



CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

THE PRESIDENT'S DAILY BRIEF

[Redacted]

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1 FEBRUARY 1966

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23

DAILY BRIEF
1 February 1966

1. North Vietnam



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the Foreign Ministry today issued a denunciation of the new US air strikes. The statement does not break any new ground. Hanoi also took a hardline in commenting on the UN. It asserted that any attempt by the Security Council to "interfere" in Vietnam would be "completely null and void."

Ghana's President Nkrumah is again planning a trip to Peking and Hanoi. This one is now set for late February, but he is sending one of his advisers to scout the ground beforehand. An earlier trip fell through when Ho Chi Minh claimed that Nkrumah's safety could not be guaranteed.

2. Thailand

The Thai Government is annoyed again by US press reports discussing Thai cooperation with US air strikes in Laos and Vietnam. Prime Minister Thanom told Ambassador Martin yesterday that these reports are making it difficult for him to collaborate with the US. He also claimed that repetition of these reports in Communist radio-broadcasts is endangering the stability of his government.

3. Indonesia

Sukarno now plans to announce his long-awaited "political solution" on Saturday [redacted].

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This solution will be to reorganize all political parties under "NASAKOM"-- Sukarno's acronym for the fusion of nationalist, religious, and Communist groups in the country. To prepare against possibly strong military reaction, Sukarno has directed certain elite military units in the Djakarta area to bypass the regular command channels and take orders directly from the palace.

The army's attitude to this maneuver is still unclear. However, if it succeeds it would go far to restore Sukarno's authority, open the way for renewed Communist influence and thus seriously threaten the anti-Communist forces.

4. Singapore

Fighting broke out today between Chinese and Malay army recruits in Singapore. This was the first significant racial disturbance since the large-scale riots of a year and a half ago.

Antagonism between Chinese and the Malays has increased as a result of the political warfare between Singapore and Kuala Lumpur. It promises to remain a major threat to the stability of both countries for some time to come.

5. Nigeria

The new Ironsi regime intends to revamp the Nigerian Government structure in order to get stronger central authority. [redacted] this will mean abolishing the four semi-autonomous regions in favor of a larger number of provinces directly accountable to Lagos. Such an arrangement is likely to be resisted by some of the older traditional leaders, especially in the North.

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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

THE PRESIDENT'S DAILY BRIEF

[Redacted box]

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2 FEBRUARY 1966

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DAILY BRIEF
2 FEBRUARY 1966

1. Vietnam

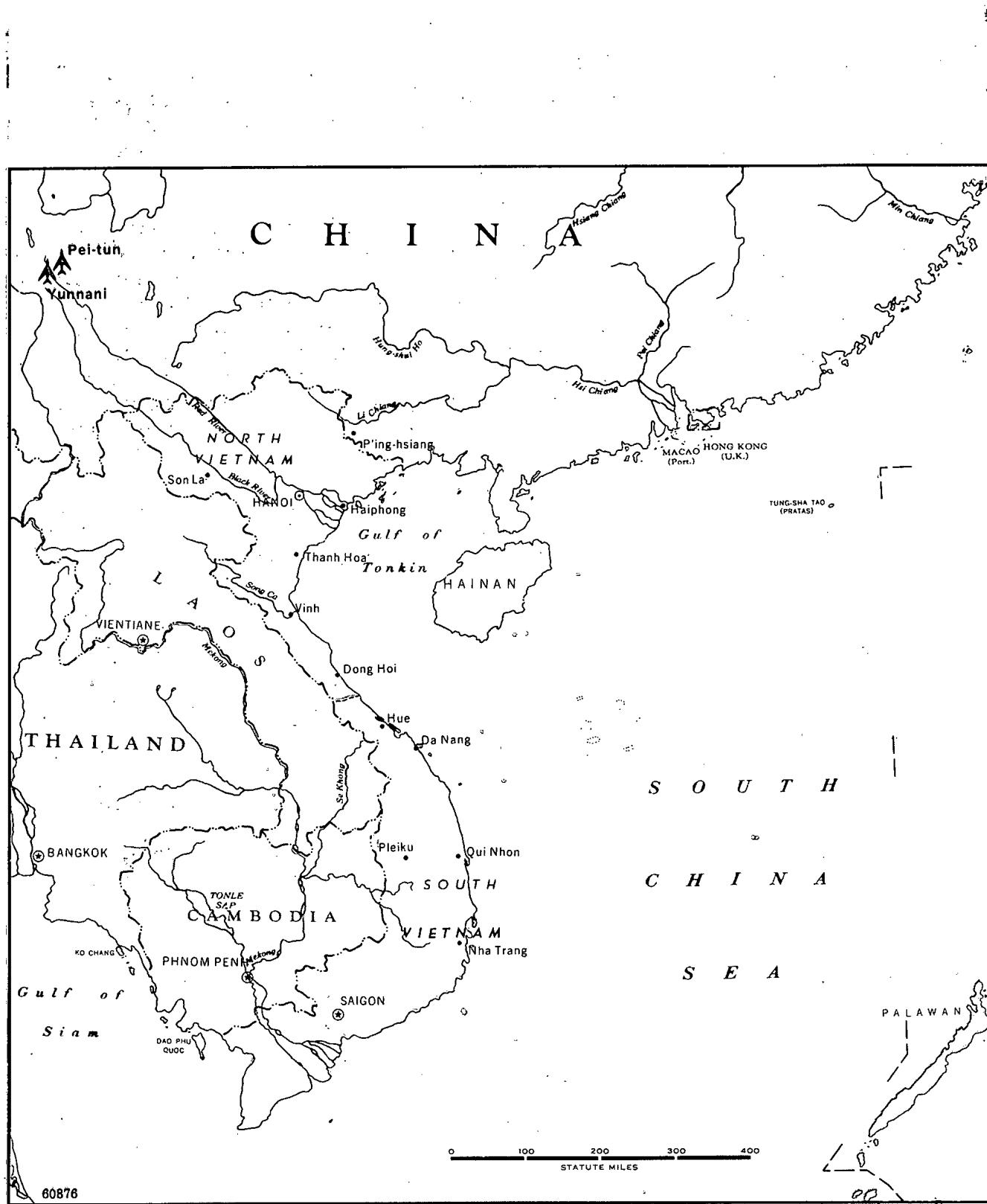
Hanoi's defense minister, Vo Nguyen Giap, asserts that the Vietnamese Communists can win even if more than 700,000 American troops are sent into South Vietnam. Giap was the author of similar assurances published in July of 1964 and 1965.

In the present analysis, Giap acknowledges that the US has shifted to a "new strategic stage" in which US forces do the "core" of the fighting. He admits that the US has great material strength. His prediction of victory is based on the idea that this strength cannot be brought to bear fully on the situation in Vietnam.

He argues that the number of troops Washington can send is limited by a variety of factors. Also, he says, the morale of the troops already deployed is low, and they are neither organized nor trained to deal successfully with a peoples' war.

Giap finds backing for this analysis in the fact that the pace of Viet Cong activity has mounted in the face of increased US participation. To Giap's way of thinking, the Viet Cong still hold the initiative and can now fight large-scale actions as well as small ones. Stepped-up air raids cannot isolate the "southern battlefield."

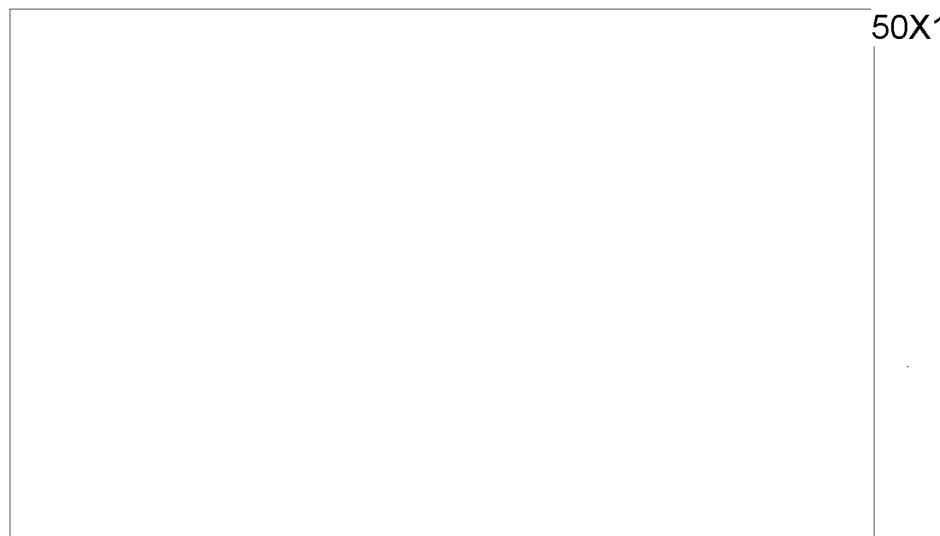
Giap has made almost all of these points before, and Hanoi probably does not overestimate them in its own military planning. The regime does find their restatement by the conqueror of the French useful in bucking up Communist forces both in North and South Vietnam.



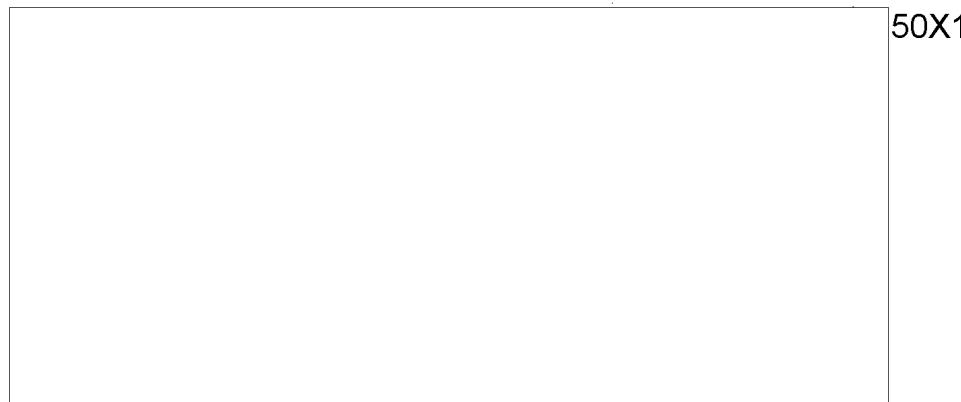
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2. Vietnam

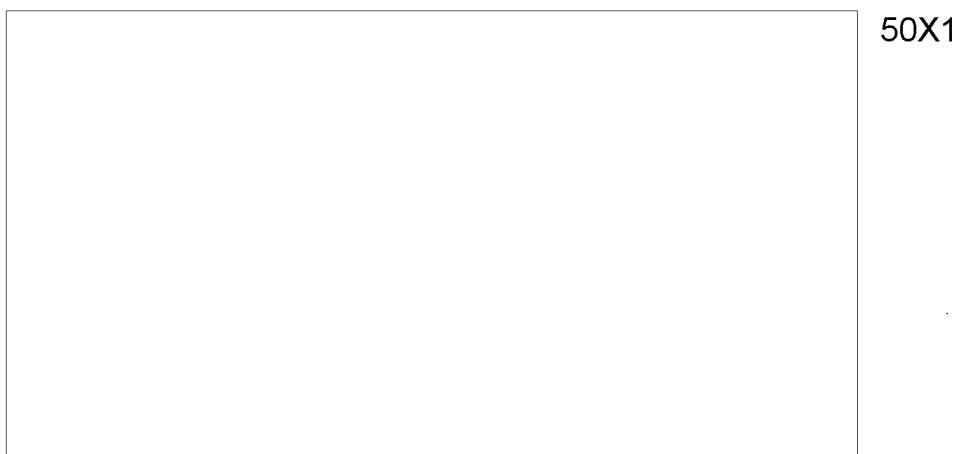
Satellite photography taken 20-24 January turned up 63 MIG fighters at two previously unoccupied fields, Yun-nani and Pei-tun in southwest China (see map).



3. Communist China



4. Nationalist China



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5. Soviet Union

The latest satellite photography shows that some of the single silo launchers for intercontinental ballistic missiles are at least externally complete. They have been under construction for about two years.

6. Cyprus

Greek Cypriots are filling their newspapers with stories aimed at showing that morale is slipping badly among the Turkish Cypriots and that the latter are on the point of surrendering on Greek terms. The government in Nicosia is obviously coaching this psychological effort.

Though the picture of crumbling Turkish resolve is highly overdrawn, there are some signs that the Turkish minority is becoming somewhat less intransigent.

If the Turkish community could be given some sort of guarantee against a Cypriot union with Greece, it is just conceivable that a new mediation effort might succeed.

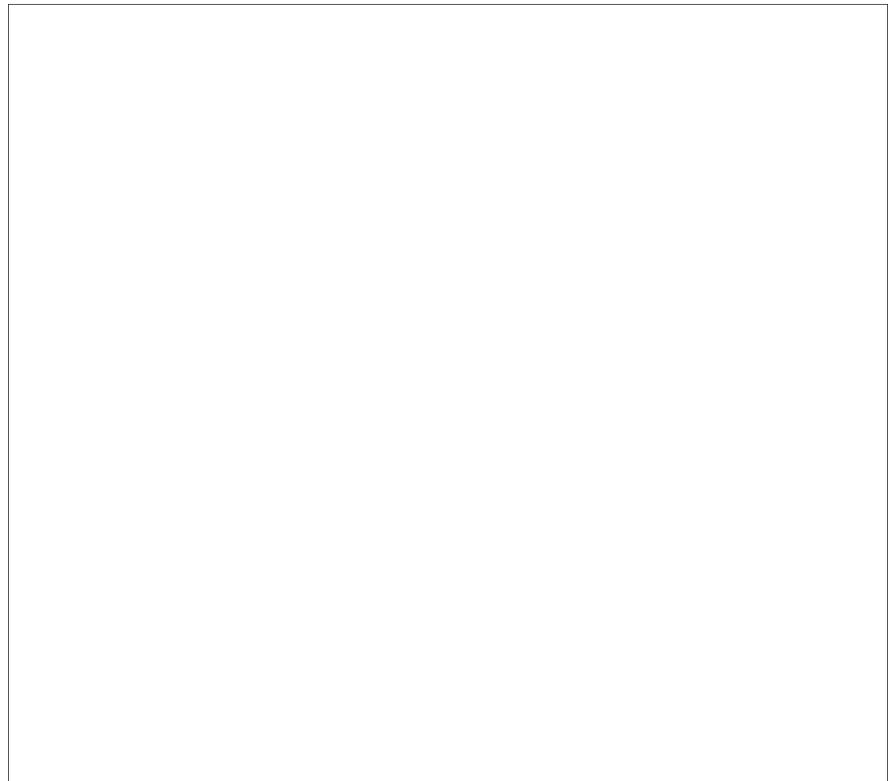
7. Cuba

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8. West Germany



9. Dominican Republic

The military leaders are, if anything, even more rigid this week against accepting the command changes ordered by the president nearly a month ago. Garcia Godoy and Ambassador Bunker agree that action to force the issue may soon be required.

The use of Inter-American troops to force Rivera Caminero out may be the only way, but efforts to reach a less drastic solution will still be tried for another day or two.

Garcia Godoy is offering additional concessions to the military in what may prove to be his last effort to bring about Rivera Caminero's voluntary departure. The president says he would now be willing to retain the service chiefs and allow Rivera Caminero to designate his own successor as defense minister. There is as yet no word on reaction to this concession.

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DAILY BRIEF
3 FEBRUARY 1966

LATE ITEM

Soviet Union

[redacted] Luna 9 made
a successful soft landing on the moon
near the Sea of Storms this afternoon

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[redacted] The Soviets would
almost certainly wish to measure lunar
temperatures and surface conditions as
well.

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The first US attempt at a soft
landing is scheduled later this year.

DAILY BRIEF
3 FEBRUARY 1966

1. North Vietnam



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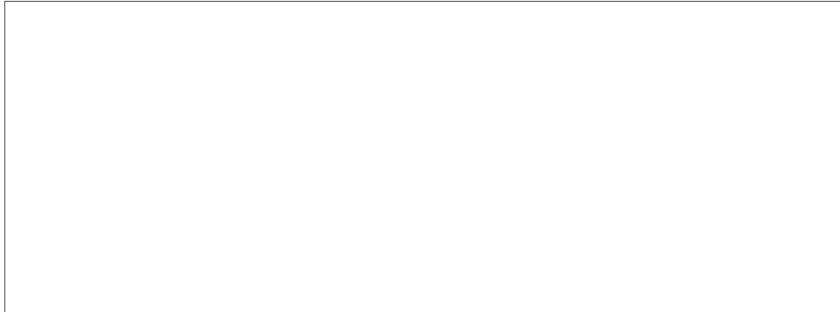
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2. South Vietnam

Retail prices in Saigon, which rose as usual during the Tet holiday, jumped further last week instead of moving back down. The index prepared by the Agency for International Development showed retail prices on 24 January up 18 percent over the previous month.

The embassy notes that rice deliveries from the delta are not improving and that the January deliveries were probably the lowest since 1958.

3. Communist China



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4. Communist China

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5. Indonesia

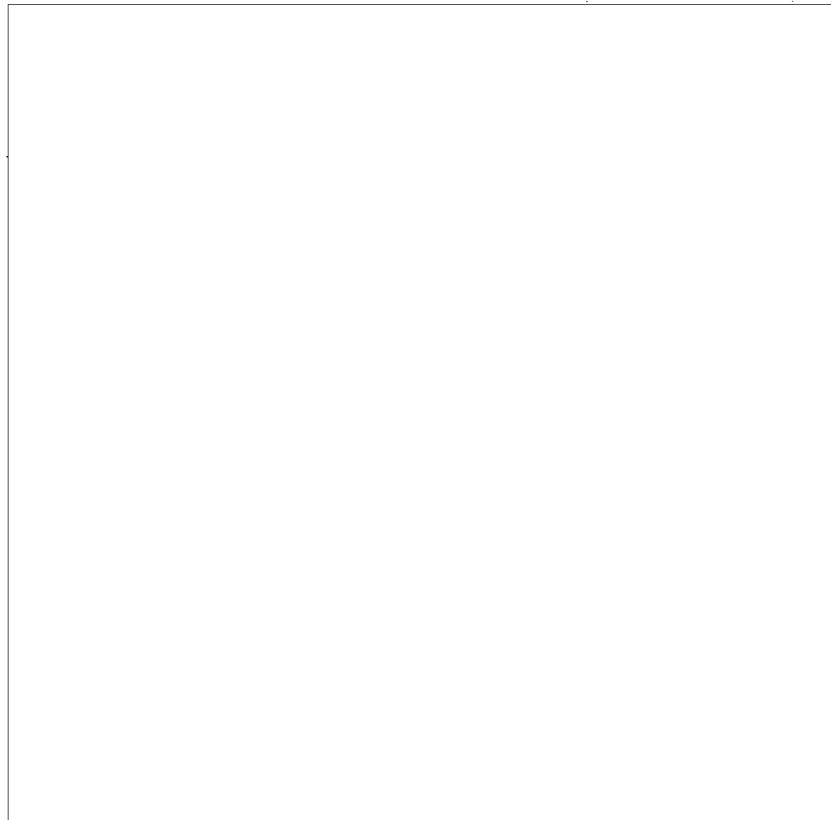
Sukarno has been making some headway in his efforts to exploit divisions and rivalries within the armed forces and between the army and its civilian supporters. His principal antagonists, Generals Nasution and Sukarto, seem now to regard the maintenance of law and order as their central occupation.

The two generals continue to hang back from a direct confrontation with Sukarno, evidently because they are unsure of the loyalty of the key regional commanders. Sukarno, for his part, does not have a firm and unquestioned hold on enough armed strength for an outright military challenge to the generals.

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6. France

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7. France

An official at the Quai d'Orsay confides that De Gaulle will be leaving for his state visit to the Soviet Union on 20 June. Sometime prior to his visit, the French will be trying to work out more concrete arrangements on such matters as the joint use of Soviet communications satellites.

8. Great Britain

There is a good chance that Wilson will call a general election in late March or April

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A decision may be postponed until after Wilson's Moscow trip late this month.

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9. Dominican Republic

Defense Minister Rivera Caminero has laid down a series of conditions for his departure from the country. Most of the defense minister's conditions may prove acceptable to Garcia Godoy.

One possible sticking point may be the demand that the ex-rebel military camp on the outskirts of Santo Domingo be disbanded. It is not, however, known how intransigent Rivera will be on this point.

It also remains to be seen whether hard-line elements in the military will accept his departure or whether the clamorous left will be satisfied with the sacking of only one of the military chiefs.

10. Costa Rica

Costa Ricans vote Sunday on a successor to moderate President Orlich who cannot by law succeed himself. By backing Oduber, a leader of the ruling party's liberal wing, Orlich is bucking a tradition that no candidate from a ruling party has won since the 1948 revolution. The vote will be close, but the outcome is not expected to affect US interests seriously.

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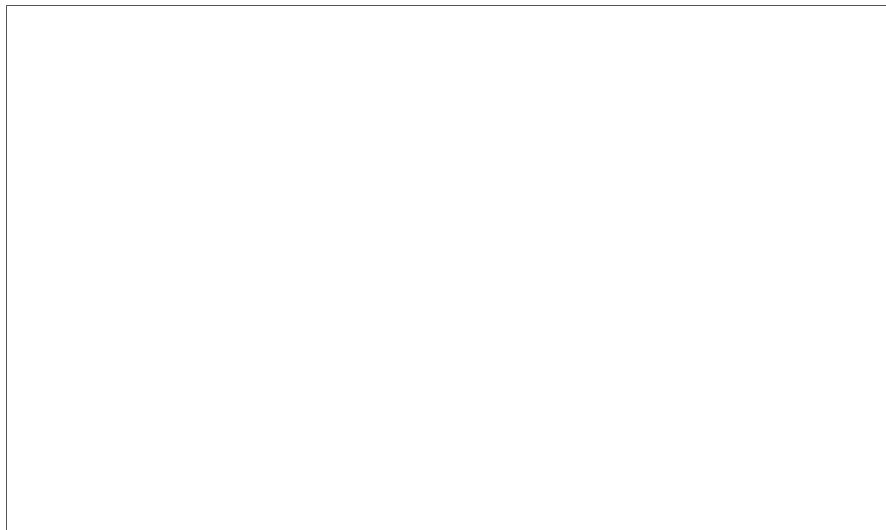
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DAILY BRIEF
4 FEBRUARY 1966

1. Soviet Union

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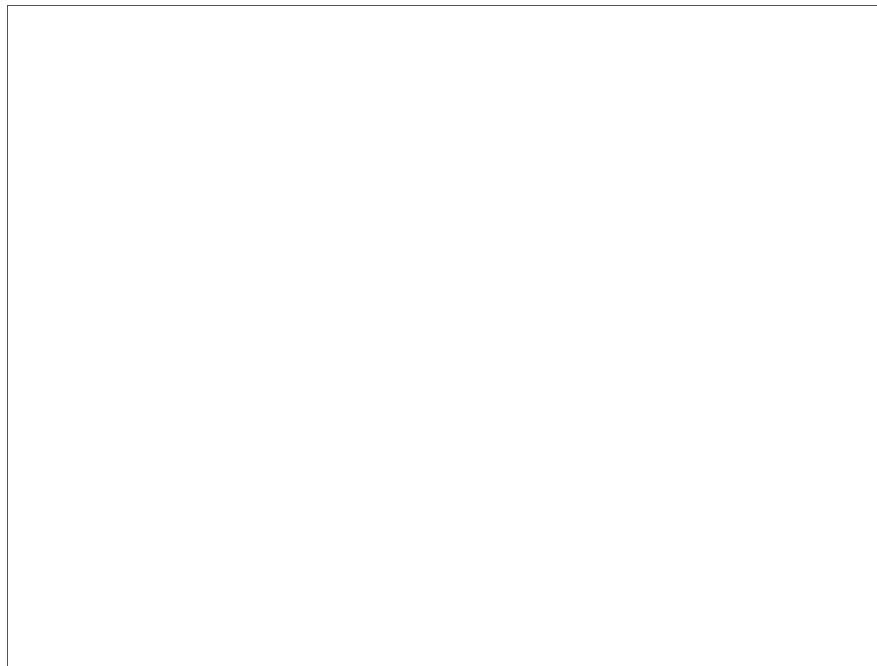


The Soviets apparently have delayed publication of Izvestia to enable it to carry the first public photographic releases.

Government and scientific leaders throughout the world are generally giving the Soviets full credit for a significant space achievement.

2. Communist China

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3. Vietnam

The Soviets seem still disinclined to take any initiative on Vietnam. In fact, they seem quite content to follow Hanoi's lead for the time being.

[REDACTED] Premier Kosygin late last month insisted, as he has before, that Moscow has no authority to speak for Hanoi. He refused to commit himself on a suggestion that India try to bring the US and North Vietnam together on some neutral ground.

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In a similar vein, Soviet diplomats at the UN are taking a strict hands off attitude toward current consultations among Security Council members on Vietnam. There are intimations that they would veto any substantive resolution.

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4. Communist China

Peking has delivered an extremely sharp note to Djakarta protesting yesterday's "barbarous attack" on the Chinese Embassy in Djakarta. This is the fifth such protest to Djakarta since last fall

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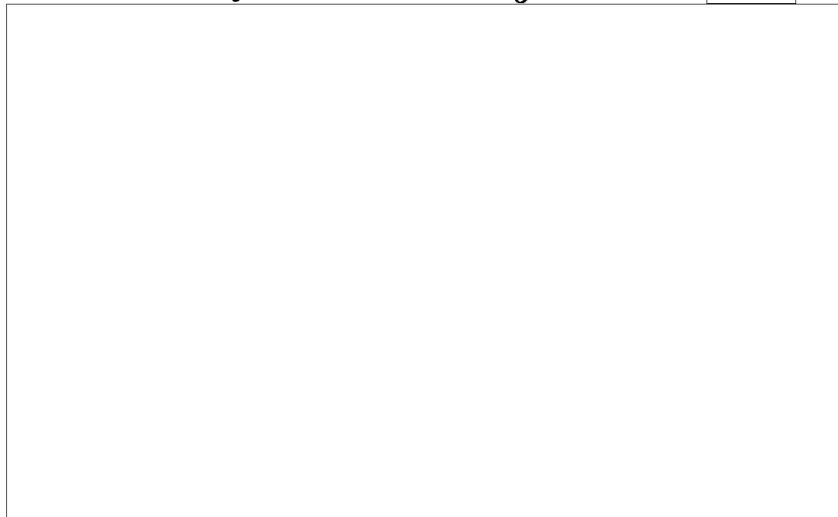
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5. Indonesia

Announcement of Sukarno's "political solution" is still being forecast for tomorrow by sources in Djakarta.

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Anti-Communist student groups are restive under the army's cautious "no showdown" policy. Sources in Djakarta are reporting student plans to resume demonstrations today or tomorrow. These demonstrations came very close last month to being openly anti-Sukarno. Serious violence was narrowly averted on one occasion only by prompt army intervention.

6. Ethiopia

The restiveness and coup rumors that have increased in Addis Ababa since the Nigerian revolt have apparently prompted the Emperor to shuffle some key military and civil government personnel. He recognizes a potential danger, but seems to underestimate the depth and extent of the pressures that have been building up for basic reforms.

During a long conversation yesterday with Ambassador Korry, the Emperor did not appear overly concerned with problems of internal security. He did recognize that governmental inefficiency is adding to the undercurrent of unrest, but blamed this on ineffective ministers. He seems prepared to make scapegoats of some of them.

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Panama

Arnulfo Arias has again served notice that he is out to sabotage the Canal treaty now under negotiation with the US. In a press conference last night he and other principal opposition leaders blasted the government for carrying on the talks "behind the backs" of the Panamanian people. Arias, reflecting his contention that he was cheated out of the presidency by Robles in the last elections, implied that any treaty concluded by the "illegal" government would be unacceptable.

Arias, a veteran demagogue, who now heads Panama's largest political party, has a formidable capacity for causing trouble. The treaty will not be ready for ratification by the Panamanian Assembly until summer at the earliest. President Robles, who can count on only a very few Assembly votes, plans some early political maneuvers, including cabinet changes, in an effort to strengthen his position.

Ecuador

Military leaders have been meeting today to discuss replacement of the present three-man military junta with a single executive. There is as yet no word on the outcome, nor on the precise reasons this has come up now. It could be the result of pressure by those officers anxious to maintain the military's role in government after the national elections that have been scheduled for next June.

The student demonstrations of the past several days seem unrelated to the possible government change. The police can handle the type of small-scale student agitations that have occurred. If restive labor and political elements jump on the student bandwagon, however, the situation could worsen quickly.

9. Belgium

The government resigned today after a vain effort of many weeks to head off a new doctors' strike, now set to begin on Sunday. A lengthy period of negotiations on a new government is in prospect. Some refurbished version of the old Catholic-Socialist coalition may be the end result. Meanwhile, however, other serious problems will be pressing for solution--organized labor's reaction to the doctors' pressures, the problems of the unemployed miners, and the worsening linguistic difficulties.

10. Italy

Aldo Moro is meeting the expected difficulties in the long and complicated task of trying to form a new government. Ambassador Reinhardt still believes Moro has a better than even chance of success. If he fails, early national elections would be the likely prospect.

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DAILY BRIEF
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1. North Vietnam

Continuing radio traffic analysis strongly suggests that the previously noted senior Chinese Communist military authority in the Hanoi area has important air defense functions.

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Communications intelligence also points to preparations to activate a new airfield in South China near the Vietnamese border.

These developments add to the growing signs of increased air defense coordination between China and North Vietnam.

2. Pakistan

Drought, described as unprecedented, has cut into the winter grain crop. The governor of West Pakistan believes that the upcoming crop will be reduced by at least 30 percent. This crop accounts for about one-fifth of the country's annual grain production.

3. France

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4. Soviet Union

Figures released this week in Moscow mean that there was little improvement in the performance of the Soviet economy last year as compared with the previous year.

The Kosygin-Brezhnev team did manage to reverse the decline in the industrial growth rate from the postwar low of 1964. However, they may have trouble sustaining the improved industrial rate this year. State investment, which largely governs industrial growth, was below expectations last year, and the 1966 plans favor agriculture over industry.

Moscow's statistics indicate that grain production last year dropped by more than 20 percent, and our own estimates confirm this. Our studies point to a grain production of around 100 million tons. The output of animal products went up sharply, however.

5. Egypt

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6. Panama

Ambassador Adair feels that Arnulfo Arias' Thursday press conference, at which he denounced in advance a new canal treaty, was directed as much at the US as at the Panamanian public. The veteran troublemaker was, in the ambassador's opinion, putting us on notice that a satisfactory solution to the canal problem can only be reached through him.

7. Brazil

President Castello Branco is willing to back War Minister Costa e Silva as the administration candidate in this year's presidential election if the war minister will agree to continue present government policies. Castello Branco also wants a new war minister who will keep the armed forces united behind the administration.

If something can be worked out along these lines, a potentially explosive confrontation between the two men will be avoided.

8. Rhodesia

The British have begun to work on Zambian President Kaunda in hopes of persuading him to postpone a total trade break with Rhodesia beyond the 15 February date previously agreed upon between him and Wilson. The British are optimistic, but Kaunda is under pressure from firebrands in his own government.

There are reports that meaningful quantities of petroleum products are finding their way into Rhodesia from Mozambique and South Africa. These are without confirmation, and it is doubtful that the amounts involved are yet significant from a nationwide viewpoint.

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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

THE PRESIDENT'S DAILY BRIEF

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DAILY BRIEF
6 FEBRUARY 1966

1. North Vietnam

Hanoi today sent its MIG-21s into action for the first time. Two of the high-performance fighters were scrambled from Phuc Yen against a U-2 reconnaissance flight over northwestern North Vietnam.

One of the fighters tried to intercept the U-2 when it was more than 50 miles inside Laos on its return flight. Despite this aggressive behavior, neither MIG was able to bring the U-2 down.

There is other evidence that Hanoi is broadening the scope of its MIG fighter operations. Late last week, several flights took off at night to challenge US air strikes. These were the first such attempts by the Vietnamese Air Force, indicating a growing confidence in Hanoi in both its pilots and its all-weather aircraft.

2. Vietnam

Moscow, Peking, Hanoi, and the Viet Cong have all blasted the Honolulu gathering. Predictably, they look upon it as a strategy conference to work out tactics for escalating the Vietnam war.

Moscow terms the meeting "dangerous and ominous" in that it "could lead to an extension of the conflict in Southeast Asia, the consequences of which are hard to imagine."

3. Belgium

The crisis continues following the King's refusal to accept the government's resignation. There was one hopeful development today, however. The doctors decided to suspend their strike. This may well be a result of the King's own intervention. He has been taking an unusually direct part in the current crisis, a reflection of the gravity with which he views it.

4. Dominican Republic

There has been some progress in the past several days in moving Defense Minister Rivera Caminero toward a voluntary departure. Garcia Godoy, however, is balking over some of the conditions Rivera Caminero has set. Fearing leftist reaction, the president is reluctant to guarantee that the army and air force chiefs remain and that there be no further changes in the high command for the duration of his regime.

5. Cuba

Relations between Havana and Peking, on the decline for more than a year, have now taken another sharp turn for the worse. Fidel Castro today publicly accused Peking of trying to subvert the Cuban armed forces with "a massive distribution of propaganda."

Regarding the Chinese cutback on its trade of rice for Cuban sugar this year, Castro charged China with joining the "Yankee imperialist blockade." China, he said, was engaged in "blackmail, extortion, pressure, aggression, and strangulation of smaller countries" like Cuba.

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6. Ecuador

Military leaders have been unable to agree on whether to replace the present junta with a single executive. This division is itself a bad sign. The majority [redacted]

[redacted] favor the assumption of full power by a single military man, cancellation of the 5 June elections, and strong measures to halt student disorders.

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7. Italy

Early national elections may be necessary. Aldo Moro gave up his effort to form a new government late yesterday. Though there is apparently to be another attempt to reconstitute the center-left coalition under some other Christian Democrat, divisions within that party will make it difficult. President Saragat plans other delaying tactics in the hope that elections can be avoided, but the prospects seem dim.

8. Libya

Aging King Idris is seriously considering an early move to abolish the monarchy and establish a republic. He seems motivated largely by a determination to prevent the succession of the crown prince, whom he thoroughly distrusts. The King apparently plans to entrust transitional arrangements to former prime minister Halim, the man who was largely responsible for Libyan approval of the Wheelus Base agreement.

Libya has been politically stable under the conservative King's rule, but restive reformist elements in the army and civil bureaucracy have been waiting on the sidelines for his passing.

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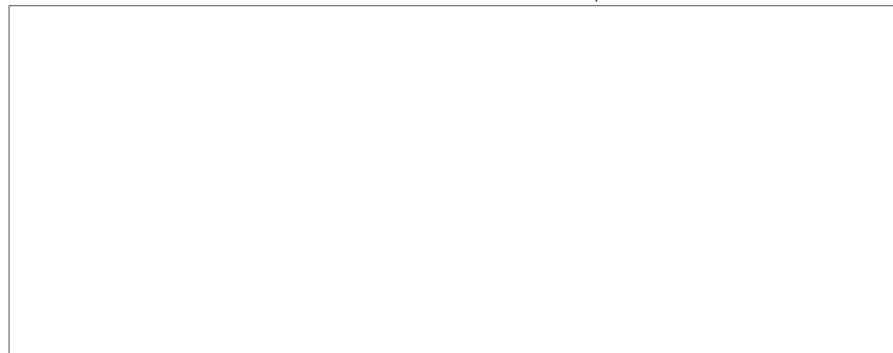
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1. North Vietnam

Recent photographs of a North Vietnamese MIG-21 show what appears to be an air-to-air missile mounted under each wing. The exact type of missile cannot be determined, however.

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This is the first good indication that air-to-air missiles are being introduced into North Vietnam. These weapons will put Hanoi's advanced fighter interceptors on a near equal footing with equivalent US planes.



2. Soviet Union

Moscow says that photography transmitted last night used up nearly all the power aboard Luna 9.

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The relatively short life of the spacecraft's system suggests that there may have been damage upon landing and that its batteries are not being recharged properly. We had expected transmissions for one lunar day (14 earth days).

3. Rhodesia



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4. Chile

The strike at El Teniente, the world's largest underground copper mine, is entering its fifth week. The leftist-led copper unions have scheduled sympathy strikes at nearby mines starting Wednesday, raising the prospect that the strike will become industry wide. A month-long general copper strike last November cost the country over 50,000 tons production of the badly needed material.

5. Dominican Republic

Defense Minister Rivera Caminero told a close associate yesterday that Garcia Godoy was making little effort to meet the conditions Rivera has set for leaving the country. If the president fails to do so by tomorrow, Rivera declared, he would reverse his decision to leave.

Garcia Godoy might then decide to call on the Inter-American Peace Force to affect the reluctant defense minister's removal.

Meanwhile the military says it has unearthed a leftist attempt to suborn a number of enlisted men to assassinate the military chiefs and take over the army. Such attempts doubtless have been made, but it is doubtful that they have yet reached the point of posing a really serious threat.

6. Costa Rica

With some 90 percent of the vote counted Jose Joaquin Trejos has a narrow lead over administration candidate David Oduber. The betting now in San Jose is that the lead will hold up and Trejos will be Costa Rica's next president.

Trejos will probably do little to disturb the even tenor of Costa Rica's relations with the US. However, his administration brings to power widely disparate interests which will have great trouble agreeing on badly needed economic reforms.

7. Guatemala

Elements in the Peralta regime are still seeking a pretext to postpone or cancel the elections now scheduled for early next month. Peralta himself may be thinking along the same lines.

Proponents of this line of action reason that the elections would have to be thoroughly rigged to prevent victory by the leftist non-Communist Revolutionary Party, which is anathema to conservatives and the military establishment. They argue it would be easier to deal with the outcry occasioned by delayed elections than the antiregime outburst which would follow blatantly rigged elections.

In our opinion the chief beneficiary in either case would likely be the Communists and other extremists.

8. Yemen

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[redacted] there has been no movement at all toward a political settlement, and both Yemeni factions have been girding themselves for action. Neither the Saudis nor the Egyptians particularly want more fighting, but both may be powerless to stop it.

9. Burma

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DAILY BRIEF
8 FEBRUARY 1966

1. North Vietnam

The list of North Vietnamese diplomats who have returned to Hanoi is lengthening. Those known to have returned are Hanoi's representatives to France, Poland, Ghana, Guinea, Tanzania, and India. In addition, the ambassadors to Moscow, Peking, and Havana may also be home.

Hanoi is probably conducting a general foreign policy review. Such reviews are known to have taken place at about this time of year in 1962 and 1964. These earlier meetings were not followed by any major alterations in foreign policy.

2. Uganda

The Ugandan parliament has forced the suspension of Prime Minister Obote's leading supporter, Colonel Idi Amin, from his post as army chief of staff. Amin is under investigation for involvement in the embezzlement of Congolese rebel gold. This is a severe setback for the radical Obote and drastically reduces his chances for re-election later this year.

The mounting conflict between moderates and leftists sparked reports yesterday that a coup [redacted] was imminent. The embassy reported [redacted] this morning that the Kampala area was calm, but that political leaders were operating on an "anything can happen" basis.

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3. Zambia

US Embassy officers who visited the Zambian copper belt last week found that the situation among the foreign miners had deteriorated considerably since mid-December. Many technicians, especially at the middle and upper levels, are planning to leave as soon as possible, and the supply of recruits from South Africa has dried up. Pressures to leave will increase sharply when the complete economic rupture with Rhodesia takes place.

4. Nigeria

The new Ironsi regime now apparently plans a general roundup of the younger army officers who were involved in last month's coup. A British official working with the Nigerian police says that some of these people have already been arrested, and a number of others are slated to be picked up soon.

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[redacted] Ironsi has been hard put to decide how to treat these officers. They are considered to be heroes by much of the public and also by significant elements in the army. The decision to "close in" probably means that Ironsi senses an overriding need to restore army discipline.

5. India

Antigovernment rioting in Kerala is beginning to subside. The rice cut has been partially restored and emergency rice supplies are arriving from other parts of the country. Leftist opposition elements in Kerala will now be looking for new ways to discredit New Delhi's administration of their area.

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6. Belgium

Foreign Minister Spaak told Ambassador Knight yesterday that Belgium is in a state of anarchy with everybody wanting to give orders and no one willing to obey. Spaak spoke highly of the King's efforts over the weekend to head off a crisis but he believes the present truce constitutes only a reprieve for the Harmel government.

Spaak suggested that Achille Van Acker might well be the man to form a new government. Van Acker, a 68-year-old Socialist, served as prime minister in the 1950s.

7. Cambodia

[redacted] Last month Sihanouk rejected Castro's offer to send Cuban troops to Cambodia. 50X1 50X1

Castro apparently sees this gesture as a way to brighten his image as a leading revolutionary without running major risks. Sihanouk, for his part, probably has no great need for more small arms, but may have thought it impolitic to turn Castro down again. [redacted] 50X1 50X1

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DAILY BRIEF
9 FEBRUARY 1966

1. Vietnam

Judging by its [redacted] statements, Hanoi has concluded that the Honolulu meeting will in the short run lead to intensified bombings in the north and expanded operations in the south.

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Hanoi apparently continues to entertain doubts about US staying power over the longer haul, however. [redacted]

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[redacted] Hanoi representatives [redacted]

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[redacted] are still talking in terms of a gradual softening in the US position. They seem to think that, given enough time, the US will open the door of retreat "wide enough to be able to get through it."

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Commenting today on the meeting, Peking declared that it had produced nothing but the "old trick of dual tactics of war expansion and peace hoax" and was doomed to failure.

2. South Vietnam

[redacted]
The Buddhists in the northern part of the country are said to be planning antigovernment demonstrations later this month. Organizers think they have a commitment from the influential Tri Quang not to oppose the demonstrations which will ostensibly be directed against inflation and the postponement of elections.

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Dissatisfaction with the Ky government is also increasing in some Catholic circles, though there are no reports that these elements are planning anti-Ky activity at the present time.

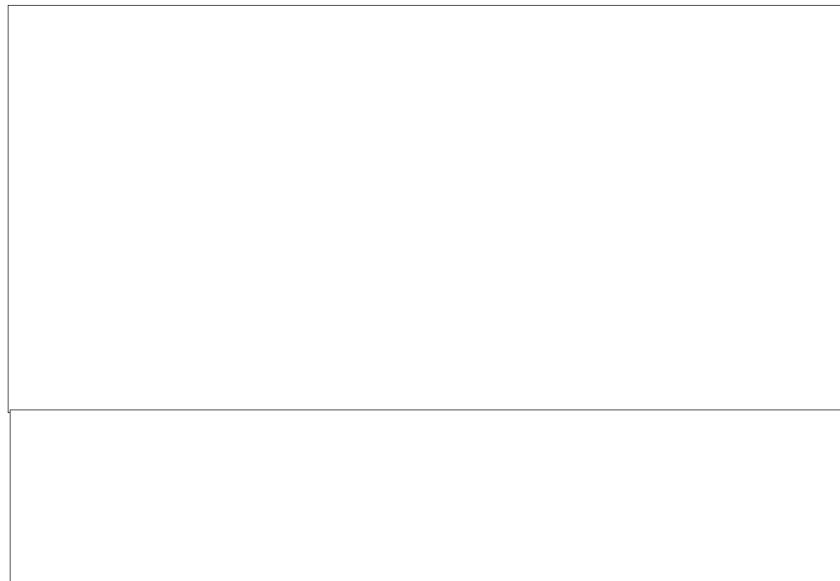
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3. Pakistan

President Ayub's domestic problems are likely to grow after completion this month of troop withdrawals from the India border. Finance Minister Shoaib warned Ambassador McConaughy recently that feeling is running very high against the Tashkent accord among the younger officers and soldiers who are returning home.

Shoaib apparently does not fear a military mutiny as much as he does the effect of the returned soldiers on the civil population, where the post-Tashkent feeling of let down goes much deeper, he feels, than is evident on the surface.

4. Rhodesia

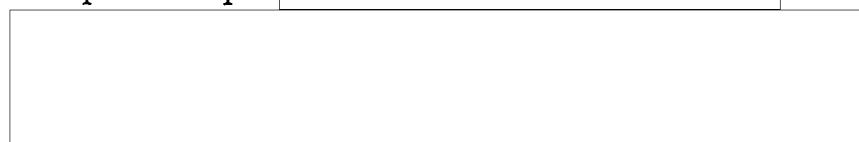


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5. Uganda

The situation continued tense today. Government officials are taking steps to protect themselves against the coup attempt [redacted]

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6. Belgium

The Catholic-Socialist coalition government seems unlikely to survive the parliamentary debate that begins tomorrow on the national medical care system. The Socialists continue adamant against Catholic premier Harmel's position that patients should pay at least part of medical costs.

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Socialist Foreign Minister Spaak, however, is working hard to keep the government together. He has cancelled his Moscow trip that was to begin tomorrow.

7. Latin America

A conference of Latin American pro-Chinese Communist groups is planned for late this month in the Chilean capital,

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[redacted] the purpose is to coordinate the action and strategy of the participating groups.

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Pro-Peking factions now dominate Communist parties in Peru and Ecuador and are active as well in Chile, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, and the Dominican Republic. If all or most of these groups are represented at the planned meeting, it would be the first significant gathering of Peking's supporters to take place in Latin America.

8. Cuba

The people are being mobilized throughout the country to echo Fidel Castro's condemnation of Communist China last Sunday. Cuban propaganda media are at full throttle and party organizations are mounting demonstrations to condemn China's "treasonous" actions against the Cuban people.

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9. Dominican Republic The situation worsened suddenly again this morning when police fired on a crowd of Communist-led students demonstrating outside the presidential palace. At least two students were killed and several wounded. At last word, Communist and leftist groups were attempting to mobilize a general strike for this afternoon in the capital city.

Preliminary evidence points to a provocative effort by the Communists to ignite violence. There are reports that some of the demonstrators were armed. As usual, however, the police appear to have overreacted.

The violence has doubtless again stalled the effort to arrange Rivera Caminero's voluntary departure. It will be used as an argument against any such changes by the military and other conservative forces.

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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

THE PRESIDENT'S DAILY BRIEF

[Redacted]

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10 FEBRUARY 1966

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DAILY BRIEF
10 FEBRUARY 1966

1. North Vietnam

The most detailed and far-ranging account yet given by a North Vietnamese leader of the problems encountered during the past year is contained in a long article by politburo member Le Duc Tho.

Reviews of the preceding year such as this are annual affairs. This year's is the harshest attack yet on the party cadre for their failure properly to implement central committee programs.

In a radical departure from Hanoi's past practice, Tho conceded that there is a small hard core of party members who are dissatisfied with North Vietnam's war policy. Some, he implied, were even attracted by US peace offers. According to Tho, these "comrades" have displayed "a reluctance for protracted resistance" and fail to recognize "the deceptive peace negotiation plot of the enemy."

Tho also scorned those who would rely on "outside" advice in deciding Hanoi's course.

2. Costa Rica

The razor-thin margin of Trejos' victory in Sunday's election--less than half a percentage point--has sparked political tensions. Members of the losing party have charged fraud and have launched a legal effort to overturn the results.

Others are said to be considering armed action. One of these is ex-President Figueres who insists he will do what is needed to prevent the armed forces from coming under the control of his old political enemy, Calderon Guardia.

Trejos has asked Ambassador Telles to intercede and has hinted that "extraordinary measures" may be needed.

3. Dominican Republic

Sporadic gunfire and further killings kept the atmosphere highly charged in downtown Santo Domingo.

The general strike called for today by extreme leftists was not a ringing success. The country's principal labor leaders and leftist political parties failed to give full support to the strike call.

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During the day Garcia Godoy appointed a new chief of police

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By making the move now, the president probably offended Defense Minister Rivera Caminero and reduced the already slim chance that he might leave voluntarily and soon.

4. Albania

In recent weeks the Albanians have been showing an uncharacteristic interest in mending their political fences with a number of nearby states, both Communist and non-Communist.

The leaders in Tirana have recently responded warmly to overtures from Romania and Poland and have made friendly approaches to the Hungarians. They have also taken steps to improve relations with Turkey, France, and Italy on the other side of the curtain.

The most likely explanation of this unusual behavior is a growing Albanian dissatisfaction with the scope and timeliness of the economic support they have been getting from their ideological cohorts, the Chinese. Tirana still parrots without let up all the vitriol from Peking, but these latest maneuvers may signal a desire eventually to loosen ties with China.

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5. Malaysia

Diplomatic relations are about to be established between Malaysia and the Philippines. Manila has delayed granting recognition in the past largely as a result of Indonesian pressure, and recognition now will be a blow to Djakarta's confrontation policy toward Malaysia. A second blow may follow since Pakistan is seriously considering re-establishing formal relations in the near future.

6. Indonesia

The political paralysis at the top continues, and it is breeding something very close to chaos in the country's finances.

Part of the problem is that Sukarno, the generals, and civilian ministers are locked in a bitter competition for operating funds. General Suharto's latest scheme is to have foreign oil firms pay Indonesia's share of their earnings into special accounts abroad instead of funneling it into the Bank of Indonesia which is controlled by Sukarno.

Nothing is likely to come of this particular plan, but the minister of plantations has been exporting rubber and withholding the income from the palace. A number of regional commanders are condoning smuggling as a source of revenue for their commands.

All of this has reduced Indonesia's already questionable international credit rating to practically zero.

7. France-Germany

Participants on both sides report that the Erhard - De Gaulle talks early this week proceeded in a much warmer atmosphere than anticipated. Nonetheless, the talks failed, as expected, to make progress toward solving the basic issues between the two countries.

8. France

The expected French launch of a new and more sophisticated satellite has been set for 3:00 EST tomorrow morning.

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If successful, it will be the second satellite sent into orbit on a French booster, the first coming just before the presidential election last December.

9. Soviet Union

Another photographic reconnaissance satellite was launched today from Tyuratam. It was the fifth such satellite orbited since November, making this the highest wintertime firing rate in the Soviet program so far.

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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

THE PRESIDENT'S DAILY BRIEF

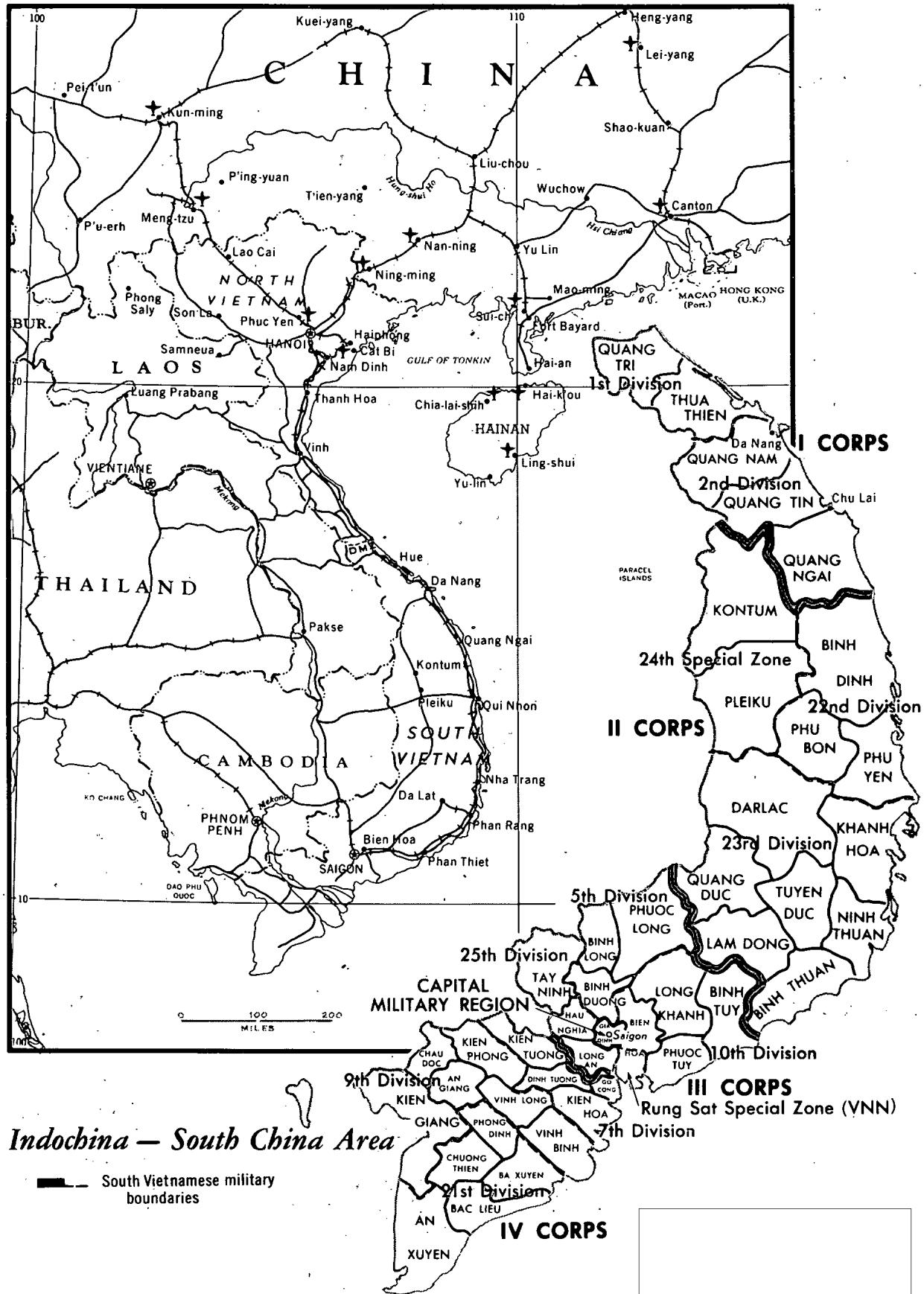
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11 FEBRUARY 1966

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The Indochina – South China Area

DAILY BRIEF
11 FEBRUARY 1966

1. Vietnam

A Chinese Communist antiaircraft division has moved into North Vietnam.

Communications of the 103rd Anti-aircraft Division indicated late last month that the division was moving toward the Vietnamese border (Brief of 28 January). These communications now show that the division crossed the border opposite Ningming into North Vietnam, perhaps today (see map).

This marks the first time a Chinese Communist tactical unit has deployed into North Vietnam. Previous Chinese units were engineer and logistic, although some of them may have had antiaircraft elements attached.

The 103rd is one of 12 antiaircraft divisions attached to Peking's air force. It would have, at a minimum, three regiments for a total of just over 3,100 men. It would have at least 32 medium or heavy and 20 or more light antiaircraft pieces.

North Vietnam has at least 2,150 light, medium, and heavy antiaircraft guns, so the division's weapons would not add significantly to the total. They could, however, substantially increase air defenses in a limited area such as those occupied by some of China's own units.

2. South Vietnam

A Viet Cong tactical command which has been involved in all major Communist campaigns in the area north and east of Saigon has taken up positions near the capital of Phuoc Long Province (see map). While indications of this type do not always pan out, this could foreshadow a major Viet Cong move since all units have been directed to intensify activity by army day, 15 February.

3. Communist China

The leading Chinese Communist theoretical journal today gave the men in the Kremlin another violent tongue-lashing.

It was in fact Peking's harshest denunciation yet of the Soviet call for united Communist action on Vietnam. The journal asserted that the Chinese "will never take any united action with the leaders of the Soviet party so long as they continue their collusion with the US."

With an eye cocked at Hanoi, the journal argues that the only way to be successful in the struggle against the US is to operate independently of Moscow.

4. Communist China

The Chinese Communists are making steady progress in beefing up their international shipping facilities. They now have nearly 190 free world merchantmen under time charter--an increase of more than 50 ships within the past year. This, of course, is a reflection of Peking's booming trade with the free world, up about 25 percent in 1965, to over \$2.5 billion.

The Chinese are also acquiring more ships of their own. They have just bought a new cargo ship from East Germany and two used merchantmen from Norway. Last year they bought at least ten merchant ships and some eight more are on order from British, French, and East European shipyards. In all, China now has 24 ships, about three times the number in 1964.

5. France

The French satellite launch attempt was postponed this morning because of minor technical troubles. Another try is scheduled for early tomorrow.

6. Dominican Republic Colonel Perez y Perez was sworn in as Minister of Defense this morning. After repeated postponements, Rivera is scheduled to leave the country tomorrow.

This development is the result of a lengthy meeting last night between the president and the military chiefs at which it was decided that Rivera would depart even though the rebel camp is not immediately dismantled.

Garcia Godoy is supposed to give the military chiefs a public guarantee that no further command changes are to take place as long as the chiefs remain "obedient and politically impartial." Late reports indicate, however, that the president is under heavy pressure to push for further removals.

The general strike continues to spread, but no major disturbances have been reported since daybreak. The director of the government-owned sugar corporation, the country's largest industry, says that all the corporation's mills are now shut down.

7. Bolivia

[redacted] Bo-
livia and the Soviet Union have started talks leading to the establishment of diplomatic relations. Bolivia recognized the Soviets in 1945, but an exchange of personnel did not follow. Presidential candidate Barrientos apparently sees this move as a way of increasing his popularity with the leftist-inclined Bolivian populace.

8. Indonesia

Sukarno continues to inch back into authority. The latest illustration of this comes from a behind-the-scenes announcement that the Supreme Operations Command will be disbanded within the next few days. The army tried briefly to build this organization into a super cabinet; their move failed but the command retained symbolic importance nevertheless as a sort of "shadow government."

Sukarno has also arranged to have the trials of the coup plotters next week held secretly rather than in public as the army had announced. This will deflate the army's plans to use the trials as a means of further discrediting the Communists.

9. Pakistan

The American consul in Peshawar reports that good rainfall in the key agricultural areas of northern West Pakistan during the past few days has staved off a disaster in winter grain crops.

10. Mauritania

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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

THE PRESIDENT'S DAILY BRIEF

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12 FEBRUARY 1966

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DAILY BRIEF
12 FEBRUARY 1966

1. North Vietnam

[redacted] the second--and less interesting--half of politburo member Le Duc Tho's article on North Vietnamese party problems [redacted]

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[redacted] says that party cadres, faced with the new wartime situation, are slower and more unimaginative than ever in the performance of their duties.

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SUA

[redacted]

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2. South Vietnam

Premier Ky is making plans to visit Japan. [redacted]

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[redacted]

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3. Soviet Union

Aleksandr Shelepin took over the job of supervising party personnel matters in the high-level shifts of last December.

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[redacted] Shelepin is indeed a comer. [redacted]

The personnel job has traditionally come within the purview of the number two man in the party. [redacted]

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[redacted]

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4. Dominican Republic There is no sign that the Dominican left will be mollified by the departure last night of former defense minister Rivera Caminero.

Garcia Godoy has presented the departure and the shift in police chiefs as resolving the latest crisis "in its essential points." Bosch and his fellow leftists apparently disagree. Bosch has now come out in open support of the general strike, which paralyzed life in the capital yesterday.

He would like to see it resumed after the weekend and continued until all the military chiefs and other officers mentioned in Garcia Godoy's ouster order of 6 January have left the country. He also wants those responsible for Thursday's shooting at the palace turned over to the courts for punishment.

Garcia Godoy is under intense pressure to meet these demands. It is even possible that the new defense minister may be willing to see the army and air force commanders go, and he may have advised the President to take them on one at a time.

5. Costa Rica

[redacted] Figueres has [redacted] calmed down and promises to restrict any protest about the election to the political arena. Candidate Oduber says he has now accepted his defeat. This should ease matters for the time being; however, if the official recount reverses Trejos' victory there could still be trouble.

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6. France

The French satellite did not get off the pad at Hammaguir this morning because of technical difficulties. The range has shut down for the day and the countdown may be resumed tomorrow.

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7. France

There are signs that De Gaulle may stretch his timetable for dealing with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. He may in fact be modifying his whole approach to the dismemberment of that organization.

On Thursday he intimated to Ambassador Bohlen that, while he would be suggesting changes in the organizational structure of NATO, he would not propose any changes in the treaty itself. The general was quite vague as to timing, saying he was in "no hurry."

An official at the Quai comments that if this represents the real De Gaulle view then he has reversed his field on NATO. The official thinks De Gaulle may have been influenced both by the elections and by a recent foreign office paper which made the point that without NATO France would be stripped of its right to keep troops in Germany.

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8. Japan

This week Japan announced that it is inviting ten Southeast Asian countries to Tokyo in April for talks on area-wide economic development. The conference may well prove a major step in the developing Japanese campaign, under the vigorous stewardship of Prime Minister Sato, to widen Japan's diplomatic horizons and win a more meaningful role in affairs of the region.

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9. Uganda

The dangers of a coup attempt have receded. The principal mover in any try would have been former chief of staff Amin, but the latter has been so tarred by scandal that his supporters are deserting him en masse, leaving him with little chance of success.

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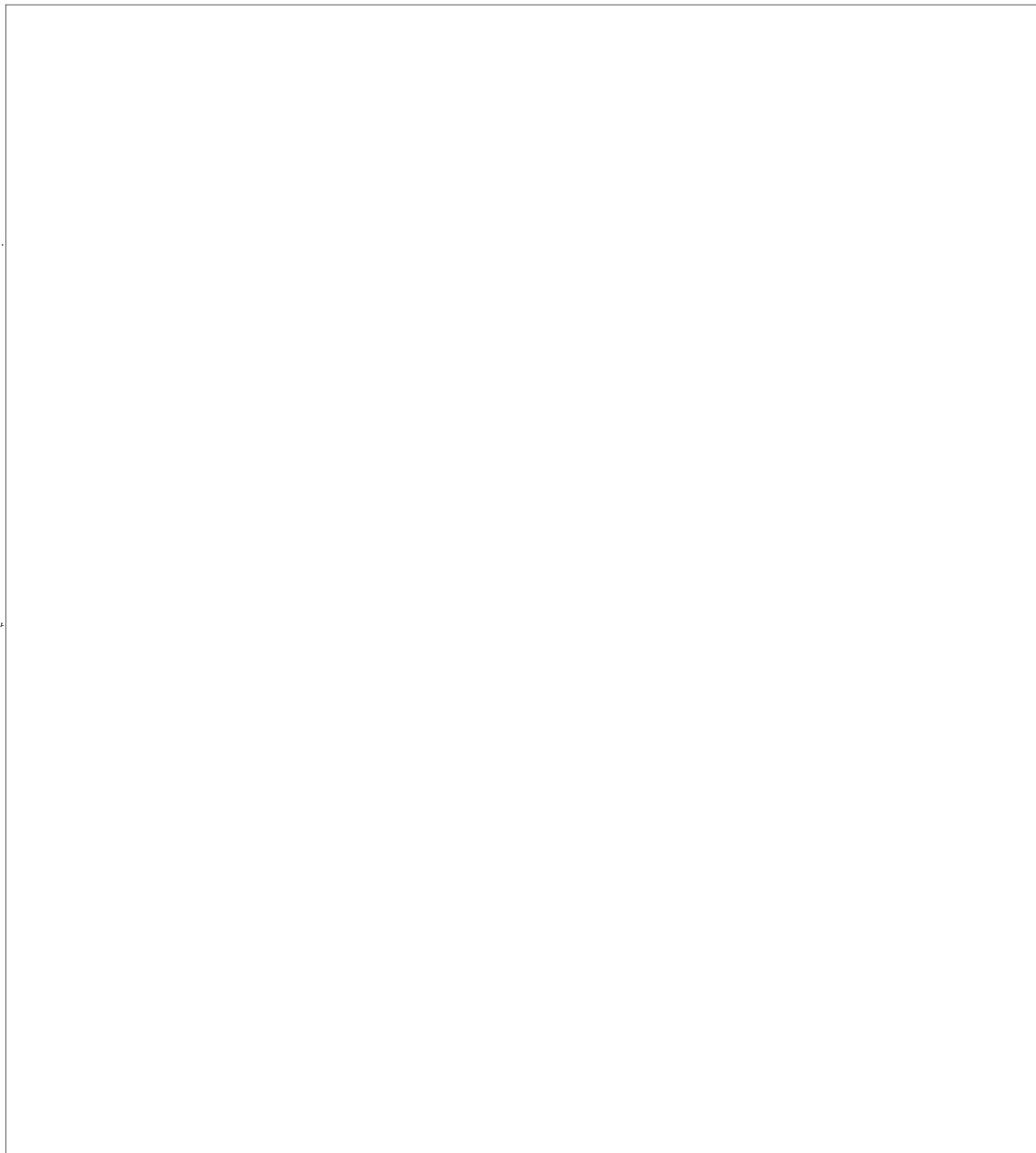


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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

THE PRESIDENT'S DAILY BRIEF

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14 FEBRUARY 1966

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DAILY BRIEF
14 FEBRUARY 1966

1. South Vietnam

The Viet Cong's "liberation radio" today announced that the Communists will begin recruiting men and women, aged 17 to 30, into "southern liberation youth shock teams" to support Communist front-line troops.

The precise role of these teams is left vague, but they are very likely patterned after North Vietnam's "youth brigades" which repair roads and perform other construction tasks. In both the north and the south, the aim seems to be to mobilize more female labor since males in this age group are much in demand for regular military service.

Extension of the system to the south at this time probably means that the Communists, like the South Vietnamese Government, are feeling the manpower pinch. The Communists seem to be feeling the pinch in other arenas, too. A document captured late last year made plain that they were having trouble collecting taxes in the delta area.

2. Dominican Republic

Ambassador Bennett and key Dominican officials met with Garcia Godoy last night in an effort to stiffen the president's backbone. Garcia Godoy nevertheless still seems reluctant to come out publicly against the general strike.

Today the president scheduled meetings with the strike committee and with various other labor leaders. The results of these talks will apparently determine whether he goes on the air tonight to put his case to the people.

The strike meanwhile continues to be effective in Santo Domingo and in the sugar towns throughout the country; its effects will probably be widespread if it is not ended soon.

3. Soviet Union

The latest satellite photography has pinpointed another of the Soviet Union's new defensive missile complexes which are believed to be intended for defense against bombers and cruise missiles. This complex--the twelfth identified so far--is located just north of Moscow. It may be for local defense of the capital area. If so, it is probably similar to the defensive systems detected earlier for the northwestern part of the country and for the Urals industrial area.

The photography also shows that six or possibly seven of the twelve complexes are nearing operational status. It also indicates that work is continuing on the electronic installations which are believed to be part of an antiballistic missile system for the defense of Moscow.

4. Ceylon

Prime Minister Senanayake has informed the US ambassador that he wants to come to Washington

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He expects to be able to set the dates for his trip within the next few days.

5. Singapore

More trouble between Singapore and Malaysia is developing. The latest issue concerns the continuing presence of a Malaysian infantry battalion in Singapore. Under last summer's separation agreement Kuala Lumpur is entitled to maintain its unit, but both Singapore and Britain had understood that it would be removed at about this time. Malaysia has now announced that the battalion will remain in Singapore indefinitely.

This situation could easily lead to new race riots in Singapore and also prompt Lee Kuan Yew to turn down the new tripartite defense arrangements with Malaysia and Britain which London is currently pushing.

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6. Rhodesia

The US Consulate General in Salisbury thinks that the economic sanctions taken so far are not sufficient to topple the Smith regime within the next several months. The consulate general is impressed with the solid support being given Smith and reports that the country shows a surprising degree of normalcy after three months of independence.

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[Redacted]

7. Congo

Government forces in the eastern Congo continue to have trouble coping with the rebellion. Clearing operations west of Lake Tanganyika are now bogged down and four attempted penetrations of the rebel area have been turned back.

The rebels may number as many as 2,000, but so far they, too, have been unable to move into new areas of operation, even against thinly spread and poorly equipped government troops.

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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

THE PRESIDENT'S DAILY BRIEF

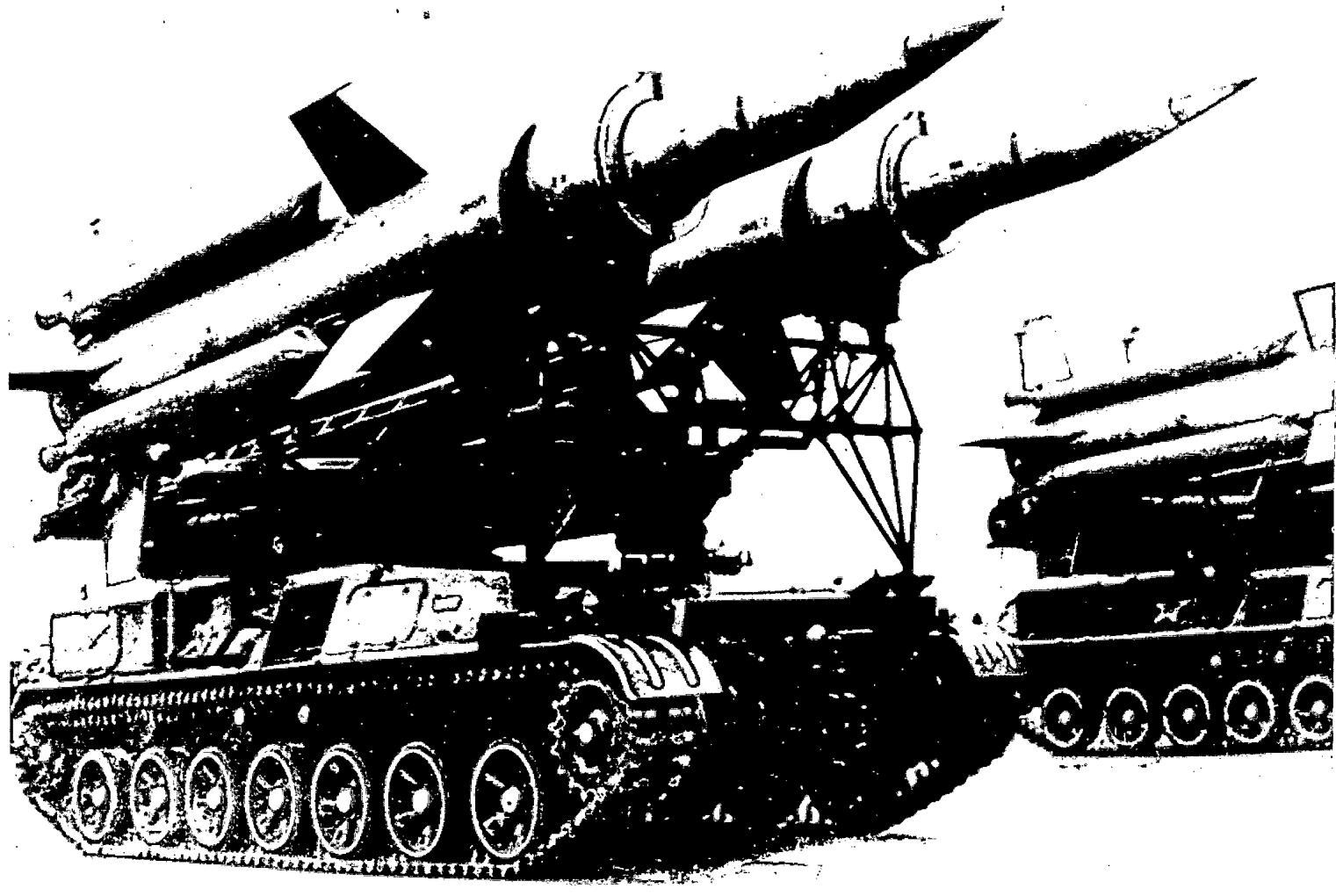
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15 FEBRUARY 1966

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DAILY BRIEF
15 FEBRUARY 1966

1. Vietnam

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2. North Vietnam

There is a chance that the Soviets have introduced a new surface-to-air missile system into North Vietnam.

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(see photo). The Ganef, first displayed back in 1964, probably has a range of 25-30 miles and an altitude capability of some 70,000 feet.

If the Ganef is in North Vietnam, it would mark the first known deployment of this carrier-based missile.

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3. Communist China

Mao Tse-tung has now been out of public view for nearly twelve weeks, his longest absence in six years. He disappeared for 15 weeks in 1956-57 and 12 weeks in 1960, times when he is suspected of having suffered minor strokes.

Mao could again be seriously ill. The current outpouring of emotional and idolatrous propaganda about the 72-year-old leader--the most extravagant ever--could reflect concern in the party's top ranks over Mao's condition.

4. Soviet Union

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5. India

Dissension within the Congress Party over the government's emergency food distribution policies sparked a major uproar during the party's annual convention last weekend. Delegates from food deficit states charge that government policies favor the food surplus states.

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6. Belgium

The choice today of Socialist leader Achille van Acker to sound out the parties on a new cabinet is only the first step in what is likely to be a very long effort to solve the government crisis. The chances are still about even that new elections may ultimately be necessary.

7. Dominican Republic

The general strike spread today to Santiago and other cities in the interior. Now in its fifth day, it continues to breed violence. Another Dominican was killed in the capital last night, and an American sergeant was among the several wounded.

Of the various leftist groups vying for control of the strike, the one controlled by the Bosch forces seems to be calling most of the shots. It is still unclear whether Bosch sees this as a good political cause to help him win next June's elections or whether, convinced he will lose, he is out to sabotage them.

Garcia Godoy has not yet come out publicly against the strike. In fact, it is becoming clear that he is in sympathy with its objectives--forcing out the remaining officers he had ordered out on 6 January. If it is the strike that forces these officers to leave, the president could claim he did not violate his recent commitment to Rivera Caminero.

8. Guatemala

There has been a new upsurge in terrorist activity.

This may be attributable to the recent return of extremist leader Luis Turcios from Cuba. During the "Tri-Continent Conference" there last month, Turcios called for world-wide attacks on US personnel and establishments.

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This terrorism does not directly diminish the government's staying power. It may well, however, provide the pretext to call off next month's elections for which many government officials are searching.

9. Chile

The government is mulling over a sizable Soviet credit offer. The eight-year, \$55-million loan would apparently be for the purchase of machine tools which the Chileans have been seeking on the world market for some time. Soviet prices have been considerably lower than those of US and British manufacturers.

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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

THE PRESIDENT'S DAILY BRIEF

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16 FEBRUARY 1966

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DAILY BRIEF
16 FEBRUARY 1966

1. Dominican Republic

Garcia Godoy is scheduled to go on the air this evening to talk about the present impasse.

He has told Ambassador Bunker and the chiefs of the Dominican armed forces that he may resign. The threat could be no more than another effort--like his obvious sympathy toward the general strike--to bring pressure on the army and air force commanders to quit "voluntarily."

However, the president may be serious this time, since he seems to have boxed himself in on this issue. The two officers refuse to quit right now and are threatening to publish his letter promising no further command shifts, a step that would erode Garcia Godoy's support from the left.

The strike was effective again today, both in the capital and in many outlying areas. The longer it continues, the greater the chance that rightist elements may decide to act. Such action could come in the provinces where the right is strong and the Inter-American Peace Force is less a factor.

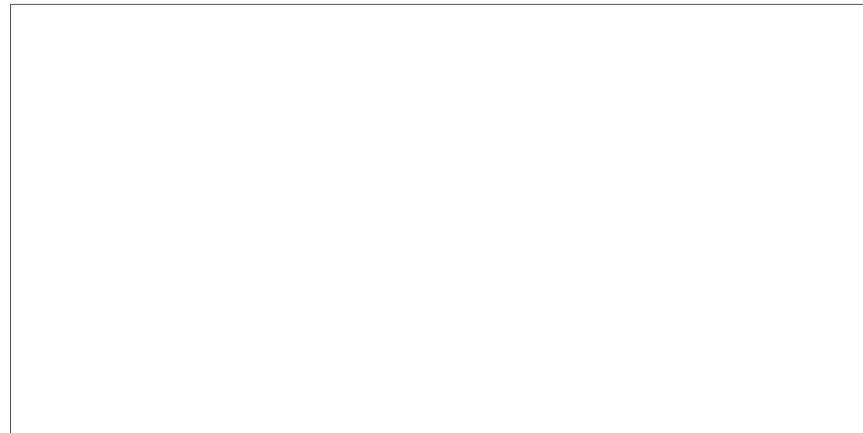
2. France

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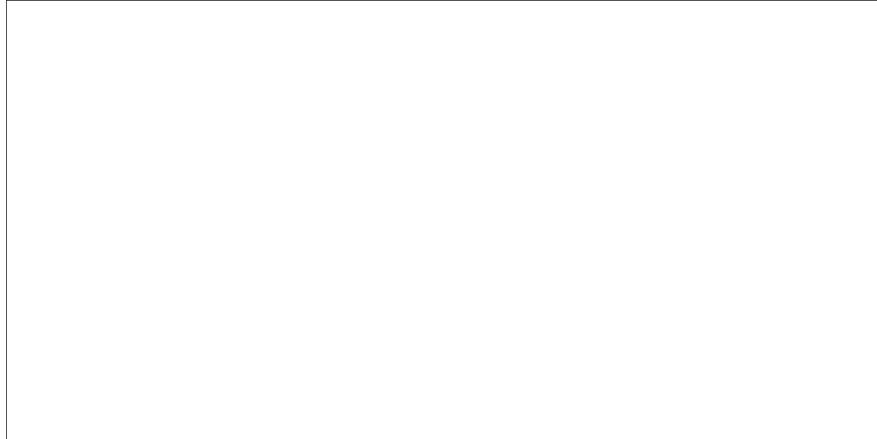
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3. Soviet Union**4. South Vietnam**

Premier Ky's cabinet reorganization--envisioned before the Honolulu conference--has been approved by the ruling Directorate and will be announced next week.

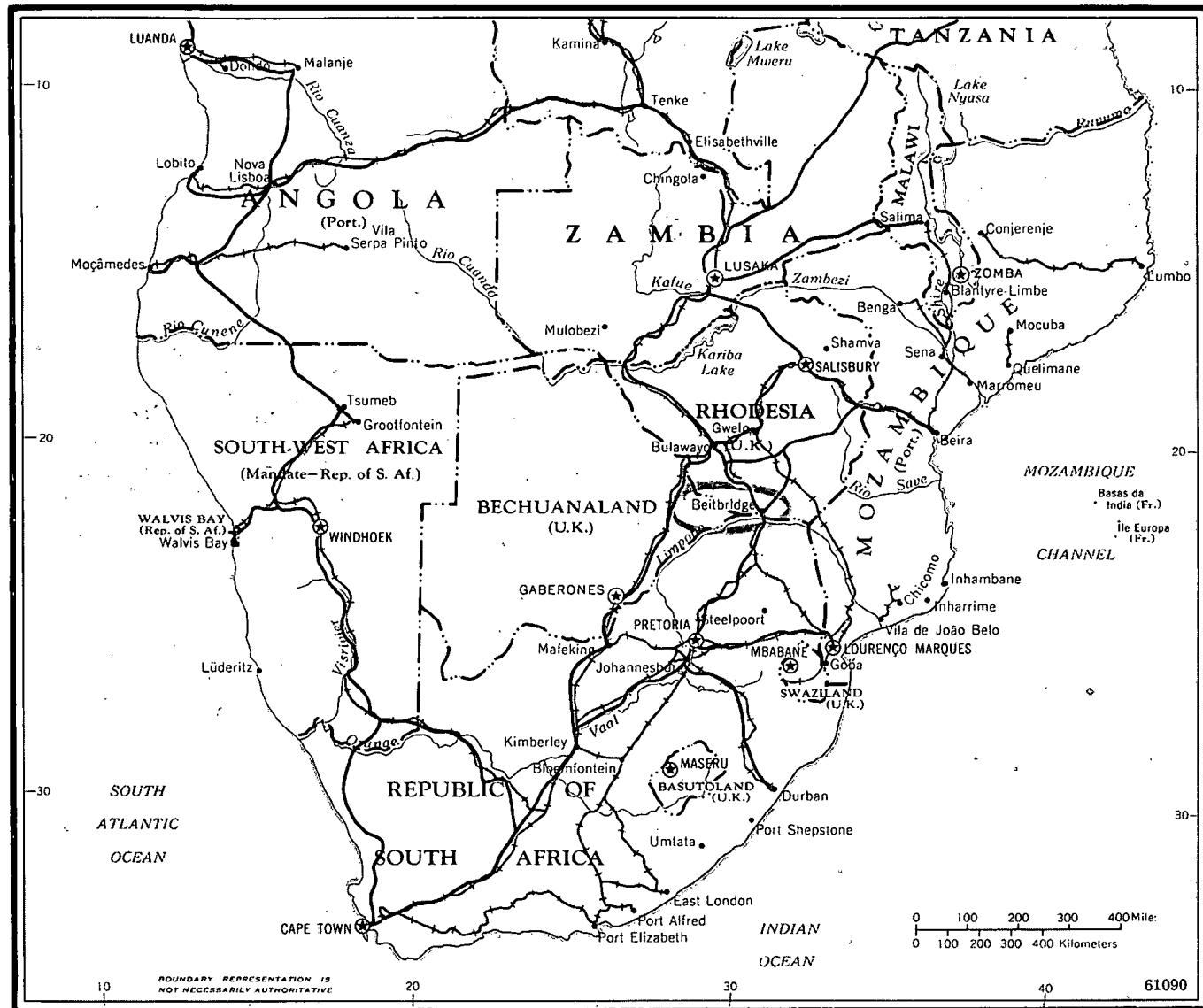
Ky's special assistant describes the change as a "reinforcement," explaining that no one will leave. The new assignments will introduce a number of younger men and give more attention to special problems such as refugees, veterans, ports, and corruption.

Two of the appointments may prove controversial. The new minister of economy has been termed a Marxist economist, while the new youth minister--a prominent Catholic layman--may not set well with the Buddhists.

5. North Vietnam

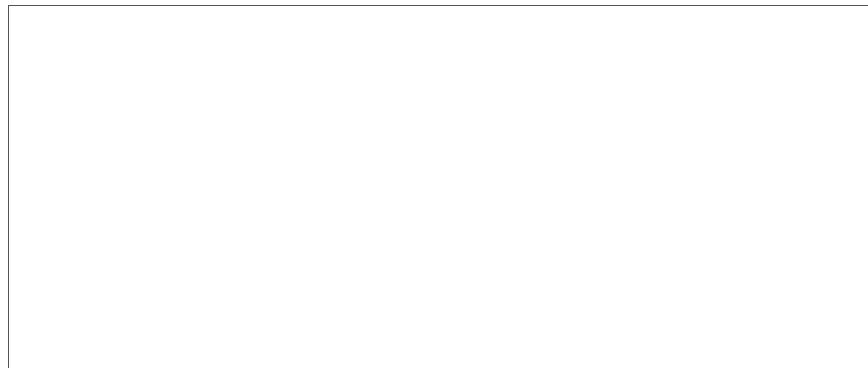
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6. Pakistan

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7. Rhodesia

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Some 200,000 gallons of petroleum products reportedly reached Rhodesia during the first two weeks of this month. The stream may be swelling to 25-30,000 gallons a day, according to British road watchers at Beitbridge (see map). There is speculation that like quantities may be coming in from Mozambique.

The amounts are still only a fraction of Rhodesia's needs even under tight rationing, but they do postpone the day when the oil will run out and dim London's fading hopes for a "quick kill."

8. Greece

The supporters of former prime minister Papandreou are organizing a huge rally in downtown Athens this evening. The Communists are supporting the effort. Together, they hope to attract several hundred thousand demonstrators.

Greek security forces are braced. The sponsors of the rally have cautioned against violence, but violence is always possible whenever such a large crowd of Greeks foregathers.

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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

THE PRESIDENT'S DAILY BRIEF

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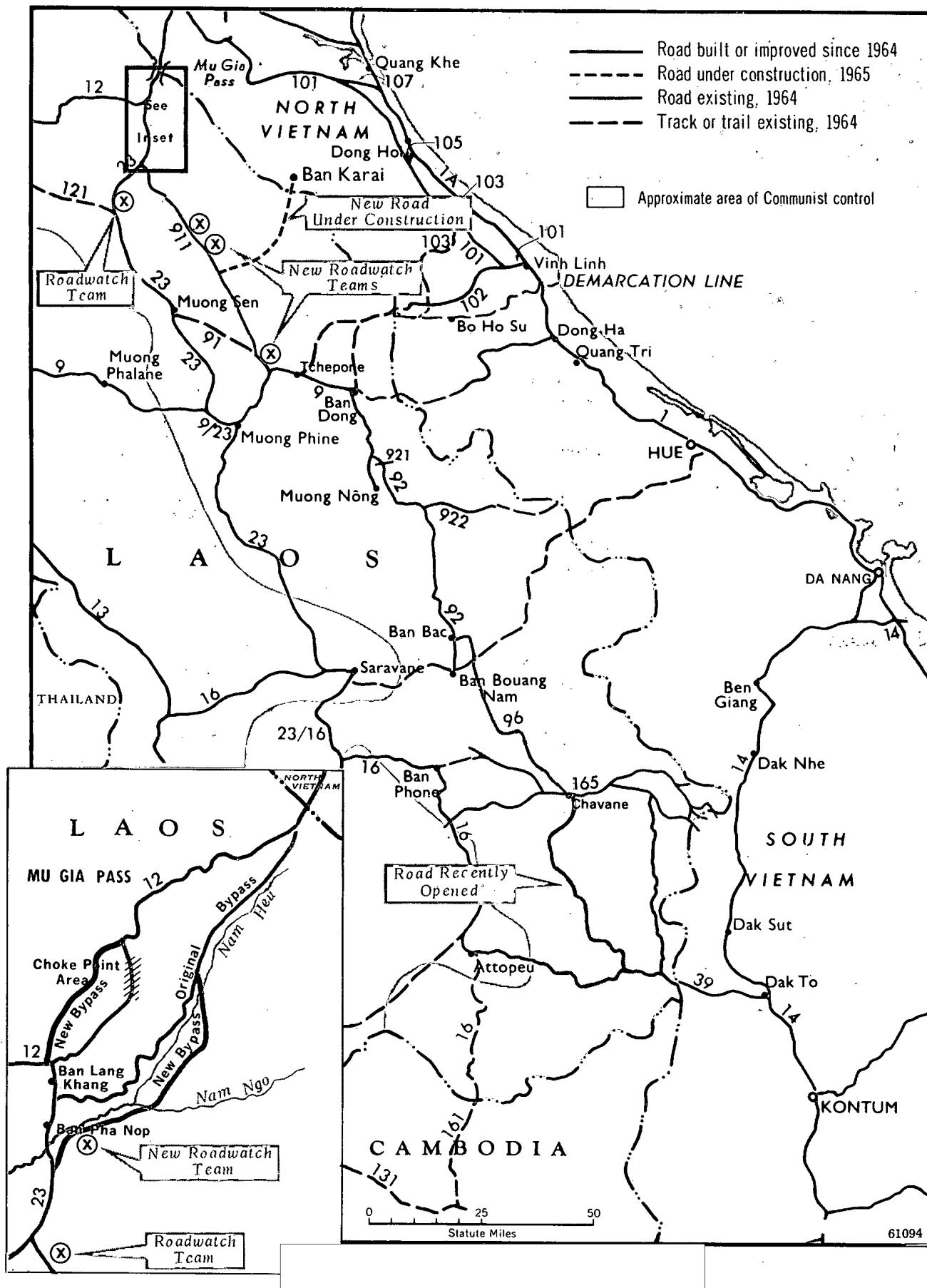
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17 FEBRUARY 1966

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SOUTHEASTERN LAOS



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DAILY BRIEF
17 FEBRUARY 1966

1. North Vietnam

Hanoi is striving for greater efficiency in indoctrinating its populace, chiefly to increase the "anti-US war effort."

A recent article in the party journal says a newly created government department will "correct weaknesses in the propaganda," establish information branches at all levels, and provide "guidance" for radio listening and newspaper reading.

This campaign, coming at the same time as politburo member Le Duc Tho's frank exposé of party problems, indicates Hanoi's awareness of dissatisfaction--and probably a significant amount of ignorance--about regime policy among the populace.

2. Laos

The Communists are continuing to improve and expand the infiltration network in Laos.

Since early January, two new bypasses to regular numbered routes have been completed, and [redacted] one nearly completed new road leading from Route 911 to the North Vietnamese border. [redacted]

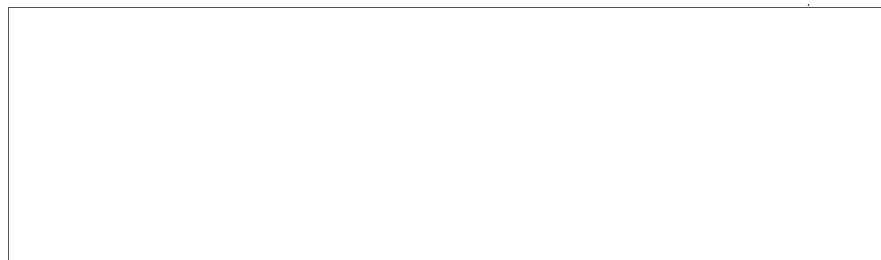
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Roadwatch teams report Communist southbound truck movements are somewhat reduced. The teams have been hampered, however, by enemy patrol activity, and possible bypassing of their positions. Four new teams now in place should provide a more accurate count.

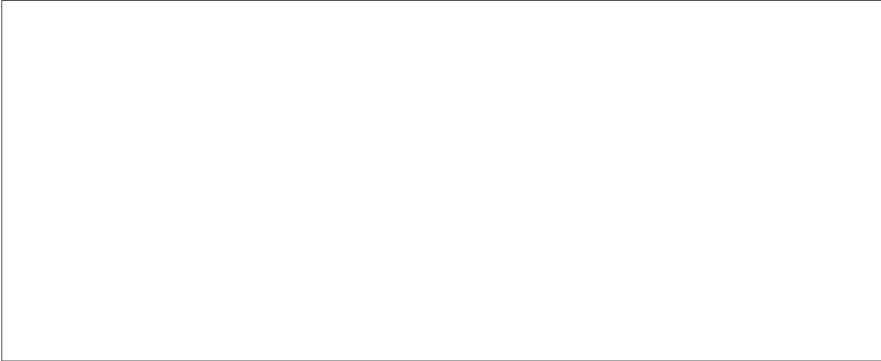
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3. North Vietnam



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4. Communist China



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5. Soviet Union



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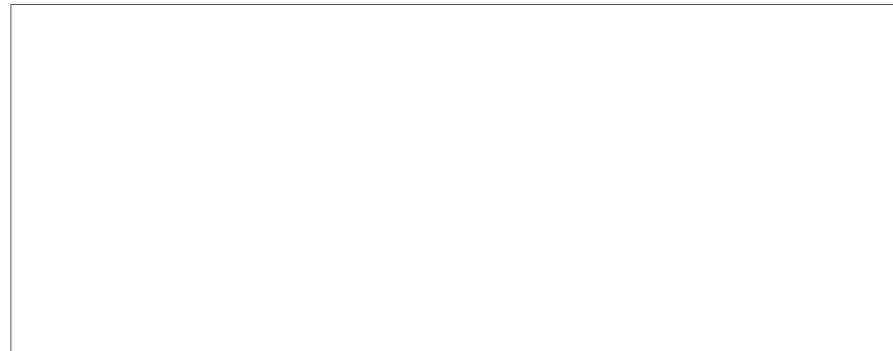
6. Yemen

The Harad peace conference is unlikely to reconvene as scheduled on Sunday unless there is some last minute reconciliation in the opposing Egyptian and Saudi Arabian positions. Postponement would increase the chances of renewed civil war.

The Egyptians say they cannot withdraw their troops as promised until there is agreement on a caretaker government in Yemen. The Saudis are under growing pressure to resume arms support for the Yemeni royalists unless Egypt quickly begins withdrawals. Both Egypt and Saudi Arabia are sending high officials to Washington in search of US support.

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7. Ghana



8. France

Paris is now evidently reviving fundamental political objections to the Kennedy Round. In a speech on Tuesday, Agriculture Minister Faure charged that the Kennedy Round is one of the principal obstacles to the gradual formation of a "prudent and efficient" European Union.

Faure also blasted those "fanatical Europeans who want to make Europe so Atlantic that it is no longer European."

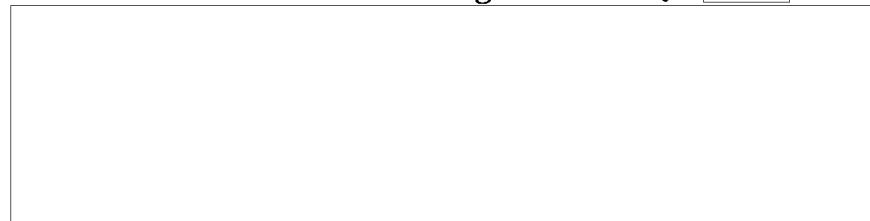
Faure's views, which he has advanced on two other recent occasions, suggest that France not only intends to continue to drag its feet on the Kennedy Round, but that it also may hope ultimately to prevent the conclusion of an agreement.

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9. West Germany

Chancellor Erhard's domestic political stock is continuing to rise. [redacted]

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10. Dominican Republic

The strike dissolved rapidly today, but the confrontation between Garcia Godoy and the military remains unresolved.

The president's speech last night demanding an end to the strike was his strongest and most authoritative to date. His firm tone and his announcement that he would immediately order the replacement of the army and air force chiefs led non-Communist strike leaders to call on their followers to return to their jobs. The Bosch forces can now claim a significant victory.

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[redacted] Conservative political factions are again rallying to the military side and it is unknown at this point how the president intends to try to bring about the officers' departures. He did clearly imply in his speech that he would not call on the Inter-American Peace Force for help in removing the generals.

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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

THE PRESIDENT'S DAILY BRIEF

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18 FEBRUARY 1966

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23

DAILY BRIEF
18 FEBRUARY 1966

1. Dominican Republic

The rapidity with which the general strike ended yesterday is an indication of the considerable control now apparently exercised over labor by the Bosch forces. There were some scattered attempts, presumably by Communist goons, to intimidate returning workers but these were of little apparent effect.

Bosch's comments to newsmen indicate that he intends to play to the hilt his party's role in the strike. He clearly hopes it will enhance his chances in next June's elections.

Implicit in the Bosch line now emerging is the threat of a renewed strike if the army and air force chiefs continue to defy Garcia Godoy's order assigning them to posts abroad. The president has still given no indication as to how he intends to effect the departures

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2. North Vietnam

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Several Communist prisoners of war have claimed that some of North Vietnam's top generals are now serving in the south. Most of these officers are party central committee members, and one is said to have politburo rank.

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3. South Vietnam

50X1

[redacted] the Viet Cong intend to intensify both their political action and their military activities in the Saigon region during the coming months. The embassy notes that the increasing restiveness of the people in the capital--due largely to the mounting inflation--may make them more vulnerable to Viet Cong political and psychological campaigns.

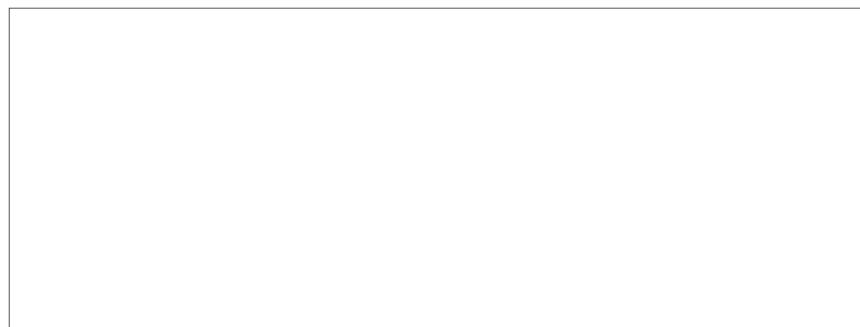
Militarily, the Viet Cong already have a regiment within a 20-mile radius of Saigon, and there are indications that they now plan to introduce a second regiment into the area.

4. France

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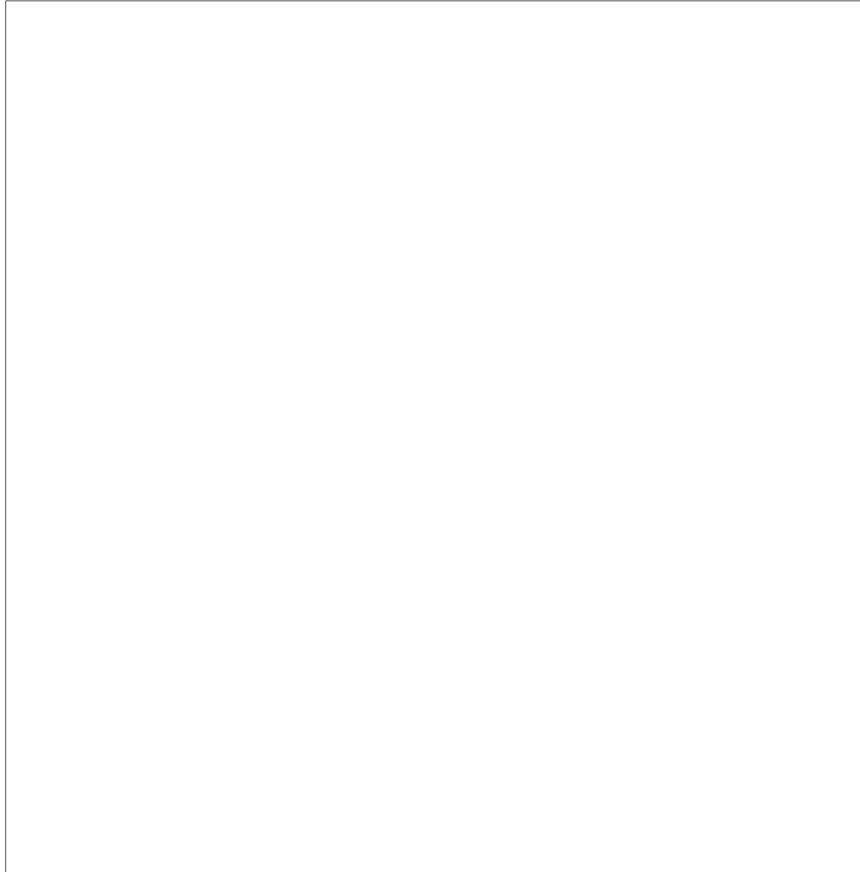
5. Communist China

50X1



6. Greece

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7. Rhodesia

British efforts to get Pretoria to stop South African deliveries of oil to Rhodesia have so far been fruitless.

Proliferating press reports about this break in the boycott--even though at the present rate it will not keep Smith in oil beyond June--could revive militant African and domestic pressures on Zambia's Kaunda, who is now relatively relaxed, to take some rash action against Rhodesia.

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8. Nigeria

General Ironsi's military regime, unable to fill the vacuum caused by the ouster of the experienced civilian leaders, is providing little positive direction.

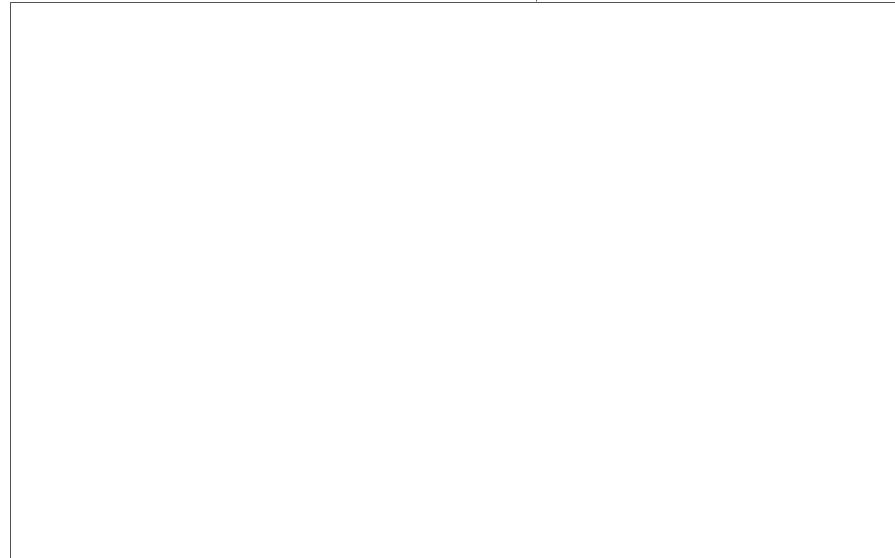
Ironsi seems chiefly concerned with neutralizing restive younger officers

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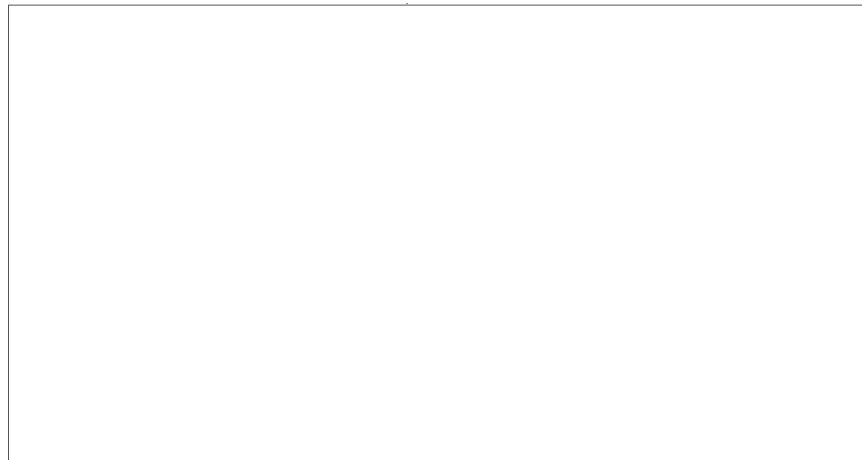
[On 13 February he did appoint a top civil servant to study "administrative machinery for a united Nigeria," but progress toward this goal is likely to be slow.]

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9. India



10. Indonesia



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11. Philippines

Prospects for congressional approval to send a Philippine contingent to South Vietnam appear good. President Marcos has committed his prestige and is pulling out all the stops in support of the proposal.

There is a highly vocal opposition campaign from parts of the press and student groups. Some 500 students held an orderly demonstration yesterday before the US Embassy.

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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

THE PRESIDENT'S DAILY BRIEF

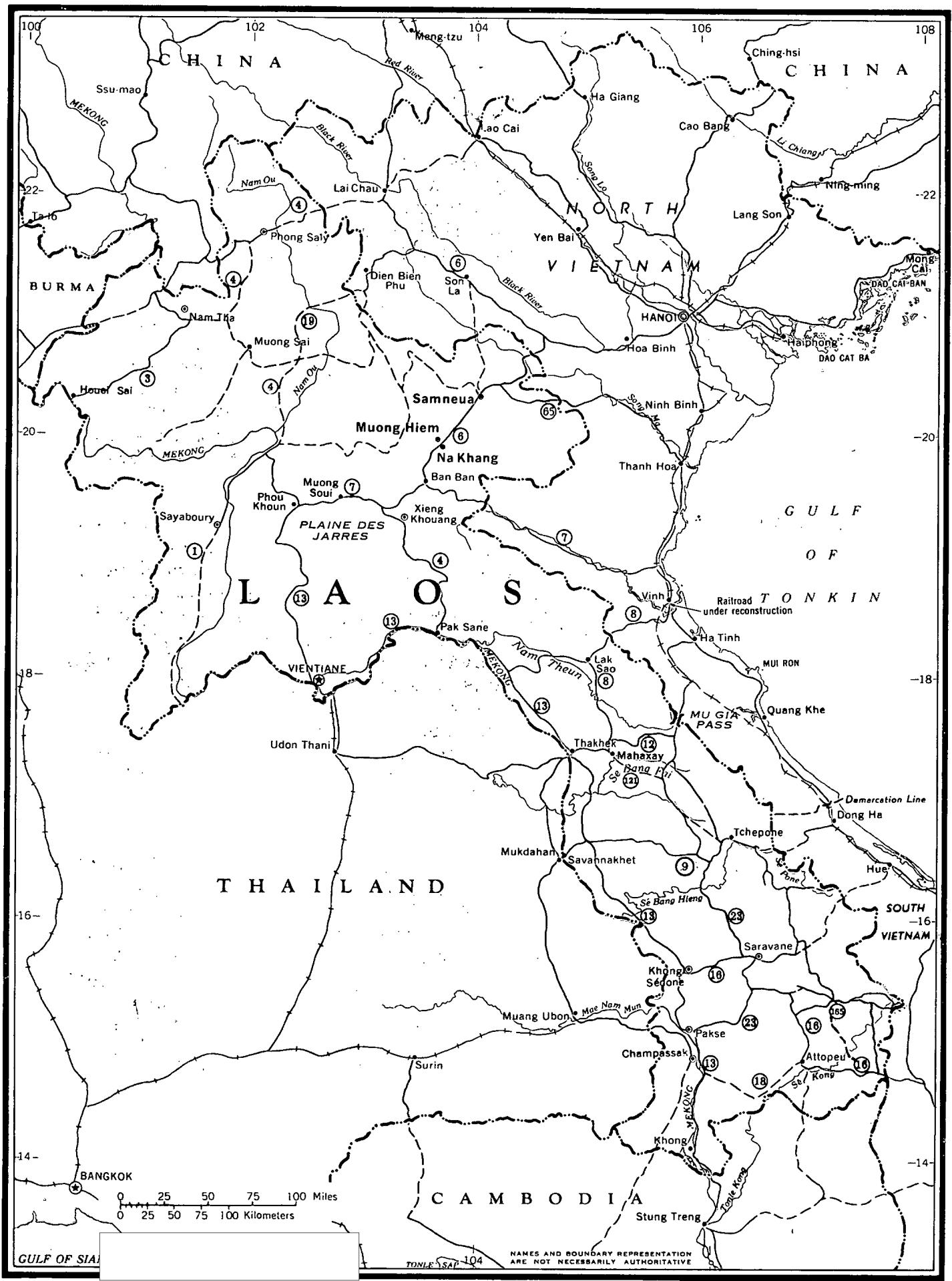
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19 FEBRUARY 1966

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DAILY BRIEF
19 FEBRUARY 1966

1. Laos

An expected Communist push against Na Khang, a key base in northern Laos, may have begun.

Communist troops, including substantial numbers of North Vietnamese, struck in battalion strength against government defenses south of the base on Thursday, overrunning at least one position. Yesterday, government forces were aided by air strikes, but there is now some evidence that the base and its airstrip may have fallen. Loss of these installations would open the strategic Samneua area to further Communist penetration.

2. North Vietnam

Hanoi may soon face another difficult decision in its relations with Moscow and Peking. Given the increasing violence of the Sino-Soviet polemics during the past month, Peking may well refuse to send a delegation to next month's Soviet party congress, where the contentious issues are likely to come under review.

If Peking boycotts the congress, Hanoi will be under pressure to follow suit, thus violating its promise to Shelepin last month.

3. South Vietnam

Prime Minister Ky is moving to publicize the Honolulu Declaration through a series of rallies in various parts of the country. The four corps commanders are organizing the rallies, which reportedly are to run throughout next week.

The first rally took place last night in a provincial capital some 150 miles north of Saigon. It seems to have attracted some 5,000 participants.

4. Dominican Republic

Garcia Godoy yesterday dismissed over 80 municipal officials throughout the country and fired two of the 26 provincial governors. He claimed privately that almost all of those replaced are Bosch partisans.

If this is true, it will go far toward reducing the ability of pro-Bosch forces to influence the June elections. Ex-president Balaguer, expected to be a leading presidential contender, has long complained that the President's appointment of many Bosch partisans to local posts early in his regime had stacked the cards in Bosch's favor.

There has been no apparent movement during the past 24 hours in ending the standoff between Garcia Godoy and the military.

5. Algeria

President Boumediene, in power now for eight months, has made little headway against Algeria's monumental administrative and economic problems.

Although he has desisted from Ben Bella's foreign adventurism, factionalism within his Revolutionary Council and incompetence in many ministries have thwarted his determination to improve things on the home front.

Dissatisfaction is increasing throughout Algeria, but probably no one but another army officer could overthrow Boumediene. There are persistent rumors that the chief of staff is gaining influence in the Council and placing followers in key positions in the army.

6. Italy

Premier-designate Moro is apparently ready to present a new cabinet list to President Saragat, possibly today. They [redacted] agreed, reluctantly, on the reappointment of Fanfani as foreign minister. Parliamentary debate and approval of a new government is likely to take several more weeks.

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7. Great Britain

[redacted] Prime Minister Wilson's talks with Kosygin in Moscow, which begin on Monday, will center on Vietnam and disarmament. The Foreign Office does not expect anything new to come from the Russians on Vietnam.

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[redacted] Communists are behind the food riots which erupted in the Calcutta area on Wednesday.

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8. India

[redacted] One death and many injuries and arrests have already resulted. Leftist organizations are calling for a general strike by Calcutta students. Since the government appears determined to meet the situation by using police rather than enlarging the food ration, more trouble may arise.

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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

THE PRESIDENT'S DAILY BRIEF

[Redacted box]

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21 FEBRUARY 1966

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23

DAILY BRIEF
21 FEBRUARY 1966

1. Dominican Republic

Preliminary analysis of the sweeping changes in local government officials decreed last Friday by Garcia Godoy strongly suggests that this was a maneuver to replace many Bosch partisans with followers of former president Balaguer. It does not seem, however, that the changes have been sufficiently extensive to eliminate entirely the edge enjoyed by the Bosch forces in the municipal and provincial governments.

Bosch called a sudden meeting of his party's executive committee for this afternoon. He may well challenge Garcia Godoy on the local government changes. He will perhaps also attack the compromise plan the president has been working on to solve his most immediate problem with the military chiefs.

There is as yet no word as to whether the recalcitrant army and air force chiefs have agreed to the compromise plan, under which they would be replaced but remain in the country to serve on an advisory general staff. The plan apparently has the backing of at least some military figures and seems to be the kind of "dignified" solution all could accept. Bosch, however, might well attack the plan as a "sellout."

2. Soviet Union

The USSR may be scheduling its first sea shipment of military equipment to North Vietnam.

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There is as yet no information on what kind of military equipment may be involved.

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3. South Vietnam

The South Vietnamese Communists have publicly admitted that a "number of our own comrades" have become discouraged over increased US military aggressiveness and new psychological warfare and pacification efforts in South Vietnam. The admission was in an article calling for a new "political struggle" and was published in the journal of the People's Revolutionary Party--the guiding group in the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam.

The argumentation seemed to reflect a feeling among the Communists that they must take steps to counter Saigon's recently announced programs of economic and social reform.

4. Indonesia

Sukarno has issued his challenge to the army. If he succeeds, as he appears so far to be doing, he will have re-established himself as the pre-eminent authority in Indonesia. He has replaced General Nasution as defense minister and abolished his other post as armed forces chief of staff. Nasution is widely regarded by all factions in the country as the leader of the army's anti-Communist campaign.

There were a number of other changes in the cabinet, which seem to constitute a significant shift to the left.

Army chief Suharto had strongly opposed Nasution's dismissal

It is a volatile situation but now that Sukarno's decision is both official and public it seems that the army may not contest it. The longer Suharto fails to act, the less likely it becomes he ever will. An account of Sukarno's efforts to reassert his severely damaged authority during the past six months is at Annex.

50X1

5. Soviet Union

Moscow's new five-year plan, unveiled by the party plenum on Saturday, calls for a 40-percent increase in the national income by 1970. The planners expect to accomplish this largely through a rise of some 50 percent in industrial output and, apparently, a 25-percent increase in agricultural production over that of the last five years.

Judging by the official summary, which presumably puts it in its most favorable light, the new five-year plan is based generally on realistic projections of recent trends. However, it does contain some factors that make its complete accomplishment doubtful. In agriculture, for instance, great store is being set on the success of recent and largely untried worker incentive schemes.

There is little in the plan's summary to shed light on whether the hard decisions have been taken on how to split the country's limited resources among the major claimants--industry, agriculture, defense, and the consumer. Emphasis on consumer durables, however, does suggest that rapid growth in defense expenditures is not planned.

6. Italy

Premier-designate Moro is apparently to present his cabinet to the president tomorrow or Wednesday. The long crisis may be ending although few of the political factions involved are happy with the solution. The crisis has demonstrated once again the basic fragility of the center-left coalition.

7. France

De Gaulle's press conference today was one of his milder ones, at least the portions of direct interest to the US. He did not, however, change any of his fundamental positions.

His treatment of French plans regarding the North Atlantic Treaty Organization seemed aimed at creating a favorable climate for bilateral talks with the US regarding US forces and bases in France. He implied some flexibility in his approach by stating that he wanted to make the required changes "so they will not inconvenience France's allies."

The French president was surprisingly general in his references to Vietnam and avoided outright criticism of the US. His statements on the matter reflected his view that a negotiated settlement is not now a real possibility.

De Gaulle made his expected pitch for consultations among the Common Market countries without specifically calling for them himself.

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De Gaulle reserved his toughest language for Morocco and the Moroccan interior minister whom he charged with responsibility for the Ben Barka murder. Further deterioration in French-Moroccan relations is likely.

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8. Libya

Influential monarchists have gotten wind of the old King's plan to establish a republic and are making known their vehement opposition.

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[redacted]
republicanism seems to be becoming something of a magic remedy in the minds of progressive elements long frustrated by their inability to exercise significant political influence. Pressures from this source are likely to continue.

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ANNEX

Sukarno Versus the Army

Sukarno's recent gains toward re-establishing himself as the pre-eminent authority in Indonesia are due largely to his continuous maneuvering since the coup attempt on 1 October. This was not particularly difficult because the army--under General Suharto and Defense Minister Nasution--showed no desire to remove him or take over the government. Their objectives were to destroy the Communist Party, to reorient internal politics away from Communism, and to break Indonesia's attachment to Peking.

Nevertheless, Sukarno at first found himself badly tarnished by his implication in the plot and he was left on the sidelines while the army addressed itself to reversing the coup and destroying the Communists. In this situation, his main problem was that he had to operate without the support of the Communist Party and its crucial resources for agitation and propaganda.

Sukarno, however, has always acted on the premise that "he who would retain power must use it." Although his personal authority was badly eroded, he worked from the beginning to use and expand what he retained. Many of his initiatives did not prosper, but this did not stop him from making new attempts or repeating old ones.

Sukarno's first asset was his own political skill--no army figures or non-Communist political leader has even been any match for him. Then there was the increasingly obvious fact that the army did not plan to move against him. Finally, there was the realization that he was still accepted as the national leader by all elements of the population.

Another factor in his favor was the chaos brought on by the development of two administrative centers--Sukarno and the army--at a time when the army realized the necessity of re-establishing a unitary government.

(Cont'd)

ANNEX (Cont'd)

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A brief catalogue of Sukarno's other maneuvers would include his continuing ability to purchase time by first offering and then delaying his "political solution;" his absolute refusal to ban the Communist Party; his launching of a "Sukarno Front" last month; and today his bold move of dismissing Nasution, the "political leader" of the army.

Sukarno assumed that time was on his side and that army momentum would slow as the urgency of the postcoup situation dissipated. The army had hoped to make the attempted coup a turning point in Indonesian history; Sukarno insisted that it was merely a "ripple in the revolution." Although there will still be more maneuvering, foot dragging, and temporary intransigence, Sukarno, if he gets away with his latest moves, will be well on his way again to closing the ranks of Indonesian society behind him.

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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

THE PRESIDENT'S DAILY BRIEF

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22 FEBRUARY 1966

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23

DAILY BRIEF
22 FEBRUARY 1966

1. Indonesia

The situation is still touch and go, but it appears that the army has decided for the present at least to accept Sukarno's cabinet changes. The embassy understands that Nasution will move to Bandung and stay quiet for the time being.

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Nasution is clearly rationalizing his failure to act.

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50X1

[redacted] he wants to avoid an open fight with Sukarno, believing that the army would lose. He has decided therefore to play out the string until Sukarno dies and then make a comeback. Meanwhile, Nasution believes things are not too bad since he considers the new defense minister to be "his man."

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The embassy doubts that the situation will erupt over the next few days, but warns that there is always the danger of miscalculation and that any one of a number of activist groups might decide to move on their own.

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2. Dominican Republic

The Dominican Army and Air Force chiefs are beginning to give the impression that they will dig in against Garcia Godoy's compromise solution. The president, however, is still hopeful that he can build up enough pressure over the short run to bring them around. Some sort of announcement may come tomorrow night when Garcia Godoy is scheduled to go on the air again.

Some influential Dominican circles are coming to believe that the president is not anxious to have elections in June and will even try to create a climate unfavorable to them. These people assert Garcia Godoy has enjoyed the taste of power and will be reluctant to give it up until forced to do so.

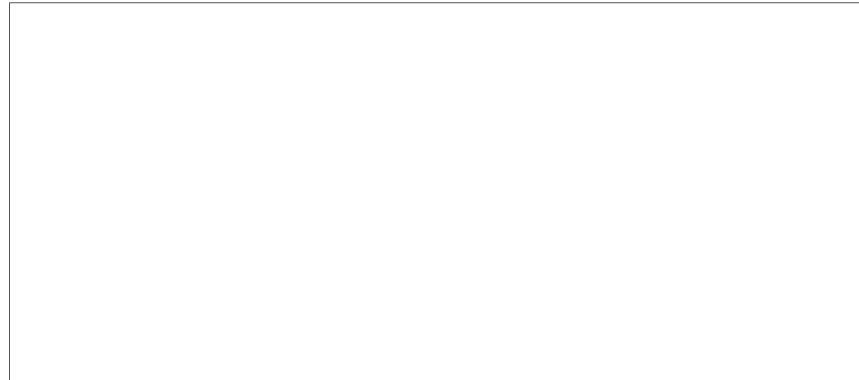
3. Congo

Officials of the International Monetary Fund who have just completed a fact-finding mission to the Congo came away favorably impressed with Mobutu's vigor and determination but somewhat skeptical of his ability to keep on top of his government.

They note that such potentially dangerous problems as the effects of wage pressures and import cuts, the possibility of Tshombé's return, and the restlessness of the members of parliament may descend on Mobutu all at once. On top of this, they found the government badly organized, the president ill informed, and the state administration almost nonexistent.

Mobutu was told that the Fund is willing to help work out fiscal reforms. If these improve the situation, some financial assistance may be forthcoming during the second half of the year.

4. North Vietnam



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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

THE PRESIDENT'S DAILY BRIEF

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23 FEBRUARY 1966

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23

DAILY BRIEF
23 FEBRUARY 1966

1. Indonesia

There was a further build-up of tension today as partisans of both sides demonstrated in Djakarta.

In a move obviously contrived by the government, pro-Sukarno students who thought that Ambassador Green had returned to Djakarta marched on the embassy to demonstrate against the ambassador personally. Some managed to enter the embassy compound, but there was little damage.

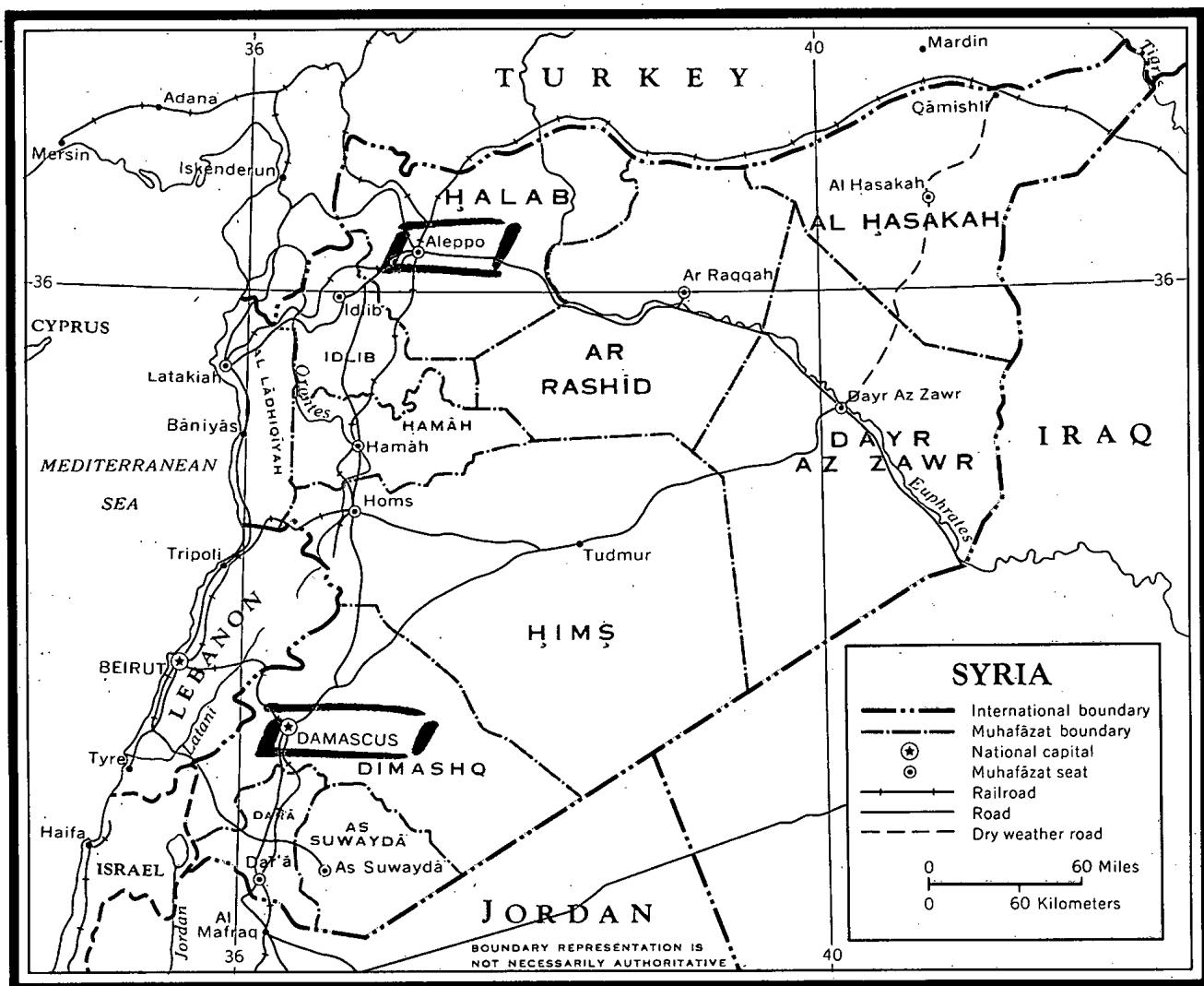
Other student groups which support the army were fired on by police in front of the palace; several were apparently killed or wounded. Later, possibly as many as 10,000 young people staged a sitdown strike outside the palace to protest the cabinet changes, but they dispersed in late evening.

There could be more trouble tomorrow. The pro-army students and others being trucked into the capital may regroup in the morning in an effort to prevent or disrupt the cabinet installation. Other disorders could easily break out throughout the country.

2. Turkey

Turkish politics may be heading for a time of trouble. With President Gursel's condition worsening, the uncertainties of the presidential and military succession are heating up old antagonisms between rival army and air force leaders.

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3. Syria

Damascus is calm after the takeover by a radical Baath military clique this morning, but there are divisions within the military and the outcome is still in doubt.

Army units seized Damascus with little resistance, and key leaders in Prime Minister Bitar's government were arrested.

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Radio Aleppo

[redacted] maintains that military units in that area and in central Syria oppose the coup.

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The new "provisional regional command" in Damascus claims the loyalty of all important units except the Aleppo command. Neither the announcements from Damascus nor Aleppo, however, can be substantiated. (Map)

4. Yemen

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5. North Vietnam

Another ranking North Vietnamese military figure has come out with an analysis of the Vietnam war. A study by Nguyen Van Vinh, deputy chief of the army general staff, appears in the current issue of the same journal that last month carried Defense Minister Giap's article.

Vinh covers much of the same territory, but--unlike Giap--addresses himself to the possibility of US ground action against North Vietnam. On this point, he declares that "no matter what size forces the Americans throw into... such a conflict, they cannot avoid final defeat by the immense forces of their adversaries in this region."

Vinh admits that the US has an advantage in the technical and economic fields, but declares that this is offset by US logistical difficulties and limited manpower resources.

6. South Vietnam

The new minister of economy and finance told US officials shortly after taking office on Monday that prompt action must be taken to halt what he called the critical danger of accelerating inflation. He said he will be ready to begin corrective measures in a few days.

Saigon's ambassador to Washington, who has been home recently, believes the new minister is knowledgeable and energetic but wonders whether the necessary remedies will be fully supported by the generals.

7. Soviet Union

Cosmos 110 with its two dogs aboard continues in orbit. It is still unclear whether the Soviets will try to recover the capsule, but during the next few days the spacecraft will be passing over the usual recovery areas at night and this suggests that such an operation is not planned soon.

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A primary function of Cosmos 110 may be to check out a new satellite for manned missions.

8. Uganda

Prime Minister Obote's power grab yesterday seems to have succeeded for the short run at least. Most of his political opponents are either in jail or in hiding, and the security forces appear to be following his orders. Obote, however, has set himself against almost all the important political elements in the country and this could mean real trouble if any of the influential political leaders escape his dragnet and organize the opposition.

9. Ghana

There may be a move to overthrow the Ghanaian regime during Nkrumah's current Asian tour.

this latest round of plotting is being engineered by the commander of the army's two brigades and the commissioner of police. Details are sketchy, but the plotters claim they intend to move under the cover of army maneuvers which are set to start today.

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10. Panama

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[redacted] the Panamenista Party under former president Arnulfo Arias and the small Moscow-oriented Communist Party are planning a joint antigovernment demonstration in Panama City on Friday. The idea is to key it to the opening meeting there of the Special Committee of the Organization of American States. Major trouble at this point seems unlikely.

On the question of the canal treaty, the head of Panama's negotiating team said recently that he sees no reason to rush the talks. He evidently believes that February 1967 is a realistic date for presenting a draft for ratification. President Robles, however, has predicted that it would be ready this summer.

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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

THE PRESIDENT'S DAILY BRIEF

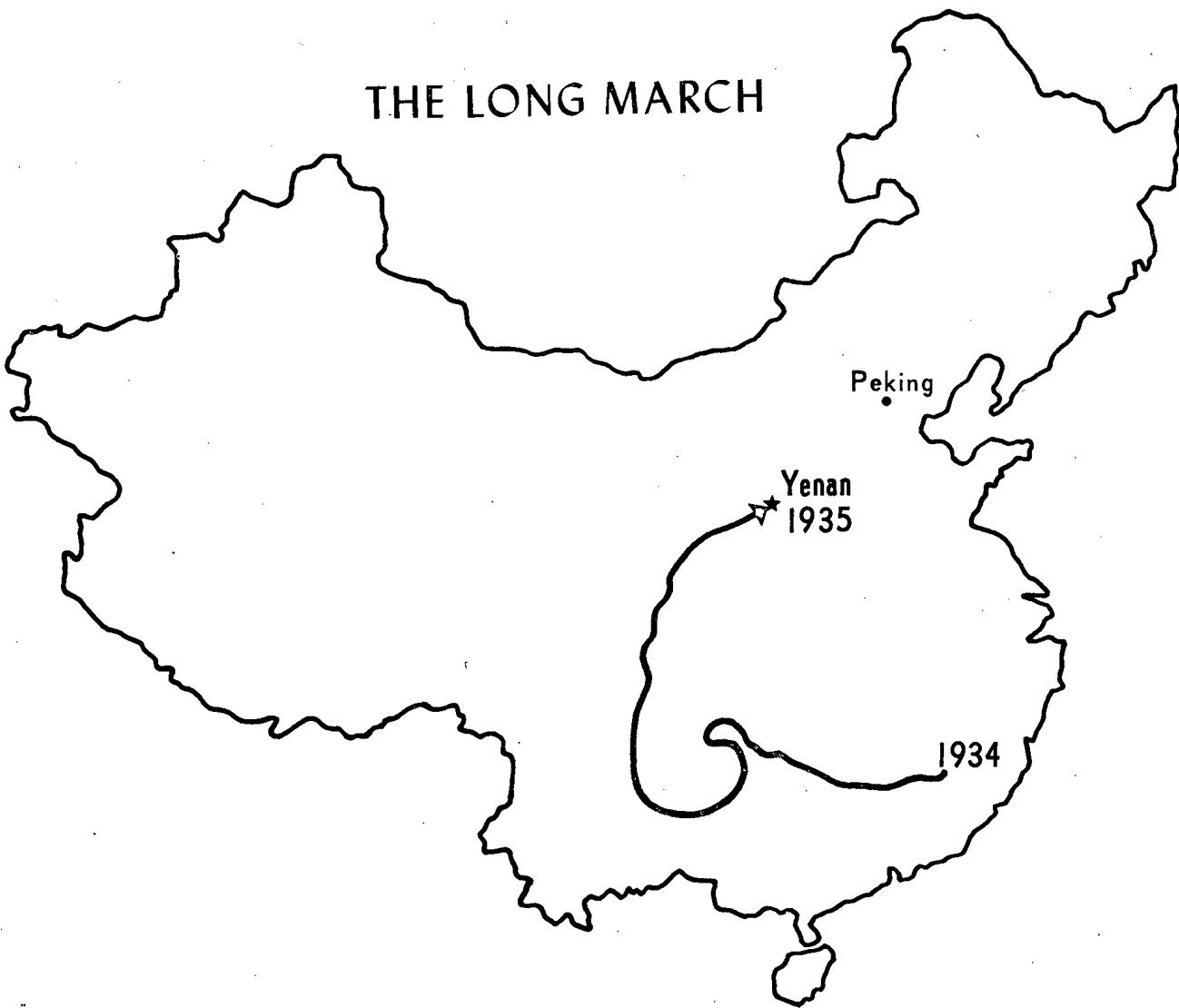
SPECIAL STUDY:

Chinese Decision Making; The Long March and the Long War

24 FEBRUARY 1966

TOP SECRET

THE LONG MARCH



The Long March left an indelible mark on Mao Tse-tung and his comrades. Chiang Kai-shek and various warlords harried them across 6,000 miles of China, and only one-fifth of the group lived to make it to Yenan. Mao spent the next 12 years in the Yenan badlands fashioning a revolution which brought his Communists to power in 1949. Their attitudes today remain deeply colored by the experience.

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CHINESE DECISION MAKING: THE LONG MARCH AND THE LONG WAR

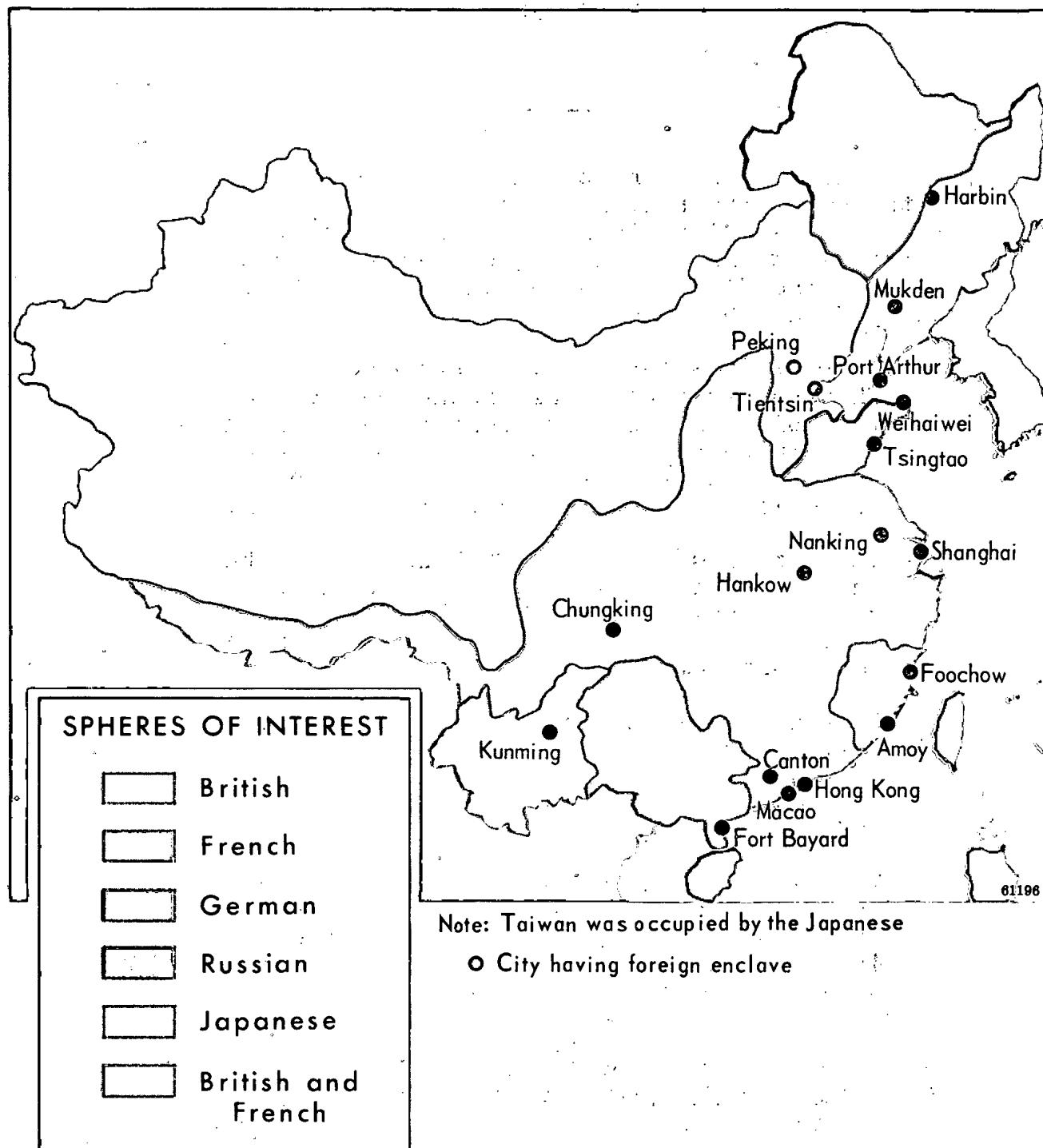
Summary

The men who control China's destiny today are veterans of the Long March and the revolution. These years molded them and still condition their attitudes toward the struggle they are waging against the "American imperialists," which they think of as the Long War.

- These leaders are acutely conscious of their Chinese heritage. This means they are quite sure of their own superiority and their duty to gain redress for the humiliation China has suffered at the hands of foreigners. The chief enemy to be overcome is the US.
- They are also Communists. This means that they are predisposed to totalitarian ways of doing business. This also means that they see the world divided into two irreconcilable camps.
- They are dominated by Mao Tse-tung. He is a thorough-going militarist with a history of violent conspiratorial activity. This makes him and the group around him ruthless and tough-minded.
- They are ambitious to make China a great world power. They are old and ailing, yet still command only a weak base. This has led them to try to do too much, too soon, sometimes with painful results.
- They have slim resources to parcel out. This has meant they cannot simultaneously satisfy even the minimum demands of agriculture, industry, the military, the party machine, and the government apparatus.
- They see themselves as virtually alone in a hostile world. This has created a siege mentality but has not dimmed their conviction of eventual victory.



MAJOR FOREIGN ENCLAVES



CHINESE DECISION MAKING: THE LONG MARCH AND THE LONG WAR

The Leaders have a Chinese heritage.

In the first place, the men in Peking are acutely conscious of their Chinese heritage. Being Chinese, they carry a strong conviction of their superiority, in race and culture, to all foreigners. The Chinese call their country the "Middle Kingdom" and for 4,000 years have considered it the civilized center of the universe, surrounded by barbarians. To most Chinese, Chinese art is the finest, Chinese poetry the richest, Chinese food the tastiest, Chinese women the most desirable, and so on.

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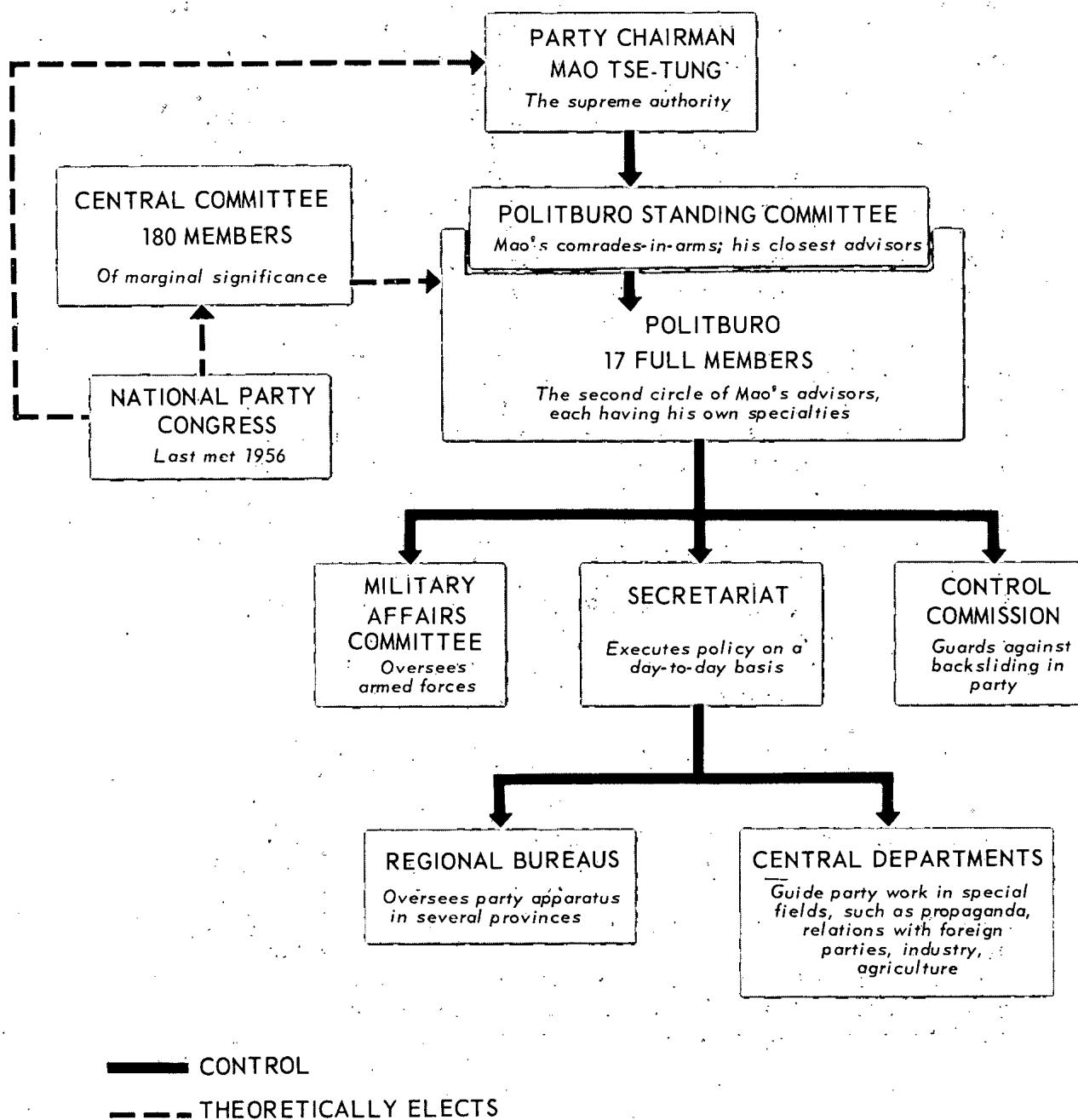
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China is also a dirt poor, agricultural country. Most Chinese are peasants whose life is nasty, brutish, and short. Life has always been cheap, the individual counting for little. Emphasis is on survival of the family or social group. The Chinese peasant lives in small villages, not in individual farm dwellings. Mao Tsetung and his closest collaborators, except for the mandarin Chou En-lai, come from this land and out of this tradition. It helps make them hard-bitten and indifferent to suffering.

They are strongly nationalistic.

The Chinese have regarded the foreigner with disdain or contempt. After more than a century of exploitation by one foreign power after another, this turned to hatred. Starting early in the 19th Century, foreigners came with weapons the Chinese could not match. The foreigners, although contemptible, repeatedly defeated the weak Chinese armies. China was carved up into spheres of influence, and enclaves were set up where the foreigner could live on Chinese soil free of Chinese authority. Such treatment would leave deep scars on any people. It left the arrogant Chinese thirsting for revenge.

THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY ORGANIZATION



61247

Under Mao and the Communists this hatred of foreigners has been focused on the US. In their eyes, the US sought to keep them from power. The US opposed them in Korea and interposed its forces to prevent them from seizing Taiwan. It continues to support the "renegade" Chiang as the legitimate ruler of all China. The US stands between them and their larger design of extending their sway over the former vassal states surrounding China. The US does its best to put down the very revolutions the Chinese support. Most of all, they fear that the US means to do them in. China has from time to time suggested that it is permissible under some circumstances to work with certain imperialists--but never with the US.

Though expressed in terms of fundamental Communist principle, Mao's fight with the Soviets is heavily nationalistic. In the late 1950s the Chinese leaders became aware that the post-Stalin group in the Kremlin would not, any more than Stalin himself, place Soviet power at Mao's disposal. Peking could see that the Soviets were dragging their feet on giving China nuclear weapons. The crowning blow fell in 1959 when Khrushchev went to the US and began, in Mao's eyes, to consort with the main enemy. Khrushchev stopped off in Peking on his way back but no bands played, no crowds cheered, not a handshake was offered.

They are Communists "steeled in struggle."

As Communists the Chinese subscribe to the view that the world is divided into two camps engaged in an all-out struggle which the Communists are fated to win. China today is an orthodox Communist state in which the party alone makes policy and supervises its execution. The government and the armed forces are kept under constant party surveillance. The aim is total control, and in China it has virtually been achieved.

Being rigidly orthodox Communists, Mao and his associates must try to force the non-Communist world into the preconceived framework of nineteenth

MAO TSE-TUNG AND HIS COMRADES-IN-ARMS**MAO TSE-TUNG**

Age 72. Party Chairman. Top man since 1935. Health declining, often out of public view for months. No evidence he is losing control. Has never visited a non-Communist country. Understanding of the West limited and warped. Grasp of internal affairs may be slipping. A supreme egotist, considers himself to be the rightful leader of world communism.

**LIU SHAO-CHI**

Age 68. Mao's first lieutenant and his designated successor. A frail man, a colorless personality, he may be too weak to hold the top position long after Mao goes.

**CHOU EN-LAI**

Age 68. Once the most moderate member of the inner circle, reasonably well informed about the outside world. His relative moderation seems to be waning as he grows older. Runs the government. Has little party strength and little chance to win the struggle for succession.

**TENG HSIAO-PING**

Age 66. Tough, extremely militant; ambitious. Runs the executive arm of the party which puts him in a good spot to take over after Mao and Liu go.

**PENG CHEN**

Age 66. Smooth, capable, and tough. The most recent entry to the inner circle. Has played a key role in Chinese confrontations with the Russians.

**LIN PIAO**

Age 58. The only military man in the lot. Has a brilliant record as a revolutionary field commander.

Seldom appears in public. Recently credited with authoring article affirming Chinese intention to foment "anti-imperialist" revolutions wherever possible in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

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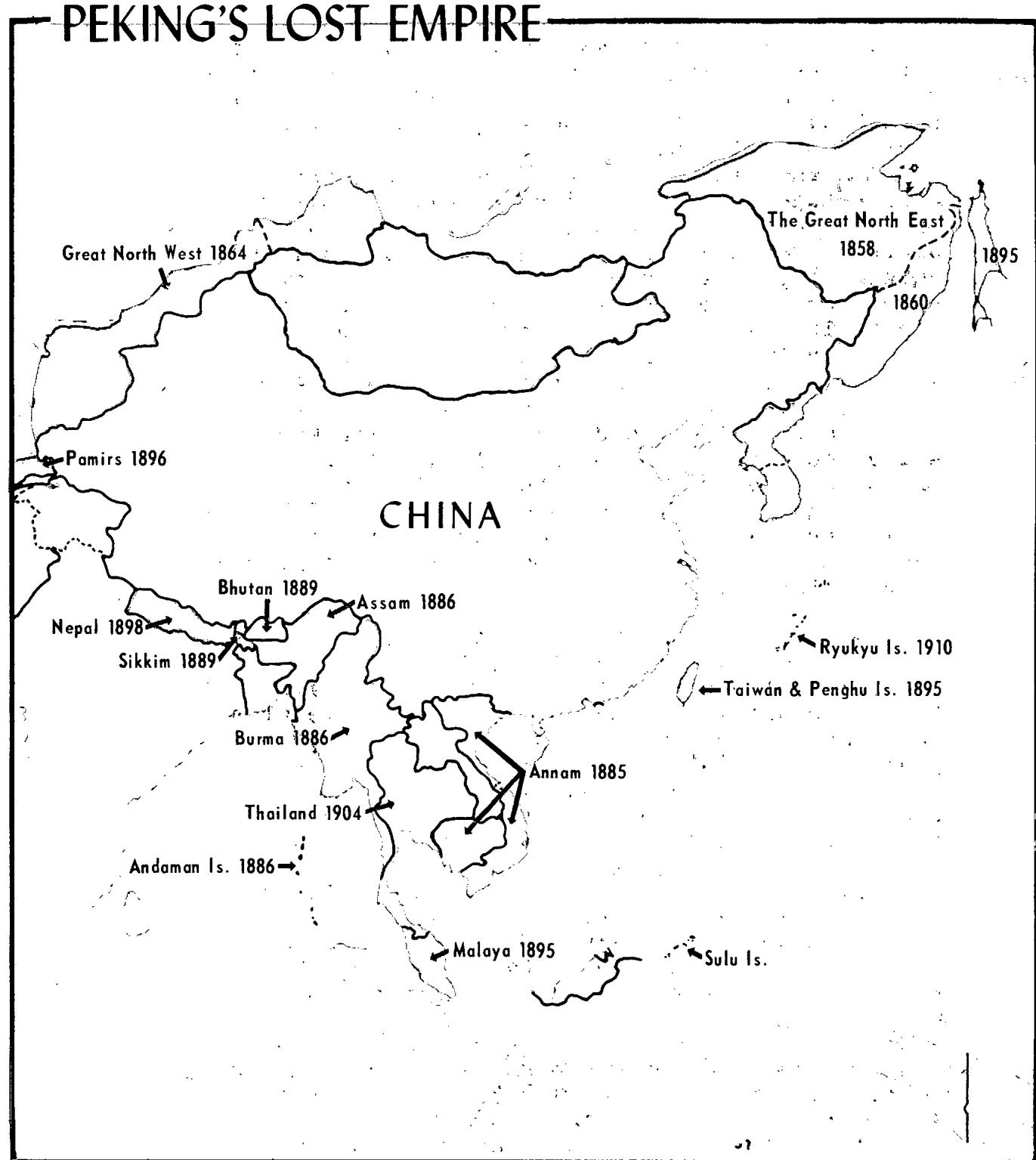
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DUKDO

century capitalism as Marx saw it. This requirement, coupled with an almost total lack of personal exposure to the non-Communist world, makes them parochial men. They do not really understand just what it is that motivates Westerners. Mao and his associates are the hard-bitten survivors of a savage struggle against enemies within the party, against the Chinese Nationalists, and against the Japanese. In their early years together they were hunted like animals, and Mao's wife died at the hands of Chiang Kai-shek's police. The party was almost wiped out in 1927. Later, in 1934, Chiang forced them to pull up stakes and move their base of operations to the Yenan caves in the northwest. This was the Long March, during the bloody course of which Mao seized control of the party. This history of prolonged armed struggle has left the leaders thoroughgoing militarists. Even political and social problems are attacked through military concepts, military directives, military organization, military discipline.

They are dominated by Mao Tse-tung.

Since the Long March, Mao has been paramount in the Chinese Communist movement. Only Stalin exercised a comparable measure of power. Mao's prejudices, opinions, and idiosyncrasies are perhaps the most important single element in framing Peking's policy. For all of his being Chinese, Mao is like Stalin in some ways. Like Stalin, Mao is a true totalitarian, seeking total control, including control of thought, and demanding total obedience, including professions of adoration. Like Stalin, Mao is vain and cruel, encourages a "cult," and relies on exhortation. And like Stalin, Mao is less an international than a national Communist.

The importance of military force is at the center of Mao's world view. He has even said that Chiang Kai-shek "did a good thing in massacring Communists" because this taught them how to wage war. He says, over and over again, "All political power comes out of the barrel of a gun." Thus his foreign policy is distinctively based on



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This map was used by the Communists in a 1953 history text to show students how "imperialists" had seized territory once a part of China or under Chinese sway during the great days of the old Empire.

international tension and revolutionary war, and he incites these small wars wherever he can.

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Mao prefers, wherever possible, to let others do the fighting and is cautious about committing his own forces. Chinese troops poured into Korea only when the US advance posed, to Mao's way of thinking, a direct threat to China and its most important industrial region. Moreover, Mao saw it as necessary to prevent the destruction of a neighboring Communist state.

In Mao's view, talks with the enemy are possible, even advisable, as a device to buy time or gain an advantage. This does not mean that he believes in real give-and-take negotiations--only take, since the real solution is the destruction of the adversary.

Furious with the Soviets, the Chinese today assert their pre-eminence in doctrinal matters. They see themselves as the only true interpreters of the old texts, and Mao as the only Communist since Stalin to enrich the doctrine with creative additions. The Chinese now speak of the three great epochs of modern man--the epoch of Marx and Engels, the epoch of Lenin and Stalin, and the epoch of Mao Tse-tung. Only Mao has the stature to stand alone.

The combination of Chinese chauvinism and Mao's egotism is such a strong force that in recent years he has even changed his basic concept that the world is divided into Communist and imperialist camps. Since 1960 he has seen the world as divided into those countries responsive to his concepts and therefore in his camp, and those antagonistic to his views and therefore in the enemy camp. The Soviet Union is in the "enemy" camp, since Mao regards it as working with the US to frustrate and to bring down China.

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THE SECOND LEVEL OF LEADERSHIP

Age Principal Posts

★CHEN YI	65	Minister of Foreign Affairs
★LI FU-CHUN	66	Chairman, State Planning Commission; Member, Party Secretariat
★LI HSIEN-NIEN	59	Minister of Finance; Member, Party Secretariat
★TAN CHEN-LIN	63	Director, Agriculture and Forestry Staff Office, State Council; Member, Party Secretariat
★LU TING-I	65	Director, Propaganda Department; Minister of Culture
★KANG SHENG	67	Member, Party Secretariat; intelligence specialist
★PO I-PO	59	Chairman, State Economic Commission
★LO JUI-CHING	59	Chief, PLA General Staff; Secretary, Military Affairs Committee; Member, Secretariat
★NIEH JUNG-CHEN	67	Member, Military Affairs Committee; Chairman, Scientific and Technological Commission
★HSIEH FU-CHIH	?	Minister of Public Security
★LI CHING-CHUAN	61	1st Secretary, Southwest Regional Bureau of the Party
TAO CHU	58	1st Secretary, Central-South Regional Bureau of the Party
LI HSUEH-FENG	60	1st Secretary, North China Regional Bureau of the Party
★LIU LAN-TAO	62	1st Secretary, Northwest Regional Bureau of the Party
★SUNG JEN-CHIUNG	62	1st Secretary, Northeast Regional Bureau of the Party

★High-ranking party members since at least the early 1930s. The majority accompanied Mao Tse-tung on the Long March to Yenan in 1934-35.

They are old, ailing and isolated.

The men at the very top have been together for a long time. Mao has been a member of the party since it was founded in a back street of Shanghai in 1921. So has Chou En-lai. Virtually every meaningful post is filled by a veteran of 30 or more years in the upper levels. Rivalries have been submerged or suppressed and may remain so until the kingpin is removed. Mao believes strongly that the only really trustworthy men are those case-hardened through the crucible of revolution.

The Chinese leaders are old men. The average age of the seven top men is nearly 68. Decades of wielding virtually absolute power has left them fixed in their ways. Certain of their policies, some obviously bad, have been set in concrete by the very myth of infallibility they nurture so assiduously. They are increasingly intolerant of independent thinking outside their tight little circle, and Mao may not put up with much debate inside. It is hard for new ideas or suggestions to penetrate such barriers.

Mao and his favorites have therefore tended to become isolated, like the less successful emperors of old.

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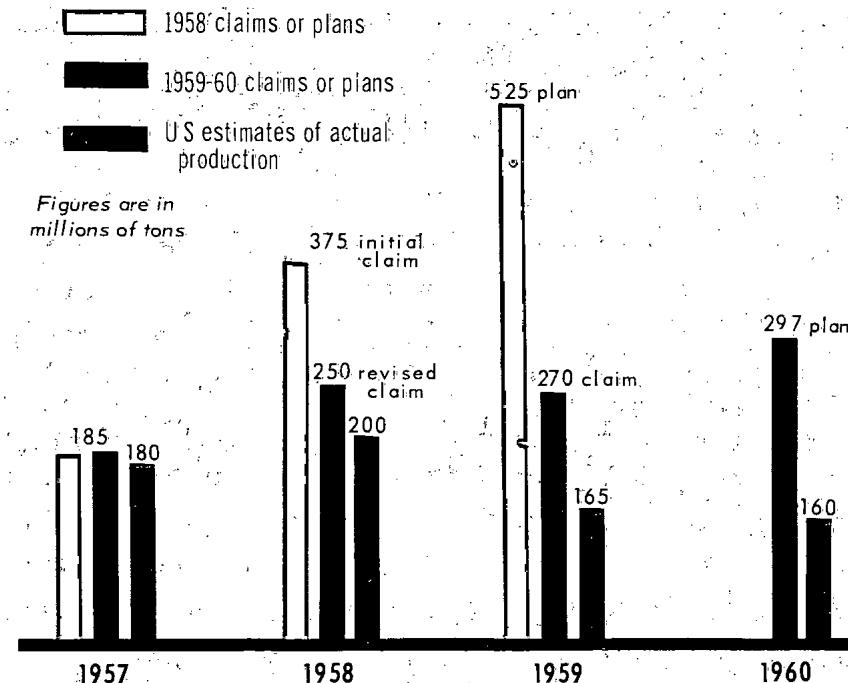
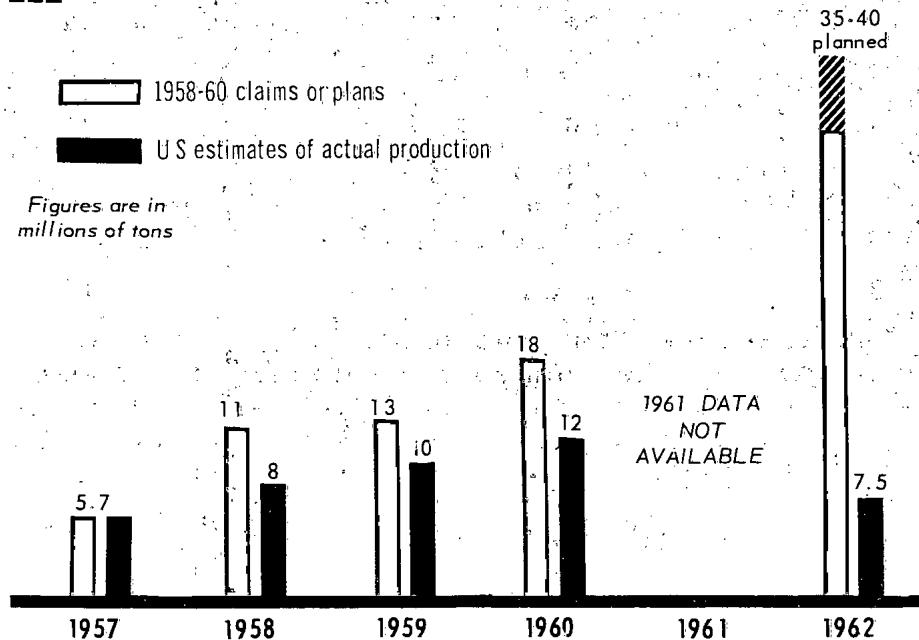
They do not get all the facts they need for their own decisions, and have little feel for the factors that enter into policy decisions elsewhere.

Today the aging Chinese tyrants are in ill health and are deeply disturbed about what will happen to their revolution when they are gone.

The leaders are plainly fearful about the younger generation, even though Chinese youth has been stuffed with Mao's propaganda since weaning. Mao suspects, and perhaps

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FANTASTIC PRODUCTION CLAIMS of the 'GREAT LEAP FORWARD' (1958-60)

GRAIN**CRUDE STEEL**

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with some reason, that once the Long Marchers are gone, the locomotive will be removed from the Chinese Communist revolution and it will grind to a halt.

They have vaulting ambitions.

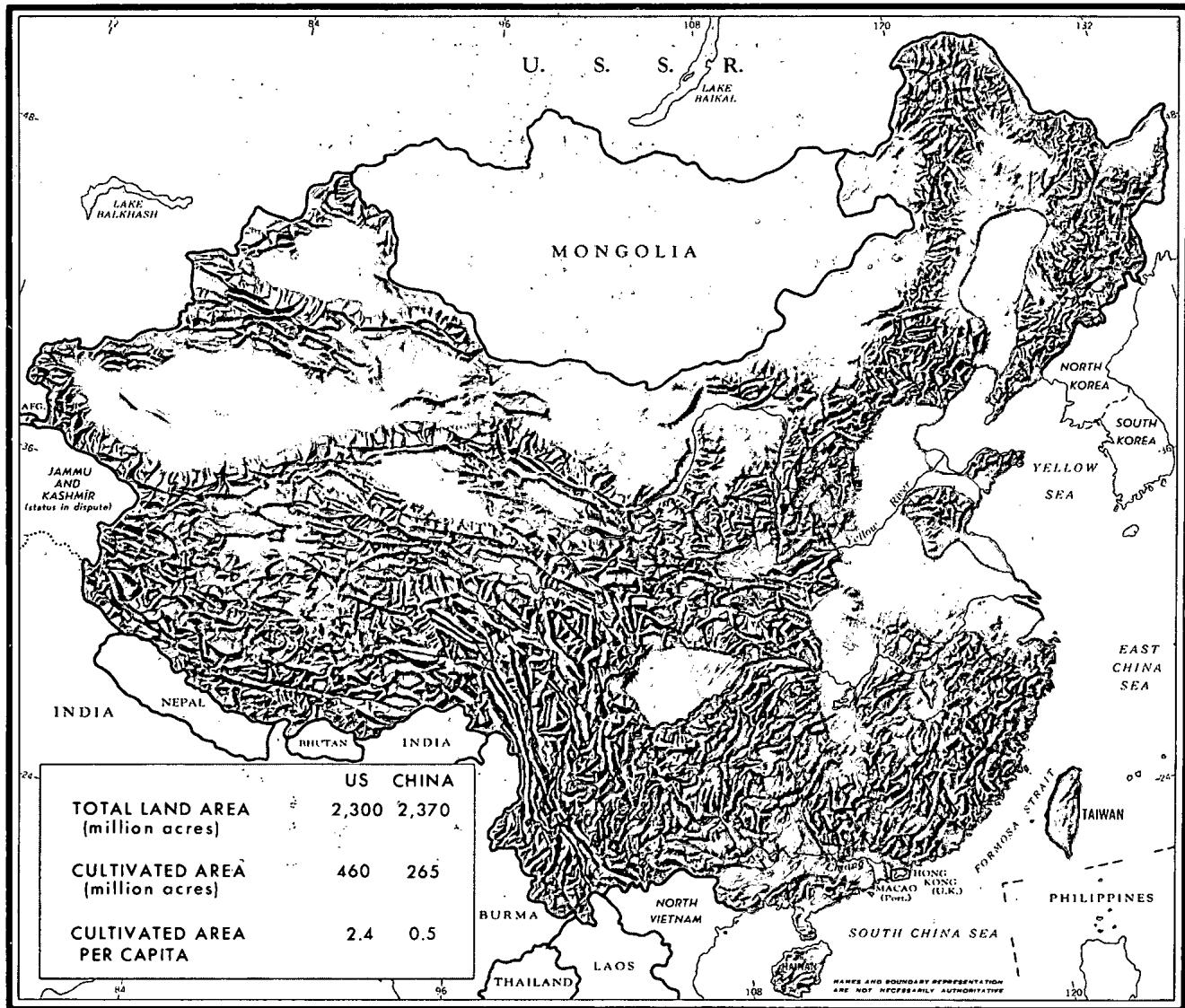
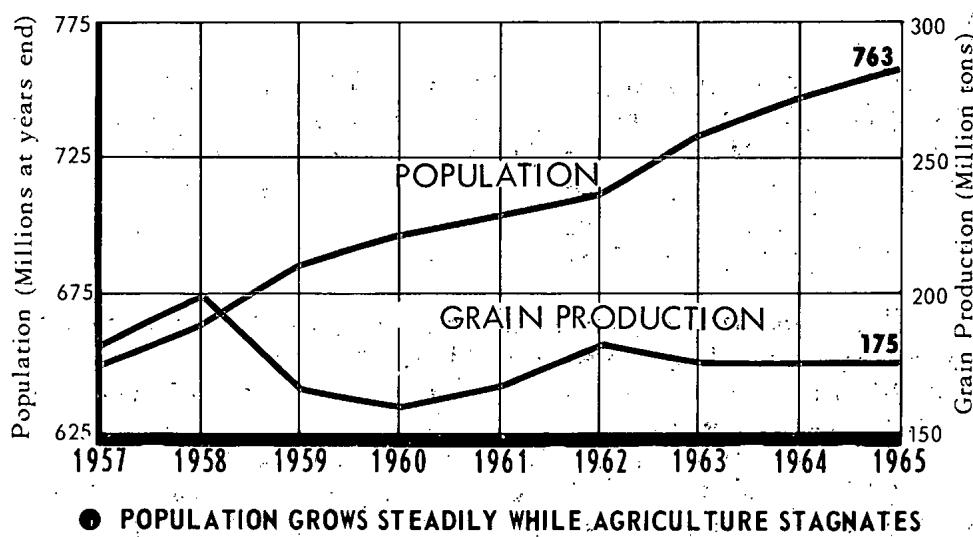
Mao and his friends have set out to restore China to what they regard as its proper place as a great power in the shortest possible time. They started fast in the early 1950s. For the first time in decades a sense of unity and purpose was imparted to the nation. The people backed the regime and with Soviet help good progress was made.

Then in 1958 Mao's hubris found expression in two extreme programs. The first was the "Great Leap Forward" and the other was the commune movement. In the Leap, Mao tried by a massive application of manpower and exhortation to achieve a radical speedup in economic and military development.

These were heady days for the leaders, who for a time thought they had achieved a real breakthrough. With "politics in command," the party machinery reported what they wanted to hear. Statistics showing incredible gains showered in on them and were, strangely enough, believed. At one point Mao was so impressed with grain production claims that he announced a plan to let one third of the arable land grow all the grain China needed. A crash program for steel production led to the follies of the backyard furnaces. Primitive equipment blossomed in every village and city and turned out millions of tons of useless slag.

At the same time Mao ordered that the nation's peasants be jammed into communes. These monster collectives embraced 20,000-50,000 souls who would (Mao thought), work, eat, and live together--the sexes properly separated except for work heroes on "lucky Saturday night." The communes did not work, but Mao went even further.

BASIC ECONOMIC WEAKNESSES



He decided that every Chinese male should become a militiaman. Dutifully, lists were compiled and Peking gravely announced that China had 200 million militiamen, a figure greater than the total number of Chinese males of military age.

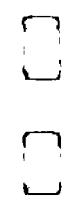
These harebrained ventures had by 1960 seriously weakened Chinese industry and agriculture. At this juncture Soviet help was abruptly withdrawn. Disaster followed. China's economic and military advance came to a screeching halt. The Chinese are only now beginning to emerge from the ensuing depression and have yet to come to grips with China's basic economic shortcomings.

They need to get the economy going again.

Foremost among their weaknesses is the pressure of too many Chinese on existing resources. Last year grain output was about the same as in the year before the Great Leap. Now there are 100 million more mouths to feed.

Agriculture is the critical sector of the economy. Shortcomings here are the chief impediment to the development of a modern economy. Chinese agriculture requires massive investment and new technology. But the top command parcels these out in small amounts, preferring to put its resources elsewhere. The farmers need also to be freed from the fetters of the collective system. As in other Communist states, the tiny private plots allowed the peasants are far more productive than the collective land. But a departure from collective farming is unthinkable. Retreat here, Mao has said, would inevitably lead to a resurrection of capitalism. Finally, the situation calls for ruthless birth control measures, for which Mao long saw no need. He has recently permitted a limited program to begin in the cities, but even there it is too little and far too late.

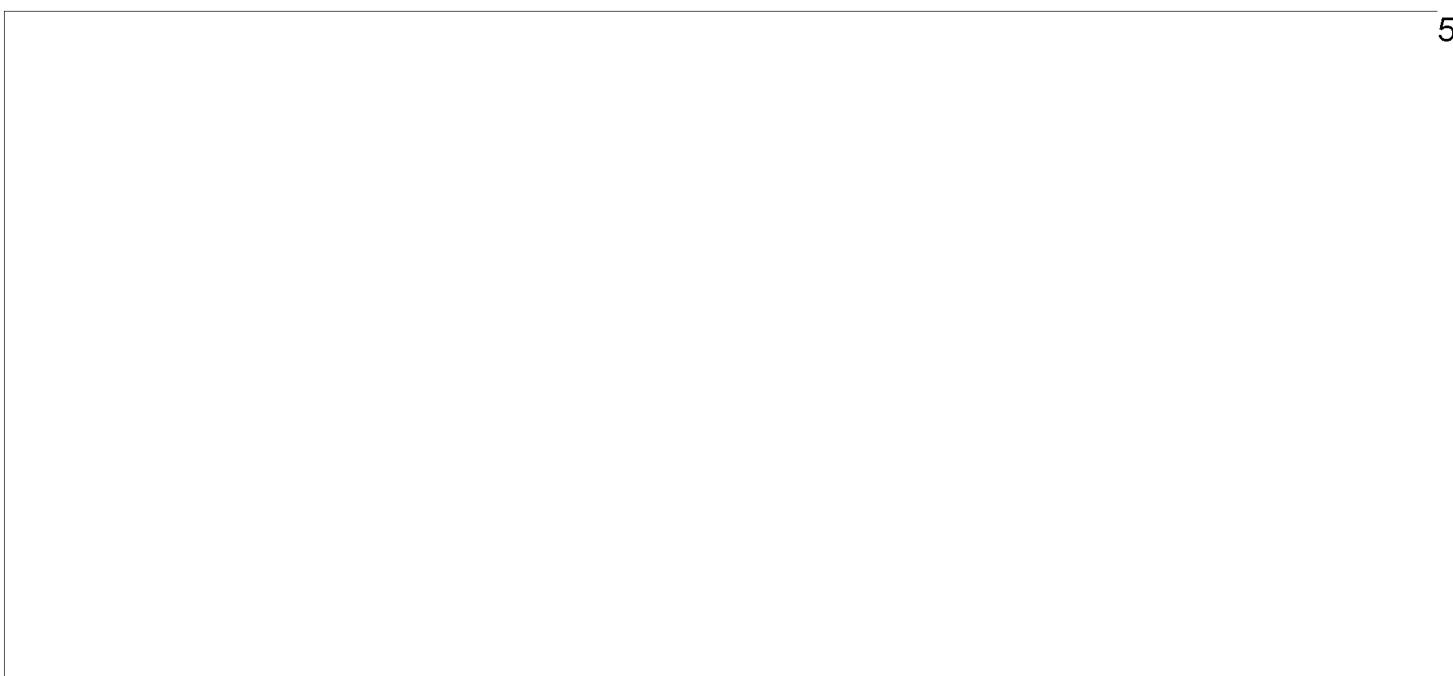
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They need to improve their military machine.

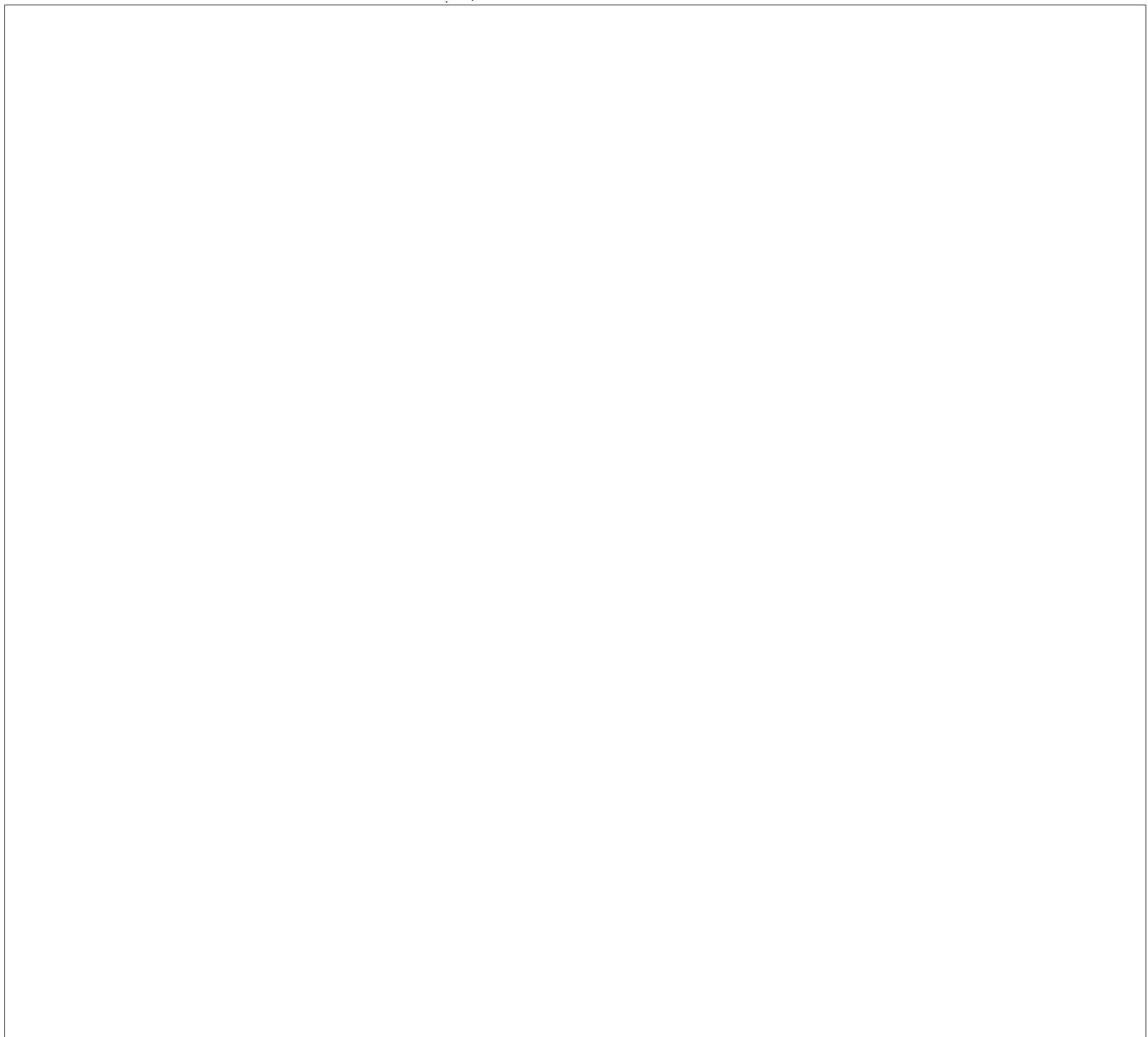
Chinese industry took a terrible buffeting from the follies of the Leap Forward. It still shows idle capacity, wasted manpower, and technological lags. Resources for investment are so scarce, however, that industry cannot be moved ahead as a whole. There is not even enough for heavy industry alone. Accordingly, competition for resources is fierce. The military-minded Mao always shows a marked preference for the war industries. In recent years he has turned to advanced weapons.

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the Chinese nuclear force will be taken most seriously by other nations of the Far East. Since the ultimate objective is to reach the US, Mao will surely press ahead on an intercontinental ballistic missile or a nuclear-powered missile submarine as fast as he can.

Until this hope becomes reality, Mao must rely on his large infantry force. Any war Mao fights must be a land war in or near China. Moreover, he has to cut his military doctrine to fit this cloth.

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So Mao's soldiers are taught that man is superior to imperialist weapons. A current slogan runs, "the best weapon is not the atom bomb but the thought of Mao Tse-tung."

Actually the Chinese leaders greatly fear US nuclear strike capability. This fear lies behind the deep caution they display. It leads them to avoid direct engagement with US forces and wherever possible to fight their Long War with the US through proxies like the Vietnamese Communists.

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They need to reinvigorate their people.

Mao and his circle face a number of serious morale problems at home. Once they had the support of virtually all functionaries, the armed forces, and the people at large, but since the Leap Forward that support has fallen away. Disappointed hopes lie all about. Peasants are sullen and apathetic. The intellectual is alienated. The lower ranks of the party and the army are beginning to wonder. The sense of purpose has been lost and the Chinese have begun to suspect that Mao, after all, may not have the mandate of heaven.

Mao and the party are still exacting compliance, but they have to lean much harder on the people to get it. Much of the party's energy is burned up in the effort. For example, the party has greatly increased the number of watchdogs spotted all through the armed forces and government bureaucracy to ensure that Mao's will is carried out. Mao has had experience with disgruntled generals. The last big challenge to him came in 1959 from a group around Defense Minister Peng Teh-huai.

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Mao still believes that it is possible to motivate and control people by exhortation. He has

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Strengths and Weaknesses of the Military Establishment

CHINA HAS

THE WORLD'S LARGEST STANDING ARMY, FOURTH LARGEST AIR FORCE, AND THE THIRD LARGEST SUBMARINE FLEET.

ARMY	AIR FORCE	NAVY
Men: 2.3 million	Men: 148,000	Men: 76,500
Tanks: 5,000	Jet fighters: 2,050	Submarines: 34
Artillery: 10,500	Jet light bombers: 270	Major surface vessels: 8
Antiaircraft guns: 3,500		

BUT - CHINA'S MILITARY HARDWARE IS OLD AND OBSOLESCENT BY WESTERN STANDARDS.

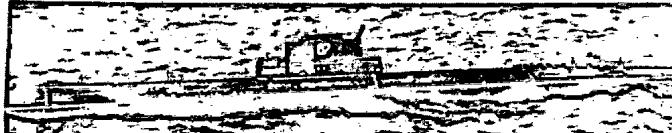
MIG-17 FRESCO

For example, nearly 85% of China's jet interceptors are of the old MIG-15/17 (Fogot/Fresco) variety, aircraft comparable to the US F-86 (Sabrejet)



Radius:	540 n.m.	Combat ceiling: 54,500 ft.
Speed:	545 knots	Span: 31 ft.
		Length: 38 ft.

"W"-Class



Displacement: 800 tons
Length: 249 feet
Surface range at 18-knot maximum speed: 2,800 NM

Submerged range at 13-knot max speed 13 NM
at 2.5-knot cruise speed 150 NM
Main Armament:
four bow 21" and
two stern 21" torpedo tubes

China's large submarine fleet is made up almost entirely of the old "W"-Class medium range torpedo attack submarine.

T-34

Over half of China's tank inventory is made up of the World War II- designed T-34 medium tank.



Weight:	35.2 short tons
Speed:	35 mph
Cruising range on roads:	186 miles
Main armament:	85mm tank gun M1944

recently launched another of the seemingly endless indoctrination drives. This one is backed up by a campaign to emulate two synthetic heroes; one a "rustproof screw" of the revolutionary machine, the second an "all-purpose screw." Both are said to have been simple soldiers who, so Peking's version goes, martyred themselves for the glory of Mao. They are presented as diligent readers of Mao's works, which made them frugal, diligent, selfless servants of the party. Returns on this sort of thing have been diminishing, and it is doubtful the leaders will get the success they so badly need at home through these tired devices and methods.

They feel besieged by foreign enemies.

If Mao's outlook at home is dim, it is scarcely brighter abroad. The Chinese have absorbed a painful series of setbacks lately in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Through stupidity and bad timing they have managed to turn sympathy into hostility. The border war with India alienated a sympathetic New Delhi. Bungling during last fall's Kashmir war soured the Pakistanis. The Chinese position in Indonesia has suffered greatly since the 30 September coup attempt. Japan is more wary and neighbors to the south more fearful. Peking's stock in the Afro-Asian world and in Latin America has fallen as a result of a series of arrogant efforts to force acceptance of Chinese positions. And even in the most radical part of the Communist world, the circle of loyal Chinese followers has been shrinking as more and more Communist leaders take exception to Chinese self-righteousness.

Just outside China's back door stands a great wall of Soviet hostility. The Chinese can no longer count on Moscow to honor its treaty commitment to China's defense.

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In December 1963 Chen Yi declared that Soviet assurances of defending China were of no value. Chou En-lai told [redacted] that the USSR

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would not assist China in the event of an American attack, nor would Moscow attempt to prevent such an attack. The Soviets have done nothing to reassure the Chinese.

Peering anxiously from Peking, the Chinese leaders now profess to see themselves surrounded by enemies and threatened by attack. As they formulate it, a cabal, led by the US and including the treacherous Soviets, the militaristic Japanese, the dependent British, and the running dog Indians, is tightening a ring around China. Although this view has paranoid elements, there is also a measure of truth in it. What Mao does not realize is that he has brought this state of affairs on himself.

Nevertheless, Mao has been in many tight corners before. He spent more than a decade in the caves of Yenan and emerged to destroy the Chinese Nationalists. He remains convinced that his policy will again triumph, because, as before, his enemies (capitalist and Communist) are soft, stupid, and lacking in staying power.

They have hopes in Vietnam.

In this time of adversity, the men in Peking place great importance on Vietnam. Besides a natural interest in the outcome of a war so close to the China mainland, they feel, as Chinese, that Vietnam is an area which rightfully should be under their influence. Although the war has brought added US power too close for real comfort, it is still a confrontation to Mao's liking. It is a war against the US being fought by proxies. Mao needs provide only military support and loud political backing.

Moreover, it offers a test case for Mao's theory on "liberation wars," that is, that small wars such as this can be fought and won without provoking a US nuclear response against either the local Communists or their larger sponsors. This idea is part of Mao's dispute with the Soviets. As Peking sees it, a military victory in Vietnam would deal a heavy blow to Mao's principal enemies, the hated Americans and the despised Russians.

For all of the war's importance to Mao, he is constrained in what he can do about the outcome by the weakness of his military machine and by his fear, however he may cloak it, of a US nuclear punch against China. He must, therefore, do all he can to keep the Vietnamese Communists in the fight until the moment comes when the US wearis of the struggle and gets out. His whole experience tells him that this will inevitably happen, if only the Communists persist long enough.

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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

THE PRESIDENT'S DAILY BRIEF

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24 FEBRUARY 1966

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DAILY BRIEF
24 FEBRUARY 1966

1. Ghana

There now seems to be no significant resistance to military elements who moved this morning to overthrow President Nkrumah. The public in Accra appears jubilant, and there are no reports of adverse public reaction elsewhere in the country. The insurgents have reportedly killed the army chief of staff and are detaining the navy and air force chiefs as well as all Nkrumah's civilian officials and party activists they can lay hands on.

A National Liberation Council, composed exclusively of military and police personnel, will direct the new regime. It is headed by General Ankrah--dismissed by Nkrumah last summer--but will probably be dominated by police commissioner Harlley and the two colonels who led the coup. Senior civil servants--reportedly anti-Communist--are to conduct the day-to-day business of government.

2. Indonesia

The student demonstrations today were probably the army's last chance to move against Sukarno. The military leaders again failed to take the plunge.

The student disturbances around the palace did not prevent investiture of Sukarno's new leftist-oriented cabinet, although most of the ministers had to come by helicopter. This humiliating start for the new cabinet did not daunt Sukarno, who will now probably want to take up where he left off. Extensive arrests of his opponents, restoration of friendly relations with Peking, stepped-up military activity against Malaysia, and attempts to blame all his troubles on the US are to be expected.

3. South Vietnam

There are an increasing number of reports that the Viet Cong are preparing for stepped-up political agitation in the urban areas of South Vietnam--particularly in and around Saigon. This information follows almost immediately the publication of an authoritative statement on this subject by the National Liberation Front. The article was noted in the Brief on Monday.

One of these late reports says that the Viet Cong will soon instigate mass demonstrations in Saigon to demand higher wages and an end to conscription. Another indicates that the enemy has plans to aggravate inflationary pressures by clamping down on the movement of goods to Saigon from the provinces. A third states that the Viet Cong are making preparations to infiltrate their followers at forthcoming Buddhist rallies in Da Nang to turn them into anti-American demonstrations.

In the capital area, this type of political and economic pressure is to be accompanied by intensified ambushes and attacks on the outskirts of the city.

4. Philippines

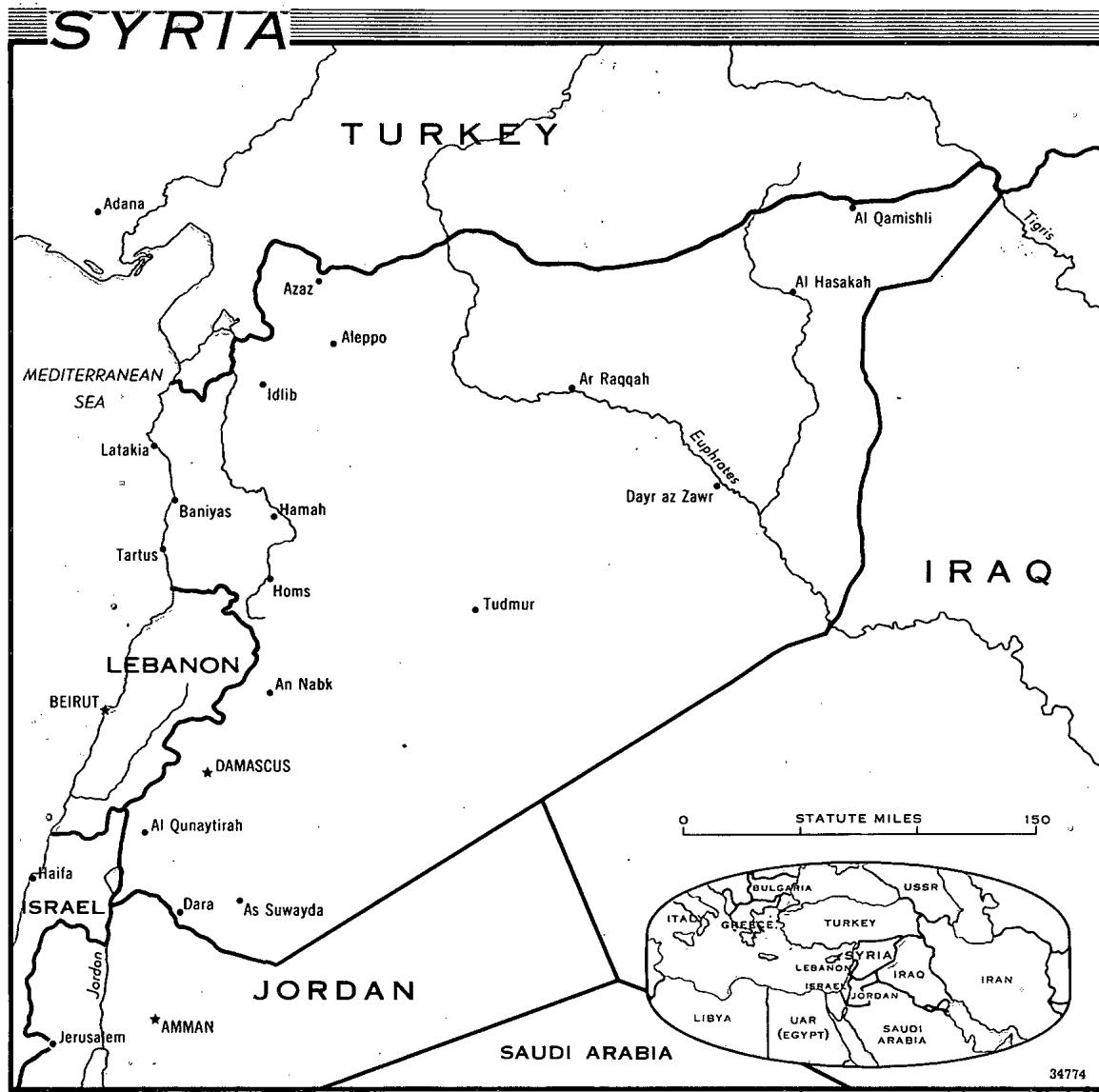
Support for sending a Philippine contingent to Vietnam is increasing. Diverse and influential groups representing veterans, labor, and students are publicly supporting the administration's bill, which the House is expected to bring up for public hearings on Monday.

5. Communist China

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6. Cuba

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7. Dominican Republic

Defense chief Perez y Perez and other leading military officials are urging the service chiefs to obey Garcia Godoy's order to step down. The army chief appears ready to comply, but air force chief de los Santos is being "most difficult," and last night the president cancelled a broadcast in which he had hoped to announce a solution to the civilian-military impasse.

8. Syria

The coup leaders appear to be consolidating their control throughout the country, although some opposition may be continuing in Aleppo. Key military units on the Israeli border not far from Damascus originally opposed to the coup, have made no move.

The 24-hour curfew in Damascus was eased this morning, and an "eerie quiet" continues. There has been no public announcement of the composition of the new government. (Map)

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9. Soviet Union

Cosmos 110,

[Redacted]
The high orbit will carry it through a radiation zone, and radiation study is probably a primary aim of the flight.

10. Uganda

Opposition to Premier Obote's take-over appears to be coalescing around Brigadier Opoloto, a moderate and the legal commander of the army. Fighting between forces loyal to him and those supporting Obote could break out at any moment.

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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

THE PRESIDENT'S DAILY BRIEF

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25 FEBRUARY 1966

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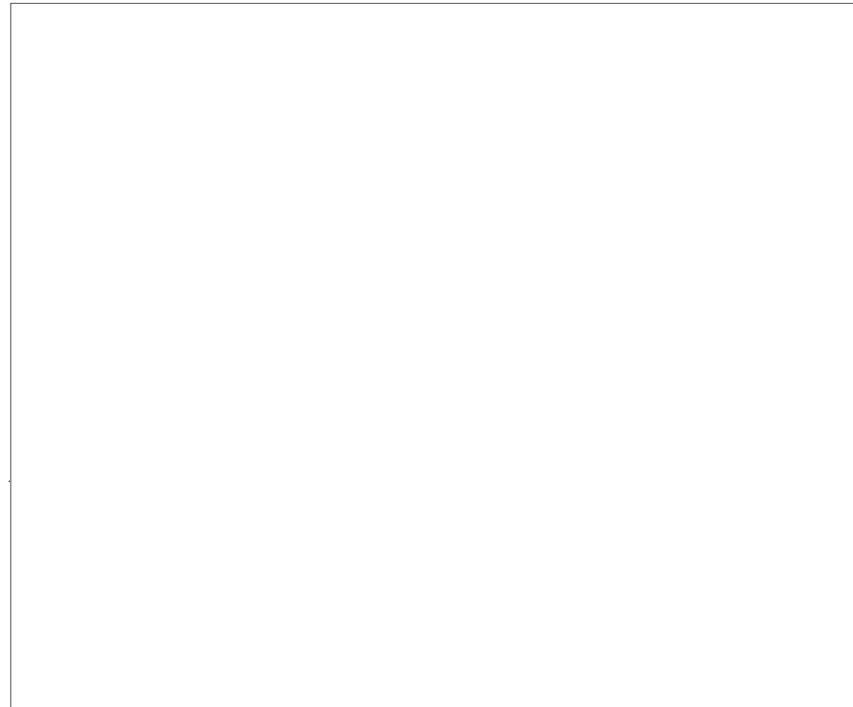
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DAILY BRIEF
25 FEBRUARY 1966

1. North Vietnam

We have further evidence of the increasing sophistication of North Vietnamese air defenses.

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2. Vietnam

Today Hanoi issued an official statement about Wednesday's contact between its chargé in Moscow and Prime Minister Wilson's special representative, Lord Chalfont. Hanoi seemed sensitive to Western press accounts of the meeting, and claimed that the chargé condemned British support for US policy and "unmasked the wicked schemes" of the US drive for negotiations.

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3. Indonesia

Sukarno is moving quickly to consolidate his gains. Today he banned the anti-Communist student confederation, the only group openly to challenge Monday's cabinet changes. The curfew in the capital was lengthened. Pro-Sukarno rallies are being mounted in the outlying provinces.

Djakarta remained tense today. There was an apparently spontaneous gesture of support for the students when an impressive number of homes and shops throughout the city flew their flags at half-mast during the funeral of one of the martyred students.

Sukarno may soon try to refurbish his own image and blacken the motives of his student opponents by publicly charging that the US was behind the anti-Communist demonstrations.

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4. Rhodesia

The effectiveness of British sanctions will be put to a hard test next month when Rhodesia begins auctioning this year's tobacco crop. The high-quality Rhodesian tobaccos normally provide about 30 percent of the country's foreign exchange earnings, and Salisbury is counting heavily on these earnings this year.

US officials in Salisbury have detected an air of optimism that the crop will be marketed,

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5. Ghana

The coup has been entirely successful, and there is no early prospect of any significant countermove. Members of the ruling National Liberation Council that was set up yesterday are all pro-Western. Soviet as well as Chinese influence is almost certain to subside considerably. Ambassador Williams expects, however, that the new leaders will probably seek to maintain a non-aligned public posture.

The ambassador points out that this coup, unlike some of the other recent ones in Africa, was not a power grab by the military. Effective authority in the ministries as well as in the regional and local governments was given to senior civil servants, not military or police officers.

The deposed Nkrumah, still a guest in Peking, has declared that he will be returning soon. This is most unlikely, but he will do all he can to stir up trouble. For the moment, this is likely to be little more than a propaganda effort. He is expected to join the rising Communist chorus that he was the victim of an "imperialist" plot.

6. Uruguay

The Communists plan a new strike offensive next month. [redacted]

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[redacted] action is to be timed to begin with the installation next Tuesday of Alberto Heber as president of Uruguay's governing national council. The Communists expect the mercurial Heber to react in a way that will permit them to increase their already considerable strength in the labor movement.

7. Dominican Republic

The army and air force chiefs continue under pressure to step down from their posts

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Minister of Interior Castillo has confirmed to Ambassador Bennett that last week's shake-up in local and provincial government posts was designed to satisfy presidential aspirant Balaguer's complaints that too many of these posts were in the hands of Bosch partisans. Castillo, who evidently convinced Garcia Godoy that Balaguer's point was justified, added that there will shortly be further changes with the same objective.

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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

THE PRESIDENT'S DAILY BRIEF



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26 FEBRUARY 1966

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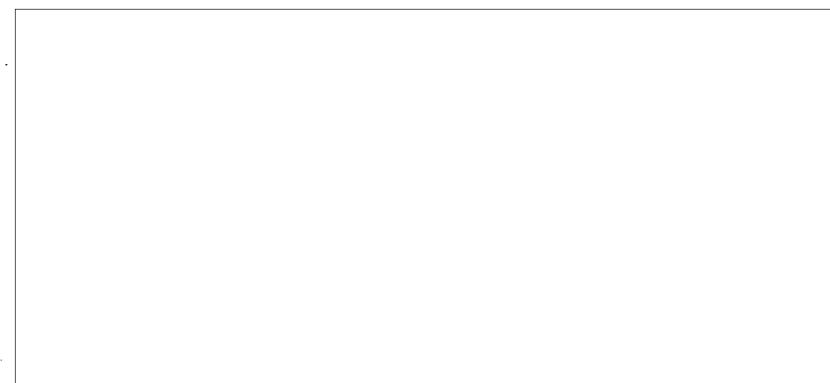
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DAILY BRIEF
26 FEBRUARY 1966

1. South Vietnam

The Saigon Embassy says that the South Vietnamese economic situation has reached the critical stage and notes that the Ky government so far has been unable to adopt the recovery measures discussed since December and also at Honolulu. One of the most disturbing factors is the black market currency rate, which has jumped about 30 percent over the past six months.

2. Indonesia



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3. Syria

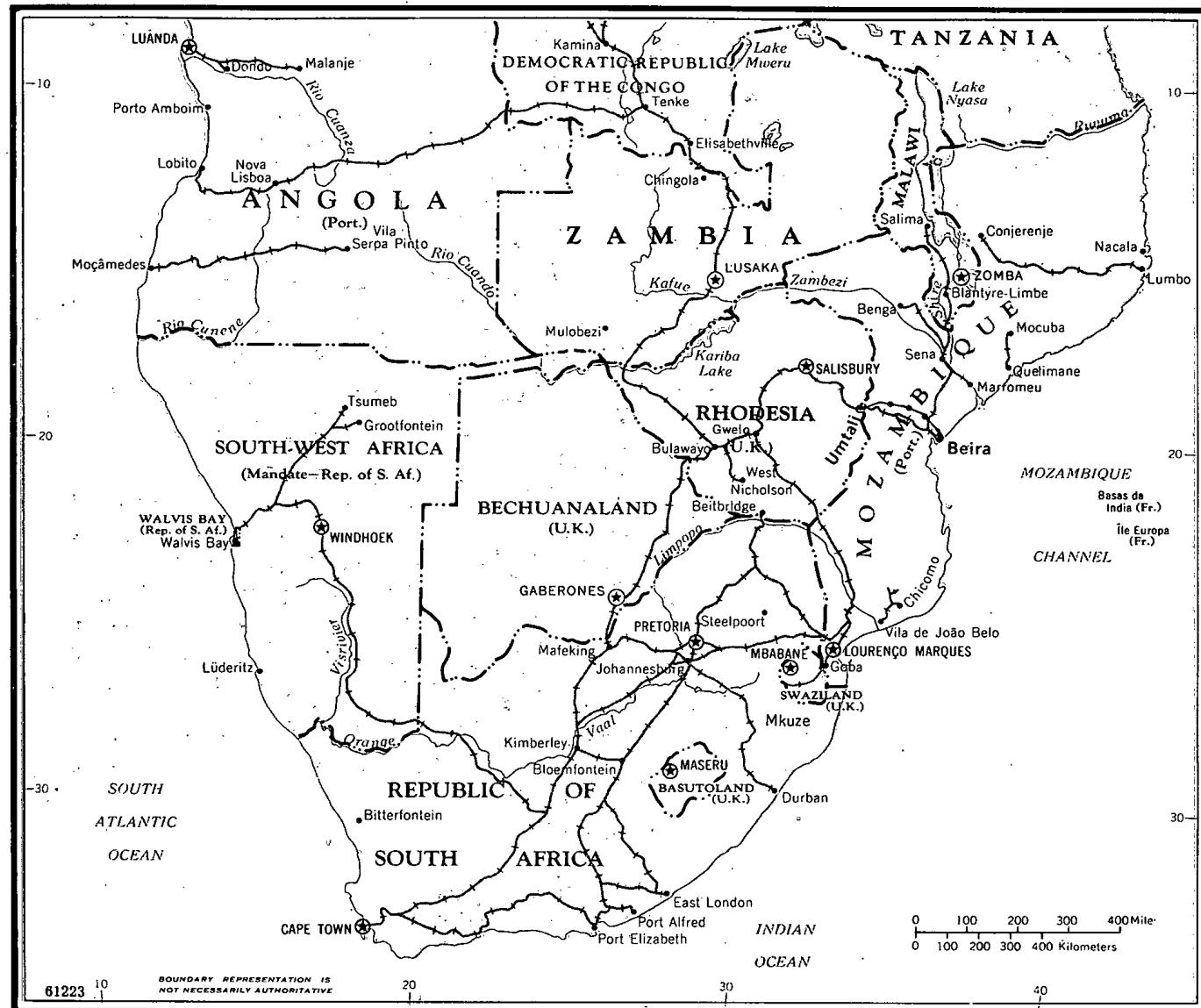
The leaders of Wednesday's coup have installed a government which promises to be no more effective or stable than its recent predecessors. It is headed by the same colorless wheel horses of the divided Baath party who were ousted last December.

4. Uganda

The chances of an early challenge to Prime Minister Obote's power grab last Tuesday seem to have faded. Brigadier Opoloto, the ousted army commander around whom opposition could have coalesced, has now publicly affirmed his loyalty to Obote. The prime minister has also sought to assure President Mutesa's followers that Mutesa's hereditary leadership of the country's most powerful tribe will not be threatened.

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RHODESIA



5. Rhodesia

The Smith regime may shortly achieve a major breakthrough over the oil embargo. The company which operates the pipeline through Mozambique may soon have to honor its commitment to pump oil from ships at Beira to Rhodesia's Umtali refinery (see map).

So far, Britain has managed to discourage deliveries of oil for Rhodesia to Beira, but [redacted] 50X1 [redacted] "pirate" oil companies are prepared 50X1 to defy the British. One tanker load could extend Rhodesia's oil stocks through mid-July.

6. Dominican Republic

Garcia Godoy is backing away from the compromise plan for solving the impasse over the army and air force chiefs. He told Ambassador Bunker late yesterday that his soundings had indicated that implementation of the plan might provoke further agitation and disorder.

There was, in fact, growing tension in Santo Domingo yesterday as word of the compromise formula got around. [redacted] 50X1 [redacted] the strike machinery was 50X1 being cranked up again to protest the planned "promotion" of the two chiefs to staff positions, even though those positions would carry no command responsibilities.

Garcia Godoy evidently now plans another effort to effect the retirement of the two chiefs. His backdown on the compromise plan, however, will make it harder for him to obtain the necessary backing from the defense minister and other ranking officers.

7. Guatemala

The national elections are still set for a week from tomorrow. The atmosphere seems relatively calm, but both the rightist and the moderate leftist opposition groups are hammering away on the theme that the government intends to rig the vote in favor of its own lackluster candidate. No matter how the election comes out, it is almost certain to set the stage for a new period of political tension.

Communists and other extremists expect to capitalize on the situation by creating incidents in the wake of the elections.

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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

THE PRESIDENT'S DAILY BRIEF

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28 FEBRUARY 1966

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23

DAILY BRIEF
28 FEBRUARY 1966

1. Ghana



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2. Africa

A squabble has developed at the meeting of the Organization of African Unity over Ghanaian credentials. The radicals want to seat a representative of Nkrumah who may, however, defect before reaching Addis Ababa. There is opposition to this, and the end result may be that no one will be recognized.

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MISSILE ASSEMBLY BUILDING

TRANSPORTER ROUTE

"COMPLEX J, TYURATAM"

LAUNCH PADS

61278

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3. Soviet Union

Satellite photography, [redacted]
[redacted] provided high-quality coverage of the Tyuratam missile test center.

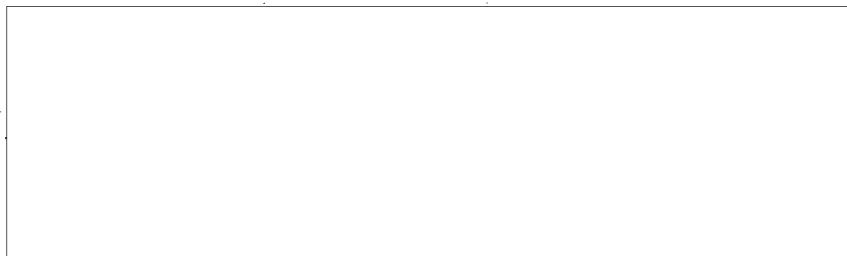
The photography showed work to be continuing on two new launch pads at Complex J (see photo). This is an immense project. The transporter route between the missile assembly building and the nearest launch pad is over two miles. One of these pads, designed for very large boosters, should be ready early next year. We will examine the implications of this for the Soviet space program in an Annex later in the week.

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**4. Soviet Union**

The two Venus probes launched last November will pass close to target in the next few days. Moscow says that they are equipped to measure temperature, cloud cover, radiation, atmospheric conditions, and other Venusian features. One of them may have a camera aboard.

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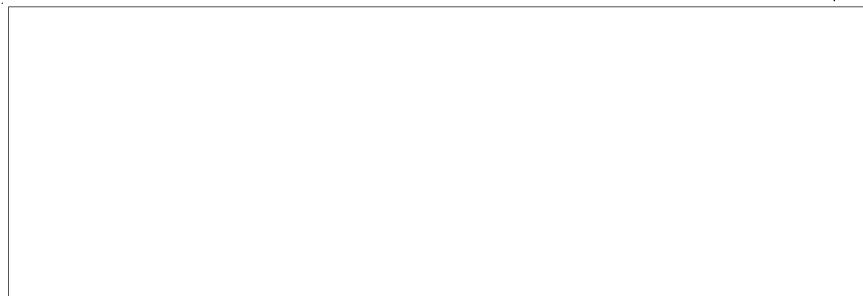
**5. Communist China**

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6. North Vietnam

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7. Philippines

The Marcos administration says it still plans to recognize Malaysia tomorrow despite heavy-handed Indonesian attempts to force a change of mind. The Indonesians have threatened to break relations with Manila if the step is taken.

8. Dominican Republic

Bosch went on the air this afternoon with a bitter denunciation of Garcia Godoy for having led the people astray about sending the military chiefs abroad. Bosch hinted again at an election boycott, but he made no call for specific leftist action now. Garcia Godoy apparently is still thinking over Bunker's advice that the president go before the people with a forceful statement of his side of the case.

9. Yemen

Egyptian ground and air forces have been thrown into action against a group of Yemeni royalist tribes. The fighting is still localized, but other tribes may be drawn in, thus greatly complicating the efforts of Faysal and Nasir to re-open a dialogue between republicans and royalists.

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TOP SECRET

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