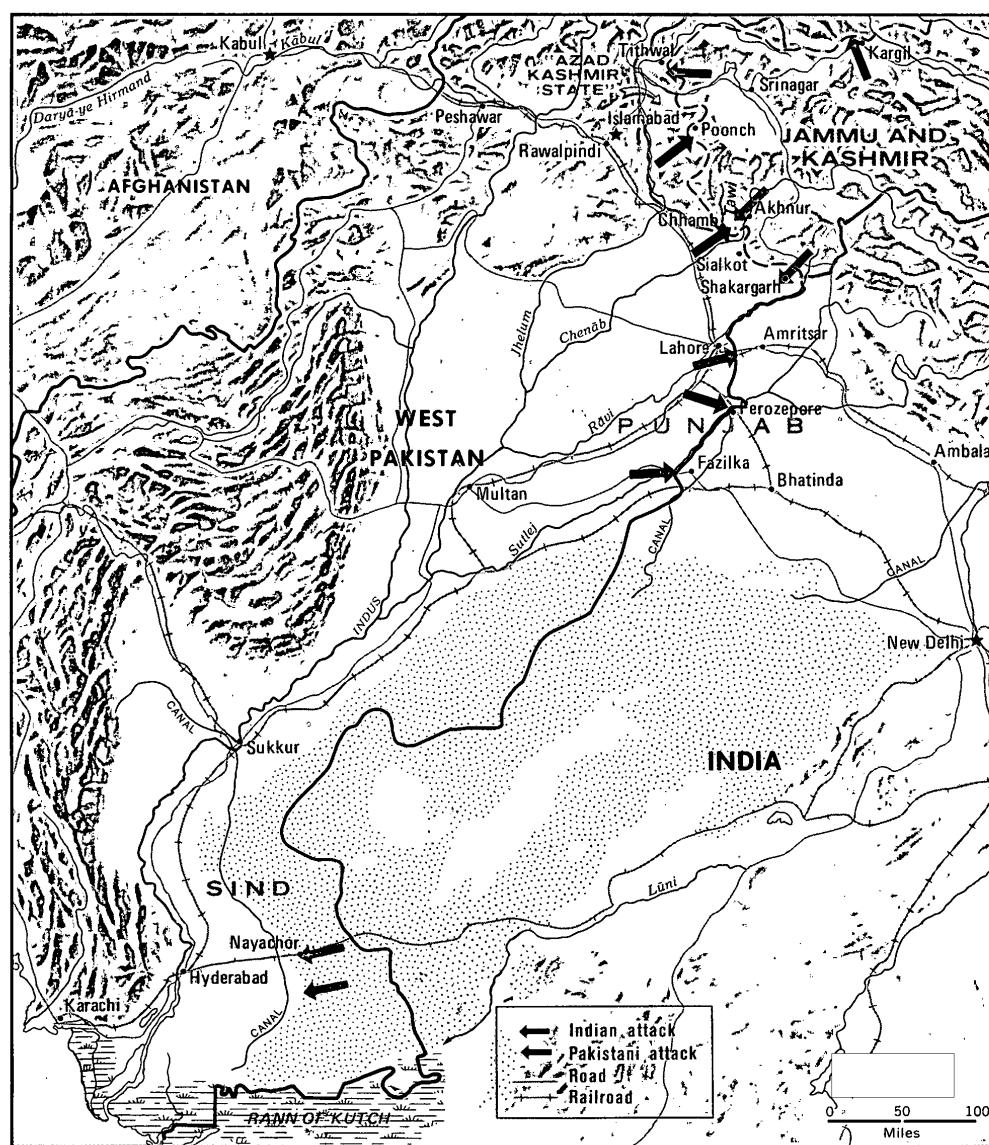
Formal signing of the inter-German and inter-Berlin
agreements is likely by this weekend. (Page 3)

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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

INDIA-PAKISTAN

The Indians claim that their main column pushing on Dacca from the northeast has now reached the last river crossing, just six miles from the East Pakistani capital. This force, however, appears to be meeting increased Pakistani resistance. A second Indian column approaching Dacca from the south is said to have reached Jaydebpur, 12 miles from the capital. A third is still 22 miles away at Daudkandi and has yet to cross the Meghna River. The Indians say they are also making gains farther south and are now within 20 miles of Chittagong.

On the western front, the situation has remained relatively static. The Pakistanis hold the town of Chhamb in Indian Kashmir, but the Indians hold the ground to the east, across a river, and are bringing in reinforcements. Reporters have seen heavy Pakistani military traffic moving toward the Chhamb sector, suggesting preparations for a new Pakistani offensive in the area. Control of Akhnur, about 18 miles east of Chhamb, could enable Pakistani forces to cut a major transportation and supply route between northern India and Kashmir.

Major General Farman Ali, adviser to East Pakistani governor Malik, told Consul General Spivak in Dacca early today that he and Malik still hoped to arrange some kind of cease-fire with the Indian Army and Mukti Bahini to avoid a "bloodbath." He said the Pakistani Army in the East was outnumbered, cut off, and unlikely to be able to hold out more than three or four more days. Malik also told Spivak that any negotiations would be handled in Islamabad where President Yahya was discussing the situation with Ambassador Farland.

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Any surrender proposal is likely to be adamantly opposed by the East Pakistani commander General Niazi, who has publicly promised to fight to the death.

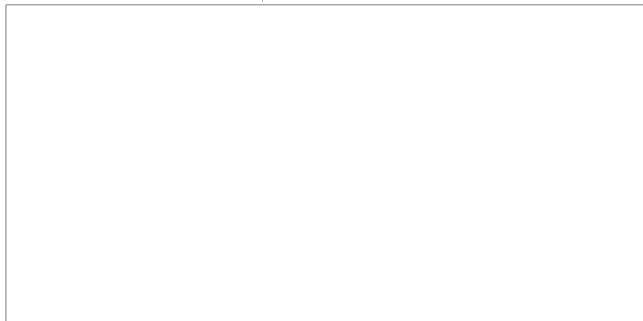
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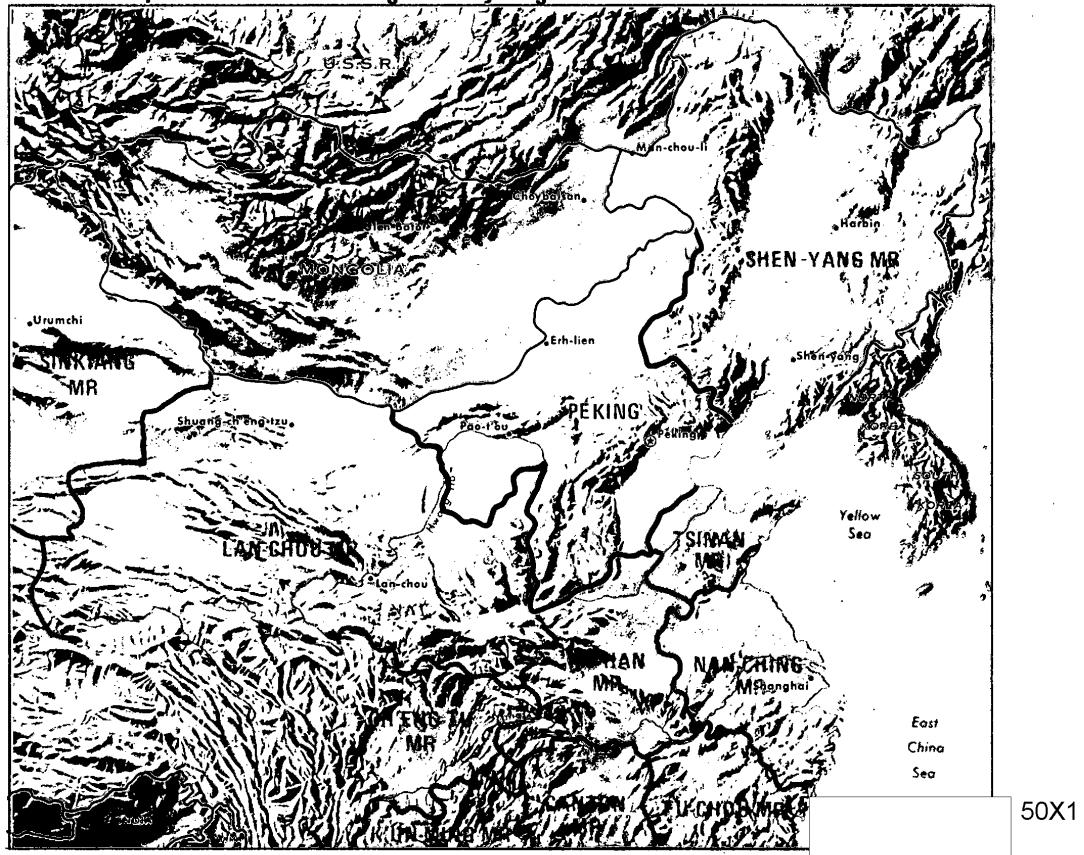
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Chinese Expand Forces in Peking Military Region



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Communist China: [redacted]

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Chinese have established a new army in the Peking Military Region. This gives them a total of nine armies and some 320,000 men in this area and is the latest step in China's long-standing effort to strengthen its defenses near the Sino-Soviet border.

West Germany: The formal signing of the inter-Berlin and inter-German agreements, initiated on Saturday, is expected by the weekend, following Allied review of the documents. The agreements will not enter into force, however, until the signing of the final protocol of the Four-Power Berlin accord. Soviet signature, Bonn says, is contingent on ratification of its treaties with Moscow and Warsaw. The Brandt government submitted the treaties for ratification yesterday, but the process is not likely to be completed for three or four months.

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THE PRESIDENT'S DAILY BRIEF

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PRINCIPAL DEVELOPMENTS

Pakistani forces appear to be on the verge of capitulating in the East. (Page 1)

The military situation in Cambodia is discussed on Page 4.

An agreement on national fishing rights has cleared the way for the UK, Denmark, and Ireland to sign the EC accession treaty. (Page 5)

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

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INDIA-PAKISTAN

Pakistani forces appear to be on the verge of capitulating in the East. Despite his resignation yesterday, Governor Malik and his military adviser, General Farman Ali, sent a message early this morning to UN Secretary General Thant claiming that President Yahya wants an immediate cease-fire to permit talks aimed at bringing hostilities to an end. The message stated that Yahya desired "honorable conditions for Pakistani troops and protection of civilians."

Although a similar initiative last week by Farman Ali did not have Yahya's approval and was quashed by Islamabad, the deteriorating situation in the East may well have convinced Yahya to call it quits.

Yesterday, General Niazi, Islamabad's army commander in East Pakistan, said he wanted a cease-fire. Only a few days ago, he had taken a vehement stand against surrendering. Niazi's proposal, which he asked the US consul in Dacca to transmit to New Delhi, calls for an immediate cease-fire, the regrouping of Pakistani armed forces in areas to be mutually agreed upon, and guarantees for their safety and the safety of the Biharis and others who have helped the East Pakistan government since last March. Niazi also promised that he would abide by any UN Security Council decision providing for a permanent settlement of the conflict. [redacted]

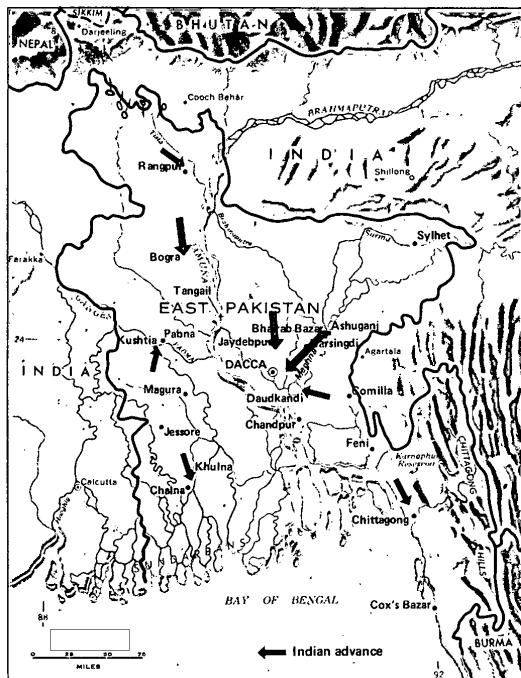
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Commenting on Islamabad's options after the defeat of the Pakistani Army in the East, the US Embassy in Islamabad estimates that West Pakistan would probably prefer to cut its losses and concede the loss of East Pakistan--if this can be done with honor--rather than continue fighting against increasing odds in the West. The government's acceptance of the loss of East Pakistan and agreement to halt the fighting in the West would help keep the army intact as an institution, which, in turn, would deter the emergence of a more radical military leadership. The government's control of the media would facilitate efforts to make defeat more palatable to the public.

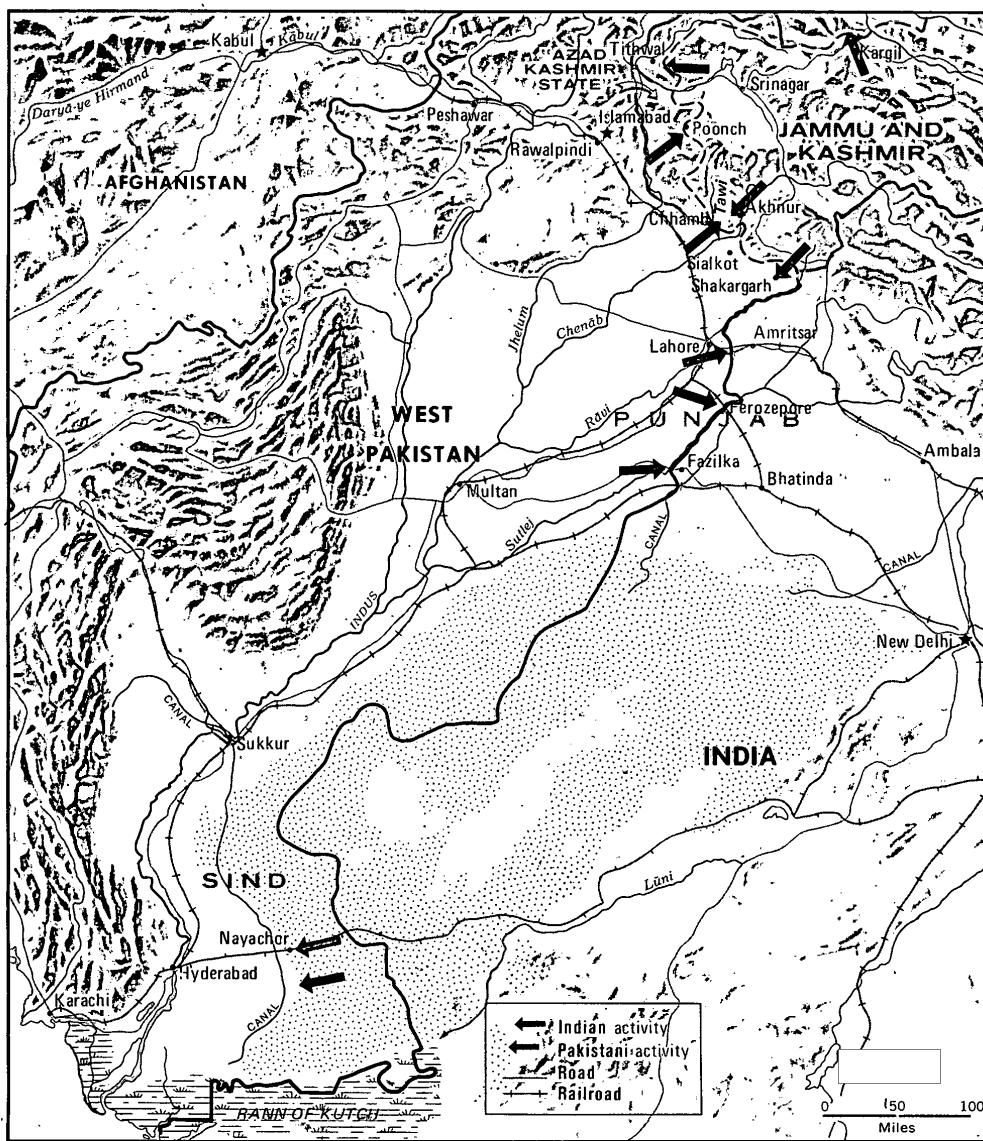
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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY



PAKISTAN

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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

In the fighting yesterday the Indians began shelling military targets in Dacca as their armored and infantry units probed the city's outer defense perimeter. Although the Indians now claim to have sealed off all escape routes from the capital, they may be holding back from an all-out attack in hopes that the Pakistanis will decide against a bloody last-ditch stand. The Indians claim that some Pakistani troops around the city have already surrendered. Dacca's civil administration has virtually collapsed and most high-level Islamabad-appointed officials have sought refuge in the International Hotel.

Indian forces are reported to have advanced to about eight miles from Chittagong, East Pakistan's most important port. The Indians claim they are giving the city a heavy pounding from the air and sea. Elsewhere in the province, some Pakistani forces continue to hold a few isolated spots. Where the Indians are now in firm control refugees are beginning to trickle back to their homes from India. According to a representative of the UN High Commission for Refugees, 30,000 people have returned so far, most of them heads of family who are exploring conditions.

According to the Indian press, New Delhi has agreed to send civil servants into East Pakistan to help the new Bangla Desh government set up an administrative network there.

Although Bangla Desh authorities recognize the need for Indian expertise, their request for Indian aid is also motivated by a desire to prevent radical groups from seizing control in many areas where the administrative structure has lapsed.

On the western front, the situation remains largely unchanged. Except for patrolling and some small-unit clashes there was little fighting anywhere yesterday, except in the Sialkot sector where the Indians said they were trying to capture the town of Shakargarh, ten miles over the border.

* * *

Although more than a dozen Soviet ships are now in the Indian Ocean, only four--two Kotlin-class destroyers and two minesweepers--are naval surface combatants. These four ships are currently in the far western sector of the Arabian Sea, well removed from the India-Pakistan theater. The one Soviet submarine known to be in the Indian Ocean is an F-class diesel attack unit believed to be near Socotra.

(continued)

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

Three ships of the Pacific Fleet are now in the South China Sea, however, suggesting that the Soviets are planning to augment their Indian Ocean forces. These ships, a Kynda-class guided missile cruiser, a J-class guided missile submarine, and a tanker, were some 400 miles south of Taiwan today, and could enter the Indian Ocean via the Malacca Straits this weekend.

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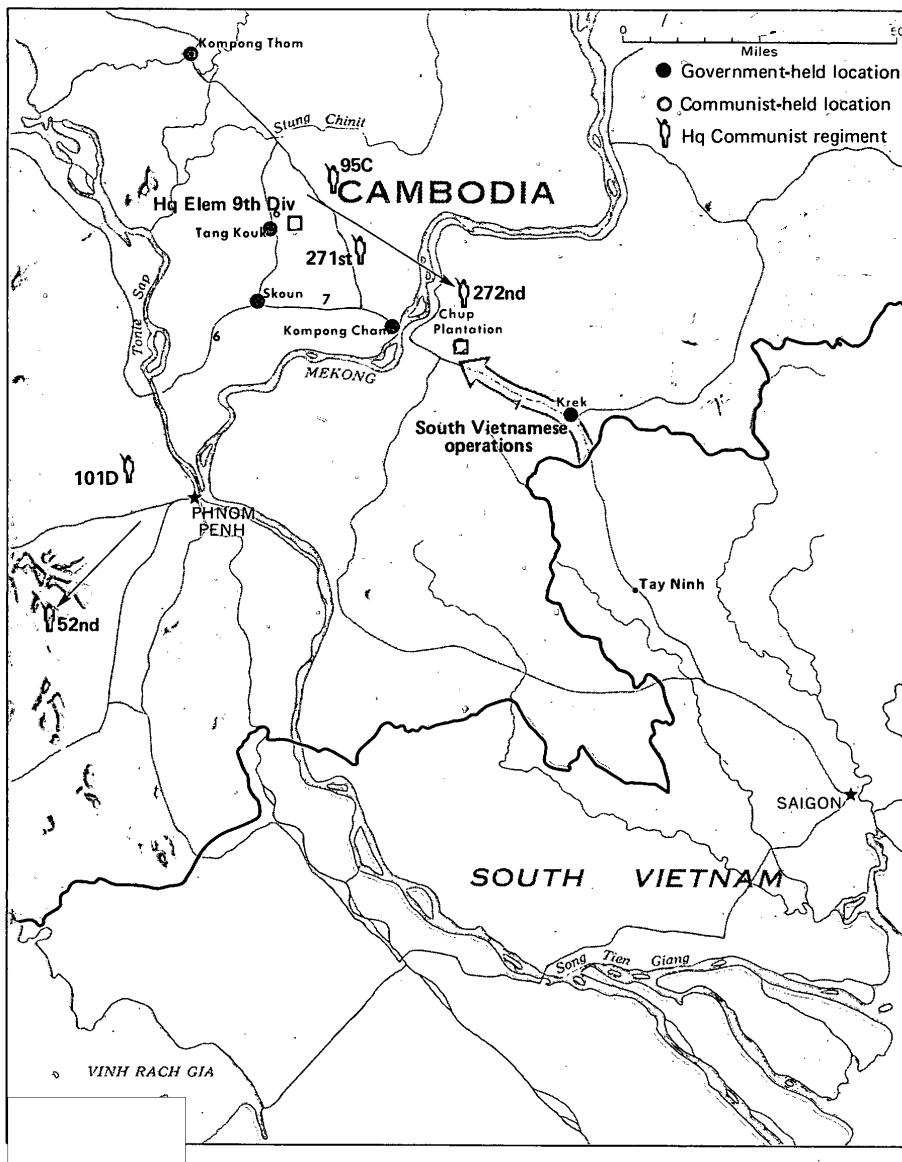
ship movements suggest another task group may be headed to the Indian Ocean. Members of this three-ship task group, possibly led by a Kotlin-class destroyer located east of the Kuriles on 13 December,

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Two more Soviet combatants--Kresta- and Kotlin-class large anti-submarine ships--moved south out of the Sea of Japan on 14 December. These units have

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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY



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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

CAMBODIA

The Viet Cong's 272nd Regiment has withdrawn from Route 6 and now is located just north of the Chup rubber plantation, where it could be used to counter South Vietnamese operations in the southern part of the plantation. Two other regiments are moving eastward, but remain within striking distance of Route 6. Enemy reconnaissance units are still active along the road, and a headquarters element of the Communist 9th Division recently moved closer to Tang Kouk, where the morale and defenses of government troops remain shaky.

Farther north, the Communists also are keeping the pressure on government forces isolated at Kompong Thom. According to the US defense attaché, thinly spread government forces are totally dependent on aerial resupply and are highly vulnerable to Communist harassment.

In the Phnom Penh area, the Phuoc Long Front's 52nd Regiment has returned to its normal base area some 35 miles southwest of the capital, apparently to rest and refit following about six weeks of activity near Phnom Penh. Other units remain close to the city, however. Cambodian Army units on clearing operations west of Phnom Penh have had little contact with the Communists, but are staying close to the roadways.

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

NOTE

European Communities: An agreement on the troublesome question of fishing rights has cleared the way for the UK, Denmark, and Ireland to sign the EC accession treaty. The agreement permits exclusive national fishing rights within a six-mile limit that can be extended to 12 miles in areas where fishing is the main industry. Norway, however, is dissatisfied with this arrangement and is expected to delay signing in hopes of getting better terms. Although the ratification process is not likely to be completed until late next year, the UK is already moving rapidly to get in step with its new partners. At the early December meeting of the Group of Ten finance ministers in Rome, Britain carefully concerted its position with that of the Six, and it has endorsed the EC's position on the pending trade negotiations with the US.

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THE PRESIDENT'S DAILY BRIEF

16 December 1971

PRINCIPAL DEVELOPMENTS

The Pakistanis have until 0530 Washington time to surrender their troops in the East. In the interim, the Indians apparently have ordered a stop to firing in East Pakistan. (Page 1)

The latest fedayeen assassination attempt is discussed on Page 3.

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The insurgency in northern Thailand has sharply increased in intensity. (Page 5)

The Chinese

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(Page 6)

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We examine on Page 7 the possibilities for closer relations between the USSR and Israel.

We discuss at Annex Yugoslavia's Croatian problem.

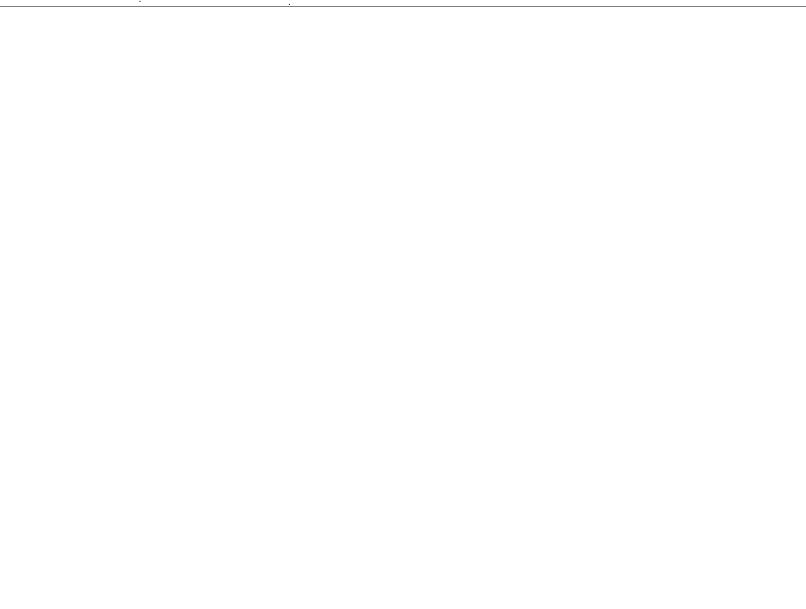
FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

INDIA-PAKISTAN

Indian Chief of Staff General Manekshaw has agreed to give Pakistan until 0530 Eastern Standard Time to surrender its troops in the East. The Indians have sent a senior officer to Dacca via helicopter to effect the surrender. General Niazi, the Pakistani commander in the East, may still, however, try to persuade the Indians to accept terms short of the unconditional surrender they have demanded. Further information on Pakistani plans with regard to the war and the domestic political situation may be revealed by President Yahya, who is to make a nationwide radio address this morning at 0915 Washington time.

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In the West, the Indians reportedly bombed Karachi yesterday for the first time in several days. Lahore was also attacked from the air. Land and air action was reported at several other places on the western front, but there apparently were no important new gains by either side.

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[redacted] an Indian Army reserve division was airlifted from Calcutta on 11 December to the western front.

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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

Anti-American demonstrations are continuing in Indian cities. There were six such demonstrations in Calcutta on 14 December, the largest with about 2,000 participants. More such actions are expected in Calcutta over the next few days. According to US officials in the city, the demonstrations reflect a popular rather than merely a partisan mood, and the attitude of the demonstrators is the angriest seen there in the past two years. A number of anti-US demonstrations also took place yesterday in New Delhi, including one in which a number of members of Parliament of various political persuasions protested in front of the US Embassy.

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

JORDAN-FEDAYEEN

The attempted killing of Jordan's ambassador in London yesterday underlines the Palestine liberation movement's intention to eliminate the Jordanian regime by assassination. Zaid Rifai, who served King Husayn as chief of the royal court during the bitter contests with the fedayeen last year, was wounded in the hand by submachine gun fire near his embassy. The assailant, who escaped, was presumably a member of a group similar to the Fatah special action squad that assassinated Prime Minister Wasfi Tal in Cairo late last month.

Further assassination attempts or Jordanian reprisals could occur in almost any city where senior Jordanian or Palestinian leaders are present. Beirut, the effective headquarters of Palestinian resistance activity, is likely to be the main arena.

Syria could be another target for Jordanian reprisals.

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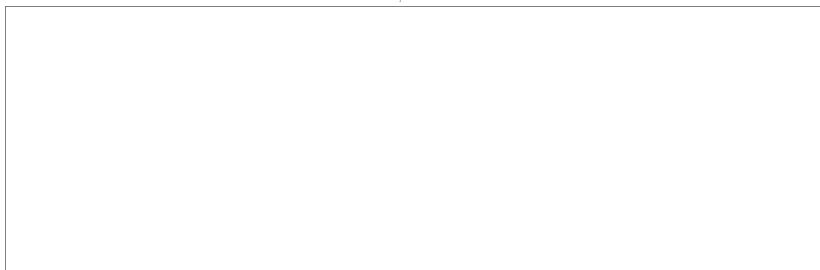
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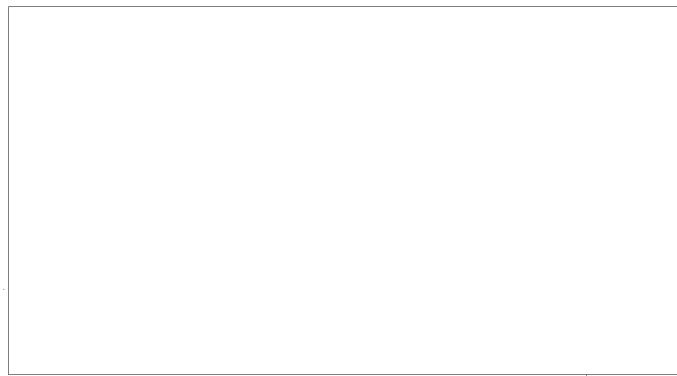
EGYPT-USSR



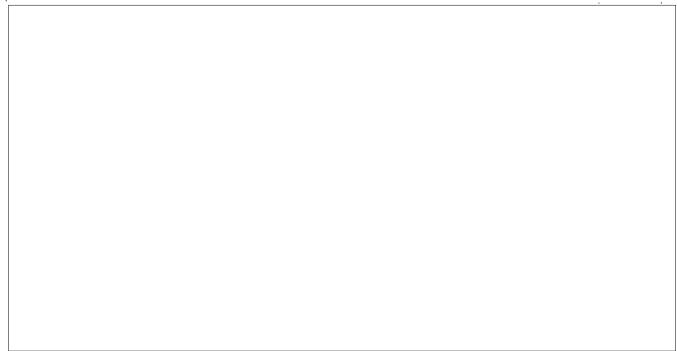
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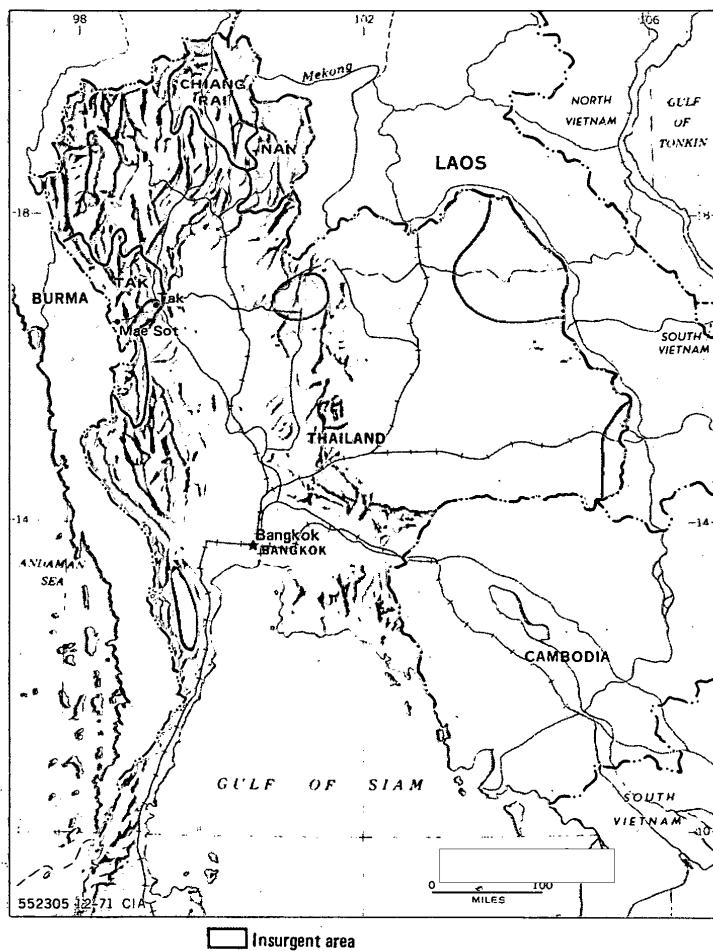


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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY



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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

THAILAND

The Communist insurgency in the north has taken an increasingly adverse trend. In a recent series of skillfully conducted ambushes, Communist guerrillas have demonstrated sophisticated tactics, including the ability to use relatively large units. They initiated three separate incidents on 6 December along key roads in Nan and Chiang Rai provinces and later conducted a daylight ambush on the important Tak - Mae Sot highway in Tak Province. Government casualties in these encounters were over 100. The ambushes, plus increased harassment of road-building crews, suggest a growing focus on interdiction of major roads.

The northern insurgency is expanding more rapidly than the longer-lived one in the northeast and has become more worrisome to the Thai Government. Over the past year, insurgents in the north have increased from a strength of under 2,000 to about 2,300 to 2,700. They are supported by a regional command in a Communist-controlled section of Laos and are being outfitted with Communist weapons. The insurgents originally concentrated on subverting hill tribes long neglected by the Thai Government, but over the past year they have moved into the contiguous Thai-populated lowlands. These forays until recently were limited to recruitment, propaganda, and acquisition of supplies, but the temporary seizure last month of a lowland village may portend an effort to expand base areas into the lowlands.

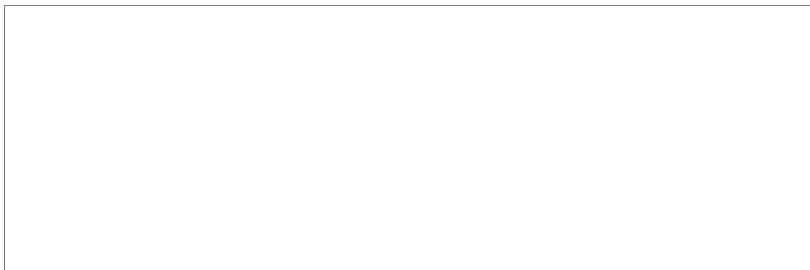
Thai counter-insurgency efforts in the north have been hampered by the difficulty of the terrain and the wariness of hill tribesmen. These efforts have also suffered from a lack of initiative. Even well-executed operations have been nullified later by the failure to maintain a government presence. A recent government decision to emphasize small-unit patrols in frequent contact with rural villages is encouraging, but this new tactic also may suffer in implementation.

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

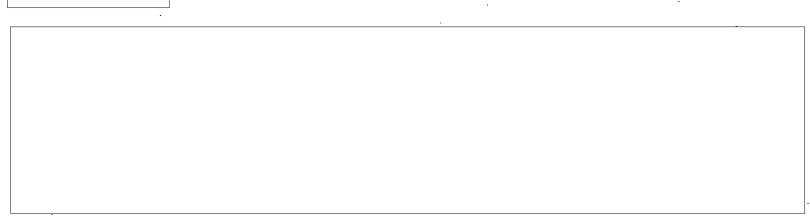
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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

COMMUNIST CHINA



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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

USSR-ISRAEL

The Soviets are still encouraging speculation about the possibility of a rapprochement between the USSR and Israel. Soviet journalist Victor Louis, a man often used by Moscow to float trial balloons, wrote in one of Israel's most widely read newspapers on Monday that increased emigration of Soviet Jews to Israel "might require" the creation of Soviet and Israeli interest sections in other nations' embassies in Moscow and Tel Aviv. The Israeli Foreign Ministry responded with a statement that the USSR has not made such a proposal, but that Israel would be willing to discuss it if the matter were raised.

The Soviets, because of the sensibilities of their Arab allies, appear to want a regularization of their unofficial contacts with the Israelis, rather than resumption of diplomatic relations. They undoubtedly worry that reopening the Soviet Embassy in Tel Aviv would invite the Arabs to permit a greater US presence in their capitals. In any case, the Soviets would like to be able to show the Arabs that their resumption of ties with Israel would result in a more conciliatory negotiating position in Tel Aviv. Such a result would be difficult to obtain from the Israelis. Nevertheless, even unofficial contacts would provide Moscow a useful channel of communications at a time when Egypt is threatening to resume the war and would help cut into the US monopoly of influence in Tel Aviv.

Up to now, the Israelis have held out for re-establishment of formal relations with the USSR. The Foreign Ministry statement, however, raises the possibility that Israel might settle for something less, if the prospect of continued emigration of Soviet Jews were part of the bargain. In fact, the number of Jews emigrating from the USSR to Israel in December has been abnormally high--1,200 in the first 11 days of the month, according to a Foreign Ministry official. The total for 1971 could come to as many as 14,000. The figure for 1969 was about 3,000 and for 1970 only about 1,000.

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

CROATIAN NATIONALISM SURFACES IN YUGOSLAVIA

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By his sweeping purge of the Communist Party's leaders in Croatia last Sunday, Tito means to reinforce the principle that excessive republican nationalism cannot be tolerated in the federal structure. Although the message was clearly received, it does not seem to have convinced many important Croats, and Tito is embroiled in one of the more serious challenges to his authority since he took power.

Indeed, the Croatians have not yet given up the fight. The Croatian party central committee has not fully acknowledged--as was expected of it--its culpability for mistakes leading to the purge. A large number of Croats have resigned from party, army, and press posts, but no new people have been appointed to fill most of these positions. Some of these resignations were directed by Tito, but the large number of local officials who have resigned since Sunday suggests that many are acting in protest against the central authorities. These developments strongly suggest that the majority of Croat leaders are basically in agreement with the views of the ousted nationalist leaders and are unwilling to accept official posts in the current circumstances. The appointment as new party head of Mrs. Planinc, who is of Slovenian origin although she grew up in Croatia, indicates a certain difficulty in finding Croatian candidates for the job.

Croatian nationalism has been a subterranean issue since the formation of the federation.

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Today's crisis grew out of the Croatian party's lenient handling of a student strike that lasted from 23 November to 3 December at Zagreb University. The students were looking for autonomy from federal control and seem to have received the sympathy of party leaders who, in turn, got student support for their fight with Belgrade over control of the republic's economy. The strike is over, but after the purge began the students mounted small defiant demonstrations in support of the ousted leaders. These were swiftly put down; the majority of students are back in school today, and some are in jail.

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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

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Neither the students' strike nor their demonstrations attracted support from other segments of the population, and it is likely that Tito can face down the present "strike" of Croatia's politicians. We expect that party discipline and at least a surface unity will be restored in time for the second national conference of the Communist Party in late January. The meeting was called to discuss the role of the party under the new federal constitution, which gives republic governments a great amount of autonomy. Although there has been some argument that the party also should be decentralized, it is now almost a foregone conclusion that a monolithic party structure will be retained. If taken too far, however, the application of the power inherent in such a structure could render irrelevant the role of autonomous governments and open new tensions between the republics and Belgrade.

Nationalism, based on ethnic and religious differences among the 15 differing peoples who reside in Yugoslavia, is not restricted to Croatia. In recent days, for example, federal Vice President Crvenkovski has been charged with being a Macedonian nationalist, and so have professors and students of Albanian origin at Pristina University in Kosovo. Although there is an element of settling old scores in these charges, there also is an element of truth.

Tito is racing the clock. He is trying to create federal and republic institutions that will be strong enough to survive his death or incapacitation. After the forthcoming party conference, he will consider this phase of his work largely done. With his tremendous prestige, Tito has imposed cooperation among competing republics and a truce among hostile nationalities, but he has not been able to instill trust among them. For this reason, we expect such animosities to flare again, perhaps with Croatia leading the way, when Tito is no longer available to impose solutions.

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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

THE PRESIDENT'S DAILY BRIEF

17 December 1971

PRINCIPAL DEVELOPMENTS

Pakistan has not yet indicated how it will respond to the unilateral Indian cease-fire scheduled to go into effect this morning. Indian diplomats are denying any designs on Azad Kashmir at this time.
(Page 1)

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[redacted] Peking [redacted] Moscow. *(Page 4)*

In Cambodia, Sirik Matak has reiterated his concern over Prime Minister Lon Nol's erratic handling of military affairs. *(Page 5)*

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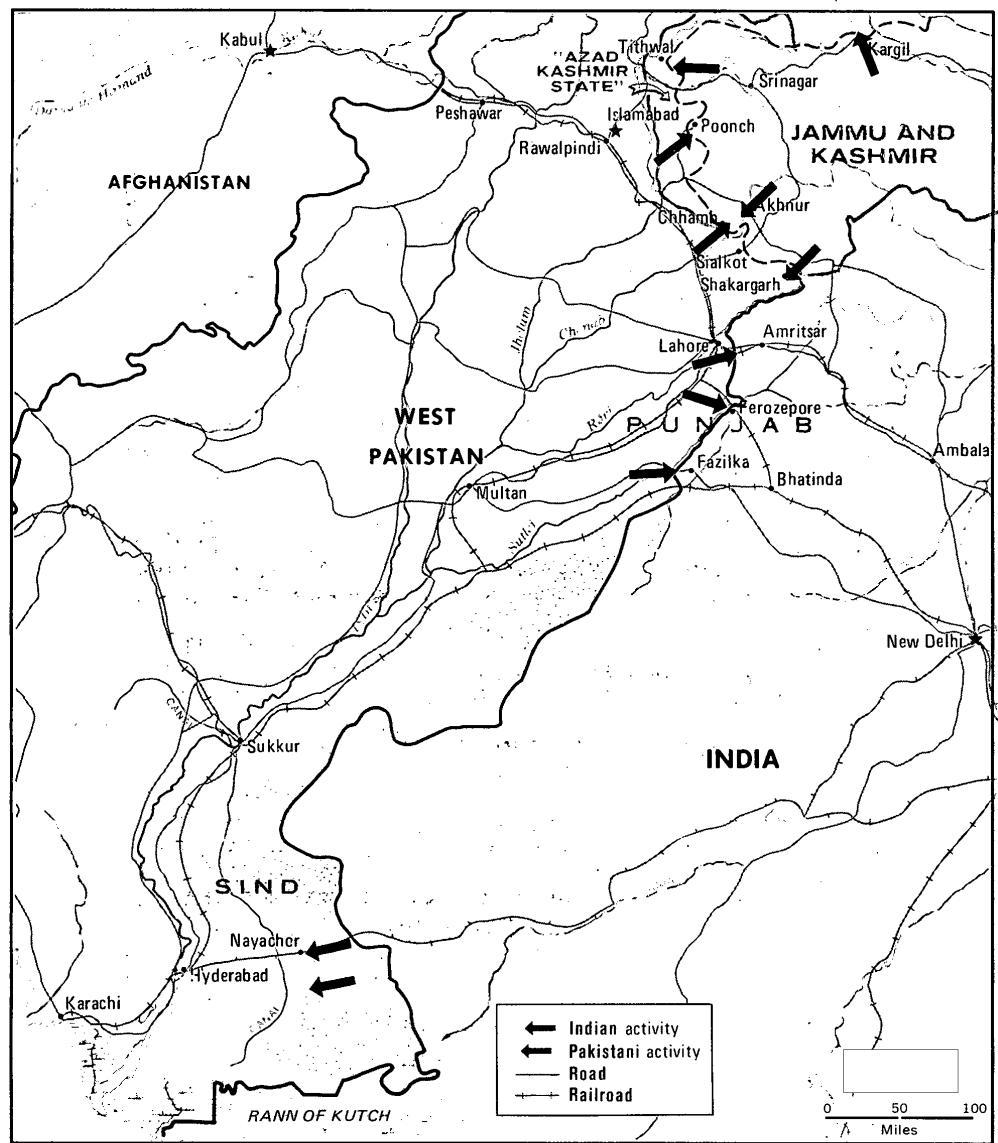
[redacted] North Korea [redacted] Japan [redacted]

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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY



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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

INDIA-PAKISTAN

Pakistan has not yet indicated whether it will stop fighting on the western front, where a unilateral Indian cease-fire is scheduled to go into effect at 9:30 a.m. EST today. Yesterday heavy fighting continued in the Sialkot sector, and the Pakistanis are massing troops and equipment, including one of their two armored divisions, just south of Lahore.

Indian diplomats have been indicating that they seek no territorial adjustments in Kashmir at this time.

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In the East, a few isolated Pakistani units in the countryside are still holding out following General Niazi's surrender in Dacca yesterday, and some heavy firing broke out near the US Consulate General today as Mukti Bahini moved through the commercial area. An Indian spokesman in New Delhi stated that the new Bangla Desh civil administration would take over today, although Indian forces would remain in the area indefinitely to help rehabilitate public utilities and repatriate refugees.

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Qazi Qaiyum, who has been the contact point between the exile government and US officials in Calcutta, has reiterated the concern of many Awami Leaguers lest India dominate an independent Bangla Desh. In Qaiyum's view, only Mujibur Rahman has the stature to lead Bangla Desh to a genuine independence.

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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

The factionalism within the Bangla Desh movement can be expected to grow now that the common struggle for freedom from Islamabad's rule is over. Qaiyum speaks for the Awami League moderates who have dominated the exile government and who now seem apprehensive that without Mujib they may be destined to play second fiddle to Indian- and Soviet-backed leftists. Despite the Awami Leaguers' hopes, it is doubtful whether Mujib's supremacy could be fully restored were he released from prison, given his absence from the Bengali scene during the past nine months and New Delhi's efforts to ensure that the League does not monopolize control of the new state.

* * *

China has strongly hinted to India that the surrender of the Pakistani Army in East Pakistan should now bring the war to an end.

--In an official statement issued yesterday, Peking for the first time accused India of wanting to "annihilate all of Pakistan."

--The Chinese also have lodged a protest accusing Indian troops of intruding into Chinese territory from Sikkim on 10 December for reconnaissance purposes.

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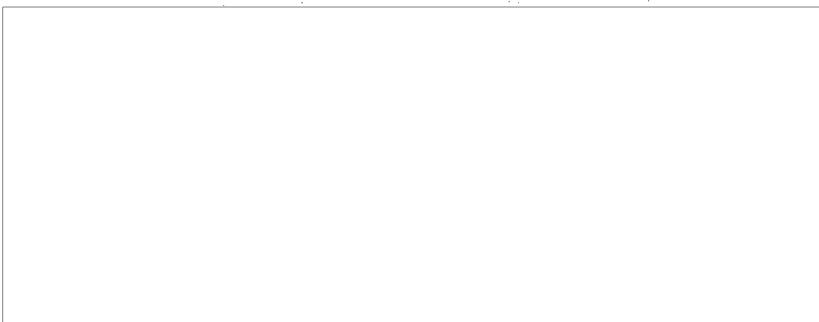
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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

USSR - COMMUNIST CHINA

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Recent Soviet comments on the stalemated negotiations have been increasingly pessimistic, and it is possible that Moscow hopes to bring pressure on Peking to be more forthcoming in the territorial discussions. It is also possible that Moscow is deliberately seeking to make Peking uneasy about its northern border in order to underscore its warnings to the Chinese to stay clear of South Asia. Although Ilichev may stay away from the talks for some time--last winter he returned to the USSR for almost six weeks--it seems unlikely that Moscow wants to bear responsibility for collapse of the talks.

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

CAMBODIA

In a conversation with Ambassador Swank on Wednesday, Sirik Matak reiterated his concern over Prime Minister Lon Nol's erratic handling of military affairs. He stressed his doubts that any long-term compromise can be worked out and contended that the present political impasse can be resolved only by Lon Nol's retirement.

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Sirik Matak gave no indication in his talk with the ambassador that he or others intend to press their differences with Lon Nol or quit the government. The burden of his remarks was that he feels torn between loyalty to the prime minister and a belief that Lon Nol must be persuaded to step aside in the best interests of the country.

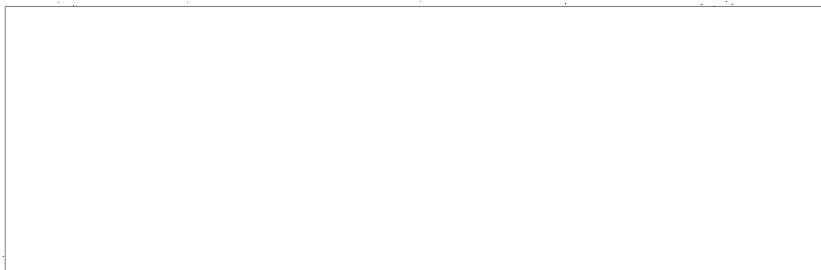
Some Khmer Krom commanders, who have previously been among Lon Nol's staunchest supporters, are now joining in the criticism of the prime minister. Their complaints center on the government's lack-luster performance in the Chenla II operation and in the fighting near Phnom Penh.

The Khmer Krom do not appear thus far to be casting about for alternative leadership. Their disenchantment with Lon Nol, however, adds a new volatile element to the unstable political situation, which could be drastically upset by any new battlefield reverses.

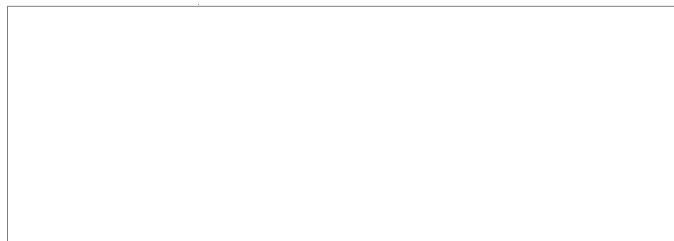
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NORTH KOREA - JAPAN



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THE PRESIDENT'S DAILY BRIEF

18 December 1971

PRINCIPAL DEVELOPMENTS

In West Pakistan, President Yahya is coming under criticism in the wake of defeat in the East and his acceptance of a cease-fire with India on the West. (Page 1)

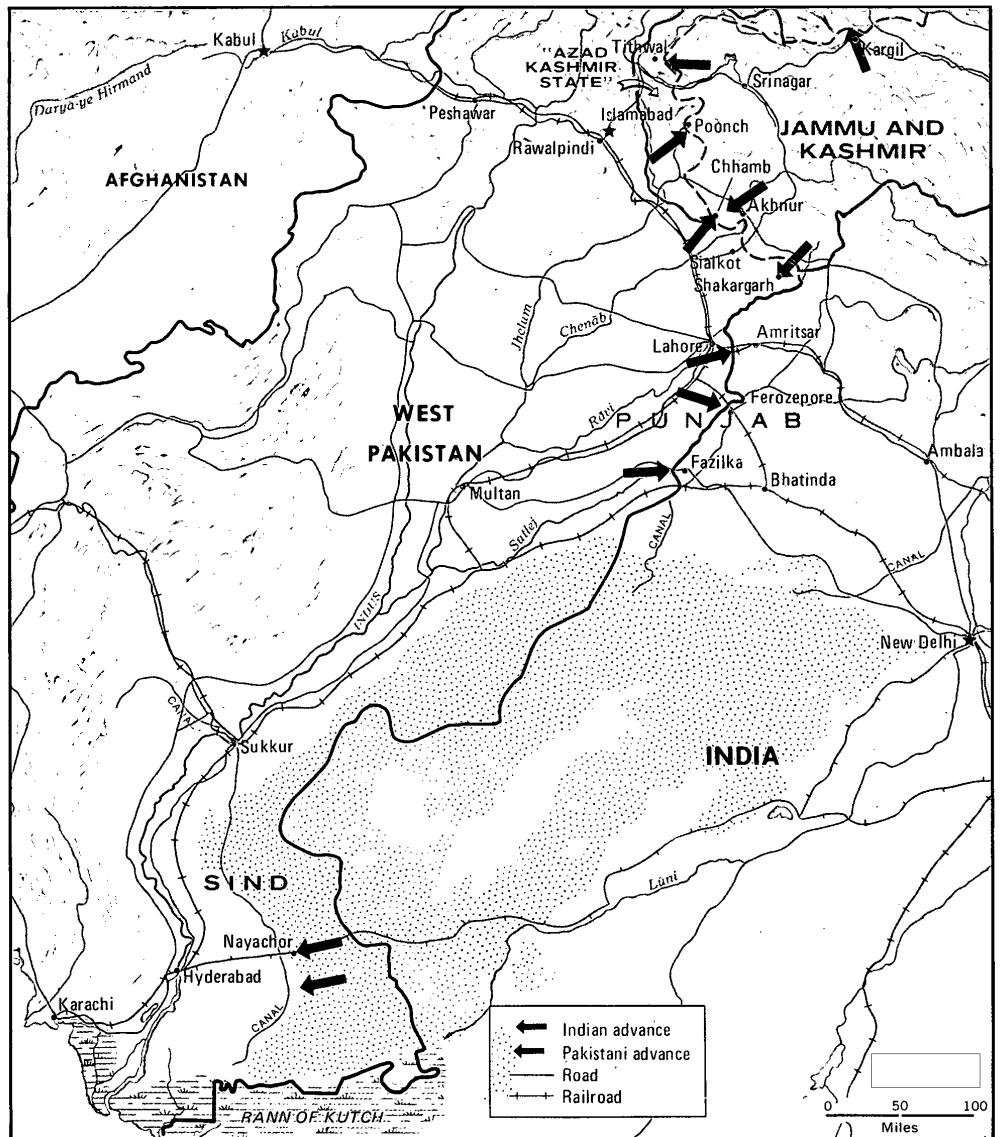
A sampling of recent statements by Soviet officials indicates that they hold high hopes regarding President Nixon's forthcoming visit to Moscow, but are concerned lest they appear to be on the defensive in relation to Peking. (Page 3)

Cambodian Government positions on Route 6 are again under heavy Communist attack. (Page 4)

In Laos, the Communists have dealt a setback to government forces in the south and have moved ahead with offensive preparations in the Plaine des Jarres area in the north. (Page 5) 50X1

[Redacted] (Page 6) 50X1

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY



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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

INDIA-PAKISTAN

President Yahya is coming under criticism in West Pakistan for the loss of the East and his acceptance of a cease-fire on the West. Shortly before Yahya issued his cease-fire order yesterday, a senior Pakistani Army officer told US officials that most of his colleagues preferred to fight on rather than accept India's ultimatum. Another senior officer stated later in the day that most of the officer corps would no longer back Yahya and that he was now "finished." [redacted]

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[redacted] considerable civilian discontent with Yahya is being voiced in the Rawalpindi-Islamabad area. There was a small anti-government demonstration yesterday in Peshawar, instigated by the strongest party in the West, the Pakistan People's Party.

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People's Party leader Z. A. Bhutto has told a member of the US delegation at the UN that he is no longer willing to accept Nurul Amin, a political rival from Bengal, as prime minister of a new civilian government planned for later this month. Local leaders in Bhutto's party say that Bhutto, who had agreed to be deputy prime minister and foreign minister in the new government, may return from the US soon and may no longer want a government post as long as Yahya remains president. Yahya has canceled a broadcast scheduled for this evening concerning the new constitution and government. The press in Rawalpindi is speculating that Yahya is about to be removed and, [redacted]

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[redacted] rumors circulated in Islamabad yesterday that he was under house arrest.

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No US official has reported seeing Yahya for several days, and his radiobroadcast to the nation on 16 December was pre-recorded. So far, however, there has been no hard evidence of any specific attempts or plans to replace Yahya as president. It is likely that he is deeply depressed by recent events and he may be feeling reluctant to pick up the pieces and carry on.

Information remains scattered concerning the effectiveness of the mutual cease-fire that went into effect on the western front yesterday at 9:30 A.M. EST. In Lahore the US Consulate reports that heavy artillery fire could still be heard early this morning. In the East, scattered street fighting continued in the city yesterday, but diminished as the

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

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day wore on. In at least some outlying areas elsewhere in the East, Pakistani troops apparently had not received word of the surrender and were still resisting.

In the 1965 Indo-Pakistani war, both sides committed a number of serious violations of the cease-fire after it went into effect. These gradually subsided over a period of a few weeks. Almost until the last minute yesterday, fighting was continuing on the western front as each side tried to make last-minute gains. The Indian press claims India now holds about 1,400 square miles of West Pakistani territory and that Pakistan holds 60 miles of Indian ground.

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USSR

A sampling of recent statements by Soviet officials on the President's trip to Moscow next spring reveals high Soviet hopes, mainly in the field of increased economic cooperation. At the same time, there is concern lest the visit be interpreted in the USSR as a defensive response by Moscow to the improvement in US relations with China.

A party lecturer in Leningrad recently said that many Soviets were questioning the invitation, given the continuation of the Vietnam war and US anti-Soviet policies elsewhere. Despite this, the propagandist said that the Soviets are committed to improving relations, particularly in the field of trade, and that there was reason to believe that the US is so committed too.

Another propagandist in Leningrad has said that the summit will "crown" recent Soviet diplomatic gains in Europe and help frustrate Peking's aspirations to engage in "plots" with the US. On the latter score, he said that Moscow's relations with China are "bad," and that to prevent Soviet isolation from the other Pacific powers, the USSR must work to improve relations with Japan and the US.

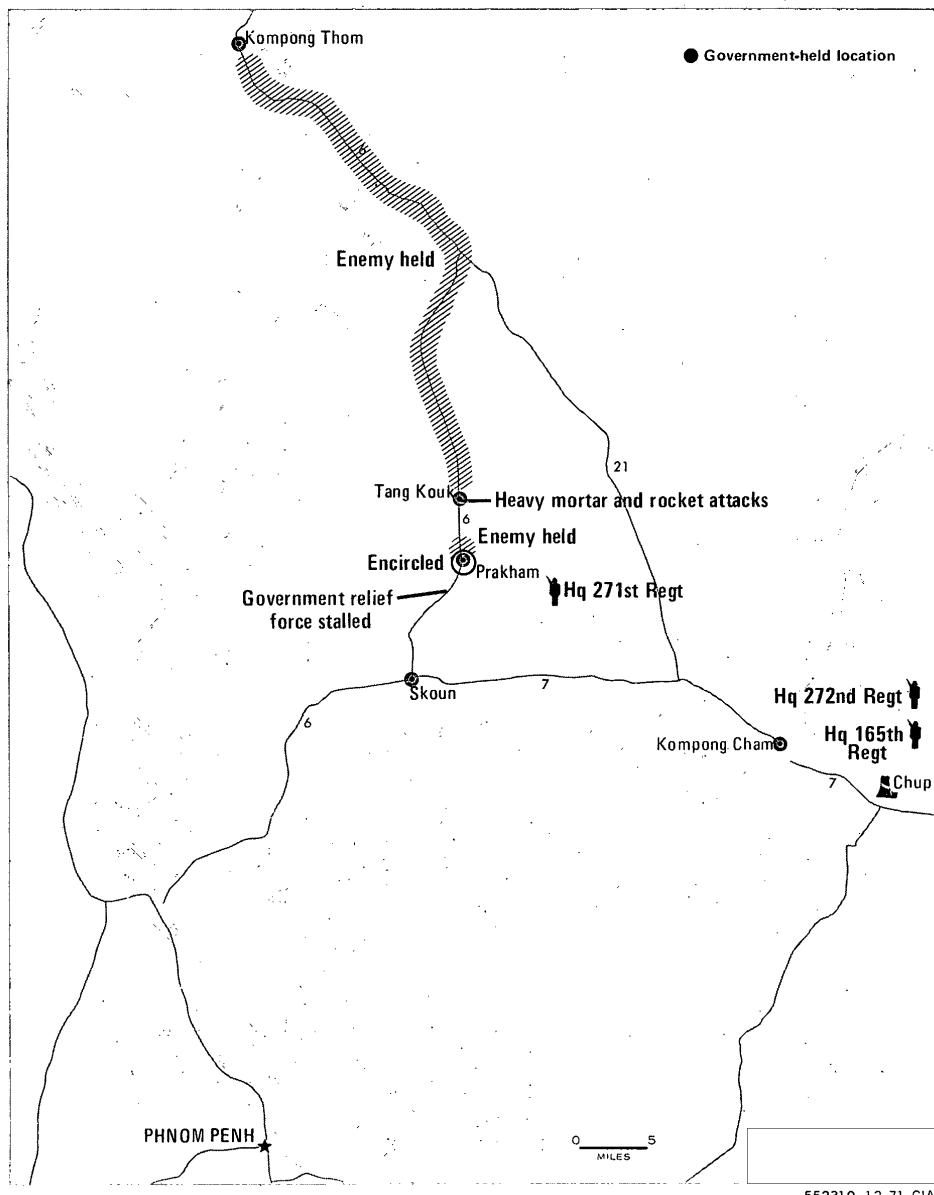
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Soviet official propaganda on the President's trip has been relatively sparse, positive in tone, and generally devoid of anything that could affect the trip.

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

CAMBODIA: Route 6 Area



FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

CAMBODIA

Two government battalions at Prakham on Route 6 have come under heavy Communist attack. They are now encircled and unable even to evacuate their wounded. A four-battalion relief column is on its way from Skoun to try to help effect a withdrawal of the Prakham forces. This column is having trouble advancing along damaged portions of Route 6 and has itself come under Communist rocket fire.

The Communists are also continuing to shell and carry out ground probes against government positions in and around Tang Kouk. Although there has been no major change in the situation, Cambodian commanders in the village say they can no longer maneuver effectively and are adopting a static defense posture.

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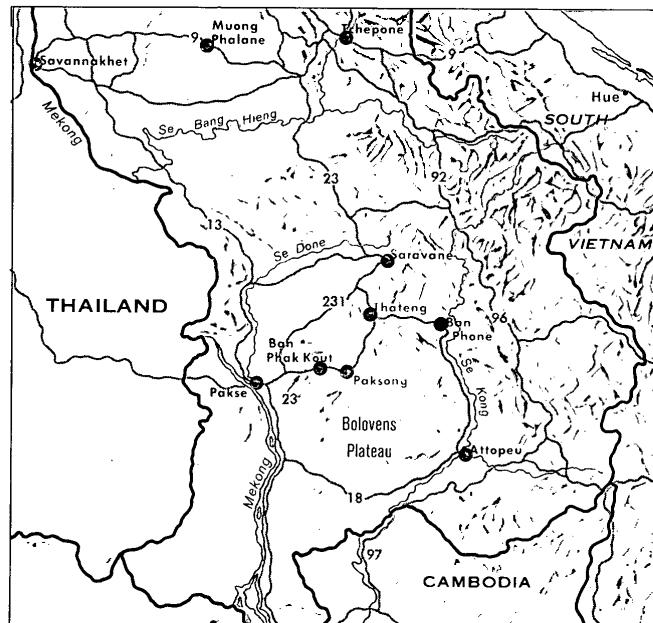
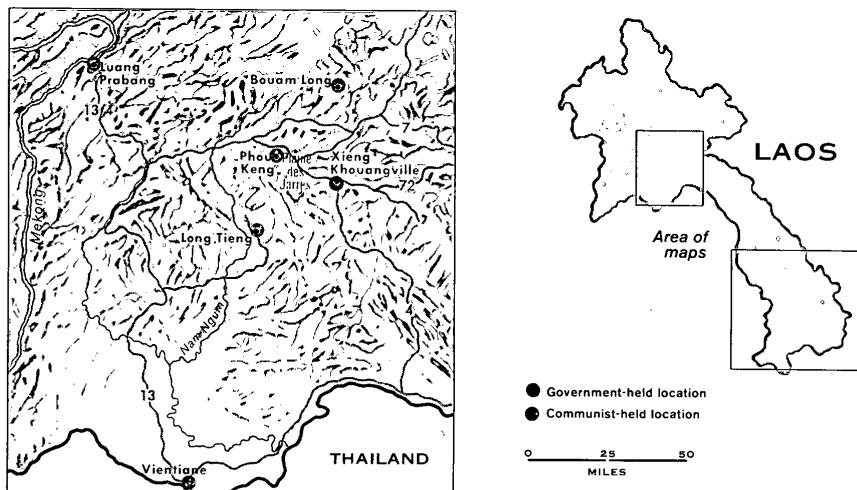
The increasing enemy pressure along Route 6 apparently comes from elements of the 271st Regiment of the Vietnamese Communist 9th Division. Although the 271st headquarters had been moving eastward, it has remained within striking distance of Route 6, and division reconnaissance units have continued to monitor government troop dispositions and defenses around Tang Kouk and Skoun. It is now likely that the forces the Communists still have at their disposal west of the Mekong River can push the demoralized Cambodians all the way back to Skoun, if they choose to do so.

The sudden but orderly withdrawal yesterday of the South Vietnamese from the Chup rubber plantation has undoubtedly dashed Cambodian hopes that South Vietnam operations to the east would force the Communists to withdraw more troops from the Route 6 area.

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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY



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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

LAOS

The Communists have inflicted a setback to government forces a few miles north of Paksong, and two government task forces have ended sweep operations around Thateng. The North Vietnamese now will have an easier time in moving men and supplies onto the Bolovens Plateau. The Communists presumably will next move on Paksong town, which is presently defended by seven government battalions.

In north Laos, the North Vietnamese 312th Division is still resupplying its units south and southeast of the Plaine des Jarres--particularly the newly arrived 141st Regiment--in advance of offensive operations. To the north and northeast of the Plaine, the 316th Division now appears much closer to being ready for an offensive. In addition, at least some of the 16 130-mm. field guns noted being moved toward this area last month are being positioned in the 316th Division's area.

These guns significantly increase North Vietnamese firepower, outranging the biggest government guns by eight miles. They also pose a threat to irregular units manning an important fire support base and supply center in the Phou Keng area.

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

NOTES

USSR:

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USSR-Cuba: The Kashin-class destroyer and the F-class diesel attack submarine that were left behind by a Soviet naval group visiting Cuba last month are still in Mariel. During their stay there, the two ships have been conducting frequent training operations with Cuban naval units.

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

THE PRESIDENT'S DAILY BRIEF

20 December 1971

PRINCIPAL DEVELOPMENTS

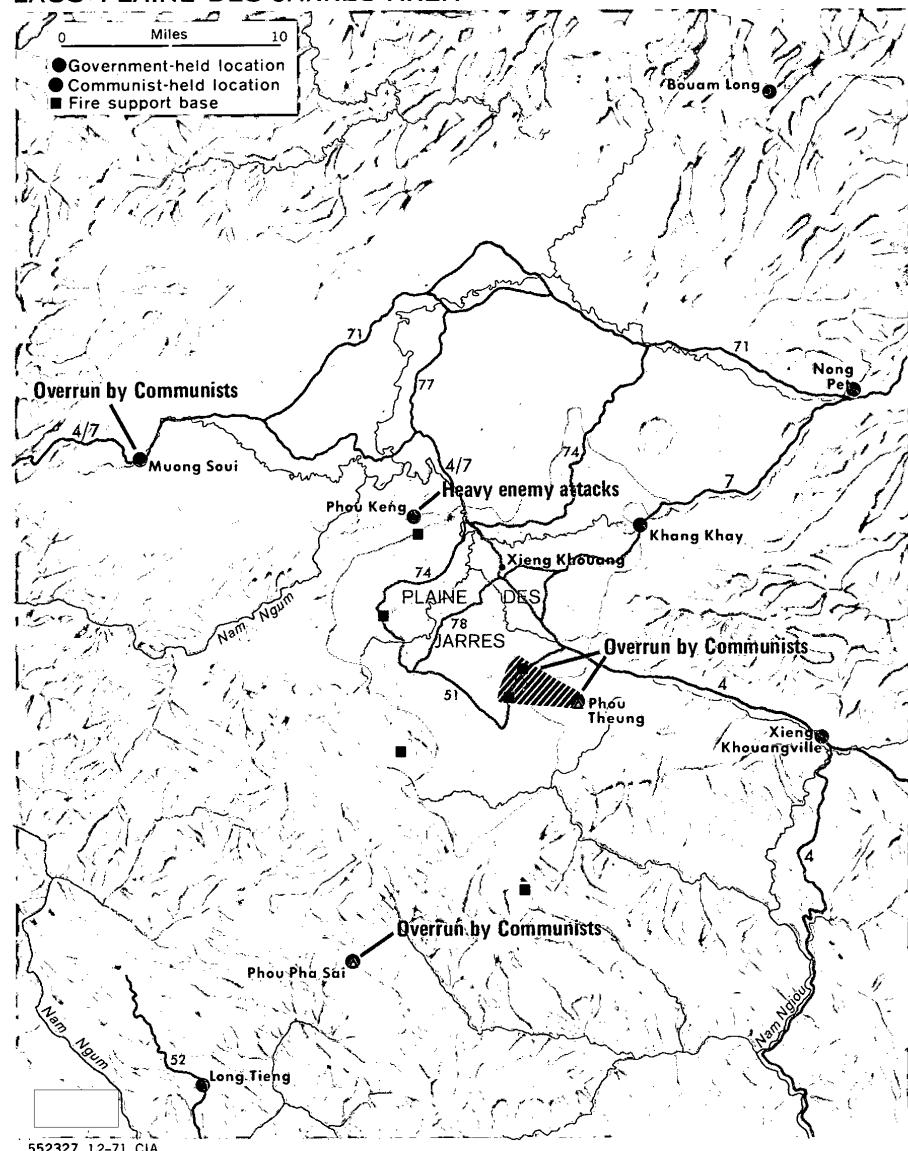
The North Vietnamese are making an all-out effort to sweep the Plaine des Jarres in northern Laos as quickly as possible. (Page 1)

Ali Bhutto has been named Pakistan's new president. (Page 3)

The Chinese have again made a large wheat purchase from the Canadians. (Page 5)

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

LAOS: PLAINE DES JARRES AREA



FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

LAOS

On 18 December North Vietnamese units, supported by tanks and highly accurate artillery fire, launched simultaneous attacks on all irregular positions and fire support bases on the northern and eastern edges of the Plaine des Jarres. Seven Meo battalions, providing an infantry screen for the northern group of fire support bases, were dispersed and are attempting to reform on the western part of the Plaine.

During the night of 19 December, Communist troops, again supported by artillery, mortar fire, and tanks, overran irregular positions and the two [redacted] support bases near Phou Theung. It is expected that the enemy will continue to attack irregulars retreating from this area and launch major ground assaults from the east on the remaining artillery positions on the Plaine. These have been under heavy attack, and one battery is no longer functioning.

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The accuracy and intensity of enemy ground fire have severely limited resupply and medical evacuation operations on the Plaine. Moreover, five USAF F-4s have been downed over north Laos since 17 December. One of these planes was shot down by a MIG-21. Also two Lao Air Force T-28s were brought down by antiaircraft fire over the Plaine on 18 December. Air observers have spotted five heavy guns emplaced on the northwest part of the Plaine. These are thought to be some of the 130-mm. fieldpieces, and air strikes have been called in on them.

The Communists also overran Phou Pha Sai, the principal high point between the Plaine and the government base at Long Tieng. Elements of at least two North Vietnamese regiments have been noted in this area in the past few days. The Communists, however, may not have sufficient forces in the area to hold Phou Pha Sai if the irregulars are able to mount a determined counterattack.

The North Vietnamese are clearly making an all-out effort to sweep the Plaine clear of government forces as quickly as possible. If they succeed, they will probably undertake operations toward the Long Tieng complex. The fact that they have already moved some troops into Phou Pha Sai suggests that they hope to push on quickly.

(continued)

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

*Of serious concern is the state of morale
of Vang Pao's Meo irregulars. The Meos
now constitute about half of the total ir-
regular force.*

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*Vang Pao has fre-
quently said that his troops are wearing
thin and that the supply of Meos is nearly
exhausted. Should Meo morale collapse--
which could happen if their withdrawal
from the Plaine becomes a rout or if they
suffer heavy casualties--the defense of
the Long Tieng complex would be in consid-
erable jeopardy.*

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

INDIA-PAKISTAN

The official Pakistani radio network announced today that West Pakistan's leading politician, the 43-year-old leftist Z. A. Bhutto, has become president and chief martial law administrator. Yesterday it had been announced that Yahya would step down and that Bhutto was returning from the US to take part in forming the new government.

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Pakistani Air Force Commander Abdur Rahim Khan and Chief of the Army General Staff Gul Hassan were planning to form a triumvirate with Bhutto.

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Bhutto has some enemies in the military, however, and he could have difficulty in maintaining his position at the top. Certainly the military will be closely watching Bhutto's performance and will remain the arbiter of political power.

The mood in West Pakistan is one of frustration and anger. There have been demonstrations, editorial criticism, and denunciations by both political and military figures against the Yahya government, as well as attempts by some prominent figures to indicate their availability for a national political role.

In Bangla Desh, little progress has been made toward the establishment of a functioning government. Top Bangla Desh leaders have yet to arrive in Dacca from Calcutta, reportedly because of internal squabbling. The Indian Army has succeeded in restoring a surface calm in most of the city, but some Bengali reprisals against collaborators are still occurring and tension is high--especially in the section of the city where some 200 Bengali intellectuals and professional people were rounded up and massacred by the Razakars, or pro-Pakistan local militia, last week.

The US consul general assesses that the only chance for promptly establishing stable conditions appears to lie in the visible presence of a functioning government under Bengali leader Mujibur Rahman, who is still incarcerated in West Pakistan.

(continued)

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

No significant breaches of the cease-fire appear to have occurred since it went into effect along the western front last Friday. Each country has charged the other with minor violations, most of which involved artillery and small arms fire.

In New Delhi yesterday, the Indian defense minister called for bilateral talks to determine the disposition of territory captured on the western front. He indicated that India would oppose attempts to resolve the question of captured territory through third-party mediation.

India might demand the release of Mujibur Rahman in exchange for the return of Pakistani territory or war prisoners.

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

NOTE

Communist China - Canada: Peking has bought just over three million tons of Canadian wheat worth about \$200 million for delivery in 1972. This single contract nearly matches total Chinese grain imports this year and apparently was placed as a further reward to Ottawa for diplomatic recognition. By importing all its grain in 1971 from Canada, Peking also penalized Australia, previously a major supplier, for withholding recognition. Because of the impact of poor weather conditions on this fall's rice harvest, China is likely to import more grain in 1972 than it did this year.

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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

THE PRESIDENT'S DAILY BRIEF

21 December 1971

PRINCIPAL DEVELOPMENTS

Pakistan's new President, Z. A. Bhutto, used his first speech to consolidate his support on several fronts. (Page 1)

On Page 2 we discuss the military situation in northern Laos.

The Yugoslav Communist Party has quickly responded to President Tito's call for a shake-up to cope with regional nationalism. (Page 3)

Evidence is mounting that Panama's intelligence chief is protecting the drug traffic he is responsible for suppressing. (Page 4)

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

PAKISTAN

President Bhutto used his first speech to the nation to consolidate support on several fronts.

--He vowed to "fight on" and refused to recognize the independence of Bangla Desh, thus bowing to demonstrators' demands for a continuation of the war but without actually risking a renewal of hostilities.

--He promised to restore democracy and to present a constitution for popular approval, but committed himself to no timetable.

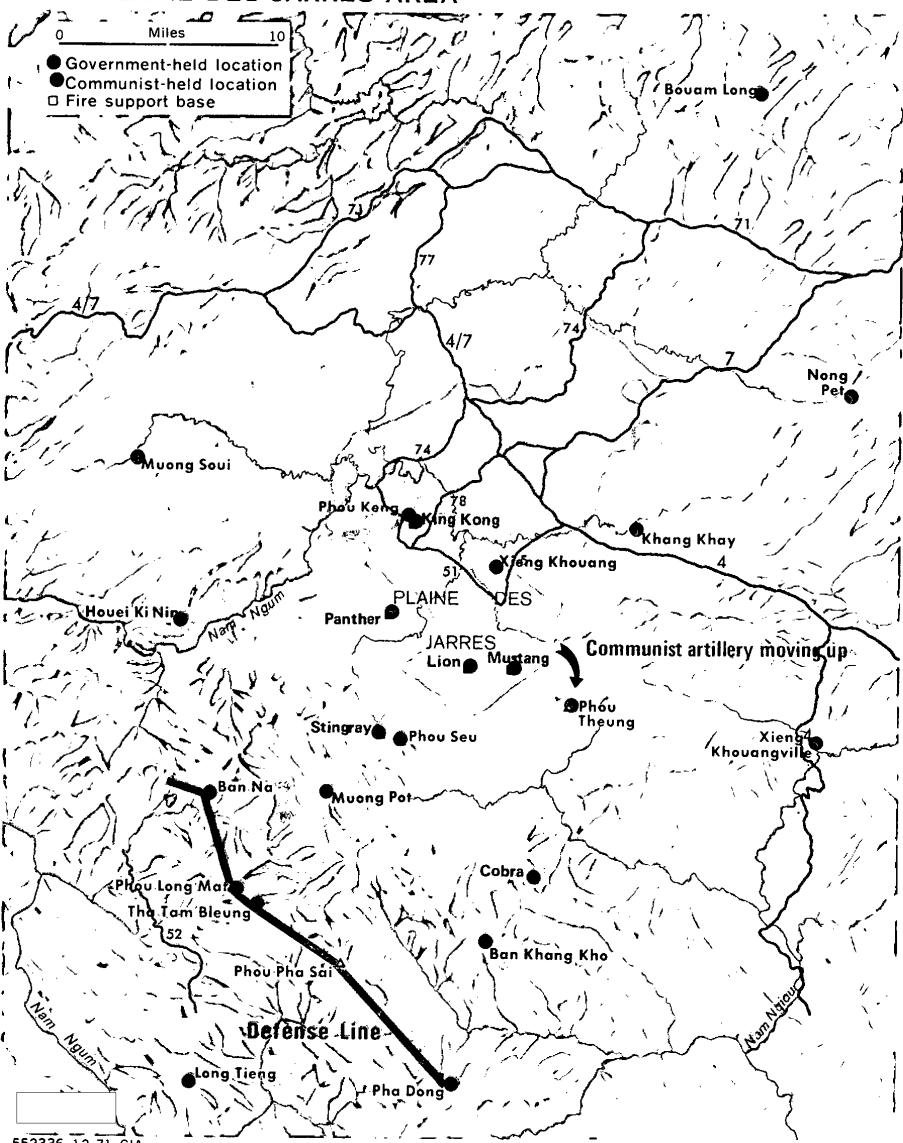
--On the critical matter of military support, he indirectly criticized senior military officers by placing blame for Pakistan's plight on past authoritarian methods of government, and directed his praise of the military toward his "young friends in the armed forces."

In a conversation with Ambassador Farland earlier in the day, Bhutto said he might go to Peking soon, explaining that China had not fulfilled its promises. At the same time he was effusive in his appreciation for assistance that Pakistan had received from the US. On domestic issues, he said that he would release any political prisoners.

The new President did not specifically mention his intentions in respect to Mujibur Rahman--a subject he also ignored in his speech. Bhutto is reported to have told a press conference that he needed more time to deal with the Mujib issue, while affirming that the Bengali leader is "alive and well."

In the East, some bus and rail transport has been restored and office staffs are beginning to resume their duties in Dacca. Many vengeance-seeking guerrilla fighters now have been disarmed and joint Mukti Bahini - Indian Army patrols have been established in many parts of the city. The press quotes a high Bangla Desh official as saying that the arrival of government ministers from India has been delayed due to "certain exigencies."

LAOS: PLAINE DES JARRES AREA



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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

LAOS

Following the loss of all remaining fire support bases close to the Plaine des Jarres, Vang Pao is trying to rally his forces to establish a defense line running from a high point northwest of Ban Na through Phou Long Mat and Phou Pha Sai to Pha Dong. About 1,400 irregulars have been brought into the area [redacted]

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Last night a sapper attack was launched on Long Tieng, causing damage to three aircraft and a few casualties. This morning a small sapper unit was reported to be surrounded about two miles from the Long Tieng airstrip.

The Meo irregulars evacuating the Plaine des Jarres are still in some disarray, and difficulties are being encountered in rallying them to form a temporary defensive line to hold until other irregulars can move off the Plaine. Meo civilians are pulling out of the Long Tieng valley, with perhaps one third of the 30,000 civilians moving toward the south.

The North Vietnamese are moving heavy artillery south into the Plaine and, according to an intercept of 18 December, were planning to move a SAM battalion into Laos yesterday.

The Communists have used their 130-mm. field guns with telling effect during the past three days. If the guns are moved into the southwestern part of the Plaine they could hit Long Tieng. The movement of SAMs, which have not previously been deployed in northern Laos, could be accomplished in a matter of days.

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

YUGOSLAVIA

Yesterday the Communist Party presidium cut the number of each republic's representatives on the party executive bureau from two to one and announced that it would make some key personnel changes in those positions. According to presidium member Veljko Vlahovic, the new bureau will be composed of "younger officials" rather than "what we call older comrades."

These changes are responsive to President Tito's call in a speech on Saturday for an immediate reorganization of the party's top organs. Three years ago he created the executive bureau to divide authority among the nation's divergent nationalities and to ease the transfer of power after he leaves the scene, but in fact the bureau provided a platform for bickering. In his speech Tito justified last week's purge of Croatian nationalists by raising the specter of both foreign, i.e. Soviet, intervention and "civil war."

The party has also indicated that at a lower level it will emphasize the development of a disciplined, active cadre-- an admission that the previously relaxed, behind-the-scenes guidance of Yugoslav political life had been no match for the rapid growth of regional nationalism. The concurrent emphasis on youth appears designed to buttress official claims that the current crackdown does not signify a return to orthodox Communism.

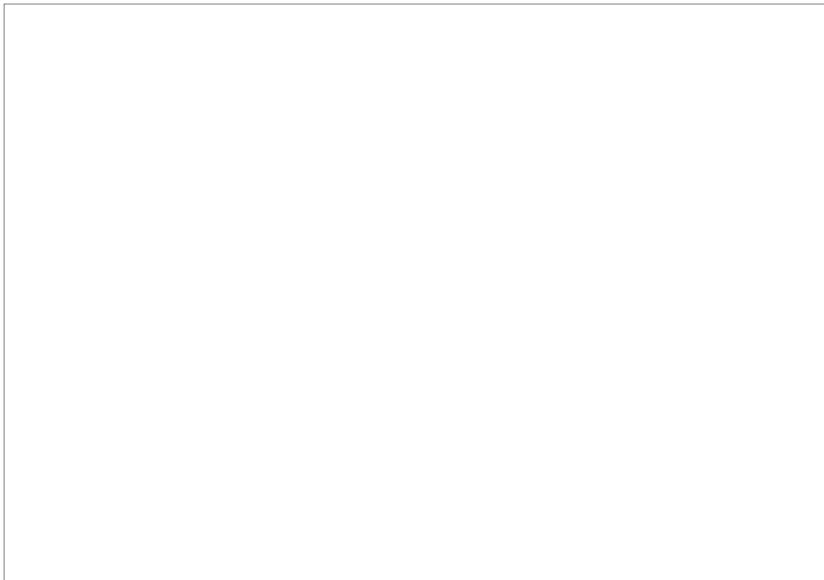
FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

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PANAMA

Evidence is mounting that Lieutenant Colonel Noriega, the intelligence chief entrusted with stopping the narcotics traffic that runs through Panama to the US, may be actually protecting this traffic.

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The Torrijos government has reacted sharply to press reports that the US believes Panama is not paying sufficient attention to narcotics enforcement because of "high-level apathy, ignorance and/or collusion." Rather than correcting deficiencies, the government has taken the diplomatic offensive. Earlier this month the Foreign Ministry delivered and published a stiff protest to the US, and [redacted] alleged that charges of official Panamanian involvement in the narcotics trade were cooked up in an attempt to upset the canal negotiations.

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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

NOTE

West Germany: The government and the opposition have agreed on a timetable for parliamentary consideration of Bonn's treaties with the USSR and Poland. Although the ratification process will begin early in January, meeting constitutional requirements may delay the decision until June. The treaty debate brings to a head Brandt's long struggle with the Christian Democrats over his Ostpolitik. He has the votes needed for ratification, but the margin is a slim one and could be upset by the switch of only two deputies.

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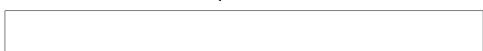
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22 December 1971

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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

THE PRESIDENT'S DAILY BRIEF

22 December 1971

PRINCIPAL DEVELOPMENTS

In Laos, irregulars are continuing with defensive preparations west of the Plaine des Jarres. (Page 1)

In Cambodia, elements of a 12-battalion government force have successfully relieved the beleaguered Cambodian contingent at Prakham on Route 6. (Page 2)

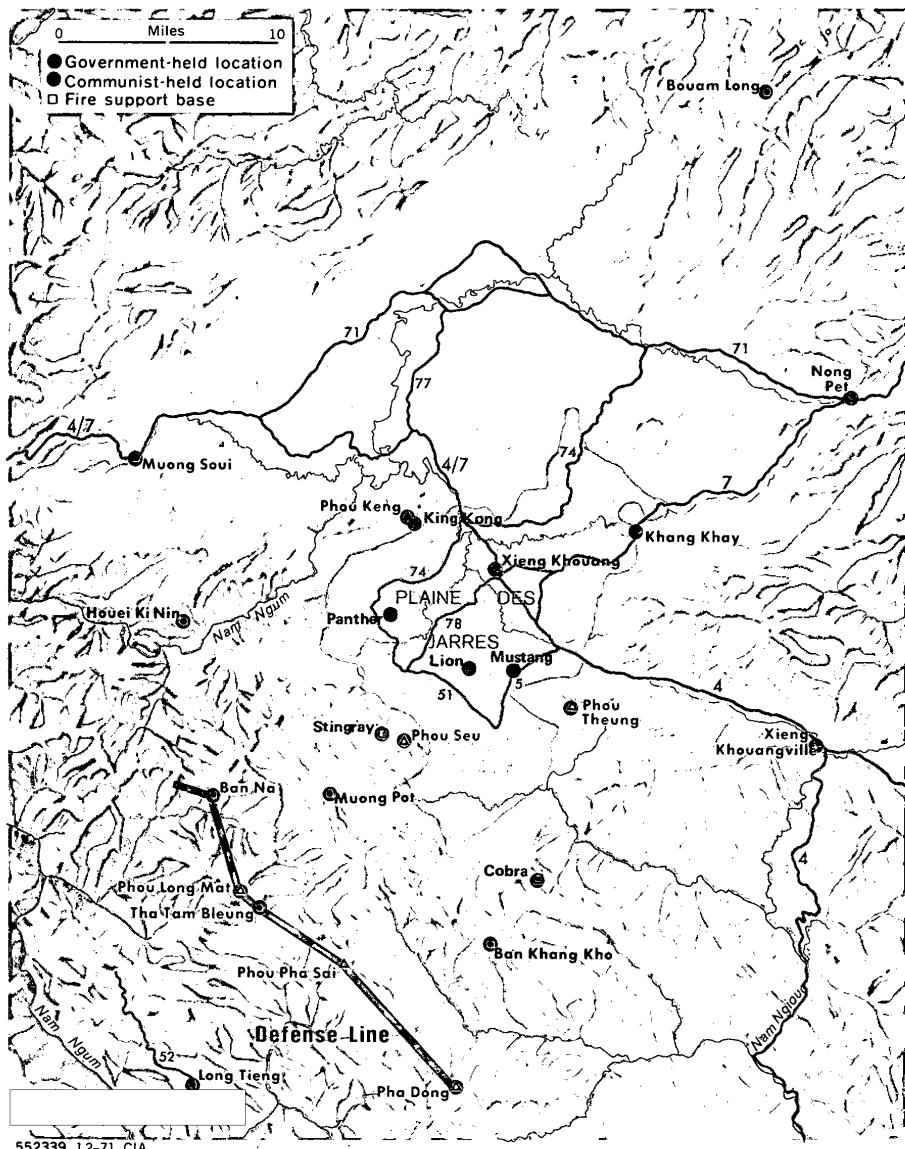
Indians and Bengali civil servants are making some progress toward restoring order in Bangla Desh. In Pakistan, President Bhutto has named a vice president but no cabinet ministers yet. (Page 3)

An estimated 38,000 Communist infiltrators have moved southward through southern North Vietnam and Laos since early October. (Page 4)

Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko has proposed 24 January for his long-deferred visit to Japan. (Page 5)

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

LAOS: PLAINE DES JARRES AREA



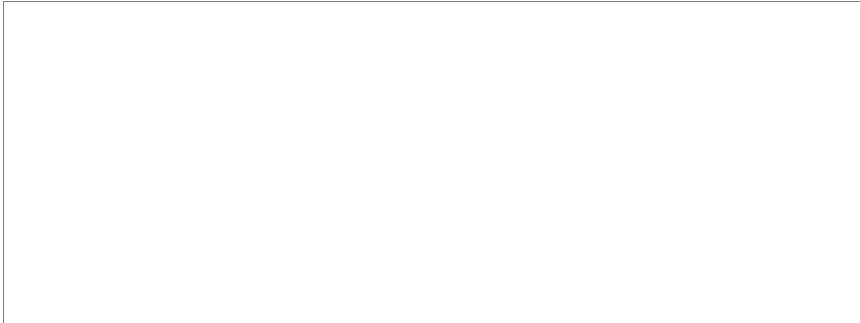
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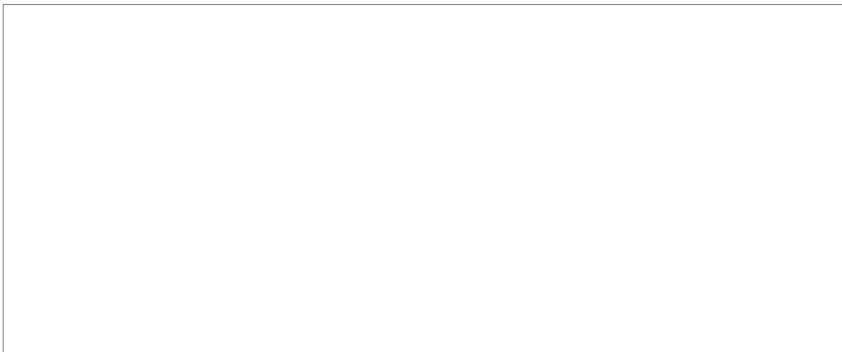
LAOS

Defensive preparations have been continuing in the area west of the Plaine des Jarres during a slackening of enemy ground activity.



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Vang Pao was in Vientiane on 21 December, and Ambassador Godley described him as "more demoralized than we have ever seen him." Defense Minister Sisouk reported Vang Pao to be nearly incoherent during an interview with Prime Minister Souvanna during which the Meo commander was given permission to start evacuating civilians from Long Tieng. He found upon his return there that the Meo had already begun to move south.

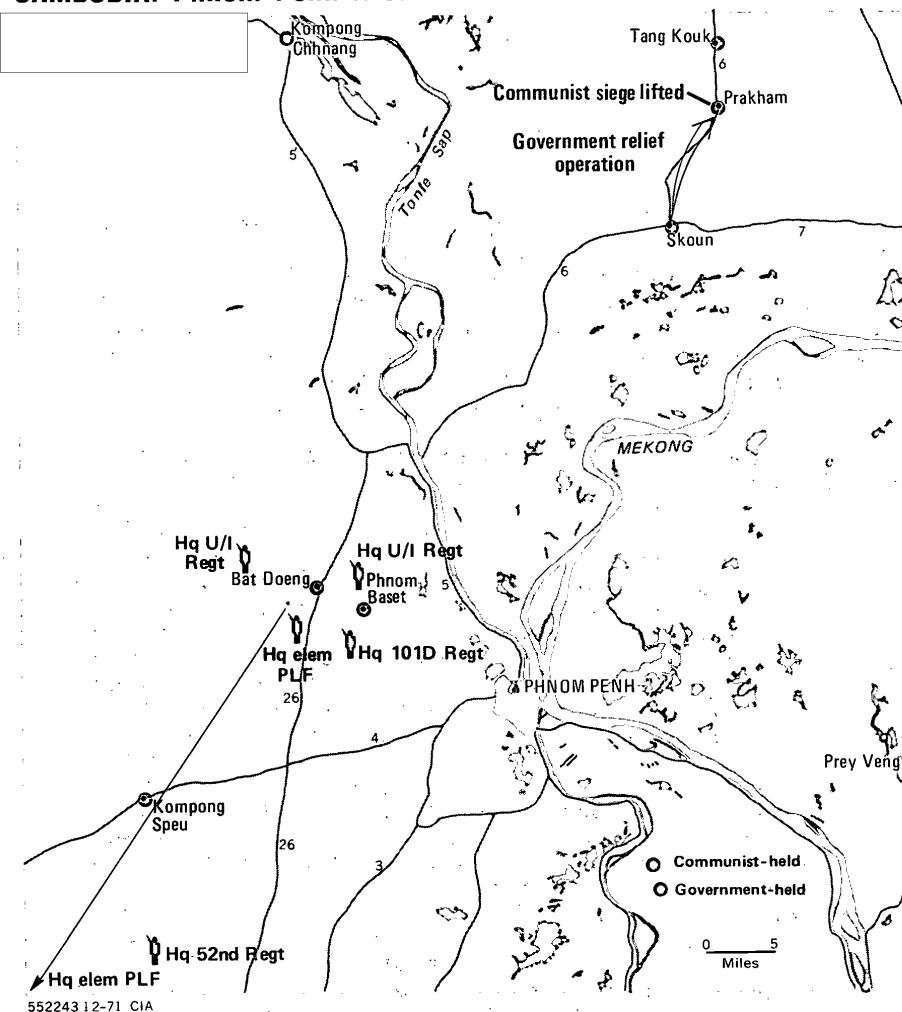


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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

CAMBODIA: Phnom Penh Area

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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

CAMBODIA

Elements of a 12-battalion Cambodian task force from Skoun, supported by heavy US air strikes, have cleared Route 6 to Prakham and relieved the besieged force there.

The Communists, however, are still exhorting their troops to achieve a total defeat of government forces on Route 6, and intercepts show that major enemy elements remain east of the highway in good position to continue their intermittent rocket attacks and ground probes in the Skoun - Tang Kouk sector.

Communist pressure in the Phnom Penh area has eased following the recent withdrawal of the Phuoc Long Front headquarters element and the North Vietnamese 52nd Regiment. Although the North Vietnamese 101D Regiment and two more regimental-sized units are still within striking distance of the city, the withdrawal of the headquarters element suggests that these units, which have been in action for seven weeks, may also be withdrawn soon.

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

INDIA-PAKISTAN

Shooting and mob action have lessened in Dacca, and the Indians are working with Bengali civil servants and making some progress toward restoring order in Bangla Desh. The rail transport system has been partly restored, and domestic civil air flights should begin soon. A start has been made on sizing up the food situation and on coming to grips with reconstruction and refugee problems.

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India and Bangla Desh have already signed a treaty providing for Indian economic assistance

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The Bangla Desh cabinet remains in Calcutta, but its members evidently are to leave for Dacca today. President Mujibur Rahman, who might give the government more vigorous direction, remains in Pakistan, where according to President Bhutto he is to be released from prison to house arrest.

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In Pakistan, President Bhutto has named no cabinet ministers yet but has indicated that he will be his own foreign and defense minister. He has named as his vice president Nurul Amin, an East Pakistani loyal to Islamabad, whose appointment probably was designed to please conservative West Pakistanis and help preserve the idea that East Pakistan is still part of the country. Amin is not expected to have much influence in the government, however.

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

INDOCHINA

Since early October, 43 infiltration groups and 22 small special-purpose groups have been detected moving through southern North Vietnam and Laos. An additional 34 groups probably moved south undetected. We estimate their total number at about 38,000 men, a rate comparable to last year's.

Of the 38,000, almost half are destined for the central highlands of South Vietnam. This includes the 320th Division and perhaps three other units.

Reinforcement on this scale will enhance the enemy's ability to protect the infiltration corridor and base areas from attack by South Vietnamese forces. It will also enable the Communists to launch major attacks in the highlands or in southern Laos.

Another 10,000 men are heading for Cambodia or the southern half of South Vietnam. Nearly 4,000 are destined for the area immediately south of the Demilitarized Zone.

Finally, some 7,000 personnel are going to southern Laos or northeastern Cambodia, apparently to expand the supply network in southern Laos. A major new logistics headquarters, designated "Group 471," has recently appeared in this area. The new headquarters may have been created to replace the 470th Transportation Group, which recently moved into northeastern Cambodia. "Group 471" has been detected providing support to units near the Bolovens Plateau, and it may also serve forces in the South Vietnamese highlands.

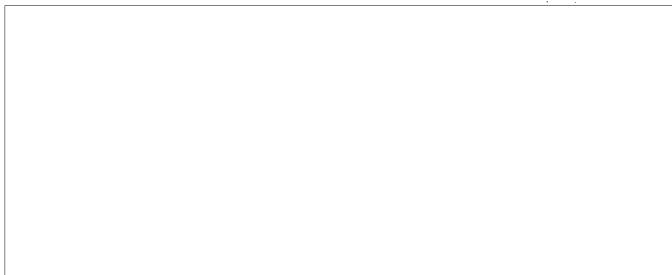
FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

USSR-JAPAN

Gromyko has proposed that his long-deferred visit to Tokyo be scheduled for 24 January.

Gromyko apparently wishes to assess for himself Japanese intentions toward Communist China and may attempt to discourage Tokyo's overtures to Peking. For some time now, the Soviets have been seeking to divert Japanese interest in China by holding out prospects of "dramatic" economic concessions. Gromyko's proposal now moves the play back to the diplomatic field.



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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

NOTE

Peru-Cuba: Peru, faced with strong opposition by several other Latin American governments, has suspended its effort to get the OAS to consider lifting its diplomatic and economic sanctions against Cuba. Peru probably will try again early next year, however. At any rate, the Velasco government is likely to move on its own to restore diplomatic ties with Cuba next year.

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THE PRESIDENT'S DAILY BRIEF

23 December 1971

PRINCIPAL DEVELOPMENTS

Prime Minister Souvanna has rejected a Communist demand for an end to the air war in Laos. The Plaine des Jarres area is quiet. (*Page 1*)

On *Page 2* we report on the latest developments in Pakistan and Bangla Desh, and give a preliminary assessment of the effects of the war on the economies of all three participants.

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| | Thailand | |
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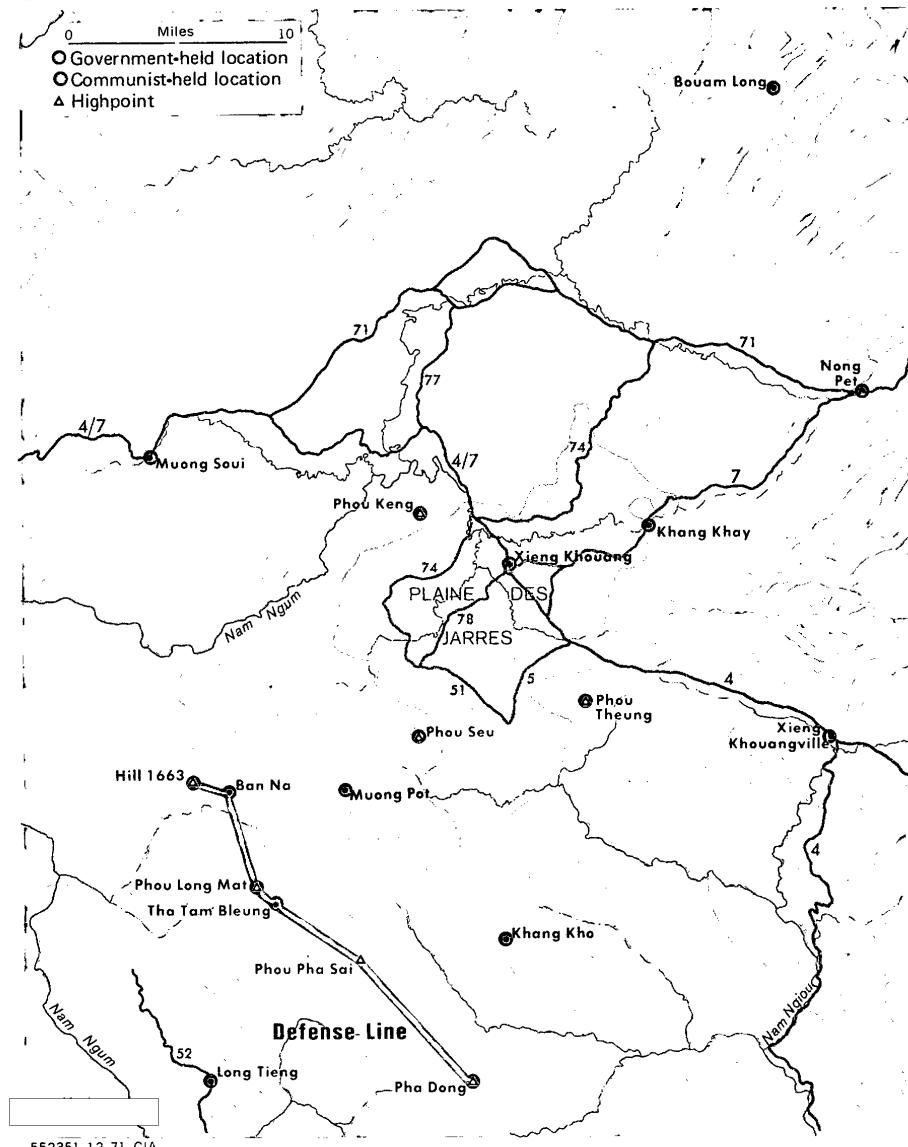
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South Korean President Pak is moving to increase his power. (*Page 5*)

The Soviets are sending more naval vessels to the Indian Ocean. (*Page 6*)

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

LAOS: PLAINE DES JARRES AREA



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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

LAOS

Despite the reversals suffered by government forces on the Plaine des Jarres, Prime Minister Souvanna is in no mood to make concessions to the Communists. He has rejected a Pathet Lao demand--reinforced by representations from the Soviet ambassador--for a halt to aerial bombing in Laos, unless the Communists make "matching concessions" and give adequate guarantees. He said that Laos would defend itself with all available means, and has told US Embassy officers that he views the Communist demands as evidence of the bombing's effectiveness.

The demands were sent in a letter dated 16 December, just before the North Vietnamese launched their attack on the Plaine. The letter was not received until 21 December and seems designed to justify the Communist offensive, rather than reflecting any real expectation that Souvanna might capitulate. The Pathet Lao undoubtedly know that Souvanna can expect the support of most of the powerful political figures in the country for his tough line.

* * *

The tactical situation has changed little during the past 24 hours. Irregular units retreating from the Plaine are beginning to regroup along the proposed defensive line between Ban Na and Pha Dong. Meo civilians have withdrawn from the Long Tieng Valley and are moving south toward refugee centers. There is no evidence of panic among the people or the troops.

There has been very little contact with the enemy near the Plaine. Bad weather has hindered aerial reconnaissance, and the irregular troops are not yet well enough reorganized for reconnaissance patrolling. An intercepted Communist message refers to the sending of reconnaissance units to Ban Na, and the enemy may intend to move against that site, which was the focal point of their offensive during the most recent dry season. The North Vietnamese apparently did not commit all their forces in the battle for the Plaine, and presumably have fresh troops available for a quick move westward, if they so desire.

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

INDIA - PAKISTAN - BANGLA DESH

The tumultuous welcoming crowd in Dacca yesterday overlooked the lack of a specific plan for the future on the part of the arriving Bangla Desh leaders. Acting President Nazrul Islam told the throng that freedom depended on overcoming poverty, and said the basic objectives of the country should be "democracy, secularism, socialism, and a non-aligned policy in foreign affairs." The government has not yet been formally installed, and no date for the ceremony has been announced.

The leaders who arrived yesterday are essentially centrists in political and economic orientation. They believe in a mixed economy with the state "commanding the heights," similar to the system used by India. There are, however, other factions, with differing ideologies, with claims on seats in the government. Among these are leftist guerrilla units. Negotiations with such groups may be delaying early formation of a government.

In Pakistan, Bhutto has begun making appointments to solidify his position. He has replaced the head of the press trust, and [redacted] [redacted], intends to continue government management of the news.

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The war on the subcontinent has left the economies of the protagonists in varying states of disrepair. India suffered only slightly and has already acted to cope with the economic demands of the war. New taxes, including a 2.5-percent corporate income tax surcharge, were introduced, and the government was empowered to impose controls on prices and distribution of essential commodities. India's only major economic problem is the suspension of US and Japanese aid, and the full impact of this has not yet been felt.

Pakistan's economic problems have been exacerbated. The war resulted in the destruction of a substantial part of its modern weapons inventory and heavy damage to its major port and petroleum facilities at Karachi. The major problems, however, are those resulting from eight months of civil war in the East. Military spending has cut into civilian development projects, and some foreign aid donors have been alienated. However, if political

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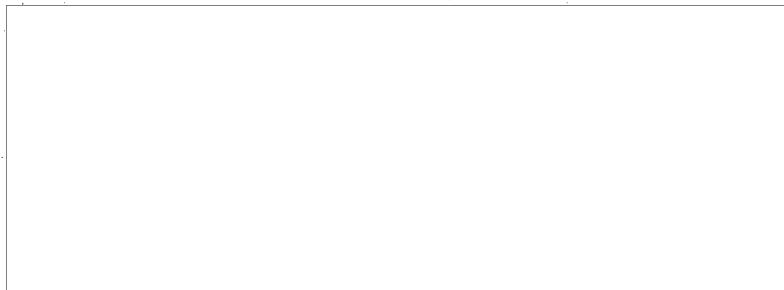
stability can be restored and substantial new foreign aid commitments obtained, Pakistan has a good chance of quickly resuming rapid economic progress. It has a strong modern agricultural sector and an experienced and sophisticated entrepreneurial class. Islamabad demonstrated in 1971 that it could withstand the loss of most of its markets in the East wing by expanding its foreign sales.

Bangla Desh will require substantial foreign aid for reconstruction and rehabilitation before economic activity can resume. The transportation and distribution systems must be restored if the population in food-deficit areas is to be adequately fed, particularly after refugees in India return. Indian and other foreign administrators will be needed to restore order to daily economic life. The small modern industrial and banking sectors were previously run by West Pakistanis who must now be replaced. The one bright spot in Bangla Desh's economic future is the restoration of its natural trade ties with India, which could more than offset its loss of markets in West Pakistan.

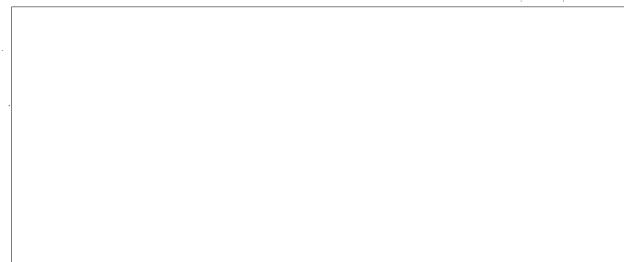
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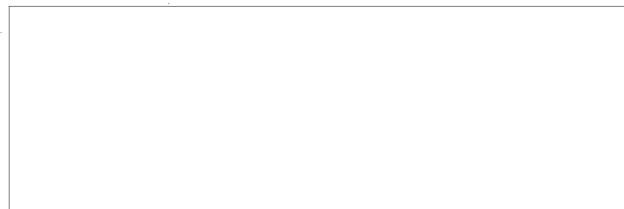
THAILAND



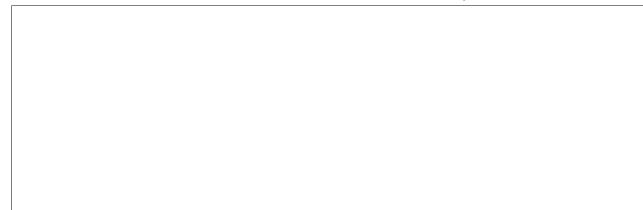
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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

SOUTH KOREA

The government has announced that it intends to push through the legislature a bill which gives the President extraordinary powers over the economy, manpower, land use, and the press under emergency conditions. The bill is the expected follow-up to the recent declaration of a state of national emergency. The opposition New Democratic Party is fighting the government's action, and party spokesmen have indicated that their representatives in the assembly will resign if the bill is passed. The government majority in the assembly, however, will be able to engineer passage of this bill before the current session ends on 29 December.

Pak need not move against the opposition to secure passage of the bill. But his strong response to recent challenges to his political power suggests that he will again overreact and take measures to curb the opposition or abridge the power of the assembly. Furthermore, the bill appears to go beyond the constitutional limits of presidential authority, and it could be intended to set the stage for greater direct presidential control.

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

NOTES

USSR-Indian Ocean: The Soviets are sending additional naval forces to the Indian Ocean. Two cruise missile submarines arrived there yesterday, and a guided missile cruiser moved in on 18 December. There are now three submarines, two guided missile destroyers, the cruiser, two fleet mine-sweepers, and one landing craft in the Indian Ocean. They are attended by six naval auxiliaries. Two more Soviet surface combatants and two diesel attack submarines are expected to arrive in the area within a week. With the exception of several ships shadowing the US aircraft carrier Enterprise, the Soviet forces have stayed mostly in the western part of the ocean, closer to Arabia than India.

Egypt: [redacted]

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USSR: [redacted]

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Cuba-USSR: Soviet seaborne military shipments to Cuba have increased by about 15 percent this year over 1970. The sixth ship since mid-year bearing military cargo will arrive soon with seven MIG-21 interceptors on deck. Five MIG-21s were delivered in late October, the first known shipment of these aircraft since September 1967. These cargoes are believed intended to replace and, to some extent, modernize Cuba's aging military inventories.

(continued)

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

Yugoslavia: Tito is keeping the pressure on recalcitrant Croatians, even implying he might use the army to bring the republic's nationalists under control. He is doing whatever he can to strengthen the new party leaders he imposed on Croatia, including forcing the resignation of Premier Dragutin Haramija, who has publicly defended the ousted leaders. The purge has swept out at least 75 officials so far, and more forced resignations are expected. Internal security measures have been tightened, including the interception of weapons being brought in by Croatian workers returning from the West, rapid dispersal of street demonstrators, and raids on buildings housing suspected dissidents. In Zagreb, midnight mass has been canceled on Christmas Eve, presumably to prevent crowds from gathering.

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24 December 1971

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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

THE PRESIDENT'S DAILY BRIEF

24 December 1971

PRINCIPAL DEVELOPMENTS

The North Vietnamese appear to be moving quickly across the Plaine des Jarres in Laos. (Page 1)

The Biharis in Bangla Desh who supported Islamabad are living in a state of terror, and many may die either by starvation or torture, according to our Consul General in Dacca. In Islamabad, President Bhutto is moving swiftly to reshape Pakistan's domestic and foreign policies and put his own stamp on the government. (Page 2)

[redacted] India [redacted] Page 3.

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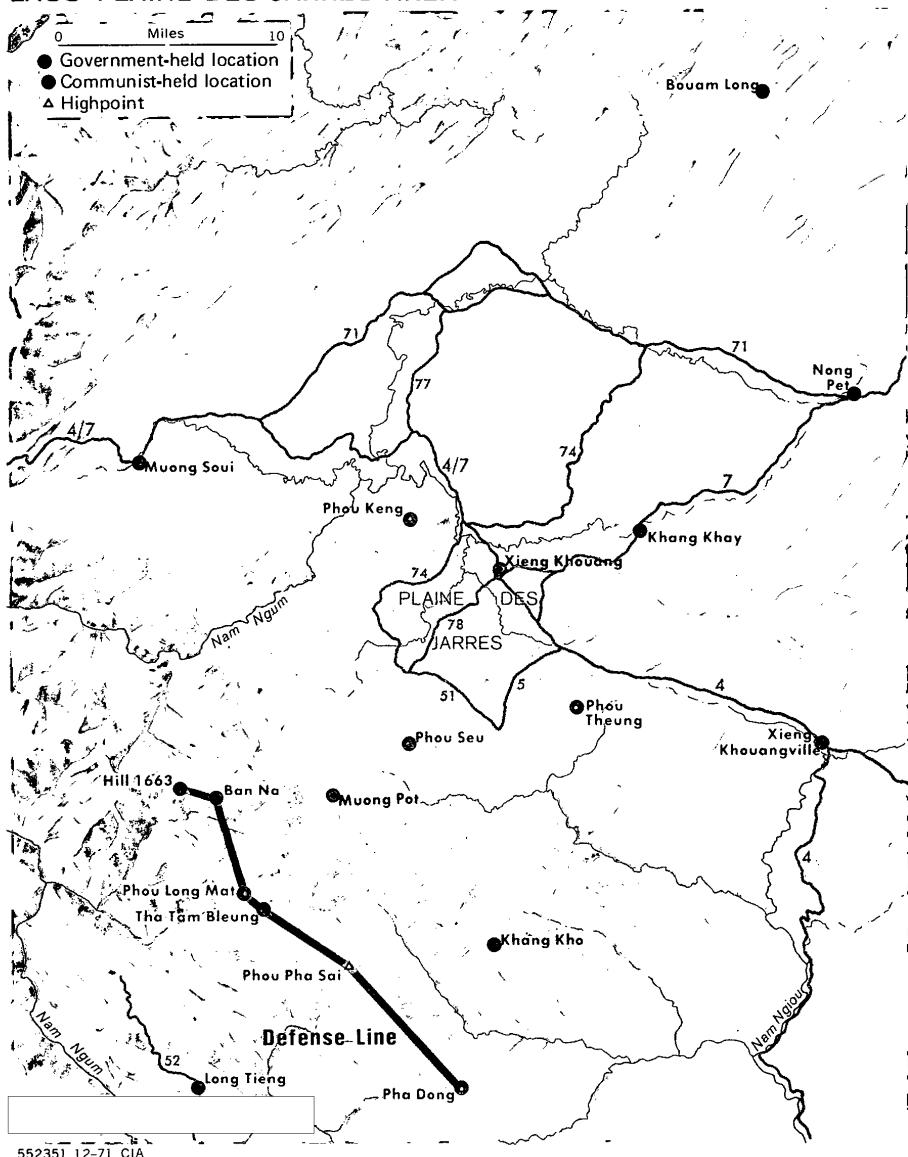
Fidel Castro has lashed out at the US over the use of Panamanian-flag ships by Cuban exile groups.
(Page 4)

At Annex [redacted] Soviet [redacted]

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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

LAOS: PLAINE DES JARRES AREA



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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

LAOS

US pilots reported heavy enemy movement southward across the Plaine des Jarres on 22 December. In addition, a Communist message between elements of the 316th Division artillery battalion refers to "phase two" and to movement to a high point apparently located near Tha Tam Bleung. The Communists may also be moving forward the 130-mm. field guns that they used against the irregular fire support bases on the Plaine.

The North Vietnamese thus appear to be taking advantage of bad weather, which is hampering air strikes and reconnaissance, to move their forces into position for a drive against the defenses around Long Tieng, particularly Ban Na and Tha Tam Bleung.

Irregular troops are continuing to filter back into friendly lines near Long Tieng where they are being resupplied and reorganized. One group of 500 men withdrawing from the Phou Seu area reported clashing with North Vietnamese units east of Ban Na. Irregular units suffered heavy casualties during the recent fighting on the Plaine, and some 1,000-1,200 men are still missing. North Vietnamese intercepts have referred to the capture of large numbers of irregulars--perhaps as many as 650. All of the irregulars' heavy weapons--ten 155-mm. and nine 105-mm. howitzers--were lost, along with other heavy equipment. The government, however, is quickly replacing the lost artillery, and is moving six battalions into Long Tieng from elsewhere in Laos.

A North Vietnamese intercept indicated the Communists were aware of these reinforcements.

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

INDIA-PAKISTAN

The US Consul General reports that about 100,000 Biharis--non-Bengali East Pakistanis who generally supported Islamabad--are living in a state of terror on the outskirts of Dacca. Despite efforts by the Indian Army and the Mukti Bahini, anarchy reigns in the area with criminal elements freely looting, killing, and torturing. The food situation for the Biharis has become critical, and the Consul General believes that many, if not all, will die either by starvation or torture. The senior Indian commander in Dacca does not yet seem to realize the gravity of the situation, and the new Bangla Desh government is making no effort to alleviate the problem.

* * *

President Bhutto is moving quickly to reshape Pakistan's domestic and foreign policy and to build a highly personal, authoritarian regime. Bhutto appears to be in complete control for now, largely because of his own stature and forcefulness in the face of the demoralization of the previous leadership. Social reform, redistribution of wealth, and populist assaults on the West Pakistan "establishment" are all aspects of his domestic strategy.

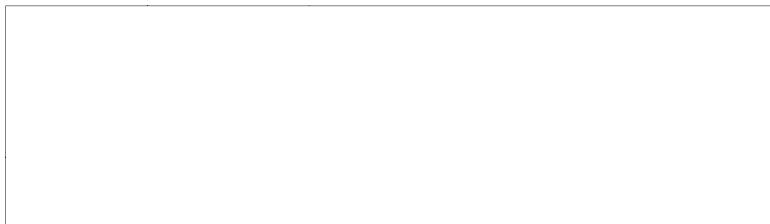
In moving Mujibur Rahman to house arrest, Bhutto is trying to indicate to New Delhi his desire to open negotiations. His insistence that East Pakistan is still part of the country is for domestic consumption only, and privately he seems to accept that Bangla Desh is lost.

Bhutto's unprecedented call on Ambassador Farland on Wednesday evening was for the purpose of expressing his willingness to forget his past critical attitude toward the US and to note Pakistan's extensive financial needs. Bhutto also called on the Soviets and the Chinese.

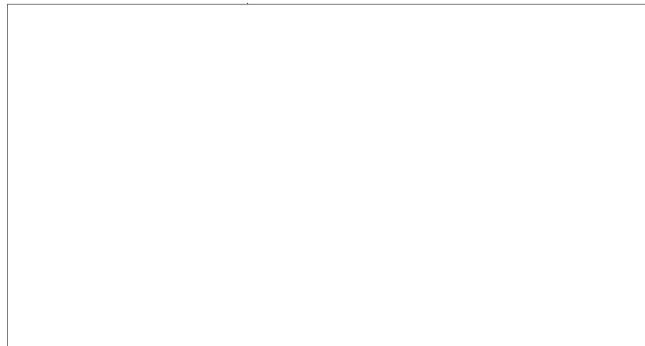
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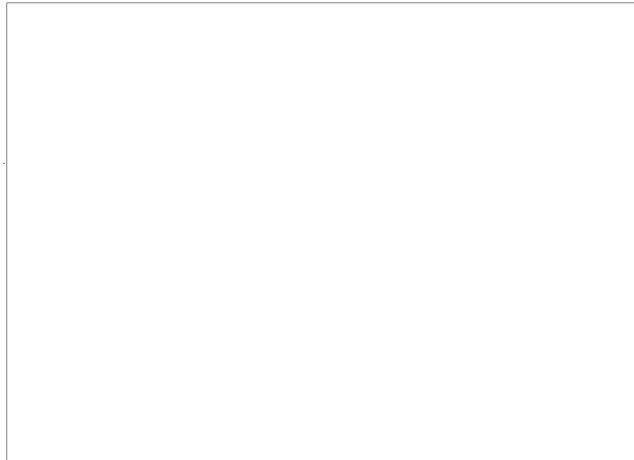
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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

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CUBA

Castro has asserted publicly that Cuba's recent seizure of the two Panamanian-flag ships stemmed from concern that a new wave of Cuban exile operations was at hand. In a lengthy and belligerent speech on 22 December, reminiscent of some of his more strident anti-US performances of the past, Castro railed against what he termed US culpability in 12 years of "pirate attacks" against Cuba. He also implied strongly that if "defensive" measures against such activities were to result in a violent incident involving the US, "it would be incidental, accidental, and imperialism would be responsible."

Exile raids have long been a source of genuine concern to Castro, but this elaborate show of anger seems calculated primarily to shore up flagging domestic support and arouse foreign sympathy for his regime. He has used this tactic with considerable effectiveness in the past. Havana can be expected to play up any allegations of US complicity that are made by the crewmen before Castro releases them, as he has promised to do.

In commenting on the fate of US citizen Jose Villa Diaz, captain of the Johnny Express, Castro said that he would be placed "at the disposal of Cuban authorities" to answer for his "numerous illegal acts" against Cuba. He went on to indicate, however, that any leniency would stem from such factors as the attitudes shown by Villa's relatives still in Cuba.

This suggests that the regime may be prepared to show clemency.

Panama has accepted a Cuban invitation to send a delegation to discuss the ship seizures. A three-man team left for Havana yesterday.

In extending this invitation, Castro clearly is showing he is not angry at the Panamanians, but he may try to persuade them to move to prevent the use of Panamanian-flag ships by Cuban exile groups.

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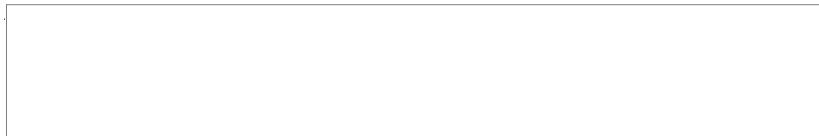
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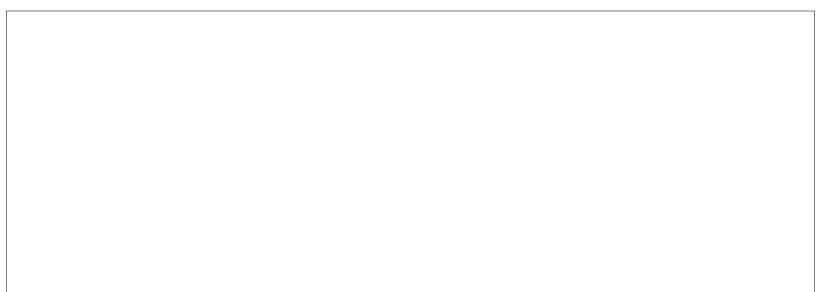


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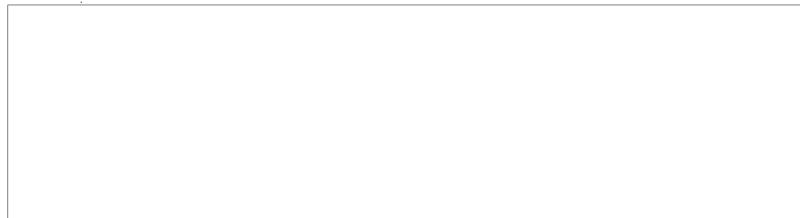
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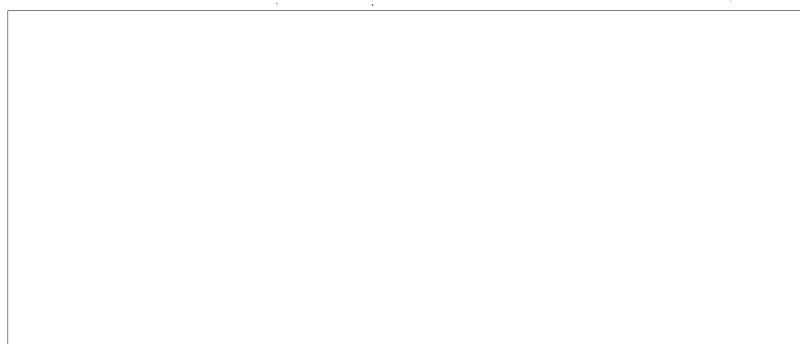
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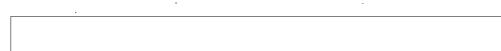
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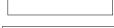
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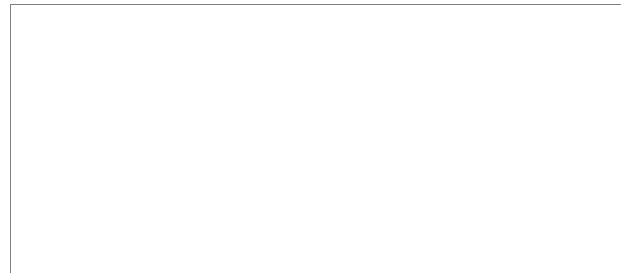
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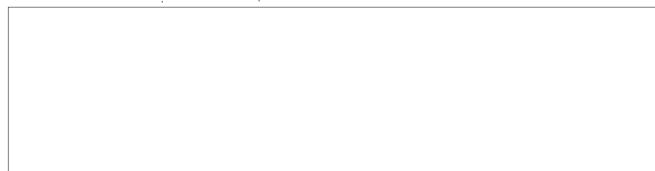
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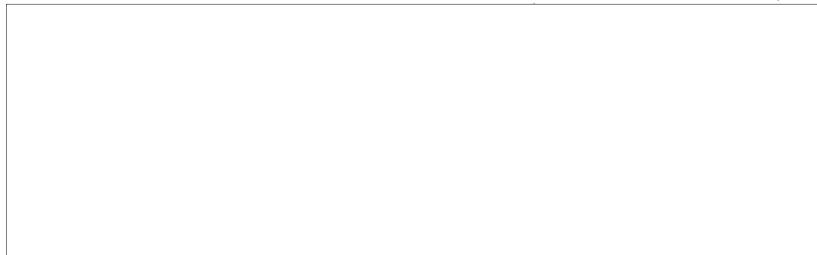


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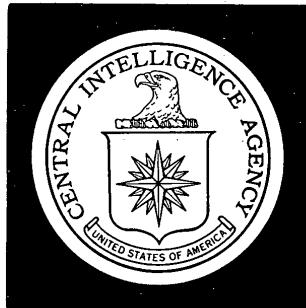


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THE PRESIDENT'S DAILY BRIEF

27 December 1971

PRINCIPAL DEVELOPMENTS

The morale of irregular troops in Laos is faltering, and a serious gap has opened in the government's line defending Long Tieng. (Page 1)

The formation of a cabinet in Pakistan, and Indian efforts to establish order in Bangla Desh are discussed on Page 3.

[redacted] Panamanian canal [redacted]

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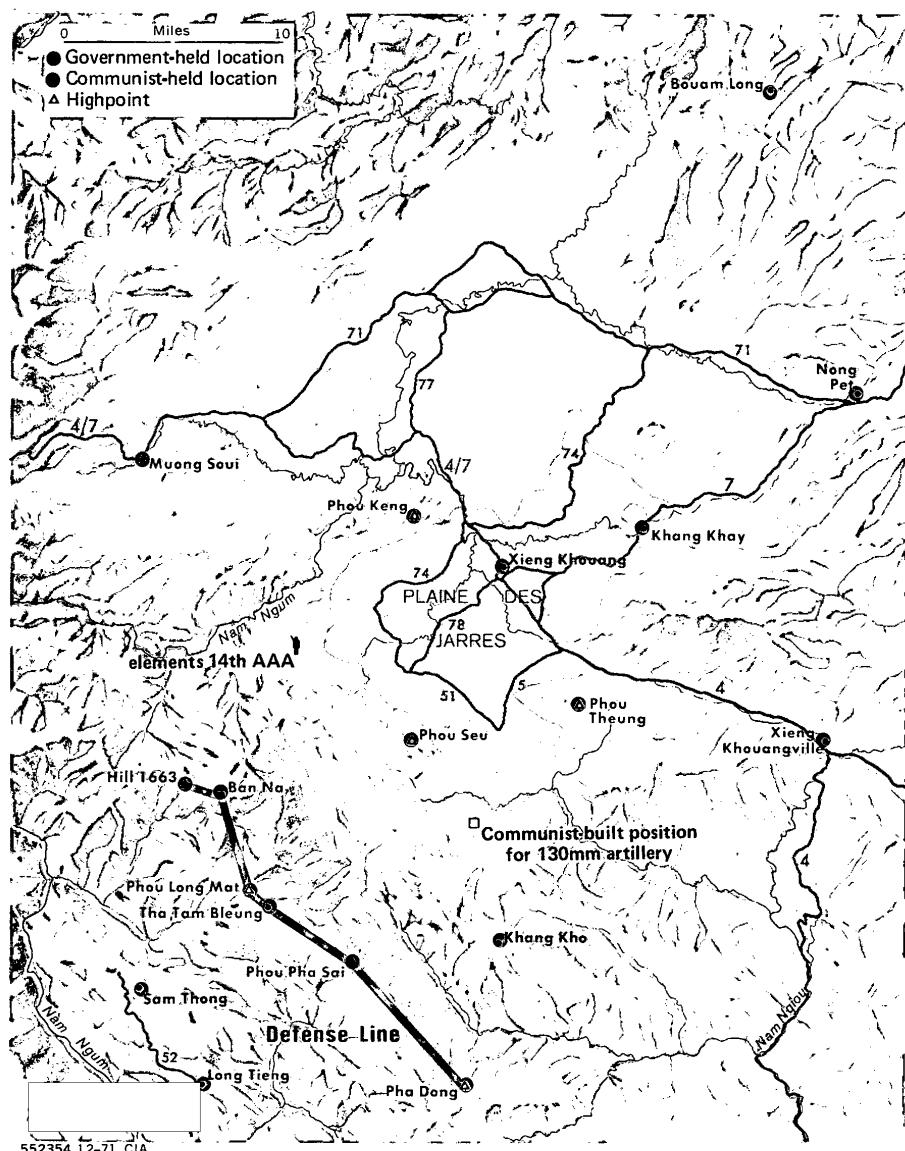
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The Soviets [redacted] (Page 5) [redacted]

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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

LAOS: PLAINE DES JARRES AREA



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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

LAOS

A serious gap has been left in the government's defensive line southwest of the Plaine des Jarres. On Christmas day about 800 troops abandoned the base at Ban Na without a fight. Some of these men are filtering southward toward Phou Long Mat and Tha Tam Bleung and are being harassed by the enemy, while others are moving unopposed toward Sam Thong.

Ban Na was to have been the northern anchor of the defensive line, and its abandonment indicates that Vang Pao is in jeopardy of losing control over the Meo forces driven from the Plaine last week. The apparent collapse of the morale of the troops from Ban Na may have been precipitated by the flight of almost 30,000 Meo dependents from the Long Tieng valley several days ago.

Ban Na's loss means that the battle for Long Tieng will be joined at close quarters sooner than the government expected. Intercepts indicated that elements of the North Vietnamese 316th Division were headed toward Ban Na prior to its abandonment, and one unit of the 14th Antiaircraft Artillery Battalion now appears to be north of the area. Because Ban Na commands the infiltration routes into the Sam Thong and Long Tieng areas, it has figured prominently in the Communists' two previous campaigns.

Once again the struggle for Long Tieng will revolve around whether the government can reconstitute and reinforce its forces in time to counter the Communists, whose ability to move in troops and supplies quickly will be hampered by the rugged terrain southwest of the Plaine. Since the enemy launched its offensive, Vang Pao's force has been increased by 3,000 irregulars. Weighed against the effect of these reinforcements, however, are the loss of Meo morale and the recent withdrawal from Long Tieng of 1,400 troops for a brief period of rest.

Increasing numbers of small enemy units are appearing in the valleys north and east of Long Tieng, but the Communists do not yet appear to be west of the Plaine in great strength. Enemy forces

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appear to have been sufficient, however, to have pressured the irregulars out of Khang Kho this weekend. Khang Kho is not far from an area where intercepts indicate the Communists are constructing positions for 130-mm. guns.

The guns could not reach Long Tieng from this area, but they would be capable of attacking irregular defenses east of the main base.

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PAKISTAN - INDIA - BANGLA DESH

The majority of the ten-man cabinet announced in Islamabad on 24 December is drawn from the left wing of Bhutto's Pakistan People's Party. Several ministers somewhat to the left of Bhutto seem to have been chosen because of their personal loyalty to him, rather than because of their ideology. Bhutto holds the most important portfolios himself.

Mohammad Rashid, the party's leading radical and Bhutto's main rival within the People's Party, heads the Social Welfare Ministry, but this may well be one area in which Bhutto had planned a somewhat radical program in any case. Bhutto also may have wanted to keep Rashid from the post of chief minister of the Punjab--Pakistan's most important province. For this position Bhutto favors a relatively conservative politician who has been one of his consistent supporters.

* * *

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[redacted] Indian forces are confiscating weapons and in several parts of Bangla Desh are arresting those engaged in violence. Orders have been issued to collect Biharis--the non-Bengali minority--in separate colonies for their own protection.

In addition to establishing order, the Indians want to get machinery started for the repatriation of the nearly 10 million Bengalis who took refuge in India. Although the repatriation is not scheduled to begin until 1 January, the Indians estimate that 250,000 people have already returned to Bangla Desh.

[redacted] some refugees who had repatriated themselves have been attempting to re-enter India. Indian forces were ordered to prevent this.

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PANAMA

The Panamanian canal

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The Panamanians are still being sticky on some jurisdictional issues. Agreement has not been reached, for example, on duration, compensation, and the amount of land which would be returned to Panama. Both Torrijos and his foreign minister have been devotees of a tough negotiating stance, and there are no indications that either regards the negotiations as having moved from a bargaining phase to a compromising stage. Nevertheless, the concessions thus far offered to Panama meet most of the Panamanian negotiating objectives and could be presented to the Panamanian people as a victory. The key to the decision is whether Torrijos believes that the US has been pushed to its ultimate position and that no further concessions will be forthcoming.

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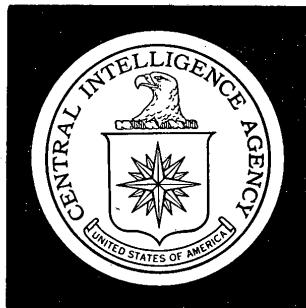
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Arab Confederation: Meetings of the chiefs of state of the Confederation of Arab Republics (Egypt, Syria, and Libya) in Cairo last week resulted in the naming of a confederal prime minister and cabinet, and the establishment of other bodies designed to strengthen economic and political ties among the three countries. President Sadat had been previously named chief of state of the confederation. At this meeting a Syrian was named premier, and a confederal parliamentary body was scheduled to convene in March. It will be a long time, if ever, before the confederation can become a truly effective political unit.

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28 December 1971

PRINCIPAL DEVELOPMENTS

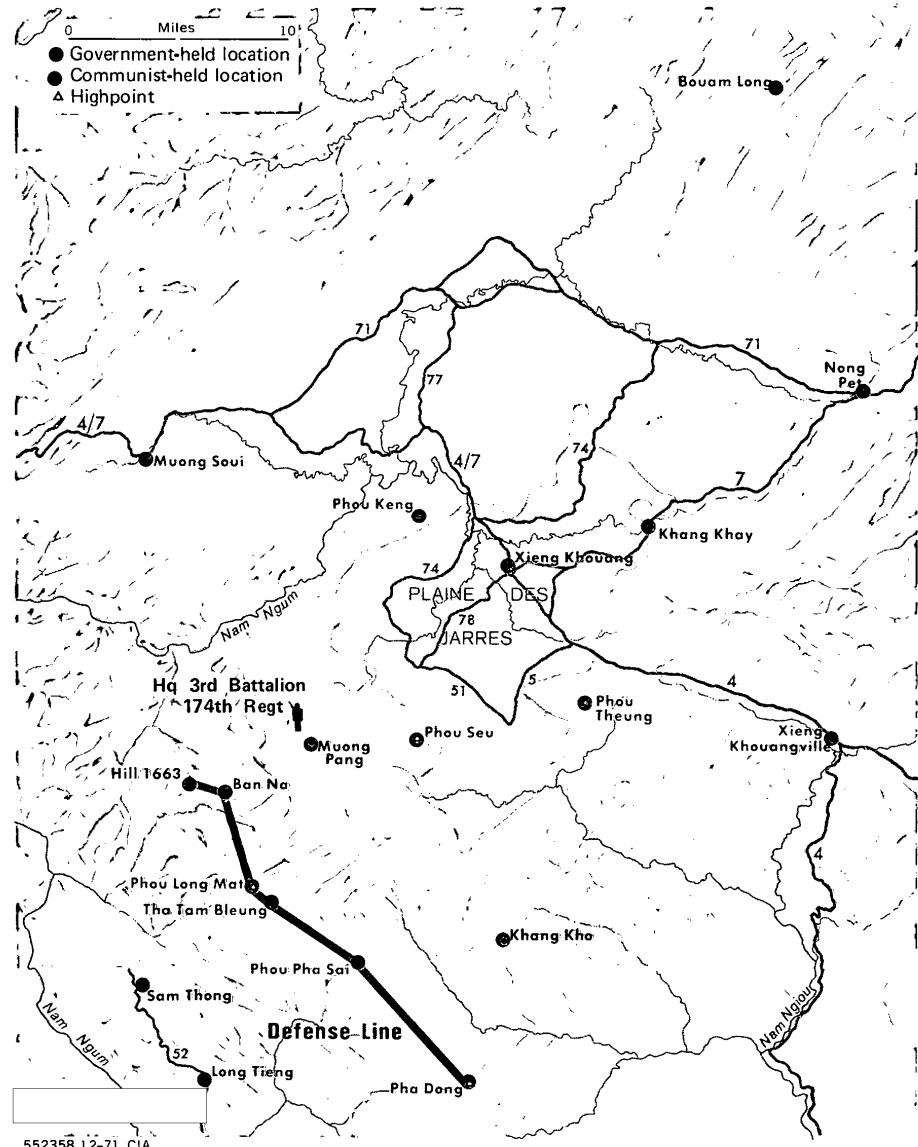
In north Laos, the Communists are repositioning and resupplying their troops north and east of Long Tieng. In the south, government forces have abandoned Paksong under heavy enemy pressure. (Page 1)

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The danger of communal violence persists in both Bangla Desh and Pakistan. (Page 3)

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LAOS: PLAINE DES JARRES AREA



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LAOS

The North Vietnamese are continuing to reposition and resupply their forces north and east of the Long Tieng complex. At least one battalion of the 174th Regiment, 316th Division, has moved into the area northeast of Ban Na, where units of the 866th Independent Regiment had already been noted. Air observers report very heavy enemy activity around Muong Pang and on the southwestern edges of the Plaine des Jarres.

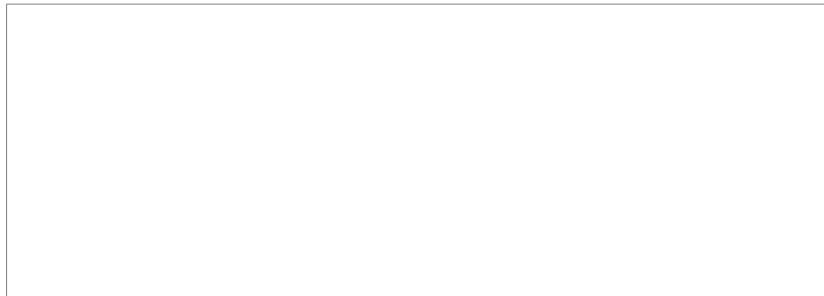
The activity around Muong Pang may foreshadow a thrust by elements of the 316th Division toward the eastern end of the government's defensive line around Long Tieng. The Muong Pang area is honeycombed with caves the North Vietnamese have used in the past to protect supplies and troops.

A lengthy propaganda statement by Hanoi extolling the victory of the "Lao Liberation Forces" makes no reference to Communist goals beyond the Plaine nor to Long Tieng itself. This suggests that the Communists are not sure they can take Long Tieng and thus do not want to commit themselves publicly to this objective.

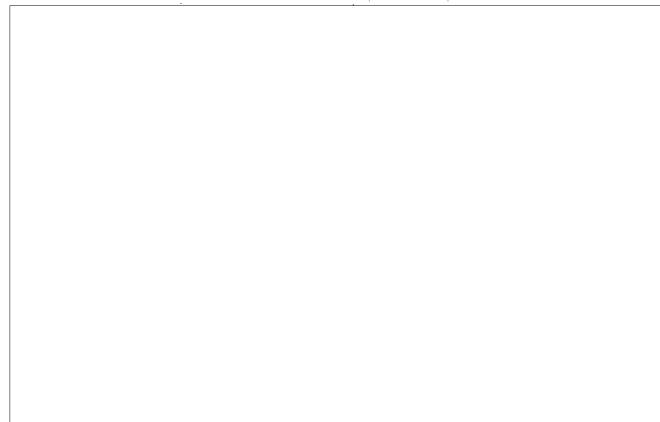
In south Laos yesterday, government forces abandoned the town of Paksong under heavy enemy pressure. The North Vietnamese had undertaken an extensive buildup of troops, supported by tanks and antiaircraft artillery, just north of the town over the past few days, and had isolated government units and limited resupply and medical evacuation operations.

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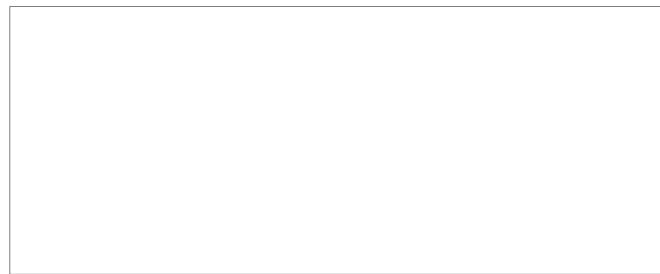
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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

PAKISTAN - BANGLA DESH

The Bangla Desh government has announced plans for organizing the country's armed forces. According to Prime Minister Tajuddin Ahmad, the Mukti Bahini regulars--most of whom are ex-members of Pakistani military or paramilitary units--are to form the core of Bangla Desh's regular armed forces. The Mukti Bahini irregulars will be incorporated into a national militia that will be used in reconstruction efforts. Guerrillas are also to be given preference in staffing the new police force.

The government is anxious to bring the Mukti Bahini under its control before Bangla Desh's image has been further tarnished by guerrilla reprisals against suspected collaborators. Although Mukti Bahini and criminal elements have been terrorizing minority groups in some localities, the presence of the Indian Army has helped prevent a province-wide bloodbath. The Mukti Bahini remain armed, however, and the Indians will not be on the scene indefinitely. Many guerrillas are of doubtful loyalty to the new government and remain eager for revenge.

The Bengali minority in West Pakistan is also living under the threat of violence from West Pakistanis frustrated by their country's recent defeat and angered by reports of Bengali reprisals in the east. Anti-Bengali incidents have already been reported in the Karachi area, and President Bhutto has appealed to the populace to refrain from such actions.

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The new Pakistani cabinet agreed on 24 December that Bangla Desh President Mujibur Rahman should be released, [redacted] Bhutto--who began a series of talks with Mujib yesterday--

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Bhutto almost certainly realizes that neither Mujib's fellow Bengalis nor the Indians would go along with any such scheme.

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PRINCIPAL DEVELOPMENTS

North Vietnamese troops continue to move forward in northern Laos, while on the Bolovens Plateau government forces are trying to regroup to the west of Paksong. (Page 1)

Additional appointments to the Bangla Desh cabinet maintain the Awami League's monopoly. (Page 2)

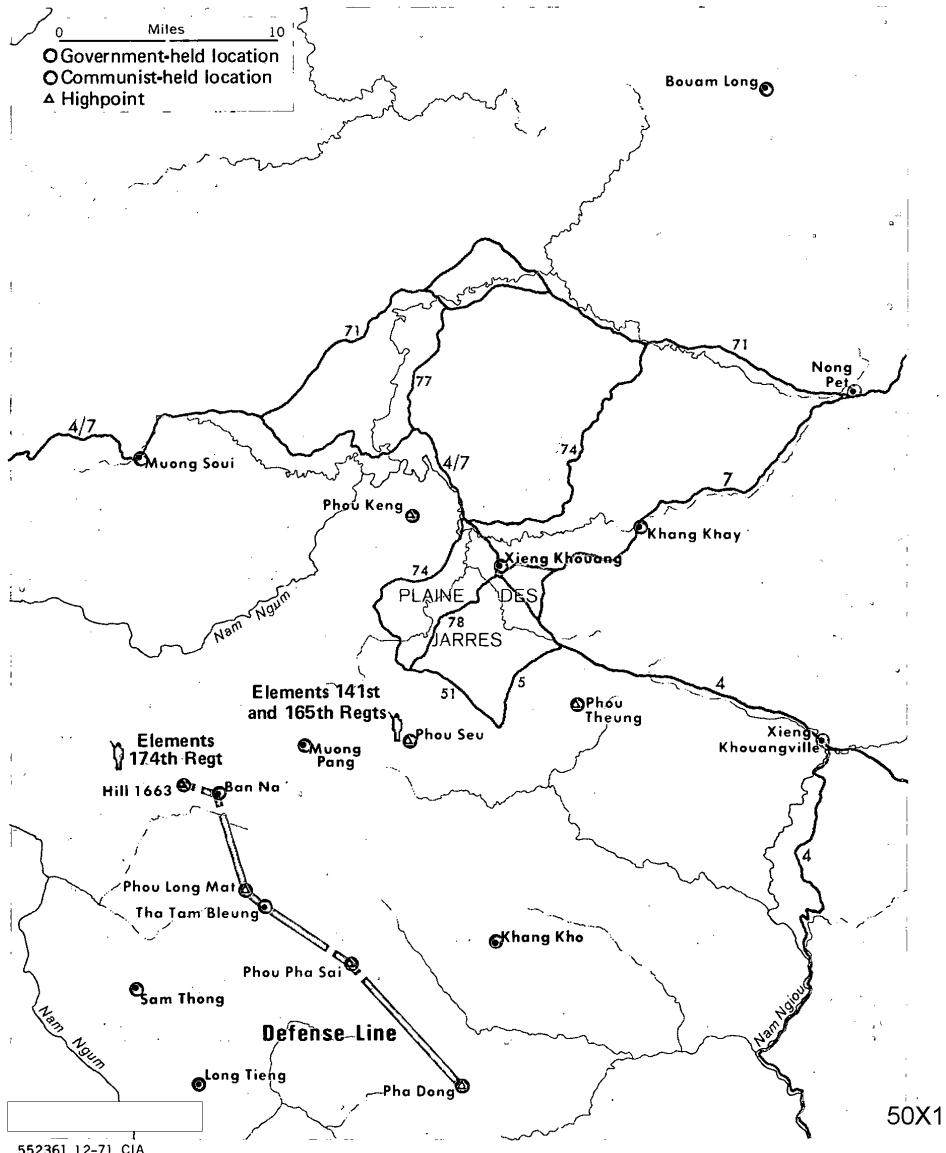
London is preparing for a showdown with Malta's Prime Minister Mintoff over his demand to meet his terms [redacted]. (Page 3) 50X1

The number of North Vietnamese troops detected moving south in the infiltration system continues to increase. (Page 3)

The Soviets [redacted] India [redacted] 50X1
[redacted] (Page 3) 50X1

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

LAOS: PLAINE DES JARRES AREA



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LAOS

North Vietnamese troops continue to move forward in the Plaine des Jarres area, although there has been little enemy-initiated action. Intercepts indicate that all three battalions of the 174th Regiment now are in the Muong Pang area southwest of the Plaine and that elements of two other regiments are active in nearby foothills. Elements of another regiment appear to be moving westward. An intercept of Monday also referred to shipping additional 130-mm. ammunition to Binh Tram 11, the main forward support base for the Communist units on the Plaine.

In the Bolovens Plateau, government forces that abandoned Paksong on Monday are trying to regroup along Route 23 to the west. Air observers report heavy North Vietnamese troop concentrations just north of the area.

Any significant enemy show of strength is likely to cause the government troops to withdraw farther west. Only one of the eight battalions that pulled out of the Paksong area suffered significant casualties. The others withdrew before any concerted enemy attacks were launched. With the loss of Paksong, southern rightists will be increasingly reluctant to send forces to the North to help in the defense of Long Tieng.

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

BANGLA DESH

With the appointment of five additional ministers, ten Awami League members now comprise the Bangla Desh cabinet. Prime Minister Tajuddin Ahmad told newsmen that several more ministerial appointments would be announced soon, but he ruled out the inclusion of non-Awami Leaguers. He also said that new elections would not be held soon.

Despite the Awami League's landslide electoral victory in East Pakistan a year ago, a variety of leftist groups active in the subsequent independence struggle assert that they have earned the right to share in governing the country. Ahmad has sympathized with this view, but most in his party apparently insist that the Awami League govern alone.

New Delhi and Moscow may yet push to get some of the leftists into a key government role, possibly through a multi-party advisory committee such as was created last September to oversee the Awami League-dominated exile government. There is no evidence that the Indians or the Russians view their relationship with current Bangla Desh leaders as unsatisfactory, however.

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NOTES

UK-Malta: London is prepared for a showdown with Prime Minister Mintoff over his latest demand that the UK meet his financial terms [redacted] Yesterday London made it clear that it would withdraw rather than pay the sum demanded.

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[redacted] London has indicated that it is willing to send Defense Minister Carrington to Malta immediately for further talks.

Indochina: The number of North Vietnamese troops detected in the infiltration system continues to increase. We now estimate that some 56,000 personnel have entered the system since early October. Of this number, about 26,000 are destined for the northern half of South Vietnam, and most of these are headed for the base areas near the central highlands. Another 23,000 are going either to Cambodia or the southern half of South Vietnam, and the remaining 7,000 are destined for southern Laos or northeastern Cambodia.

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USSR - Indian Ocean: The Soviets have sent two cruise missile submarines and five surface combatants to the Indian Ocean since the outbreak of the Indian-Pakistani war on 3 December. With this augmentation, the USSR now has a total of 22 combatants and support ships in the area--the highest number of Soviet ships ever to operate there. Several ships may return home soon, but the expected arrival of additional combatants, such as two F-class submarines now en route, will keep the level of Soviet activity high. Soviet naval strength in the area is usually limited to about three combatants and several support vessels.

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PRINCIPAL DEVELOPMENTS

Both the Lao Government and the North Vietnamese are moving forces into position for further action in the north around Long Tieng, while in the western panhandle the Communists may be preparing a new offensive along Route 9. (Page 1)

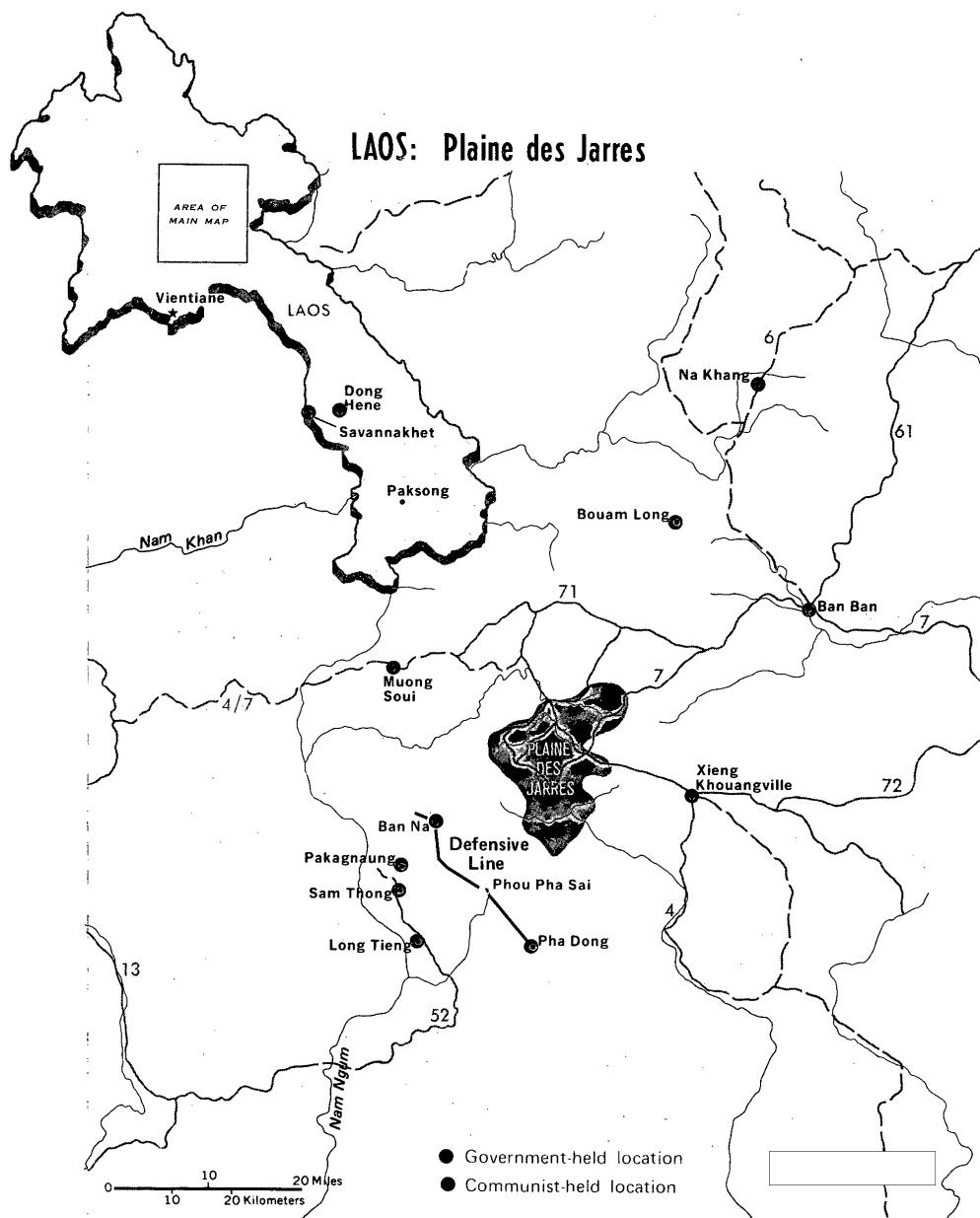
President Sadat's latest speech backs away from the idea of a decisive point in the Egyptian-Israeli stalemate and keeps the door open to negotiations. (Page 3)

In Yugoslavia, resolution of a dispute over foreign exchange between the federal government and the republics may help ease the situation in Croatia. (Page 4)

Prime Minister Colombo's government in Italy has a new lease on life, but still faces serious economic and political hurdles. (Page 5)

The Chinese have resumed deliveries of MIG-19 fighters to combat units after a hiatus of several months. (Page 6)

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PRINCIPAL DEVELOPMENTS

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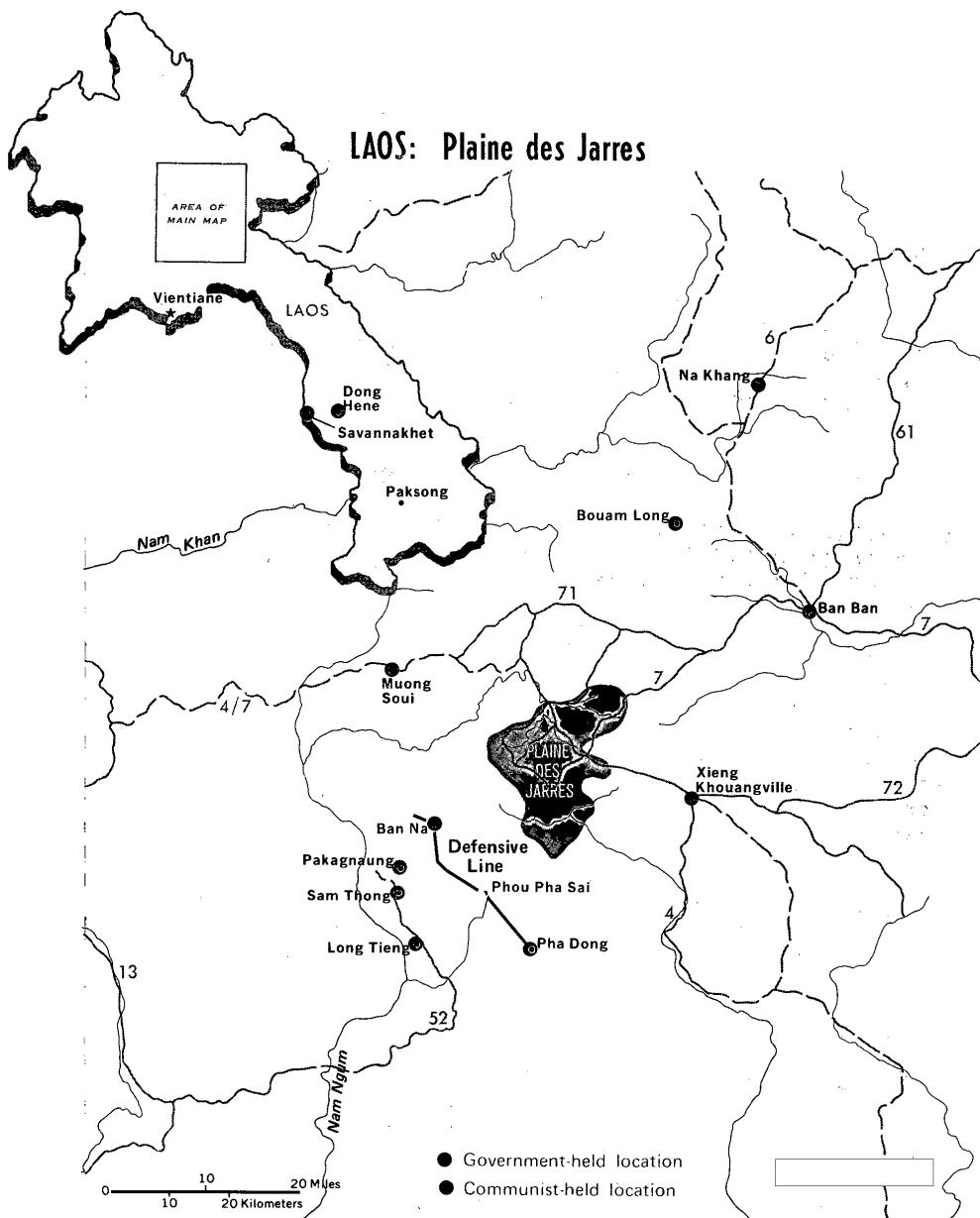
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LAOS

The North Vietnamese are continuing their effort to get men and supplies into position for an attack on the Long Tieng complex before the government can regroup its forces and dig in. Air observers report heavy traffic on Communist infiltration trails into the area southwest of the Plaine. Enemy units are in the Phou Pha Sai area and the 174th Regiment of the 316th Division remains near Ban Na. Captured documents indicate that the North Vietnamese intend to employ their 130-mm. field guns to support a ground assault on the Long Tieng complex. Priority efforts are being made to locate these guns and destroy them by air strikes.

One government irregular force of 320 men is moving three miles north of Sam Thong to take up high ground positions near Pakagnaung. Two other irregular battalions are moving to close the gap in the defensive line at Phou Pha Sai. So far neither group has met resistance. Six more battalions are soon to be moved to Long Tieng--including four more of the irregular units from Savannakhet that have proved very effective in south Laos.

According to the US Embassy in Vientiane, the introduction of 11 new battalions, as well as the replacement of artillery weapons and the prospect of additional reinforcements, have improved morale among Vang Pao's Meo forces. Troops are again responding to direction and are moving forward to take up positions in the defensive line. Vang Pao will also be aided by the transfer to Long Tieng of General Thao Ly, until recently the irregular commander in Savannakhet, who will direct the eight Savannakhet battalions that will be operating out of Long Tieng. Thao Ly has been an unusually effective field commander.

Farther south, Communist units appear to be maneuvering into position near Dong Hene on Route 9 in the western panhandle. The town has been under sporadic rocket attack for the last week and civilians are said to have begun to leave the area. Air observers have reported that Communist units appear to have bypassed government blocking positions north

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and south of Dong Hene. Patrol clashes have increased near Seno; farther west along Route 9, and enemy units may plan new raids against irregular training sites north of that town. Lao Army commanders believe the North Vietnamese will take the offensive to disrupt the Lao National Assembly elections scheduled for 2 January.

A North Vietnamese offensive along Route 9 would also create pressure for the return to Savannakhet of some of the battalions sent to Long Tieng.

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EGYPT

President Sadat, in his year-end policy statement on 28 December, finessed his earlier deadline for a "decision" in 1971. Instead, he stressed that all resources were now being mobilized for the "battle of liberating occupied territories."

Despite his reiteration of the theme that hostilities are inevitable, Sadat's refusal to be drawn out on the timing of the "battle" and his emphasis on the need for further preparedness on the domestic front represent thinly veiled reminders to the Egyptian people that Egypt is not ready to take on Israel.

In contrast to his two particularly tough speeches late last month, Sadat this time focused more attention on the need to pursue political efforts as well as to strengthen the armed forces, and he dismissed any idea of abandoning diplomatic moves. Although he repeated his assertion that Washington's bias toward Israel had brought negotiations to a dead end, Sadat indicated that the door remains open to "all diplomatic contacts."

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

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YUGOSLAVIA

The federal government has agreed to allow the constituent republics to retain a considerably larger share of their foreign exchange earnings.

The accord will help to defuse the situation in Croatia, where the issue had become intertwined with nationalistic aspirations that in turn led to the recent purge of the republic's leaders. The agreement should also lessen the resentment of the economically advanced republics (Croatia and Slovenia) over their large contributions to the development of the poorer republics.

Resolution of this issue will provide a real boost to the economy and is an important step toward long-term economic liberalization. The advanced republics will be able to import more up-to-date technology, as they have long wished. At the same time, the less developed regions are guaranteed a "special place" in the new foreign exchange system. The agreement has yet to be promulgated into law.

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

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ITALY

The government of Prime Minister Colombo, whose pro forma resignation was rejected yesterday by President Leone, is still facing serious hurdles in both the economic and political spheres.

--Strong inflationary pressures persist, while the economy shows no signs of recovery from a fall-off of production and slack investment.

--Colombo remains under pressure, especially from organized labor, for reforms he considers untimely.

--The smaller parties allied with his Christian Democratic party in the center-left coalition have been threatening a showdown on policies and perquisites following the presidential election.

Colombo is likely to meet the economic problem by speeding up the release of public works funds and increasing investment in state enterprises. Although he will implement social reforms that have already been approved, he will be hesitant to commit funds for additional reforms in view of continuing inflation.

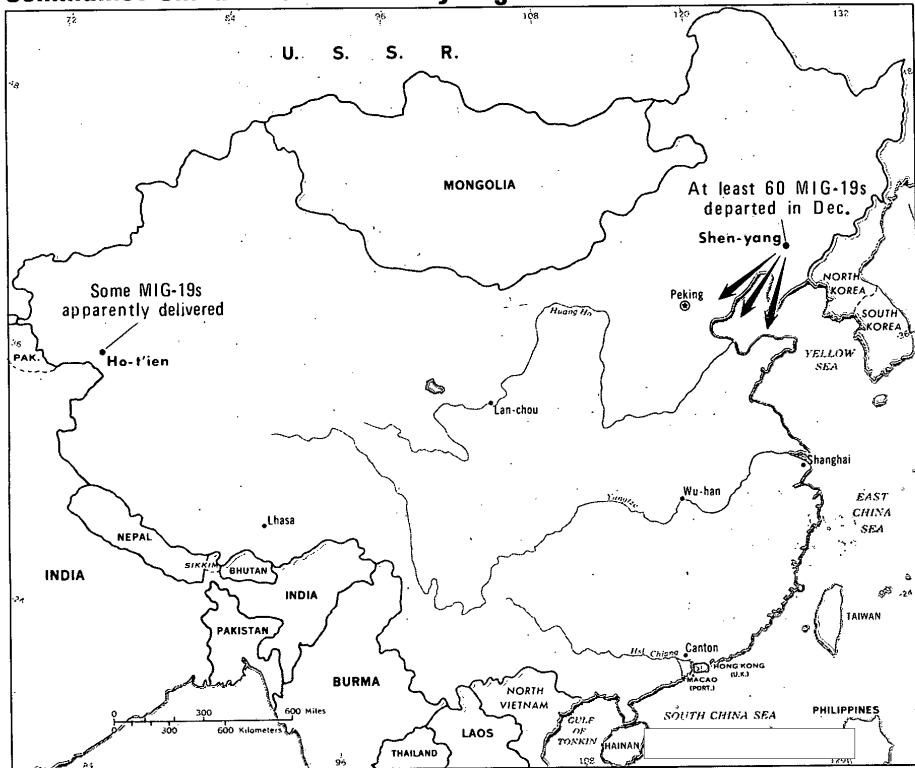
The small Republican Party is especially adamant that any new reform legislation be dependent on assured financing. [redacted] the party may bolt the center-left bloc this week, which could precipitate a crisis.

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The Colombo government must balance such demands against those of the Socialists, who are closer to the Communists and favor faster reform than the other members of the center-left bloc. The gap between the Socialists and Christian Democrats has widened further as a result of the presidential balloting, but the Socialists are unlikely to want to pull out of the government, at least before their party congress in late February.

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

Communist China: MIG-19 Delivery Flights Resume



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COMMUNIST CHINA

[redacted] deliveries to combat units of new MIG-19 fighters are resuming after a hiatus of several months. Our evidence indicates that at least 60 of the new aircraft have left the Shen-yang plant so far this month.

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Delivery flights have generally lagged this year, and this, along with record production rates, has resulted in a large accumulation of new aircraft at production facilities. The backlog consists primarily of some 600 MIG-19s and 100 F-9 jet fighter-bombers. (The F-9 is an aircraft of native Chinese design.) With production of new MIG-19s continuing at a rate of about 50 a month, a high rate of deliveries for up to a year may be needed to disperse the backlog.

Some 17 of the MIG-19s delivered this month apparently went to western China. Their ultimate destination may be Pakistan, [redacted]

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[redacted] at Ho-tien, the west China field previously used for such deliveries.

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NOTES

International Monetary Developments: The US dollar has strengthened in nearly all major markets, forcing some central banks to intervene to prevent the dollar from exceeding its newly established ceilings. The heaviest trading of dollars has occurred in Japan, followed by France, Canada, and the UK. Some of the reacquired dollars have been invested in the US. The remainder have returned to the Euro-dollar market. A larger switch into dollars is expected early next year after many international corporations complete their year-end bookkeeping. Probably as much as \$10 billion will flow from foreign markets back to the US over the next few months.

UK-Malta: London announced yesterday that it was beginning preparations to withdraw its forces from Malta in response to Prime Minister Mintoff's ultimatum. The British have informed Mintoff, however, that the withdrawal--involving some 3,500 military and about 7,000 dependents--cannot be completed by his deadline of 1 January. London still hopes that, if the pull-out can be stalled sufficiently, the Maltese will become more aware of the economic consequences and force Mintoff to reconsider. Mintoff, who appears to have the full support of his cabinet, is already taking his case to the public vigorously, and formal opposition will be hampered by the fact that the parliament is not currently in session.

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31 December 1971

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THE PRESIDENT'S DAILY BRIEF

31 December 1971

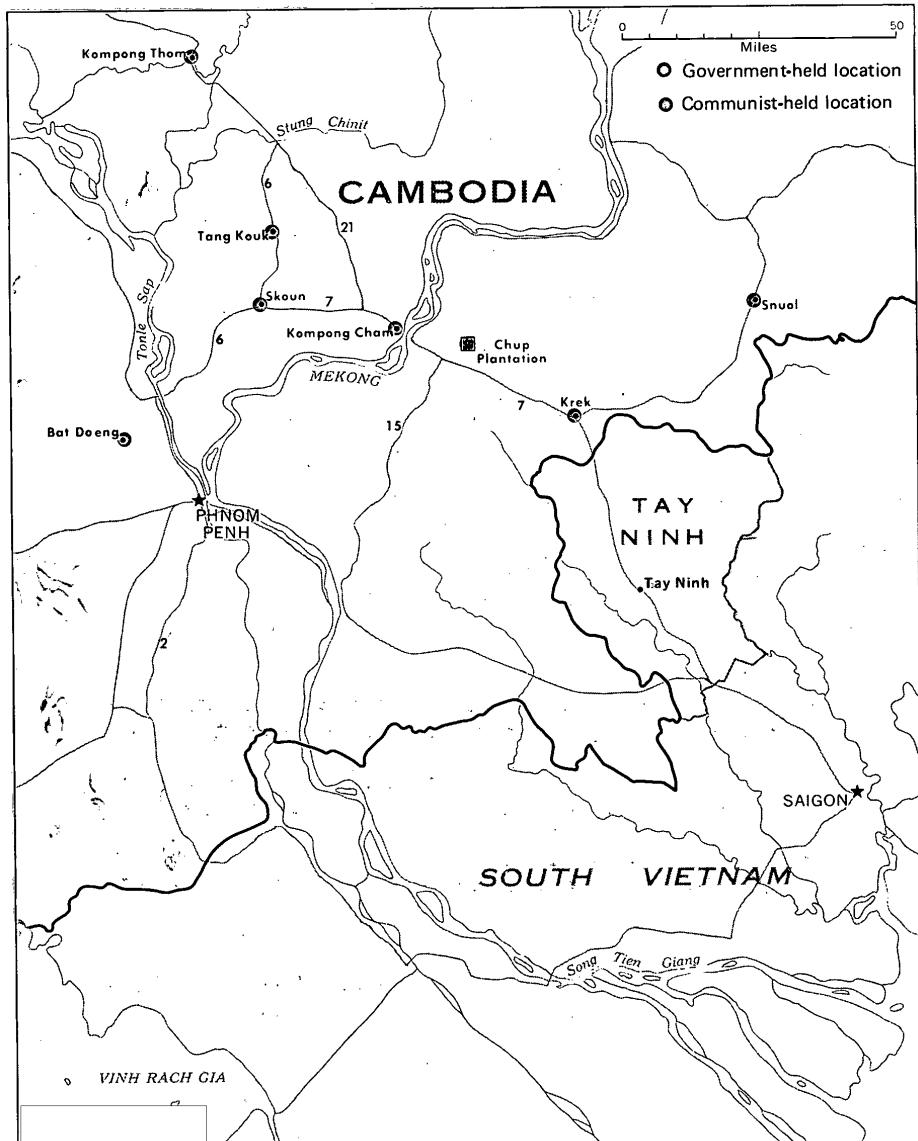
PRINCIPAL DEVELOPMENTS

Some South Vietnamese forces are returning home from their operation in eastern Cambodia. (Page 1)

The USSR may soon make a commitment to help revive the Bangladesh economy. (Page 2)

The North Vietnamese are probing Laotian Government positions around Long Tieng. (Page 3)

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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

SOUTH VIETNAM - CAMBODIA

Concerned about the reinforcement of Communist forces in the central highlands and an increasing enemy threat along the western approaches to Saigon, General Minh is reducing the number of troops operating in eastern Cambodia. Of the 11,000 committed to the operation against the Chup plantation, some 3,000 are being withdrawn, and it is likely that more will follow. A residual force will stay behind to maintain important forward bases, however.

South Vietnamese tactics in eastern Cambodia have been cautious and conservative during the past six weeks. General Minh's forces, mindful of the heavy losses incurred during their withdrawal from Snuol last May, made no sustained effort to push deep into enemy bases and storage areas.

We have no evidence that the South Vietnamese uncovered any sizable caches, and the only significant contact with the Communists took place in the Dambe area. The South Vietnamese moved out of the southern part of the Chup plantation when it appeared that several enemy regiments were in position to go into action against them. For their part, enemy units seemed content merely to harass South Vietnamese positions.

Despite the lack of outstanding successes, the South Vietnamese operation no doubt disrupted normal enemy logistics activity and kept Communist forces in the area off balance, but the hope that the operation would help relieve pressure on Cambodian troops along Route 6 was not realized.

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

USSR-INDIA-BANGLADESH

The Soviets are negotiating a trade and technical assistance pact with Bangladesh.

Although the USSR is clearly willing to help revive the economy of Bangladesh, these negotiations also appear aimed at countering Indian and Bengali pressure for more formal Soviet recognition. Moscow hopes to maintain some presence in Islamabad and does not want to be too far out in front in establishing formal relations with Bangladesh. Much of the Soviet assistance represents a reinstatement of projects in Bangladesh disrupted by civil strife and hostilities.

Soviet assistance supplements that of India. New Delhi thus far has agreed to provide financial aid and administrative expertise. It presumably will play a major role in helping to manage the newly nationalized jute industry.

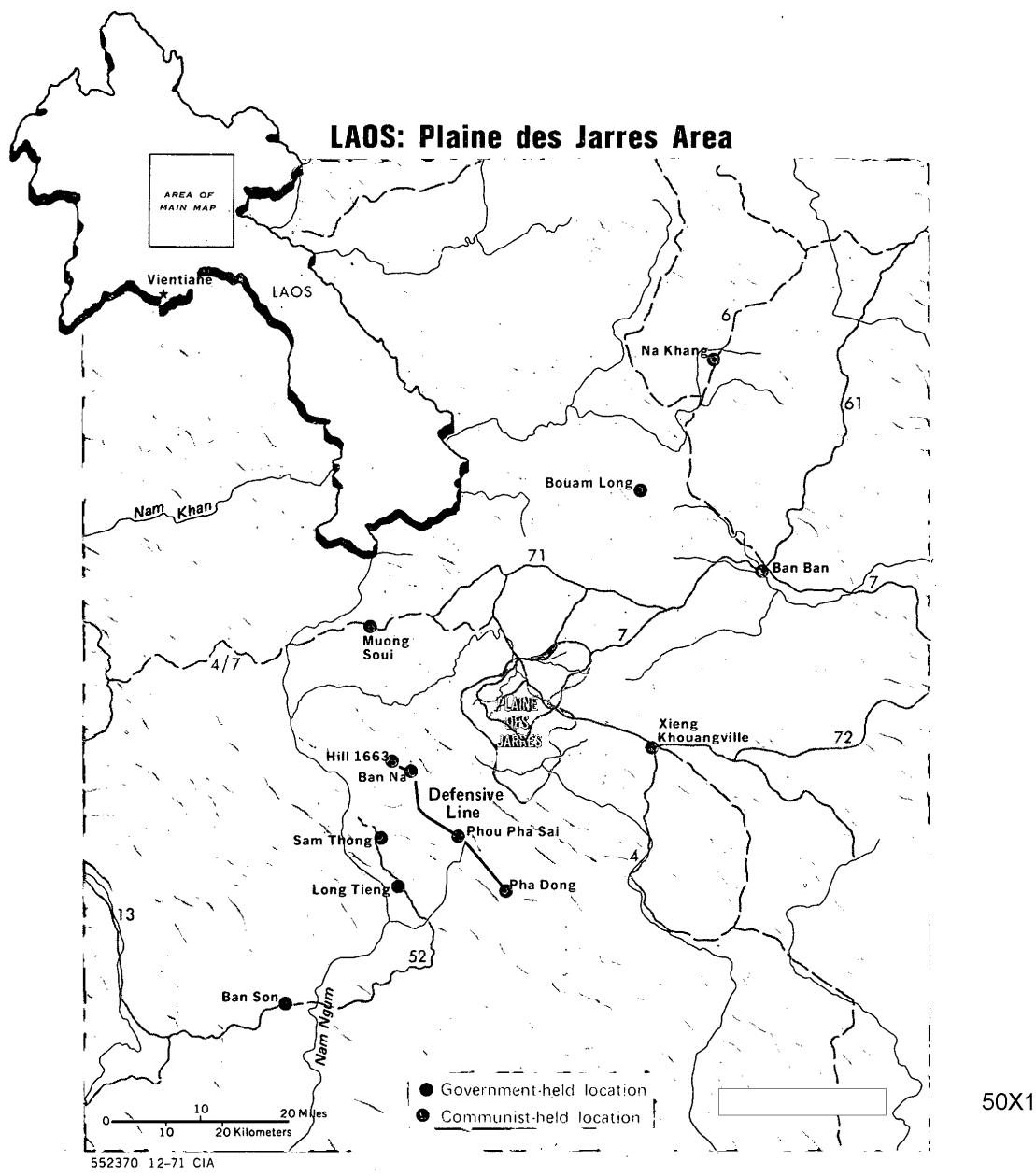
Moscow and New Delhi, however, cannot meet Dacca's enormous aid requirements and Western donors eventually will be called on to provide substantial assistance.

Bangladesh authorities, meanwhile, are reported to have made some headway in establishing an administrative structure. Although non-Bengalis are still having serious difficulties in some localities, the combined efforts of the government, the Indians, and some Mukti Bahini units apparently have prevented a widespread collapse of law and order. [redacted]

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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY



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NOTES

Laos: The North Vietnamese are probing and shelling government positions in the defensive line northeast of Long Tieng, but have launched no significant ground attacks. The enemy also is placing troops and supplies to the east of Long Tieng. At Ban Son, a refugee center 20 miles southwest of Long Tieng, the government is refurbishing an air-strip to handle T-28 aircraft so that there will be an alternate to the Long Tieng strip.

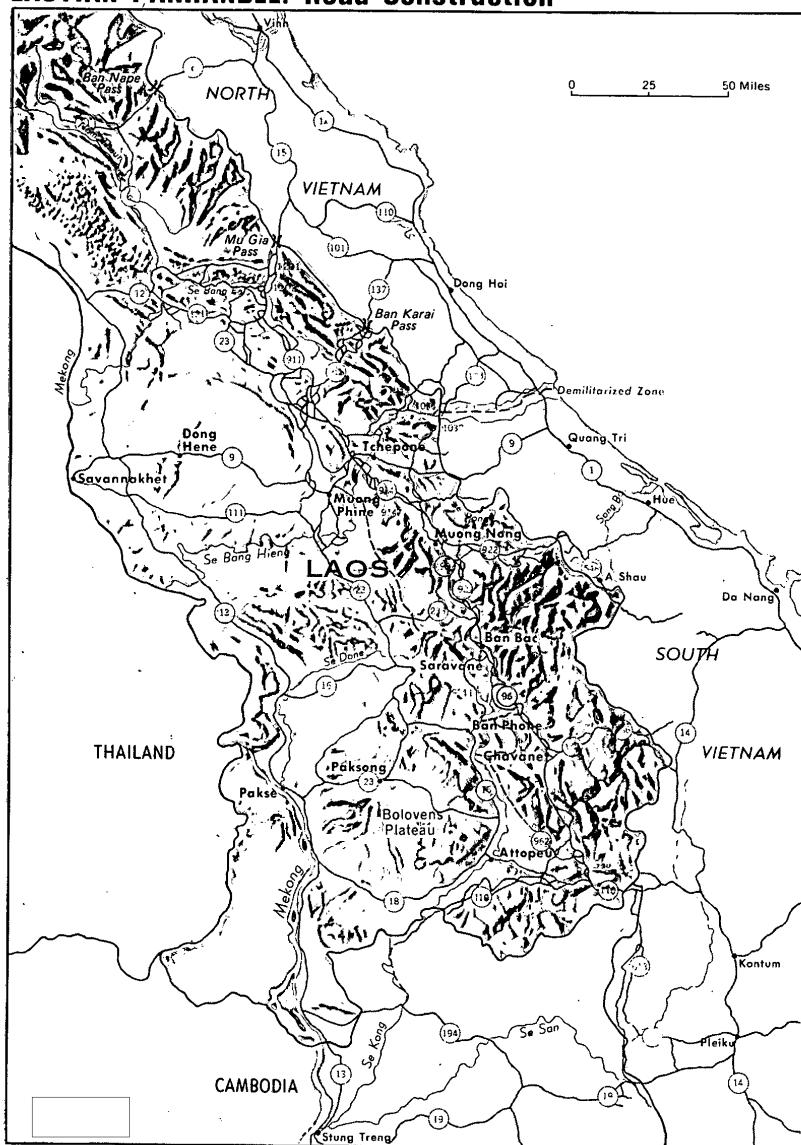
USSR - North Vietnam: The Soviets are making a propaganda show in reaction to the US bombings of North Vietnam. Yesterday they issued a government statement condemning the air raids, and later announced through TASS that they would give Hanoi additional free military assistance. The main Soviet aid pact for 1972 was signed on 7 October. The Soviets seem to be trying to keep a step ahead of the Chinese, who reacted to the bombings with a less authoritative statement issued by their Foreign Ministry.

Honduras: [redacted]

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(continued)

LAOTIAN PANHANDLE: Road Construction



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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

Malta-UK: Although he may still hope that he can pressure the British into a compromise, Mintoff apparently is taking no chances and took a quick trip to Libya yesterday seeking a commitment for long-term cash aid. The Libyan Government helped Mintoff financially prior to and after his election. Tripoli might be disposed again to come to his assistance, at least partially, even though the Libyans may be disillusioned by Mintoff's preference for dealing with the British before negotiating with them. At home, Mintoff so far retains the support of the ruling Maltese Labor Party and the opposition remains indecisive. British forces on the island face harassment and possibly hostile demonstrations beginning 1 January, [redacted]
[redacted]

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Laos: Photography of November and December shows a 53-mile north-south road almost completed through the central panhandle that runs parallel to and between Routes 23 and 99. In the Ban Phone area, two other roads are under construction eastward from the Se Kong River. These new roads, and additions that are being made to existing roads, will improve access to south Laos, the tri-border area, and Cambodia, and will provide additional alternates to choke points in the central panhandle.

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