

The President's Daily Brief

~~Top Secret~~ 1 May 1968



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THE PRESIDENT'S
DAILY BRIEF
1 MAY 1968

1. Vietnam

Thieu still is not sure how much support he can muster for a move to make Tran Van Huong prime minister. He implied as much to Ambassador Bunker yesterday when he said structural and "possibly" personnel changes would be made in the cabinet when the National Assembly passes the mobilization law. Thieu expects this to be done about 10 May. Ky is the leading holdout to Huong's appointment.

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Viet Cong communications continue to indicate preparations for a wide-spread offensive.

2. Korea

North Korean terrorists struck in downtown Seoul last night. A hand grenade was thrown into a building near the capitol wounding several civilians; two unexploded grenades were found elsewhere in the city. The government has increased security measures.

The South Koreans also report a clash with a North Korean patrol south of the Demilitarized Zone early this morning.

3. Cuba

Cuba's foreign exchange position is going to deteriorate this year because sales of sugar to Free World countries are lagging. Production is down and the Cubans are trying to meet their sugar commitments to Communist countries. Right now it is difficult to say just how badly the Cubans will be hurt.

4. Communist World

If the preparatory meeting in Budapest was any indication of things to come, the Soviets must look forward with foreboding to the world Communist conference in November. One delegate said Vietnam was the only common cause at Budapest.

The Czechs and East Germans were at each other's throats, and the Russians barely kept the Czechs from walking out. Only seven of the 14 ruling Communist parties showed up; Moscow found it necessary to list the parties of Martinique, Puerto Rico, and obscure African states in order to reach a respectable count of attendees.

5. Poland

The power struggle goes on. Gomulka seems to have taken round one

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The warring camps center around secret police chief Moczar and provincial party leader Gierek. Their support is not clearly defined but generally comes from younger party men anxious to get power away from Gomulka's old guard.

6. Soviet Union

Soviet space support ships remain in the Indian Ocean. This suggests the Soviets will try another circumlunar mission when a lunar "window" opens again around 19-20 May.

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7. Soviet Union -
Middle East

Moscow is not planning any new UN
initiatives on behalf of the Arabs.

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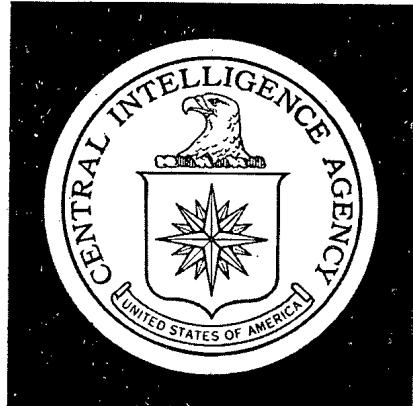
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FOR THE PRESIDENT'S EYES ONLY

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

Top Secret
16

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1 May 1968

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

1 May 1968

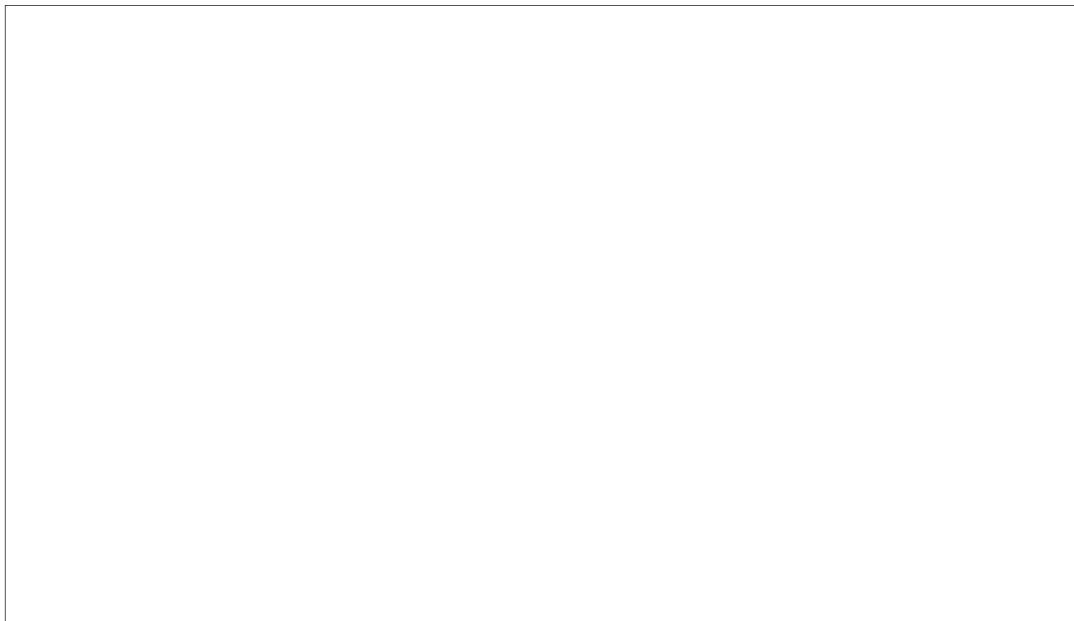
I. NOTES ON THE SITUATION

More Hanoi Propaganda on Site: Yesterday's principal propaganda commentary on the problem of a site for talks was a Nhan Dan editorial broadcast in English over Hanoi Radio's International Service. Like all of the commentary of the past two weeks, it insisted that the US pick up the option on either Phnom Penh or Warsaw. It criticized William Bundy's 28 April statement and Secretary Clifford's request for a reasonable interpretation of "anywhere any time." Hanoi has never proposed anything unreasonable--such as the North Pole--said the newspaper. The US has recently used Phnom Penh for high-level consultations with Cambodia, and the US has an embassy and adequate communications in Warsaw. The newspaper concluded that the US attitude was not serious and its actions were dishonest.

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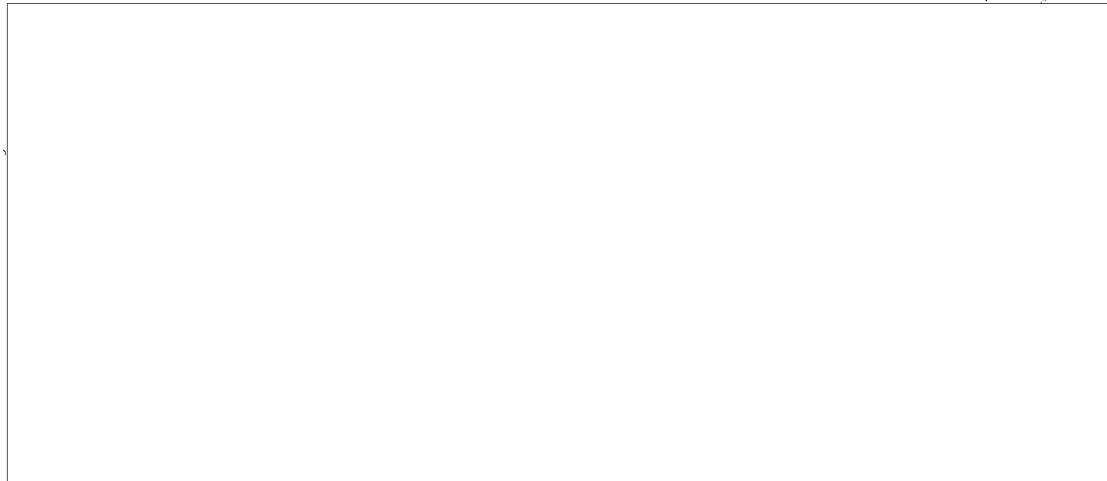


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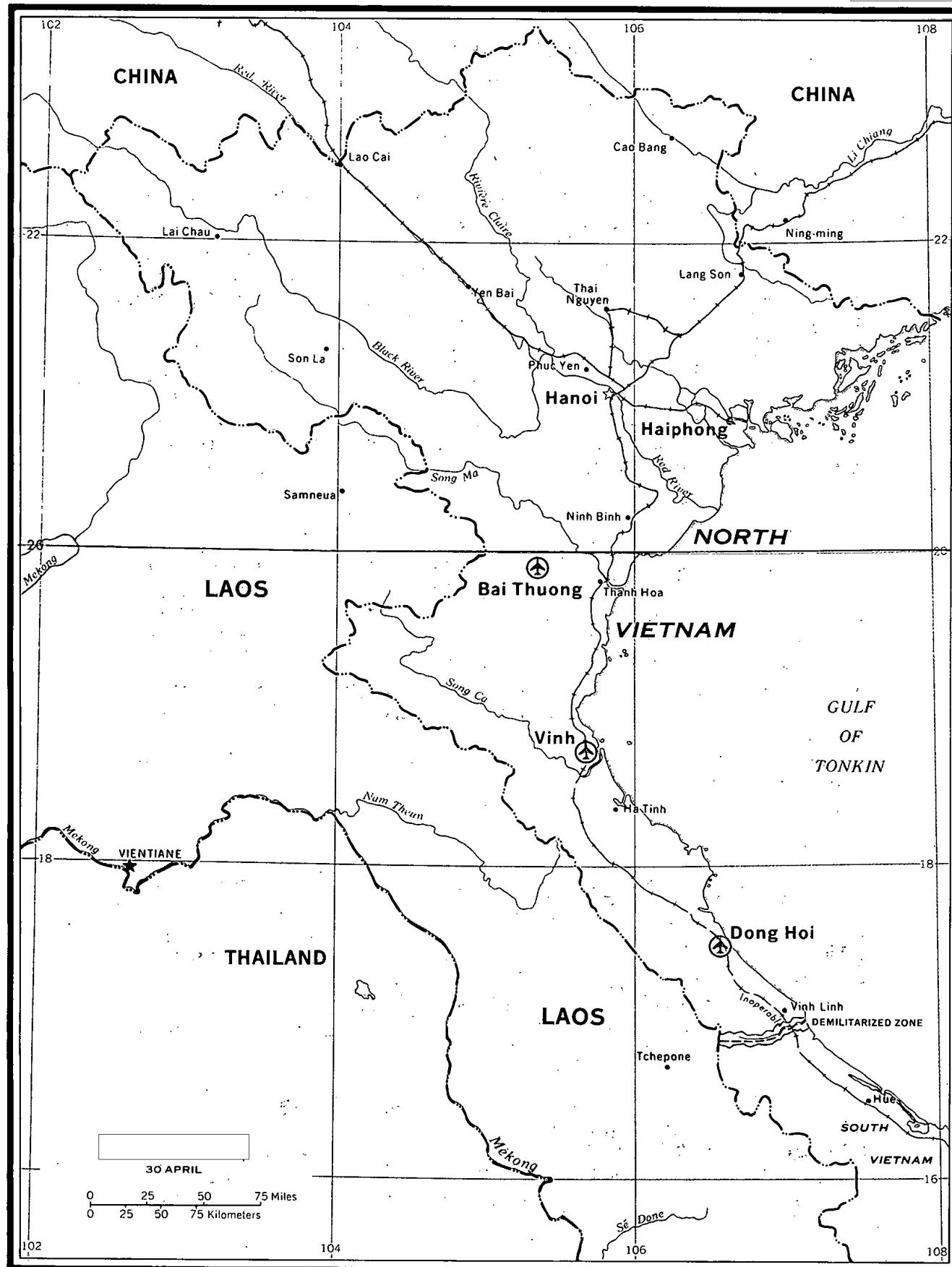
The Order of Lenin: Moscow is apparently planning to confer the Order of Lenin on the Liberation Front's lady commander, Nguyen Thi Dinh. She is deputy commander of the Liberation Army in South Vietnam and a major publicity prop for the Front at international conferences. Her present command appears to be largely honorary, but she probably was an active guerrilla fighter in the past. She is probably the first Viet Cong to be singled out for such an international award.

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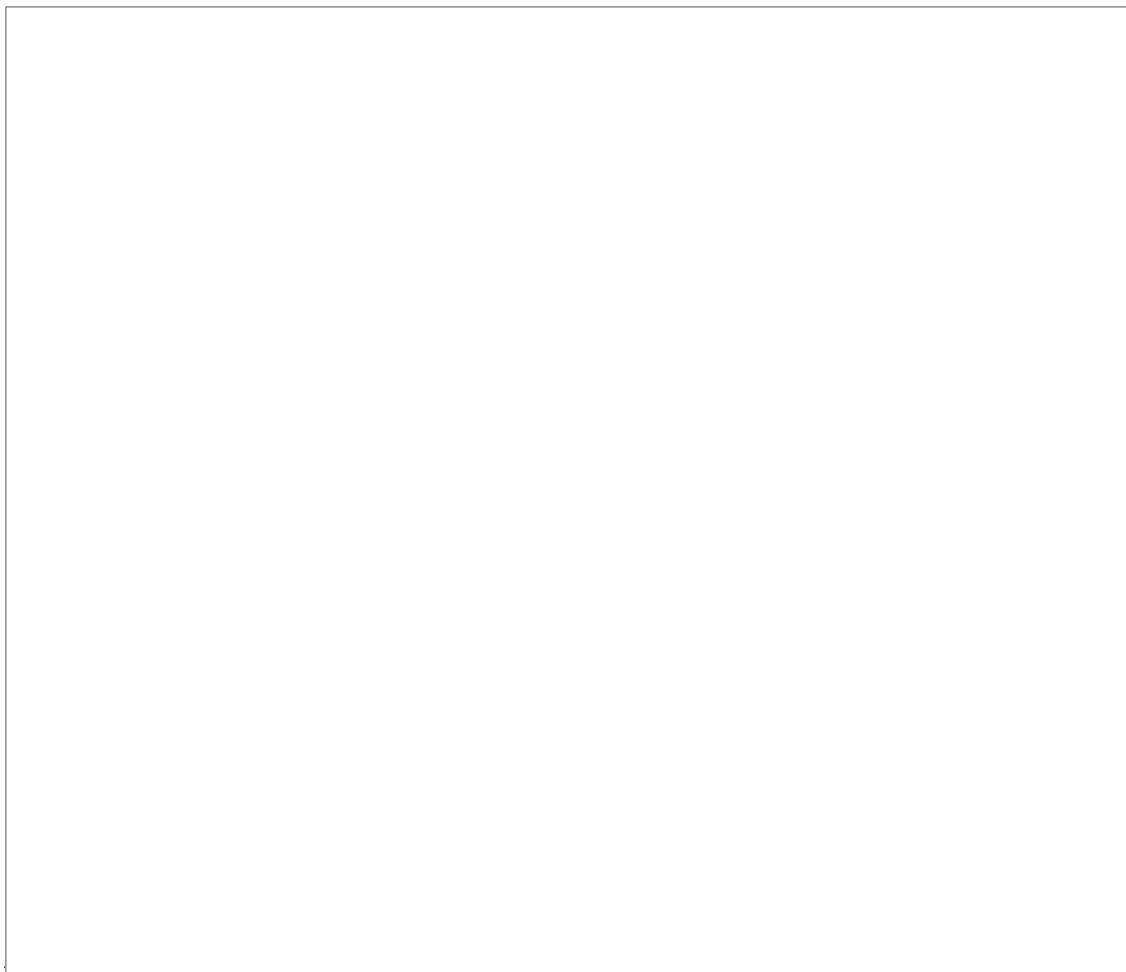


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Resumption of MIG Activity in Southern North Vietnam: Signals intelligence shows that three or four North Vietnamese MIG fighter-interceptors flew to the area of Vinh on 28 April. These southward flights--the first by MIGs to North Vietnam's pan-handle region in six weeks--involved one or two MIG-17s and two MIG-21s. The movement coincides with an increase in fighter aircraft training and may signal attempts by North Vietnamese MIGs to engage US aircraft south of the 20th parallel. The MIG-21s were apparently piloted by two of North Vietnam's most proficient and experienced airmen.

The present location and status of these aircraft is unknown. They could still be on the ground in the Vinh area. Recent aerial photographs show that the Vinh airfield, like the nearby one at Bai Thuong, includes an undamaged earthen strip of sufficient length to support MIG aircraft.

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

Attack on President Johnson: The principal Hanoi daily, Nhan Dan, issued a blistering personal attack on President Johnson in its edition of 30 April. It called his administration a "declining regime" and a "falling royal court" which was being deserted en masse by aides in all fields. The commentary was keyed to Ambassador Goldberg's recent resignation but went much further back. Douglas Dillon, John Connor, Robert McNamara, Lawrence O'Brien, and Bill Moyers were specifically named. The paper also made a list of what it called "prominent figures" who had served President Johnson with their "best efforts" only to see their political careers "end pitifully." This group included individuals associated with Vietnam policy--Henry Cabot Lodge, Maxwell Taylor, McNamara, and General Westmoreland.

The newspaper went on to impune the President's motives in his speech of 31 March. While he aspired to be another Lincoln or another Roosevelt, said the journal, his pursuit of militarist policies in Vietnam would give him a place in history only in the company of the "American capitalists." In describing his decision not to seek re-election, the Hanoi press said that undoubtedly it was a very painful decision but that it had failed to take him out of his "isolation at home and abroad."

The broadcast referred briefly to Vice President Humphrey, saying only that he "wants to be a successor to Johnson and a defender of all his policies of the more than four past years."

The diatribe was broadcast over Hanoi Radio's International Service in English and is one of the strongest personal attacks on the US President in many months.

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The President's Daily Brief

~~Top Secret~~ 2 May 1968



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THE PRESIDENT'S
DAILY BRIEF
2 MAY 1968

Gulf of Tonkin

LATE ITEM

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THE PRESIDENT'S
DAILY BRIEF
2 MAY 1968

1. South Vietnam

The National Liberation Front is trying to line up some reputable Catholics for the new Alliance of National, Democratic, and Peace Forces--the organization which the Communists evidently intend ultimately to use as part of the "coalition government" they have in mind for the South.

2. South Korea

Security efforts are being speeded up in the wake of Tuesday night's terrorist bombings in Seoul. The defense minister, referring to the "growing threat" from the North, announced that he expects larger terrorist raids.

The Pak government will surely get all the mileage it can out of the latest incidents in an attempt to silence opposition criticism of pending new security legislation.

3. Middle East

The big Israeli parade in Jerusalem got under way on schedule at about 4:00 AM, Washington time. So far, we have heard of no serious incidents. Jerusalem itself is under such tight security wraps that it is hard to see how any trouble could develop there. The Arabs everywhere, however, are so enraged at the provocative Israeli action that outbreaks of violence could easily be touched off at any of a number of places.

Amman is particularly vulnerable, especially if the well-armed Arab terrorist groups have slipped into the city. Also, border incidents along the Jordan River have been on the up-swing in recent days and may well get worse.

4. Philippines

President Marcos is in a bad slump, politically [redacted] He remains

[redacted] preoccupied by the six-week-old scandal involving the secret training camp for anti-Malaysian guerrillas on Corregidor. He feels he has already used up about all his political capital in an effort just to stem the continuing erosion of his influence on the home front.

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The President is likely eventually to regain his old fire, but in the meantime the administration is close to paralysis. The measure to extend financing for the Filipino civic action team in Vietnam is one temporary casualty.

5. Soviet Union

May Day in Moscow was uninspiring. The speeches were dull and no new weapons were shown in the parade.

6. Poland

The country's most eminent actress, Ida Kaminska, tells Ambassador Gronouski that she and her family want to emigrate to the US. The world renowned 69-year-old star, who is a Jew, explained frankly that the government's anti-Semitic campaign prompted her decision.

The ambassador is preparing for a flood of similar requests from other talented and able Polish Jews.

7. Panama

General Vallarino laid it on the line on Monday to a couple of Arias supporters who were pleading for National Guard neutrality in the 12 May elections. Arias will not be permitted to win, he said [redacted]

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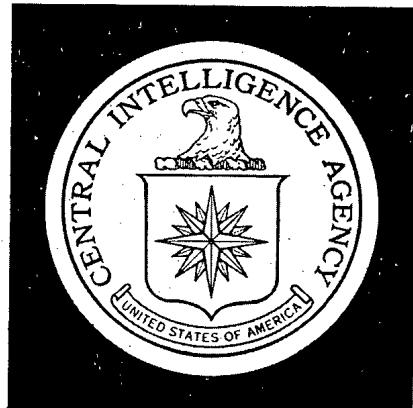
8. Chile

President Frei is about to be faced with a new upsurge of strikes for higher wages. Some government workers--postal and telegraph employees and teachers--have already been on strike for more than a month. The Communists are now promoting a series of 24-hour industry-by-industry walkouts for the coming weeks. The idea is to pressure congress to modify a pending wage bill.

Even military personnel are agitating for more pay--which raises doubt about how effective they will be if ordered to counter the labor agitation.

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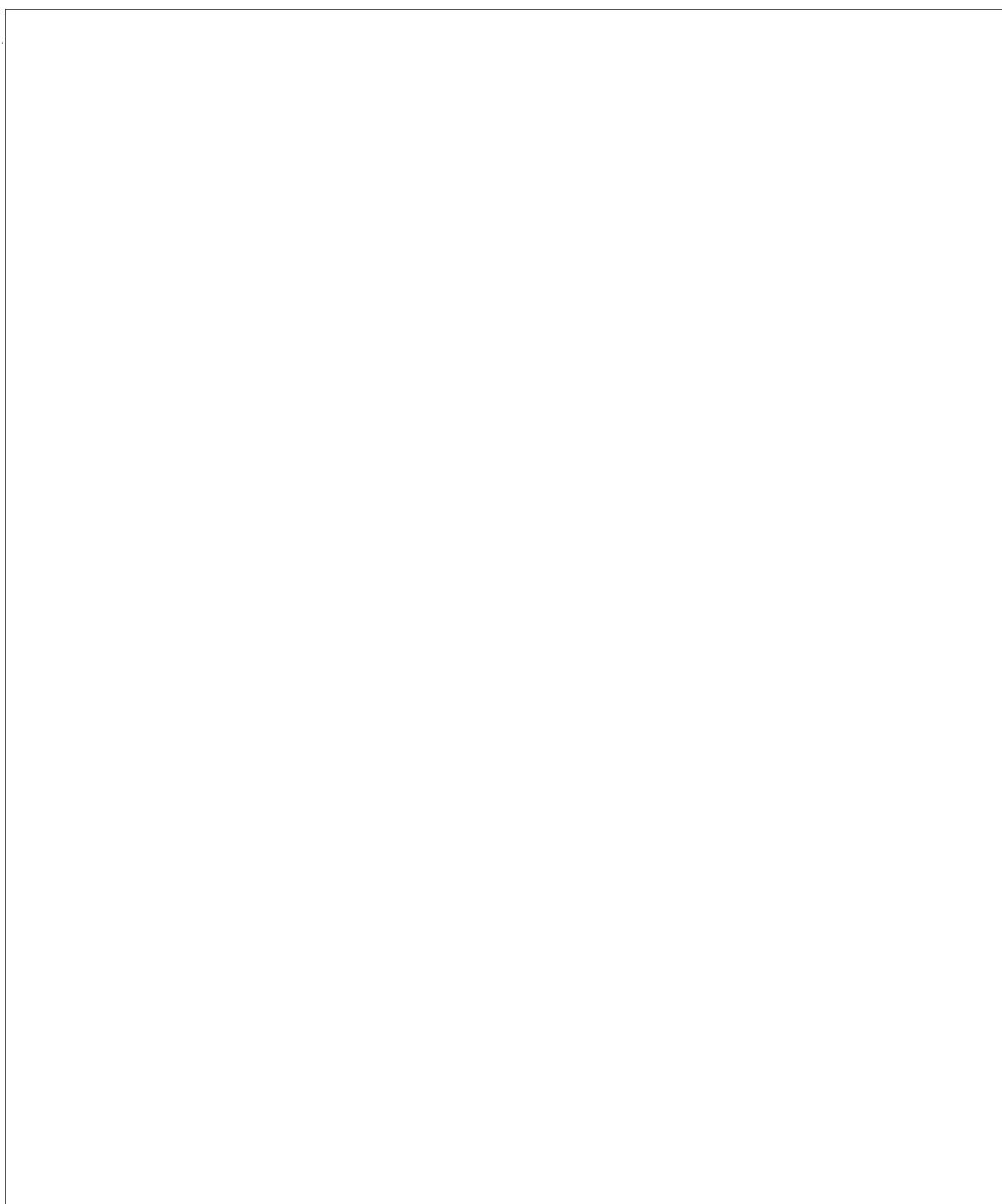
2 May 1968

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

2 May 1968

I. NOTES ON THE SITUATION

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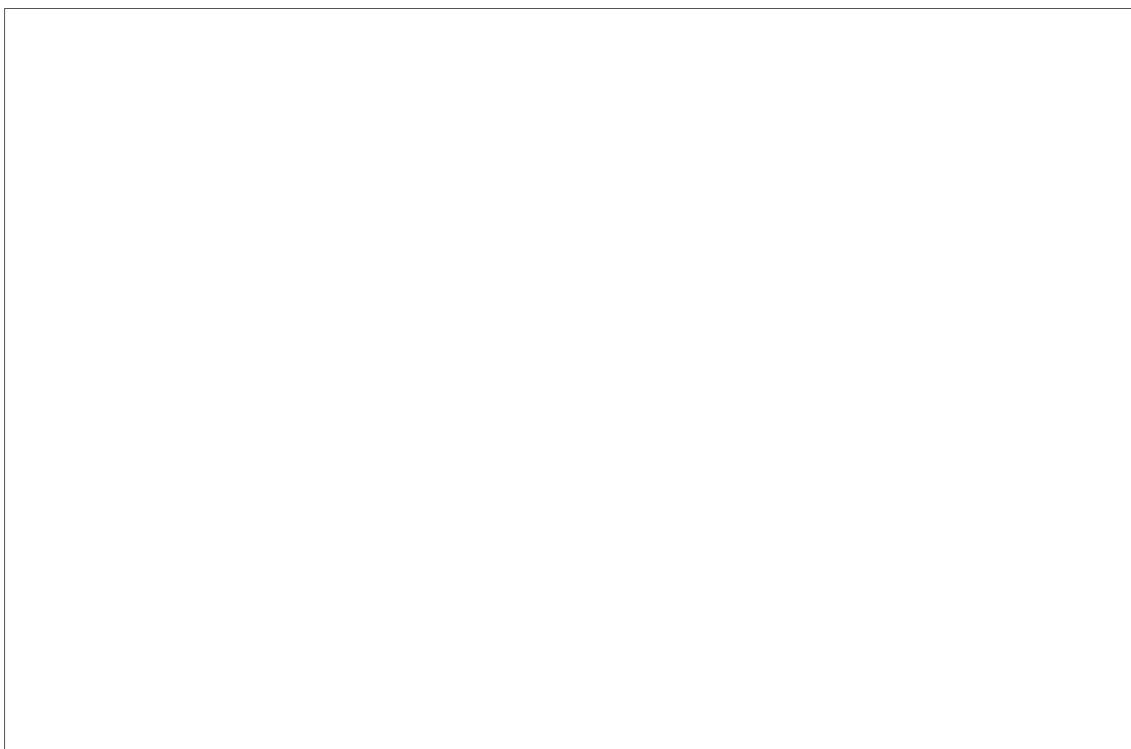


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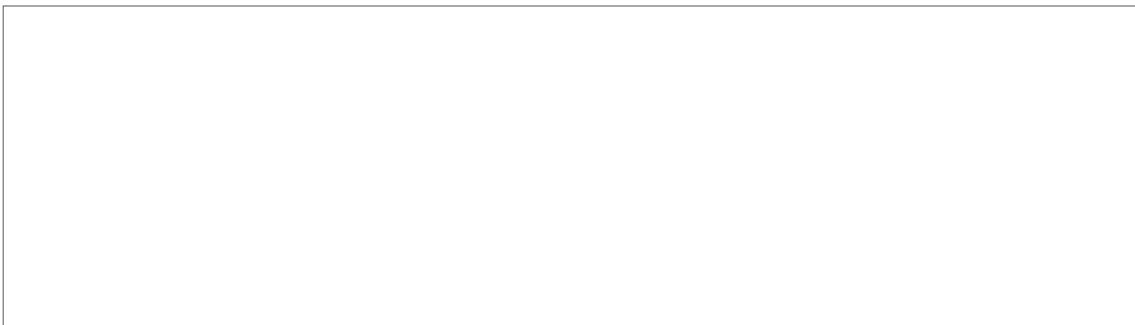


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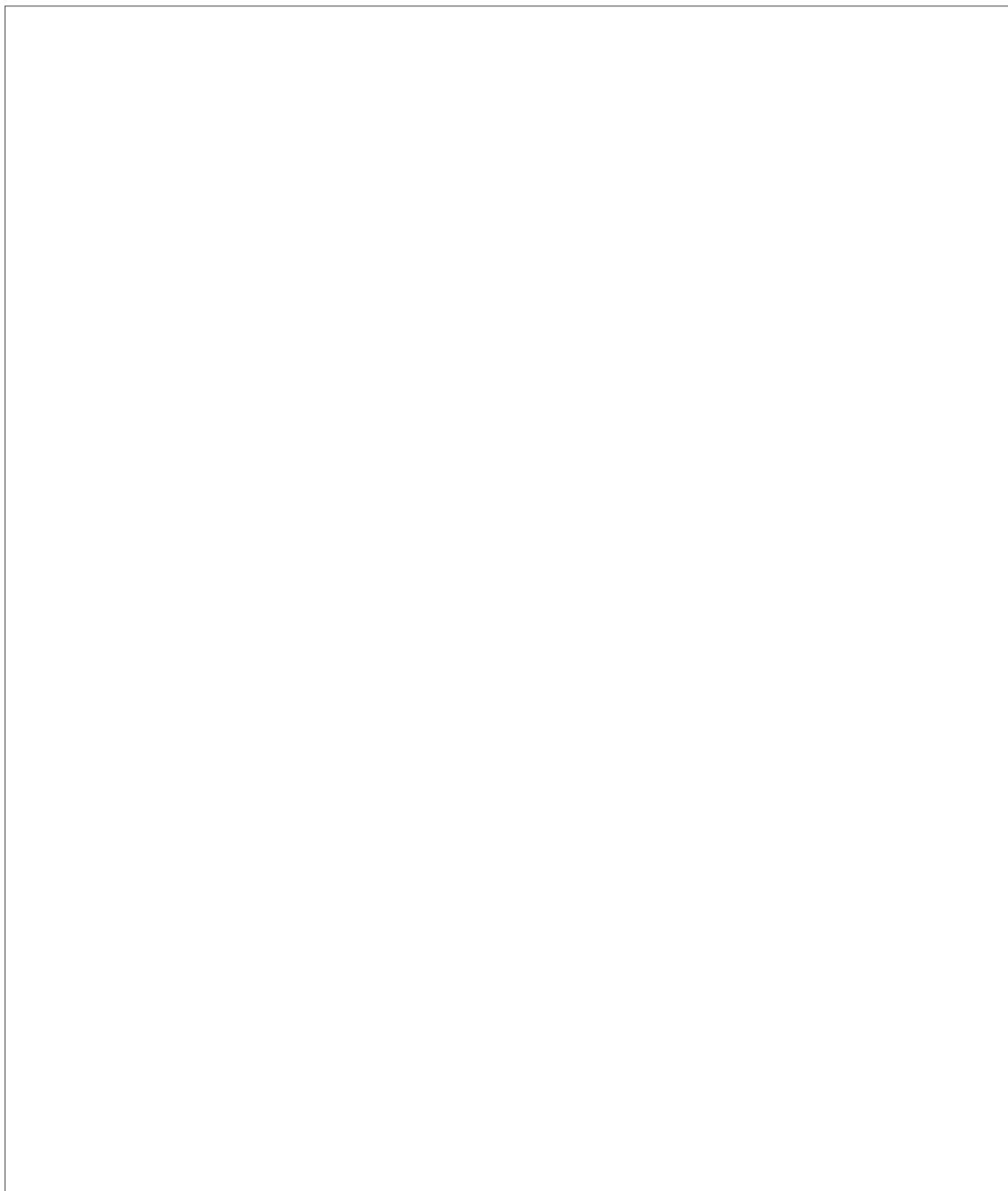
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Comments by Dobrynin: Ambassador Dobrynin told Deputy Under Secretary Bohlen the other day that the North Vietnamese had been so confident that Warsaw would be acceptable to the US that they had even sent to the Polish Government the list of the delegation they were prepared to send to the first meeting. Bohlen asked Dobrynin what was the name of their chief delegate, and he replied that it was a "three-barreled" Vietnamese name which he could not remember.

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Chinese Delegation in Hanoi: A Chinese delegation was in Hanoi last week to discuss the question of North Vietnamese talks with the US.]

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Ambassador Sullivan reports also hearing a second-hand report from a Soviet officer that Hanoi was making an effort to "mend fences" with Peking on the matter of negotiations and that as of 17 April the North Vietnamese were talking to the Chinese at an unspecified location.

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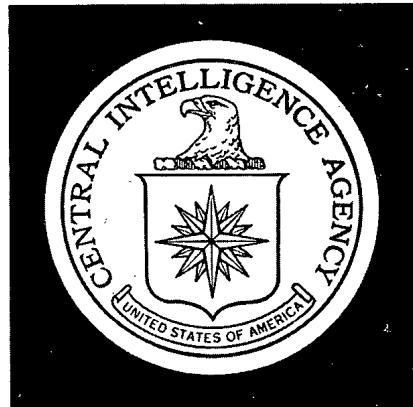
May Day Celebrations: Virtually the entire North Vietnamese leadership turned out for May Day celebrations, according to Hanoi Radio (International Service in English), even "healthy and smiling" Ho Chi Minh. The only Politburo members absent were Pham Hung (whom a high-level Viet Cong defector has recently told us is directing the war in the South), party organizer Le Duc Tho, and government economic expert Le Thanh Nghi. The speeches were routine, with trade union leader Huong Quoc Viet delivering the main speech.

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

There is nothing significant to report.

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The President's Daily Brief

~~Top Secret~~ 3 May 1968



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THE PRESIDENT'S
DAILY BRIEF
3 MAY 1968

1. South Vietnam

In what may be the prelude to more concerted action in the Saigon area, Viet Cong terrorists set off a large explosion in the heart of the capital early this morning. Casualties were light but damage was heavy to Saigon University facilities adjacent to the primary target--the US - South Vietnamese television station.

2. North Vietnam

Hanoi's efforts to beef up its military forces in South Vietnam accelerated in April.

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Premier Pham Van Dong may have headed the North Vietnamese delegation to Moscow late last month.

3. Communist China

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4. Communist China

The leadership turned out in near-record numbers for the May Day rally in Peking, but the big show of unity was mostly show. Actually, the political conflict at the center continues essentially unchecked, and in some areas violence is on the rise again. Significant armed fighting has occurred in at least five provinces during the past week, and there has been an upturn in other areas as well.

5. Pakistan

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6. France

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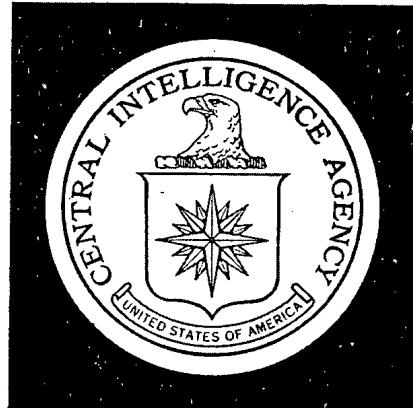
7. Laos

We see a number of signs that the Communists intend to continue their current offensive indefinitely.]

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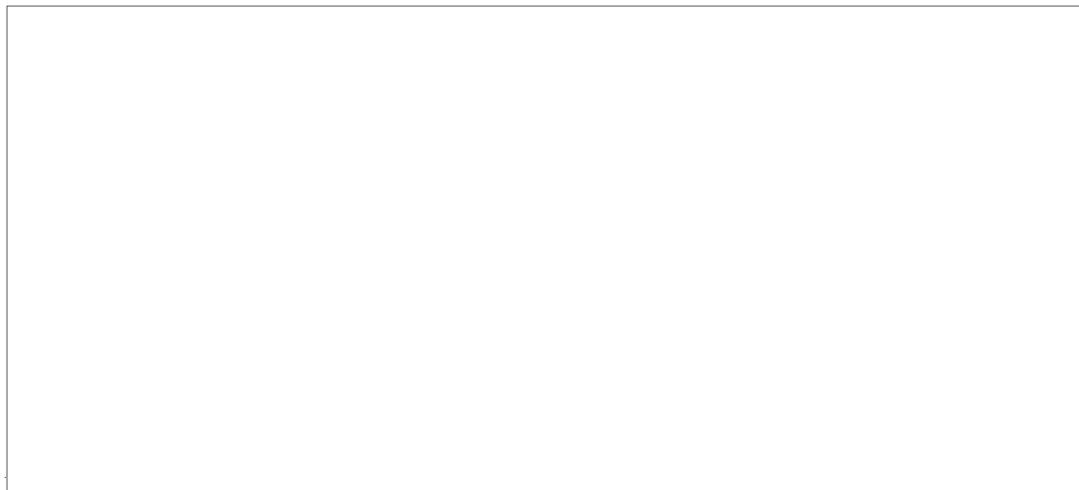
3 May 1968

I. NOTES ON THE SITUATION

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US Travelers: Three US "peace partisans"--writers Susan Sontag and Andy Kopkind, and Robert Greenblatt--are now in Vientiane. They hope to go to Hanoi Friday.

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Kopkind told Ambassador Sullivan he hoped to do a "Letter from Hanoi" for the New Yorker. He said the three travelers had no plans that he knew of to get involved in the release of US prisoners. But he did agree to talk to some of the prisoners and to try to get them released.

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Swedish Paper Predicts Liberation Front to Open Office: The story that the Liberation Front will be permitted to open an office in Stockholm has appeared once again in the Swedish media. This time the story appears in a newspaper which often reflects the views of the ruling party. The Swedish radio had said earlier that the Front's office would open this summer.

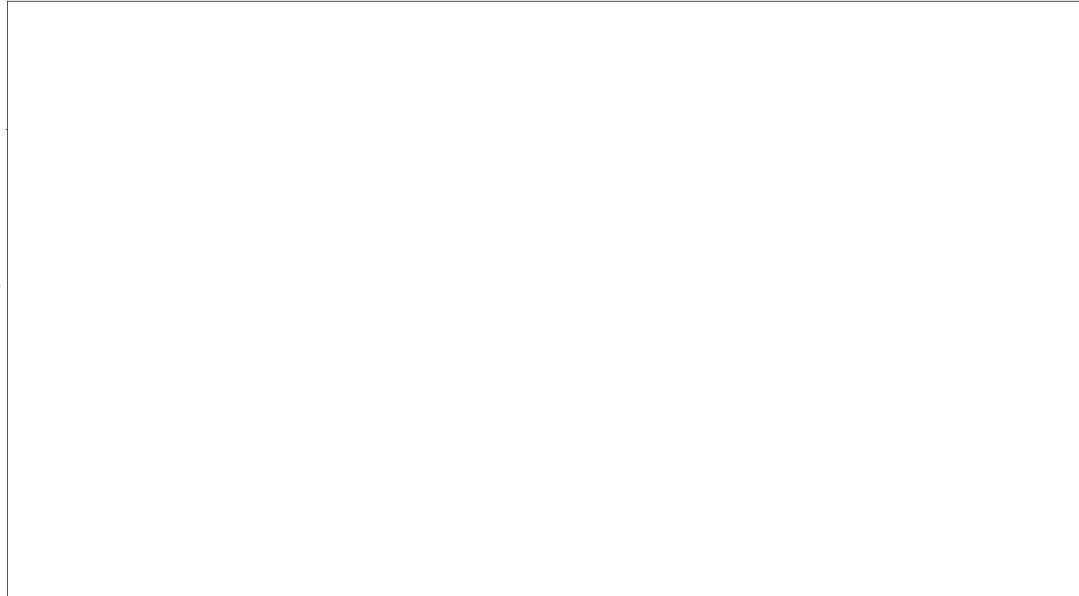
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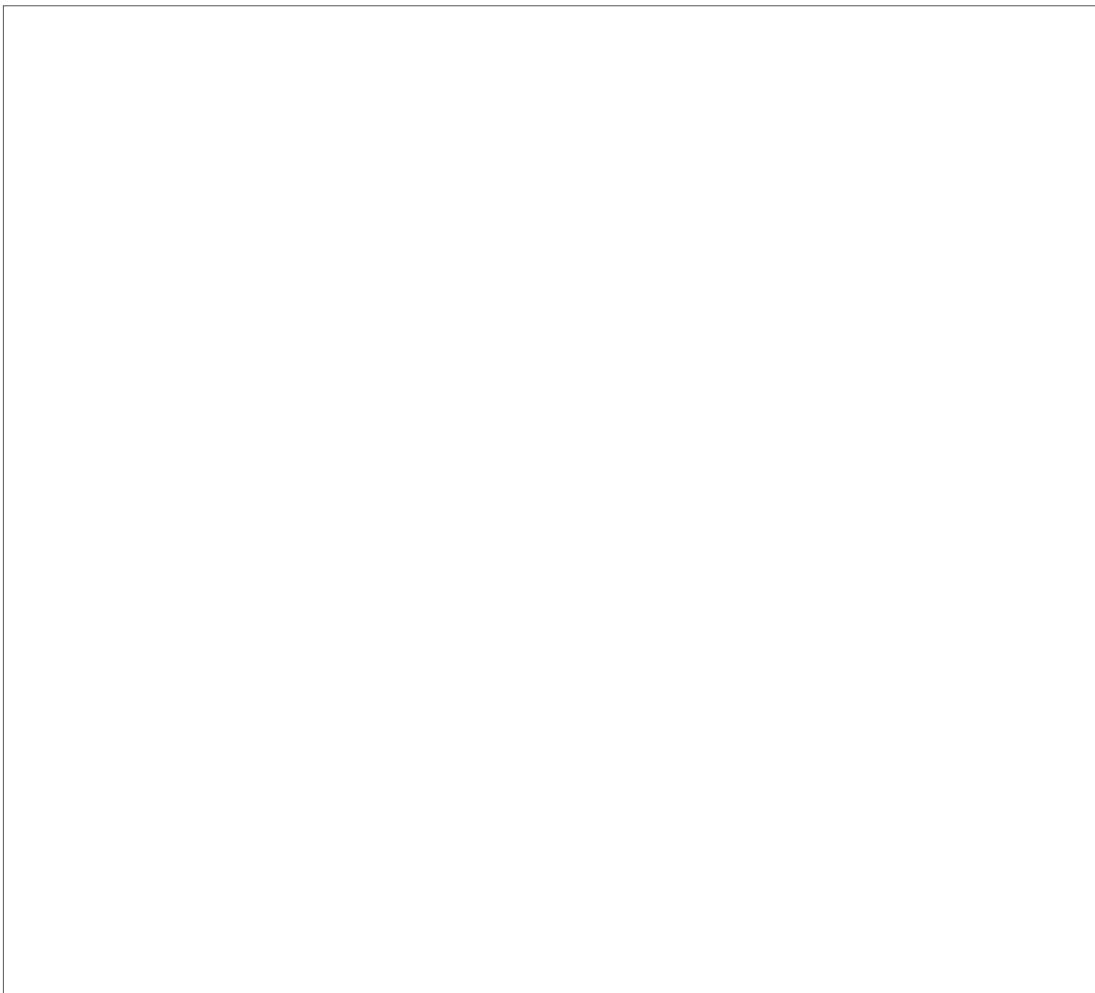
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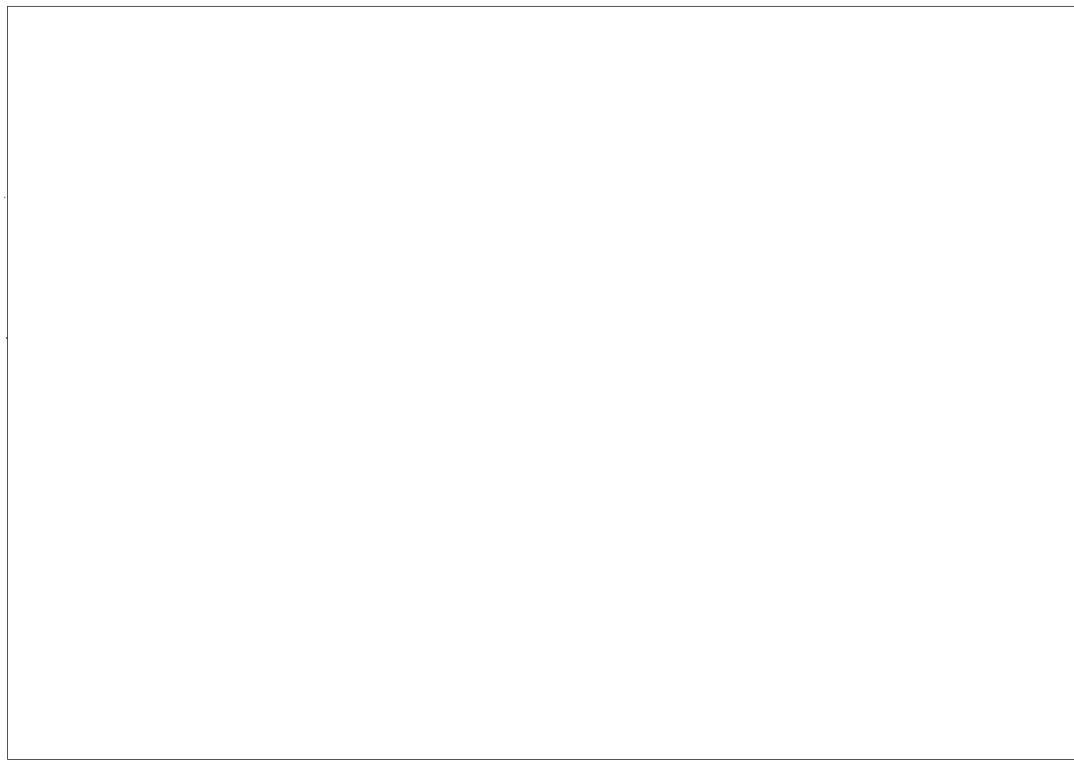
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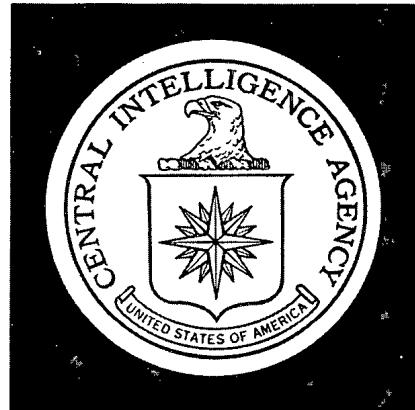


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**II. NORTH VIETNAMESE REFLECTIONS OF US POLITICAL
ATTITUDES ON THE WAR**

No significant items to report.

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The President's Daily Brief

~~Top Secret~~ 4 May 1968



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THE PRESIDENT'S
DAILY BRIEF
4 MAY 1968

1. Paris Talks

The news that the US and North Vietnam have agreed to meet in Paris has been greeted with relief in most parts of the non-Communist world. Three comments from Communist countries are available so far. Two of them--Havana's domestic television and East Berlin's German service--take the line that Hanoi has forced Washington to the negotiating table.

The third, a Radio Moscow broadcast in Serbo-Croatian to Yugoslavia, plays a somewhat different version of essentially the same theme. In a tone largely devoid of shrillness, it questions how much the US really wants the talks to start. It alleges that "those who insist on a military solution to the problem" are becoming more influential in Washington, and it quotes recent remarks by Vice President Humphrey and Ambassador-designate Ball as indicative of US reservations.

Nevertheless, the broadcast concludes, the fact that contacts are to start is by itself "very cheerful." The next step is to force the US to halt its raids in North Vietnam "and then to achieve the cessation of the entire war."

There has been no more authoritative comment than this from Moscow. Hanoi's reaction has so far followed generally predictable lines. Peking has not yet commented.

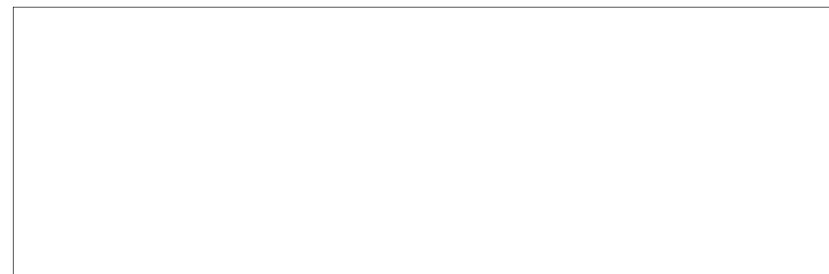
2. South Vietnam

Fighting has slackened somewhat in the northern provinces. Communist losses in this area may have been heavy enough to delay their plans for attacking such cities as Hue. On the other hand, the fact that some of the combat occurred near the major towns indicates how much the Communists have expanded their operational areas along the coast since the first of the year.

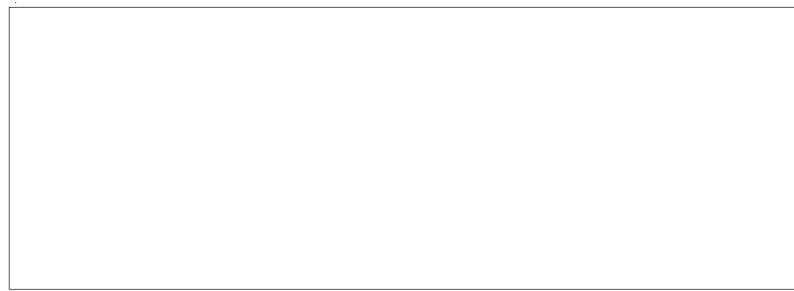
Signs continue to appear that the Communists are getting ready for further offensive action. It is still not clear, however, how they plan to orchestrate military activity with political talks.

3. North Vietnam

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**4. North Korea**

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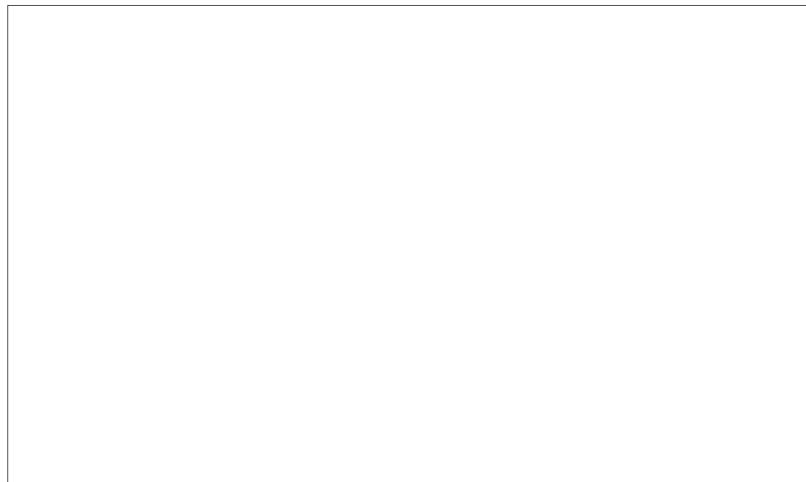
**5. Soviet Union**

The Soviets have deployed more mobile missiles along the Sino-Soviet border. Satellite photography has disclosed 13 transporters for their surface-to-surface missile at just one border installation. We previously had never seen more than four such transporters at any of the four sites.

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6. Panama

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7. Czechoslovakia-Soviet Union

Dubcek has suddenly gone to Moscow with four of his chief lieutenants. According to the Czechoslovak press service, this "short comradely meeting" was called by the Soviets. Prague's domestic service said this morning that the two sides would discuss Czechoslovak-Soviet economic relations, but the Soviets doubtless are looking for further reassurance that the liberal trend in Prague is not getting out of hand.

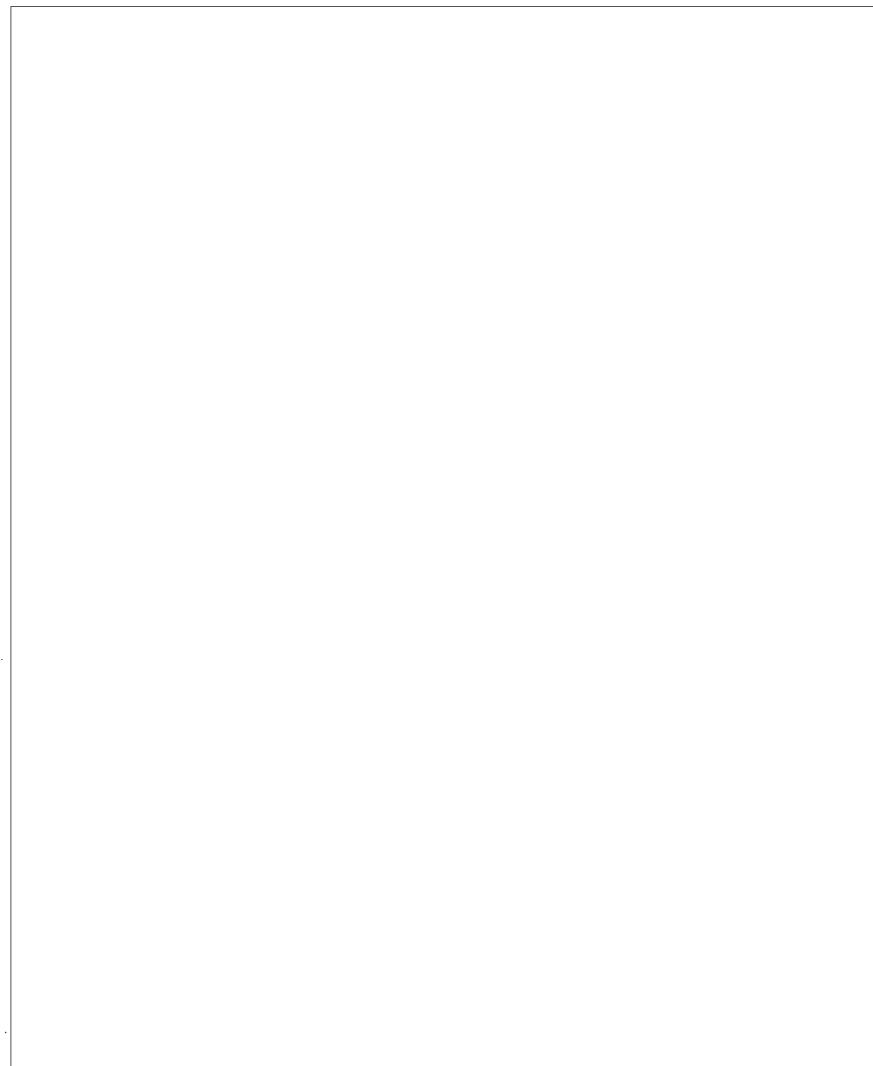
Dubcek is acutely aware of Moscow's potential leverage, particularly in the economic field. He therefore has consistently tried to persuade the Soviets of Czechoslovakia's basic loyalty. All the while, signs of Czechoslovak dissatisfaction with the standard Communist way of doing things keeps cropping up.

For example, no less an authority than the Communist Party paper in Prague yesterday criticized East German efforts to hinder Western access to Berlin. In the process, it also criticized Soviet policy in Germany in strong--if indirect--language. This kind of talk obviously is not going down well in Moscow.

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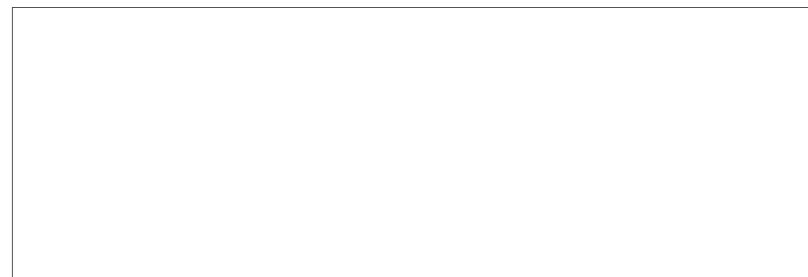
8. Soviet Union

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9. Pakistan

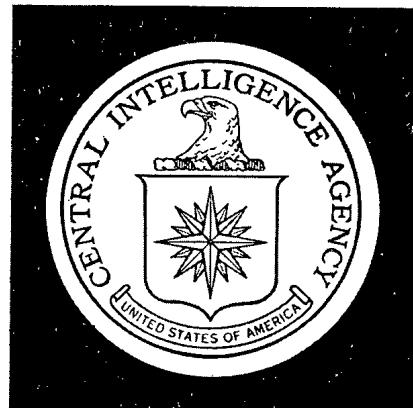
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I. NOTES ON THE SITUATION

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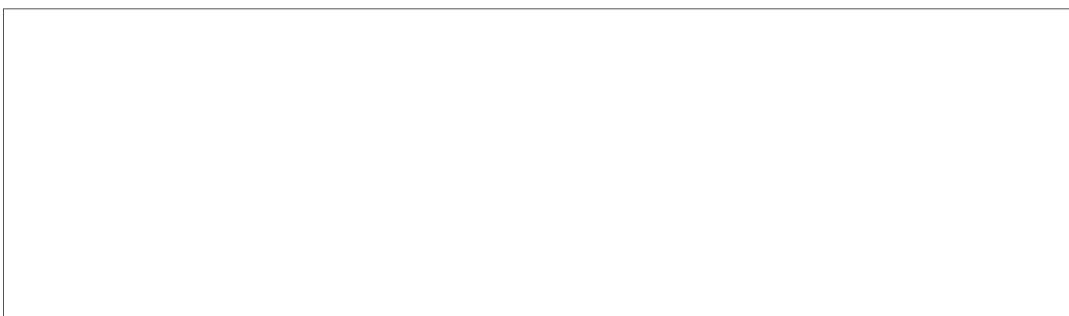
North Vietnamese Efforts to Look Flexible on Site for Contacts: More than a week before Hanoi proposed Paris as its third choice, one of its European diplomats told a propaganda forum in Austria that North Vietnam would be willing to consider sites other than Phnom Penh or Warsaw. In an apparent effort to make Hanoi look as flexible as possible, a North Vietnamese diplomat from the Budapest mission said publicly on 23 April that Hanoi preferred Warsaw as a site, but it was "not the only acceptable location."

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Disorders in China Cause Slowdown in Shipments to North Vietnam:

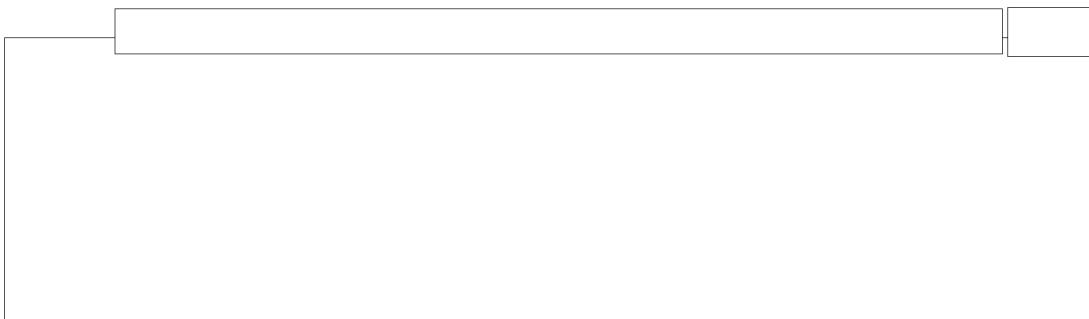
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civil disorders in the city of Nanning had caused a slowdown in rail shipments to North Vietnam. This was despite efforts of the Chinese Army to keep the goods moving on schedule. [redacted] troops were closely guarding the trains bound for North Vietnam. [redacted] this was necessary to prevent pilferage by hungry Chinese.

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Japanese Trade: Two Japanese ships are apparently to load coal at the North Vietnamese port of Cam Pha this month. These will be the first Japanese vessels to visit North Vietnam since 1965.

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Unusual Passenger Flights: Hanoi may have made unusual flight arrangements to get one of its people home from Phnom Penh in a hurry. Under normal circumstances, the ICC flights are used to carry North Vietnamese personalities between Cambodia and North Vietnam. On 30 April, however, the scheduled ICC flight was canceled.

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**II. NORTH VIETNAMESE REFLECTIONS OF US POLITICAL
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50X1

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1. South Vietnam

The coordinated wave of enemy attacks over the weekend was widespread, but generally confined to short mortar and rocket barrages. The sporadic firefights in the Saigon area involved fairly small units. Over-all, loss of life and property damage appear to have been relatively light.

Prisoners taken in the Saigon area tell of Viet Cong preparations for further raids against the capital.

The attacks were accompanied by propaganda broadcasts alleging that many people were responding to Viet Cong appeals for a general uprising. The Communists, with an eye on the coming talks in Paris, evidently hope to give new emphasis to claims that a legitimate popular revolt is under way in the South.

2. Czechoslovakia-Soviet Union

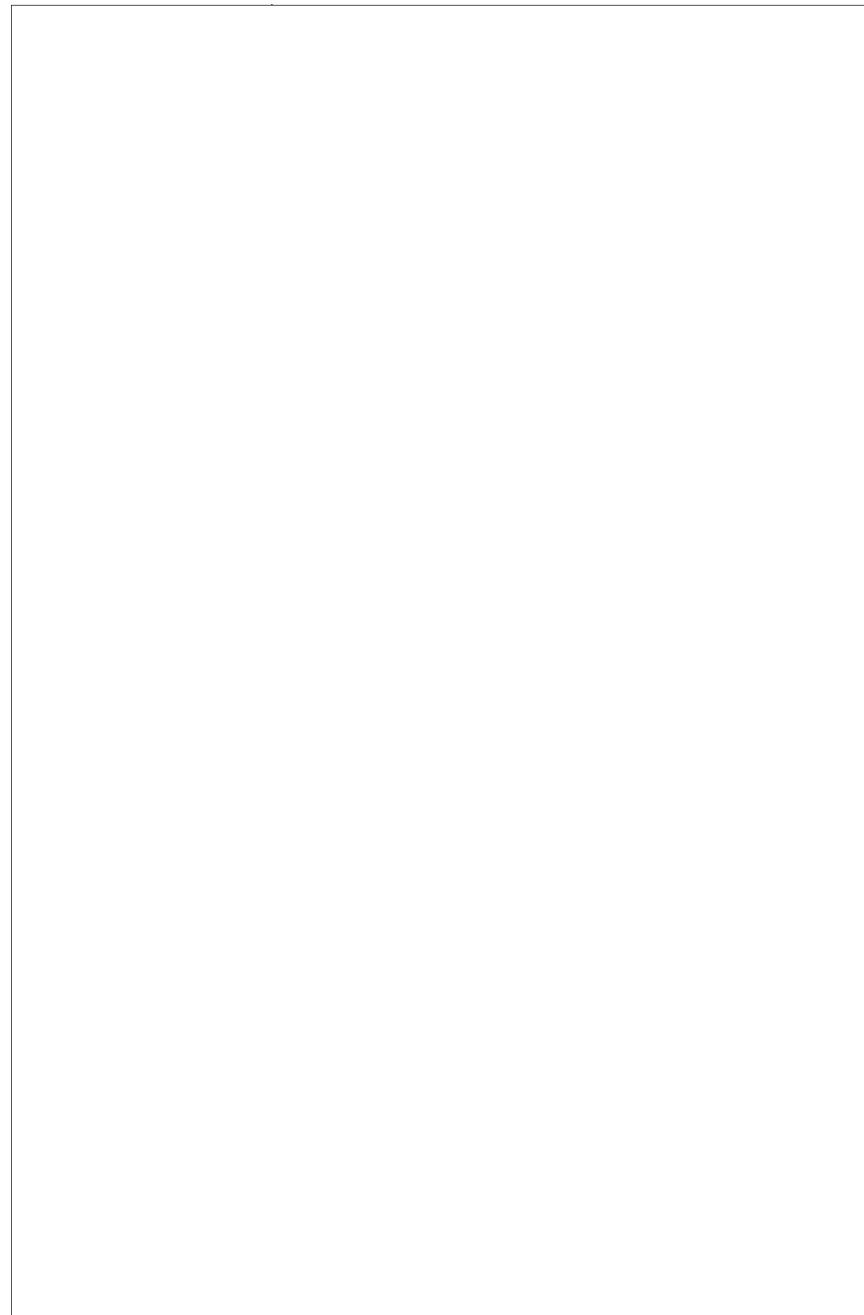
Very little came of Dubcek's weekend in Moscow. At least, that is the clear impression left by the communique issued yesterday. Dubcek was rebuffed if, as we believe, he had hoped to get a large credit from the Soviets. The matter of "economic cooperation" was relegated to experts for further study.

The communique says the two sides expressed "determination" to expand friendly relations and to continue working to strengthen international Communist unity. That last point has a particularly hollow ring. The open polemics over the weekend between the Czechoslovaks and the Poles suggest that the gap will continue to widen between conflicting interpretations of what "Communist unity" means.

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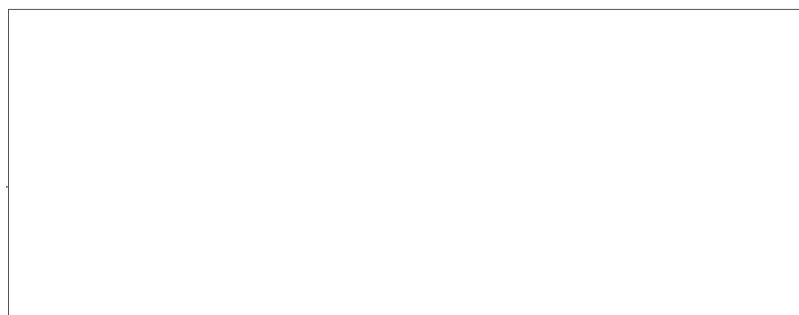
3. Middle East

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4. United Kingdom

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5. Berlin

The Soviets say the East German ban on travel of West German officials to Berlin could be lifted--provided Bonn promises to stop trying to demonstrate that "West Berlin belongs to the Federal Republic." This was the principal point made by Moscow's Ambassador Abrasimov in East Berlin during a long talk with Ambassador McGhee on Friday. Abrasimov was clearly out to get the US to press Bonn to cut back its ties with West Berlin.

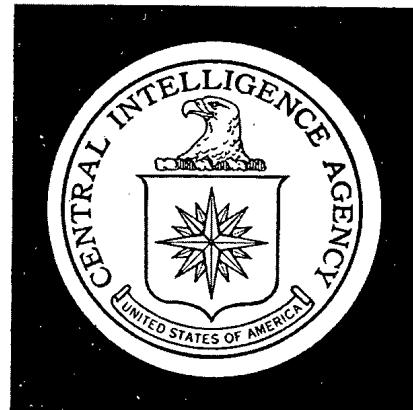
Throughout the conversation, Abrasimov took pains to stress that Moscow wants no new crisis with the Western allies and that allied access to West Berlin is in no way affected.

6. Chile

Dissatisfaction in the military over low pay came to the surface late last week when a number of middle-level officers turned in their resignations. The immediate results were shake-ups in the cabinet and in the top army command--and further complications for President Frei's battle to hold the line against inflationary wage increases.

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I. NOTES ON THE SITUATION

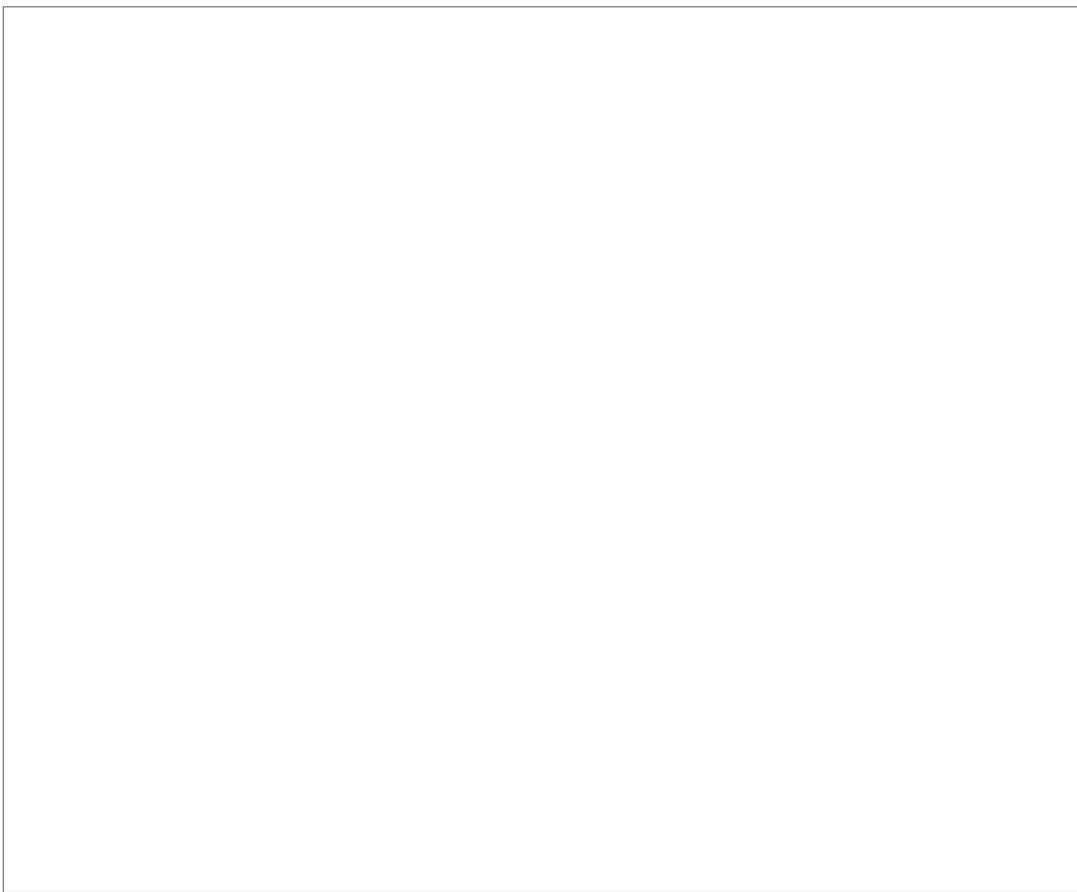
Current Propaganda Stand: Hanoi's propaganda following the agreement to meet in Paris appears to be designed to put pressure on the US to meet the North Vietnamese demand for a complete cessation of the bombing. The main party daily on 4 May charged that the sincerity of US intentions was still very much in doubt in view of the delay involved in choosing a site, the announced US troop buildup in the South, and the "unprecedented" air attacks against "civilian targets" in the southern panhandle.

The commentary emphasized that Hanoi's terms for a settlement were still the four points--"the correct basis for a political solution to the Vietnam problem." The phrasing of one sentence, however, hinted at some flexibility by saying that a settlement "must proceed from" the four points.

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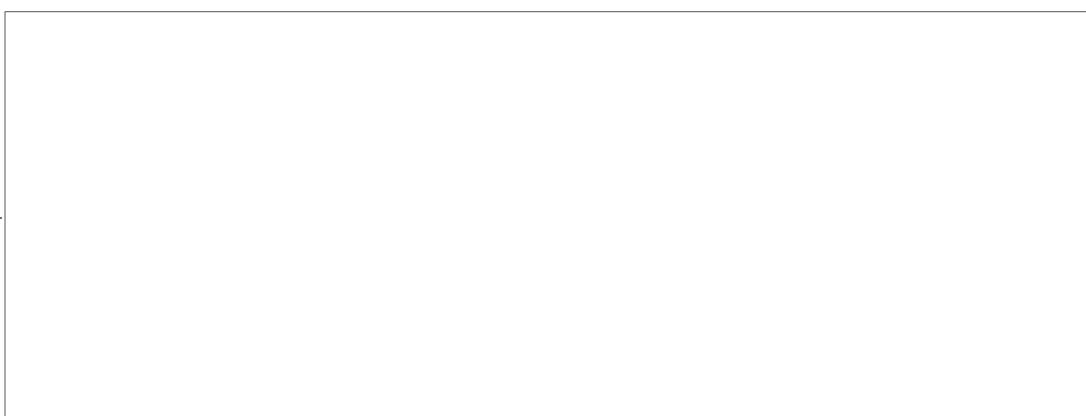
Hanoi on Independence: Hanoi used the occasion of the anniversary of Karl Marx's birthday yesterday to reaffirm its ideological independence of both Moscow and Peking. According to a summary of Politburo instructions to "the party, the army, and the people," one of the most important parts of the teachings of the early Communists is that they provided guidelines upon which future generations could build. Marxism, said the commentary, lends itself to continual development, and Engels said, "our theory is not a dogma, but the compass of our actions." North Vietnamese party cadres were told that the anniversary should be celebrated by "heightening the spirit of independent thinking, combining theory and practice, and applying Marxism-Leninism creatively to the practical conditions of Vietnam."

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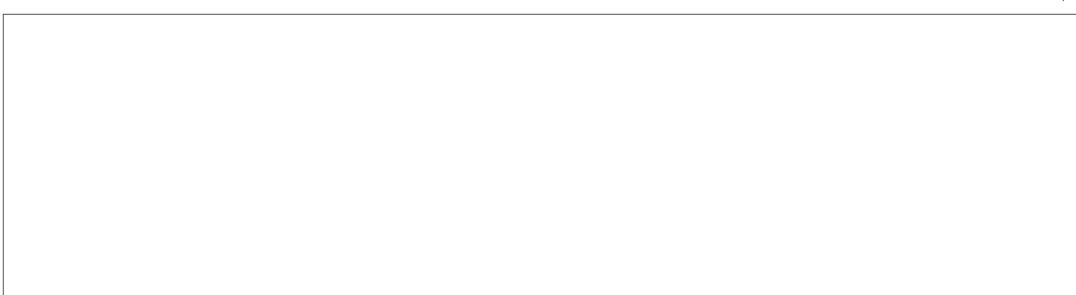
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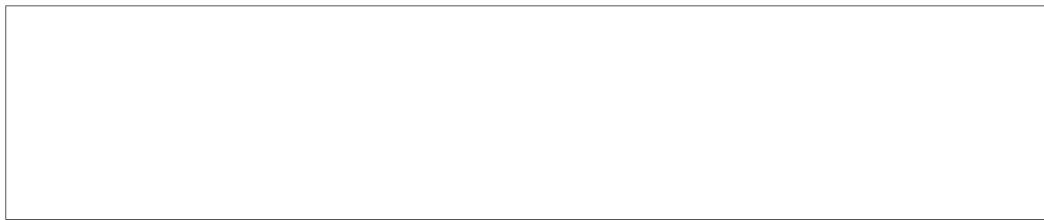
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**III. NORTH VIETNAMESE REFLECTIONS OF US POLITICAL
ATTITUDES ON THE WAR**

There is nothing of significance to report.

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The President's Daily Brief

~~Top Secret~~ 7 May 1968



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THE PRESIDENT'S
DAILY BRIEF
7 MAY 1968

1. North Korea

A BLACK SHIELD mission yesterday covered the southern half of North Korea; only about 50 percent of the land area was cloud free.

The first brief look at the pictures in the field shows no real change in North Korea's military posture. No new surface-to-air missile activity, surface-to-surface missile activity, or evidence of significant military movement or build-up was observed.

The photographs are expected in Washington tonight, and further work on them will begin immediately.

2. South Vietnam

Cabinet changes--possibly including the replacement of Prime Minister Loc by Tran Van Huong--are said to be imminent.

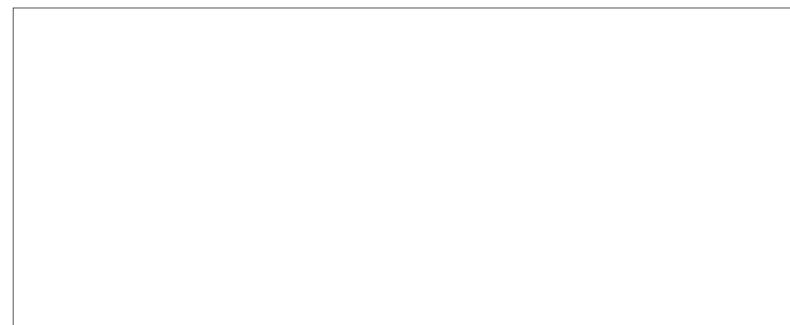
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3. Soviet Union

Satellite photography shows that 18 silos under construction are probably for a new solid-propellant ICBM. The first of these silos could be completed by mid-1969.

Construction continues on older liquid-fueled ICBM systems, but we have detected few new starts in recent months. There are about 800 operational launchers for these systems, with another 200 still building.

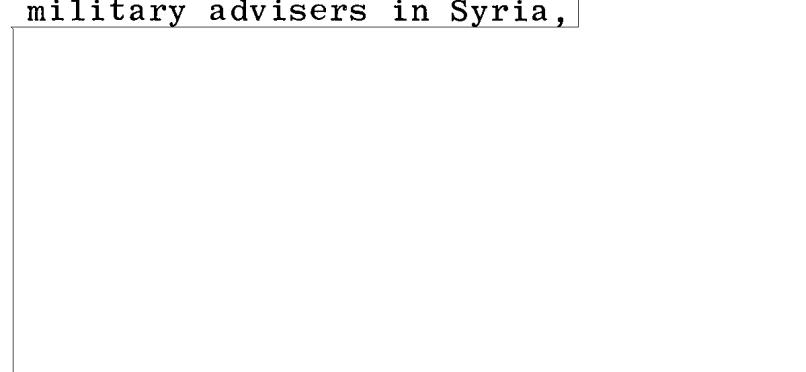
4. Egypt -
Soviet Union



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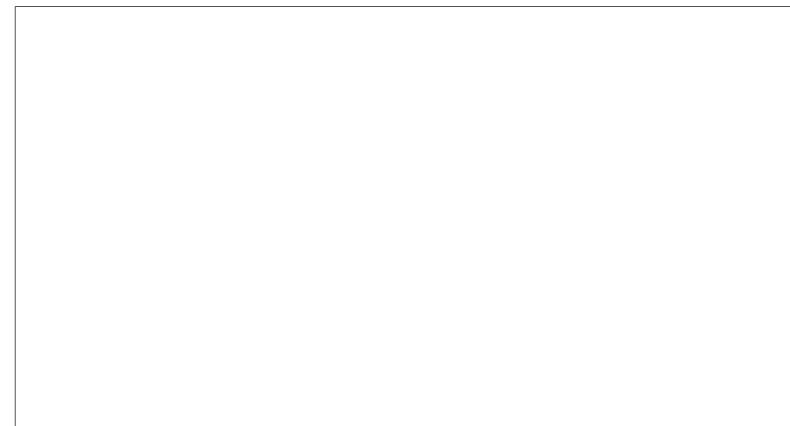
5. Syria -
Soviet Union

There are now about 1,200 Soviet
military advisers in Syria,



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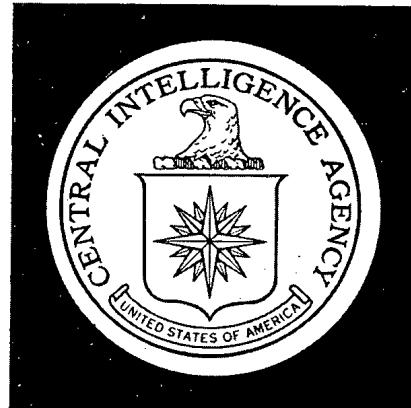
6. Kenya



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- 1.) Special Daily Report on North Vietnam
- 2.) North Vietnamese Reflections of U S
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16
7 May 1968

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

7 May 1968

I. NOTES ON THE SITUATION

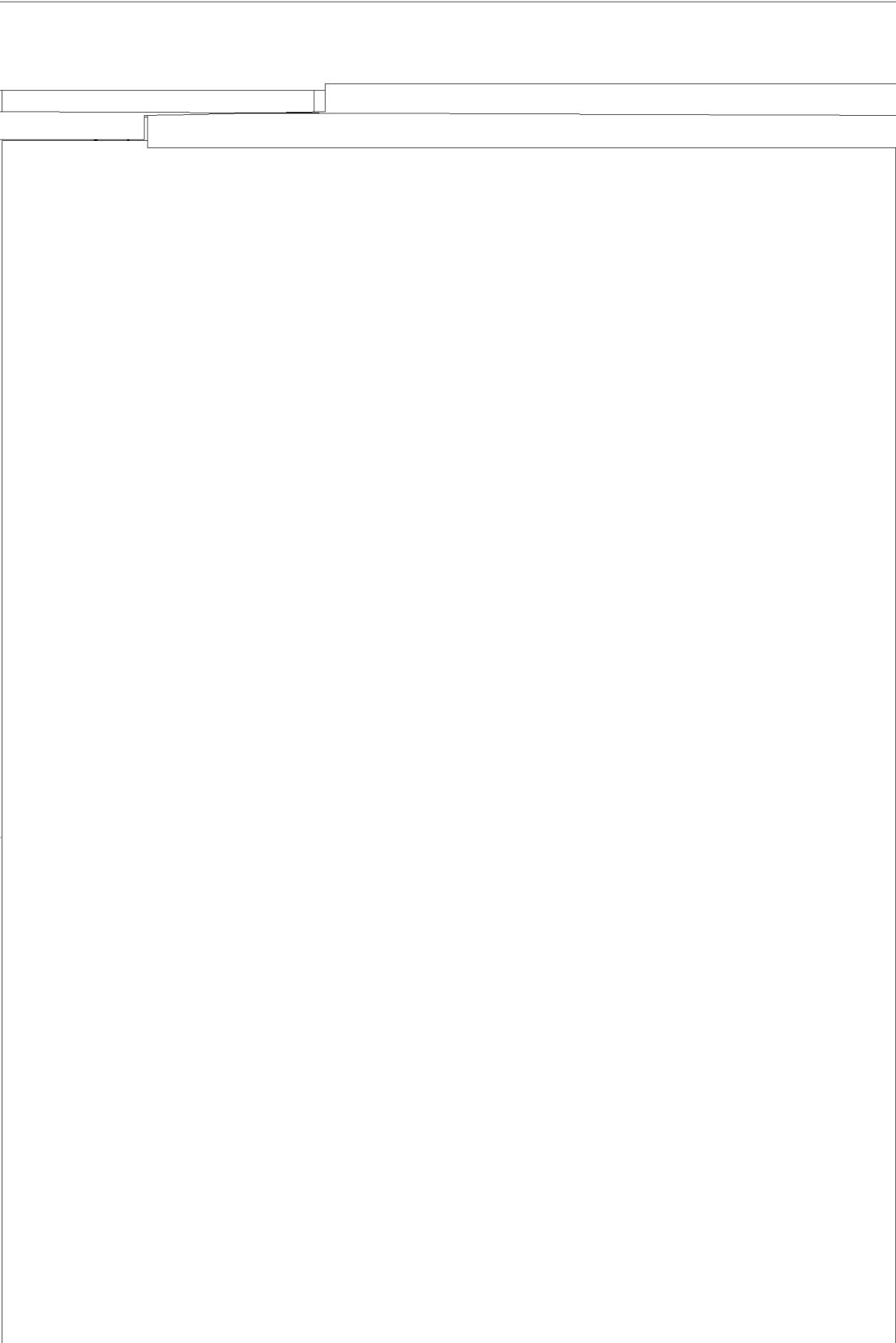
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Liberation Front Endorses Hanoi's Moves: In keeping with their earlier caution on peace developments, Viet Cong/Liberation Front media have applauded the North Vietnamese diplomatic initiative of 3 May, but apparently without spelling out precisely what the initiative involved. A Viet Cong news agency commentary of 4 May, which was cited on 6 May by Hanoi's international service in English, merely said that Viet Cong "warmly welcomed" the North Vietnamese statement concerning "the level, place, and time of the formal talks." The commentary asserted that the North Vietnamese had once again demonstrated their "justice" and "good will" and had thus helped mobilize world opinion behind the Communist cause. It said that Hanoi's statement represented "the voice of victors who are infinitely confident in the final triumph of their cause," and it concluded that this would give new confidence to the forces fighting in the South.

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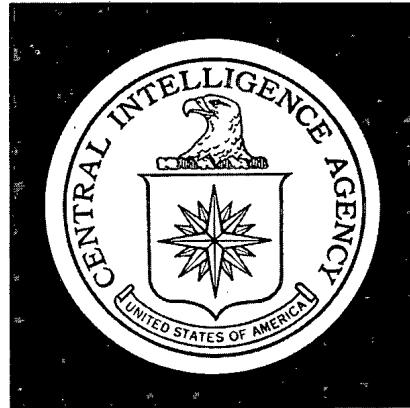
II. NORTH VIETNAMESE REFLECTIONS OF US POLITICAL ATTITUDES ON THE WAR

Election Propaganda: Hanoi has devoted minimal propaganda attention to the US presidential elections during the past two weeks. There have been a few more references to the President's announcement of his decision not to run for re-election, and Vice-President Humphrey's declaration of candidacy is mentioned in passing in a Nhan Dan commentary on 30 April pegged to Ambassador Goldberg's resignation.

The campaigning of the other avowed candidates is not discussed. For example, although Hanoi cites criticism by Senators McCarthy and Kennedy of the administration's stand on a site for contacts with North Vietnam, it does not mention that either senator is a candidate. Nixon and Rockefeller are not mentioned at all.

An authoritative reference to the elections appears in an interview granted by Politburo member Truong Chinh to Cuba's Prensa Latina and is carried by the Vietnam news agency in English on 30 April. Chinh says that the antiwar and civil rights movements in the United States, "in harmony with the Vietnamese people's resistance struggle," will be able to "compel the US rulers to change not only an American president, but also the entire policy of aggression and enslavement being pursued now by the United States."

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The President's Daily Brief

~~Top Secret~~ 8 May 1968



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23

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THE PRESIDENT'S
DAILY BRIEF
8 MAY 1968

1. France

Despite De Gaulle's warning that such things will not be tolerated, student demonstrations began again early this morning in Paris. This time the students tried to march on the Sorbonne but were pushed back by police. Yesterday's disturbances left 800 policemen and students wounded.

The students, whose political views range across the whole spectrum, have so far been concerned only with educational reform and alleged police brutality. They have no discernible political goals, although there is always the possibility that the sensitive issue of Vietnam will crop up in the disturbances.

2. Soviet Union

Satellite photography of late April has provided an excellent view of the Soviet Union's most important submarine construction facility. We believe that 12 Polaris-type submarines were then in the yard's construction hall, and there are indications in the photographs that the Soviets were getting ready to launch one of them. Two others of the same type were in the yard's fitting-out area, and sections of a 15th boat appeared ready to be moved into the hall. As reported earlier, the first of this class has turned up at an operational base.

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3. Egypt-Israel

In a long conversation with Robert Anderson, Nasir was friendly and somewhat more forthcoming on the Arab-Israeli question than he has been in public. Among other things, he made the following points:

--He said indirect talks under Jar ring's auspices about a settlement with Israel would be acceptable. He reiterated that the direct negotiations which Israel is demanding are out of the question.

--He said he would not give up "an inch" of Egyptian territory and that Sinai would have to be returned to Egypt. For Gaza, which was never a formal part of Egyptian territory, he said he would go along with almost any solution which did not involve an Israeli takeover.

--He showed a willingness to open the Suez Canal to Israeli goods and even Israeli ships, but only in gradual stages and only if there was progress on the Arab refugee question.

--He said that before diplomatic relations with the US could be restored, there would have to be some more positive statement from the US supporting the implementation of last November's Security Council resolution.

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4. Egypt -
Soviet Union

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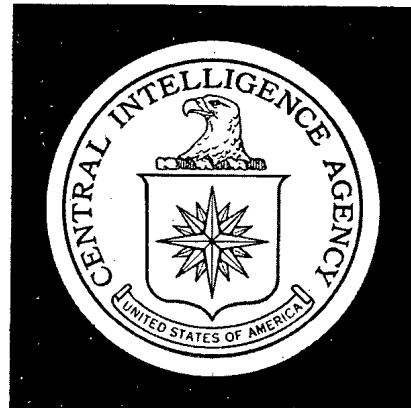
5. Nigeria

Two or more states in French-speaking Africa may soon recognize the Biafran secessionists. There is little doubt that their decision to recognize was stimulated partly by pressure from the French, who have been fishing quietly in Nigeria's troubled waters for some time. Tanzania, which three weeks ago became the first state to recognize Biafra, also had some French encouragement.

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16
8 May 1968

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

8 May 1968

I. NOTES ON THE SITUATION

Hanoi's Delegation: French press reports from Hanoi say that Hanoi's chief negotiator in Paris, Xuan Thuy, will be assisted by four principal aides. The first named aide is Ha Van Lau, the man Hanoi probably had in mind for the initial "contact" phase of discussions with the US. Now that Hanoi has telescoped the "contacts" and the substantive "talks," both Lau and Xuan Thuy have been included in the delegation. Ha Van Lau may still be the man for the initial part of the Paris talks. He arrived in Paris yesterday.

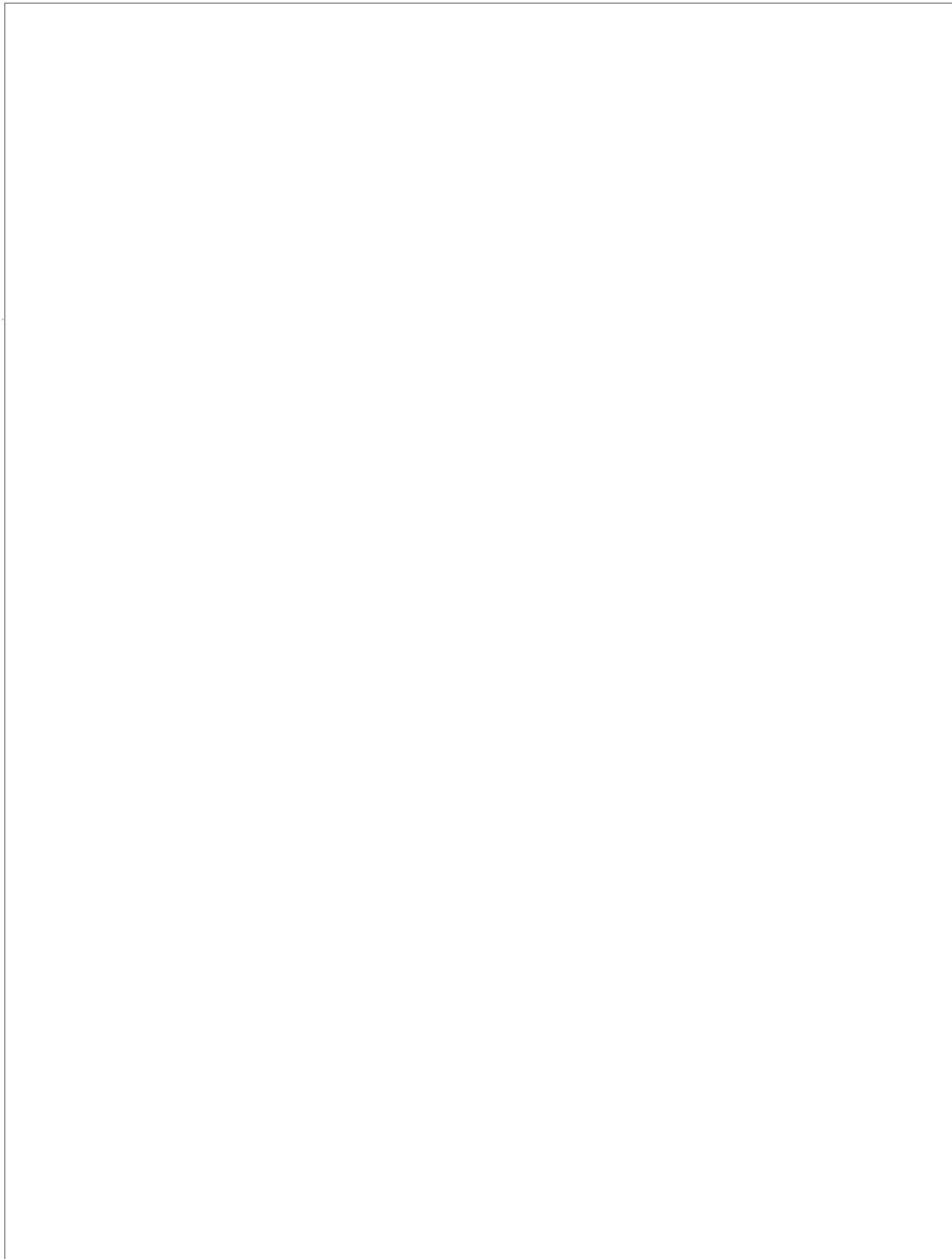
The other three top aides are Nguyen Than Le, an editor of Nhan Dan; Nguyen Minh Vy, another press type whose current job is head of the government's information service; and Phan Hien, a career foreign service officer described as head of the Foreign Ministry's "American Department."

Our embassy reports that the Communists are looking for two large villas outside Paris to house the delegation. They are bringing a full complement of cooks, chauffeurs, and the like, in preparation for a long stay.

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North Vietnamese Arrivals in Paris: Ha Van Lau, who led a contingent of 23 North Vietnamese arriving in Paris yesterday, told assembled newsmen that he is "optimistic" about the coming talks. Xuan Thuy is still expected in Paris around noon tomorrow. He left Hanoi yesterday morning and plans short stopovers in Peking and Moscow. The French have been informed that Hanoi's total delegation will have 45 people.

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Soviet Propaganda on Paris Talks: Soviet propaganda media have begun to swing into action supporting the approaching peace talks in Paris, while continuing to stress the need for a cessation of all

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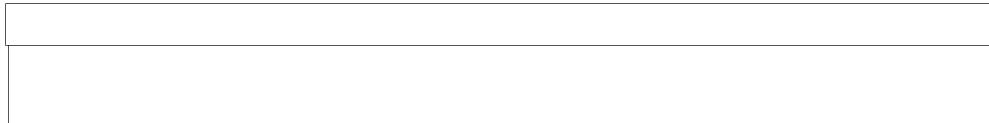
acts of war against North Vietnam. A Moscow domestic commentary termed the coming talks "very gratifying," and the 6 May edition of Pravda reportedly stated that "favorable prospects" have been created to end "the dirty American war."

The Soviets give all credit to Hanoi for bringing these talks about, of course, and keep referring back to Hanoi's "initiative" of 3 April, ignoring President Johnson's initiative of 31 March. Moscow naturally condemns Washington's "twisting and turning" to avoid talks and hails the "farsighted and realistic" position of the North Vietnamese.

Soviet radio commentaries remind their listeners, however, that the first order of business must be the unconditional halt of bombing and acts of war against North Vietnam. A Moscow domestic commentary on 5 May points out that it is "inconceivable" that further progress toward a peaceful settlement can be made until this "minimum demand" is fulfilled.

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North Vietnam Port Improvements Under Way:
The Soviet Union is aiding in a wharf extension project in Haiphong which should provide at least one new berth and allow the Vietnamese to dock nine ships at once in Haiphong. The construction effort probably is aided by some diversion of laborers previously committed to making bomb damage repairs in the port area.

Silting problems which have long been untended at Haiphong are now also being corrected. A large suction dredge, supplied by the Soviets in the 1950s, has recently appeared for the first time since 1965, probably from sanctuary in China. This dredge will probably be used to deepen the main channel, allowing heavily laden ships to enter the harbor.

The bombing halt may also allow the Vietnamese to reorganize cargo handling procedures. Work time is no longer being lost to frequent air raids and work can now be done both day and night.

Reconstruction of the permanent petroleum storage facility and pier, which were almost completely destroyed in 1965, may begin soon.

* * *

Hanoi Observes Anniversary of Dien Bien Phu:
Hanoi newspapers published special issues on 7 May to commemorate the anniversary of Dien Bien Phu. The army daily pushed hard at comparisons between the battles at Dien Bien Phu and the current fighting in the South. The message was that the Americans were no more menacing than the French, and the Communists today are much stronger militarily than they were in the 1950s. Dien Bien Phu was a "world renowned" Vietnamese victory, claimed the propaganda, and serves as a source of inspiration to the Liberation army today. The party daily described the past three months as a period of

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continuing military offensive for the Viet Cong-- "the almost 100 days since the Tet offensive have seen wave upon wave of attacks on dozens of cities, provincial capitals and military bases" and the "liberation" of large numbers of people and towns.

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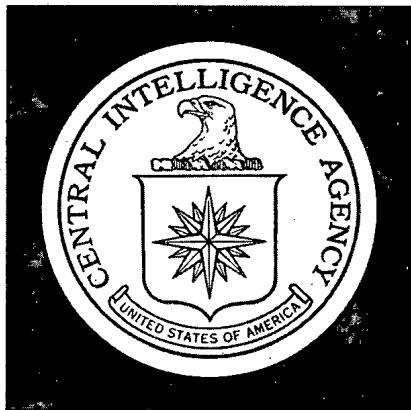
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II. NORTH VIETNAMESE REFLECTIONS OF US POLITICAL ATTITUDES ON THE WAR

There is nothing of significance to report today.

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The President's Daily Brief

~~Top Secret~~ 9 May 1968



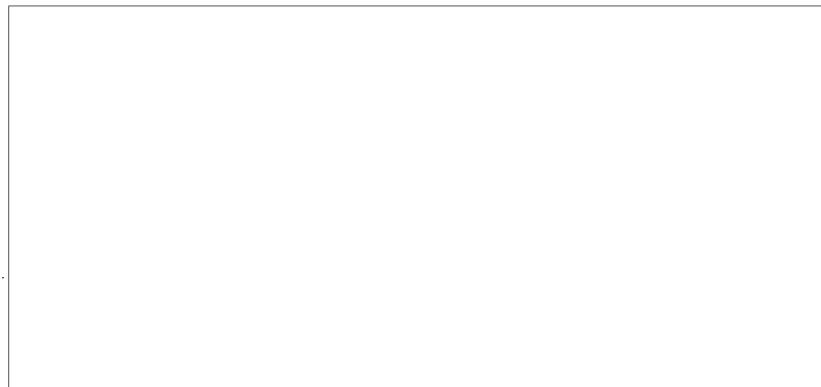
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THE PRESIDENT'S
DAILY BRIEF
9 MAY 1968

1. North Vietnam

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2. France

Officials are preparing to prevent student rioters from disrupting the Vietnam talks in Paris. Steel barriers and cordons of police are now guarding the US Embassy and the building where the talks are to take place.

There is some reason for the government's concern. One of the more prominent "New Left" student leaders has publicly implied that the rioters may try anti-US demonstrations after the talks begin.

3. Soviet Union

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Recent satellite photographs show that progress is on schedule at the antiballistic missile sites around Moscow. Although the Soviets had originally begun to build twelve such sites, they have now cut back to eight. Pictures of three of these show that they are probably undergoing final checkouts.



4. East Europe

Party bosses from four East European countries suddenly converged on Moscow yesterday. Rumania and--more significantly--Czechoslovakia were excluded. This looks very much like an urgent conclave over what to do about Czechoslovakia.

Moscow's patience has been wearing thin these past two days over the growing liberal and nationalist trends in Czechoslovakia. The men in the Kremlin have been especially shocked and angered by recent stories in the Czechoslovak press which flatly accuse Soviet agents of involvement in the Prague purges of the 1950s--and in the 1948 death of Jan Masaryk.

Soviet sensitivity to these charges prompted an angry rebuttal in Pravda yesterday. Moscow clearly does not accept at face value Dubcek's assurances that he can control the pace and scope of democratization in the country.

So far, the Czechoslovaks have faced up to Soviet pressures. We know

[redacted], however, that the leaders in Prague were worried late last month that the Soviets may feel obliged to intervene more forcibly in Czechoslovakia. Yesterday's news of the gathering in Moscow will surely heighten these fears.

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5. Israel - Arab States

Arab terrorists have been striking at Israel with increasing frequency in recent days. Several Israeli soldiers have been killed. This may well prompt Israeli retaliatory action. Jordan, as usual, is the most likely victim.

6. Panama

Arnulfo Arias feels his only hope in Sunday's election is to amass such a tremendous majority that the government will be unable to cheat him of victory. It is a slim hope. The National Guard is going all out to beat Arias,

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7. British Honduras

The two-year US effort to mediate the old dispute over Guatemalan claims to this Godforsaken colony seems likely to come to naught. The mediator proposes that the colony become an independent state committed to cooperation with Guatemala in foreign, defense, and economic affairs. The natives are rioting because of the proposed limitations on their sovereignty. The Guatemalans are angry because they want fuller control.

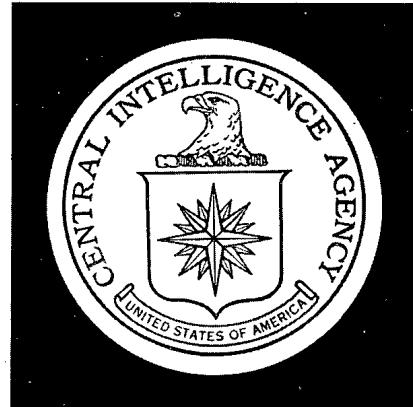
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8. Kenya

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9 May 1968

16

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

9 May 1968

I. NOTES ON THE SITUATION

Hanoi's Delegation: Hanoi Radio's international service in English on 8 May broadcast the composition of its delegation to the Paris talks. It also stated that "official" talks would start on 10 May. The delegation is identical to that already reported in Western press releases. It is headed by Minister Xuan Thuy, the "representative of the DRV government," who left Hanoi for Paris on 7 May. Colonel Ha Van Lau, with the rank of ambassador, will serve as an "adviser" to Thuy, as will the three lesser ranking members of the delegation.

A brief biography of Xuan Thuy, also broadcast on the international service in English on 8 May, is apparently designed to underscore his high government and party positions. The broadcast noted that he is both a member of the party secretariat and a government minister--positions he was given after the North Vietnamese response to President Johnson's 31 March statement.

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Soviet View on Peace Talks: A deputy to Soviet UN Ambassador Malik told a senior US official at the UN on 6 May that he thought the Vietnam peace talks would follow the Korean pattern and speculated that two years would be needed to reach a settlement. This is the first Soviet estimate of any kind that we have seen. The Soviet diplomat also commented that Soviet announcement of ratification of the consular convention was directly related to the agreement on opening of the Paris talks.

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Coolness Between Peking and Hanoi: Communist China apparently made strenuous efforts to dissuade North Vietnam from peace talks and is now upset with Hanoi. [redacted]

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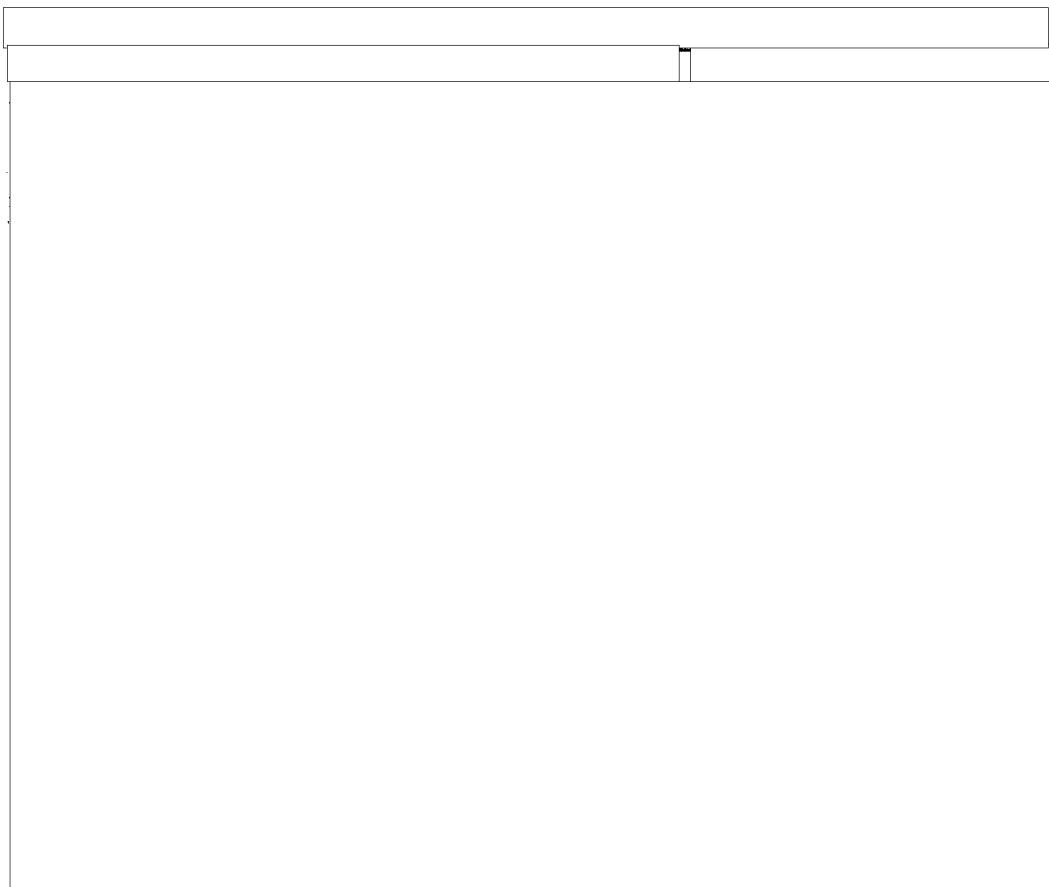
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Hanoi Broadcasts Prisoner Statements: Two Hanoi broadcasts of 8 May, one in English to Havana and the other in Vietnamese to South Vietnam, reported statements by two US servicemen who were captured by the Viet Cong earlier this year. As in other such broadcasts, the prisoners were quoted as praising the "humanitarian and lenient" policies of the Communists and appealing for an end to the fighting and US involvement in Vietnam.

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More Propaganda on US Bombing: In its latest effort to muster support for its demand for a total cessation of US bombing, Hanoi has sent a letter to the International Red Cross and allied societies alleging that the US has "savagely intensified" its bombings in southern North Vietnam since 31 March. The letter, broadcast over Hanoi's international service in English on 8 May, listed numerous "inhumane acts" committed by the US in the past several weeks. It appealed to the international organizations to demand that the US "match the good will of the DRV government" and cease unconditionally the bombing and all other acts of war against North Vietnam.

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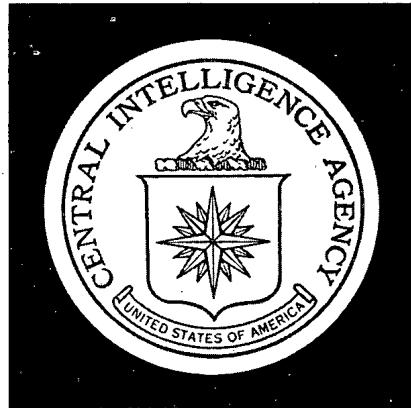
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II. NORTH VIETNAMESE REFLECTIONS OF US POLITICAL ATTITUDES ON THE WAR

There is nothing of significance to report.

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The President's Daily Brief

~~Top Secret~~ 10 May 1968



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SOVIET DIVISIONS NEAR CZECHOSLOVAKIA



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THE PRESIDENT'S
DAILY BRIEF
10 MAY 1968

1. Czechoslovakia

We cannot confirm the reports of Soviet troop movements along the Polish-Czechoslovak border.

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In addition, several Western diplomats traveling outside the Polish capital on 8 and 9 May were stopped by security officers--an unusual practice in Poland.

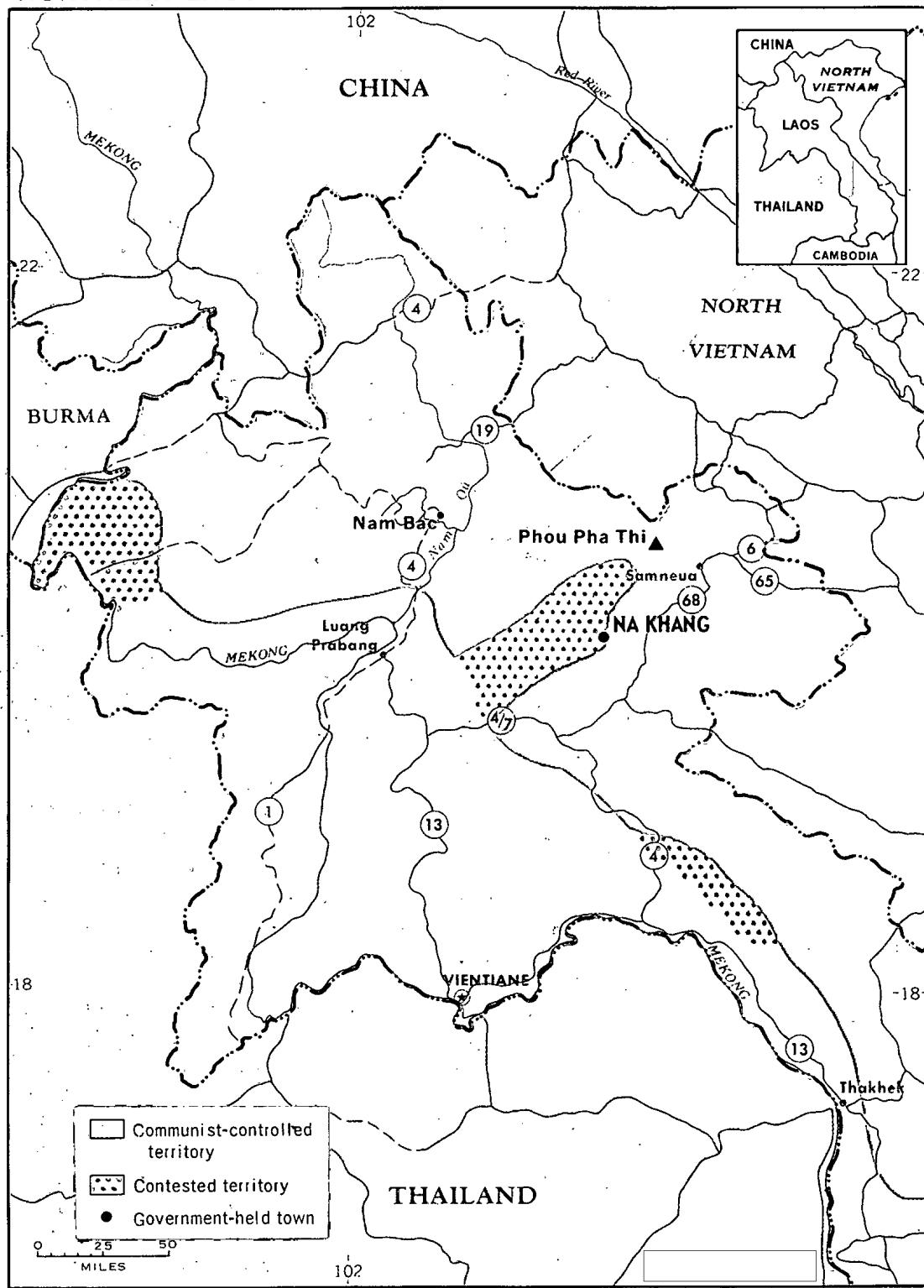
There is tentative evidence [redacted] that two Soviet armies in East Germany were placed on a high state of alert [redacted], but there have been no indications that troops from these units have begun to move. East German party officials in an area near the Czech border, however, reported [redacted] that the population was connecting the unusual presence of Soviet troops in the frontier area with developments in Czechoslovakia.

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So far it appears that the Soviets may be thinking of a show of force designed to pull the Czechoslovaks back toward orthodoxy. The Soviets probably would not intervene outright without a call for help from some segment of the Czechoslovak party.

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NORTHERN LAOS



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2. South Vietnam

A Communist intent to sustain the current offensive continues

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We believe this would again take the form of widespread mortar and rocket barrages combined with ground attacks on selected targets.

3. Laos

Nha Khang (Site 36), the government's last remaining guerrilla base of importance in the northeast, is under severe Communist threat. Outlying defensive positions several miles to the east were overrun two days ago. Mortar fire has hit Nha Khang itself, and Communist troops are probing toward the airstrip--the base's lifeline. This was the pattern before the fall of Phou Pha Thi and Nam Bac earlier this year.

Government troops at Nha Khang, recently reinforced, now total over 2,000. Communist strength is not known but includes elements of North Vietnam's 316th Division, which has been active in the Communists' dry season offensive.

Any all-out Communist attack would be likely to come within the next three weeks, before the heavy rains begin.

4. Philippines

President Marcos has agreed in principle to further cuts in the Philippine military engineer contingent in Vietnam. The present force of 1,810 men is to be drawn down gradually until a level of 1,400 is reached. Marcos is still working hard to get a congressional appropriation for the smaller force, but it is uncertain whether this can be accomplished before congress' regular session ends in mid-May. There may have to be a special session called for next month.

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5. North Korea

The Washington readout of the BLACK SHIELD mission over North Korea on 6 May

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Military targets observed showed no important change in Pyongyang's military posture.

6. Soviet Union -
Brazil

The Brazilians are detaining the Kegostrov, one of the major Soviet space support ships, on grounds that it entered Brazilian waters. Rio's irritation has recently grown over the intrusion of other Soviet ships into its claimed territorial waters. It seems determined to make a thorough investigation of this latest incident.

The Soviets, in attempting to get prompt release of the ship, must consider how hard they can push the issue without undercutting their efforts to build good relations with the Brazilians.

7. Israel

Foreign Minister Eban told Norwegian officials last week that Israel would like postponement of a UN vote on the nonproliferation treaty.

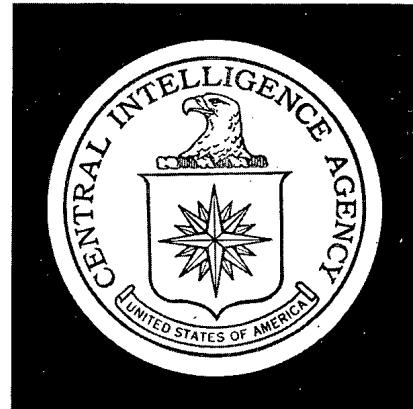
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10 May 1968

16

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

10 May 1968

I. NOTES ON THE SITUATION

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Letter from Ho Chi Minh: On the eve of the opening of the Paris talks, Hanoi has broadcast to South Vietnam a letter from Ho Chi Minh to the head of the Liberation Front. It praises the current fighting of the Viet Cong in the South and urges vigilance in the face of "cunning efforts" by the US, "which is talking peace while actually stepping up the war." In an effort to counter any letdown because of negotiations, the letter urged people in the South to overcome all hardships and sacrifices, and stressed that only by continuous fighting will the US be completely defeated. It also stated that "genuine peace" would come when the US accepted Communist terms.

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Conditions in Hanoi: During a brief stopover in Laos in mid-April, a member of the Canadian ICC mission in Hanoi gave his views on conditions in the North Vietnamese capital to American embassy officials. The Canadian noted that with the bombing restriction, the number of children in Hanoi has nearly tripled. Truck traffic which formerly ran only at night is now running all the time, thus easing some of the traffic congestion in the city. He also observed that the precautions surrounding official functions in Hanoi have been relaxed. Now considerable advance notice is given official receptions, and ranking regime officials appear together more frequently.

The Canadian shares Charles Collingwood's view that Hanoi invited several Americans to North Vietnam in late April because the regime was preparing a diplomatic initiative of its own and was overtaken by President Johnson's speech on 31 March. He offered no additional evidence for this, however, and may have been merely reporting Hanoi rumor.

Like other foreigners in the capital, the Canadian was highly complimentary of Hanoi's air raid warning system, but he noted that the bombing was a source of constant anxiety among the populace.

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Shipping Report: Cargo operations at Haiphong continue at levels considerably above 1967. In April, cargo delivered to North Vietnam by foreign flag ships totaled 152,500 tons, compared with an average of 118,000 tons a month during 1967.

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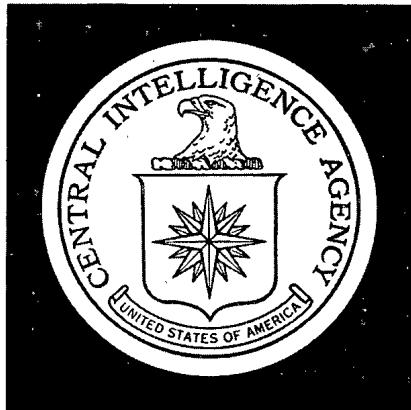
**II. NORTH VIETNAMESE REFLECTIONS OF US POLITICAL
ATTITUDES ON THE WAR**

Anti-US Demonstrations: As part of its periodic roundup of activities protesting US involvement in Vietnam, Hanoi included in an international English language broadcast on 8 May remarks made at a May Day rally in New York by Gus Hall, secretary of the

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American Communist Party. He was quoted as pledging that the "US revolutionaries" would continue to promote the struggle against "imperialists' wars and against imperialism and capitalism." The same broadcast also listed anti-US demonstrations in Norway, Algeria, and Tanzania.

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The President's Daily Brief

~~Top Secret~~ 11 May 1968



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THE PRESIDENT'S
DAILY BRIEF
11 MAY 1968

1. Czechoslovakia

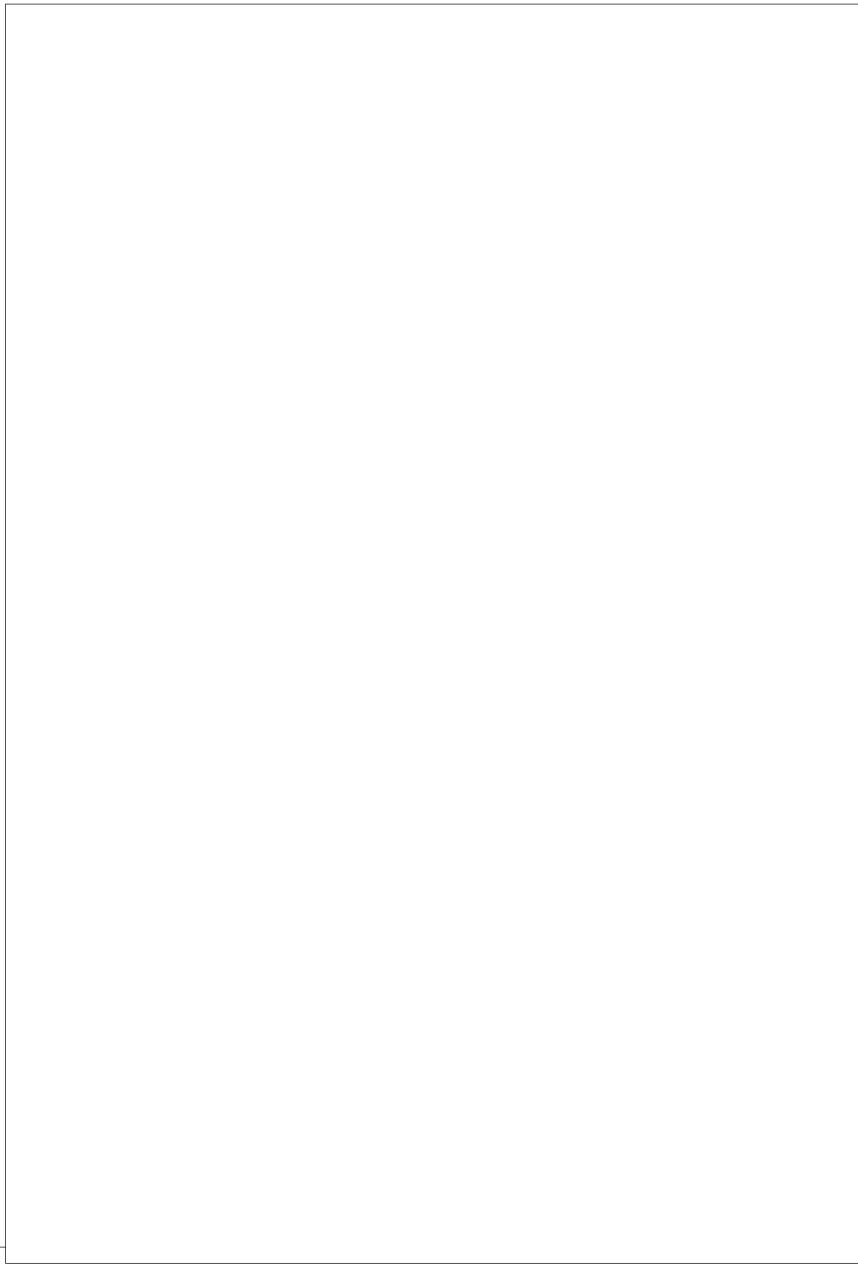
Soviet military movements are continuing in southern East Germany, but no large-scale troop activity has been confirmed. In Poland, [redacted]

[redacted] Russian army elements in undetermined numbers have been deployed from the western border of the Soviet Union to the area south of Krakow, not far from the Czech frontier. The Soviets in their news media have still made no mention of activity along the border.

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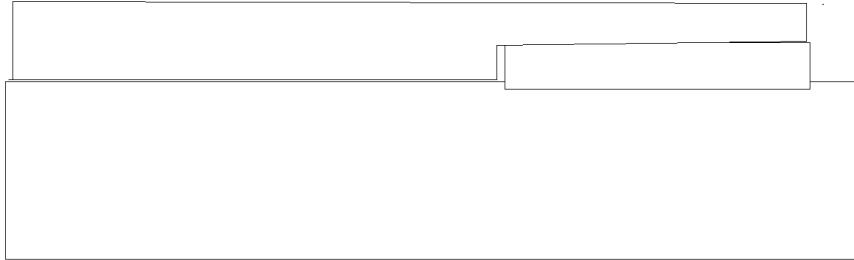
2. South Vietnam



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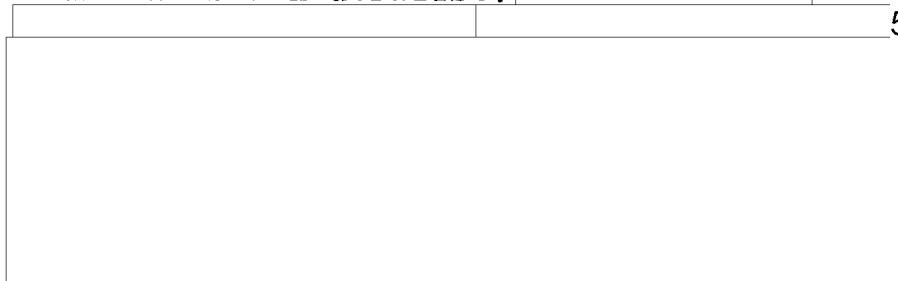
3. Soviet Union



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4. Laos

Souvanna is trying to re-establish himself as a neutralist.



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In addition, Souvanna has responded favorably to Tito's invitation to attend a nonaligned nations conference. He has also made a small gesture toward Hanoi. According to preliminary accounts, Souvanna's National Day speech today had a moderate tone and, in sharp contrast to last year's, did not mention North Vietnamese aggression in Laos.

These steps almost certainly reflect the uneasiness in Vientiane over the Paris talks.

5. Cambodia

The army has launched a major campaign against rebellious tribesmen in the northeast. The new offensive is the government's largest effort so far to crush the growing insurgency.

The rebellion stems primarily from Phnom Penh's effort to stop widespread smuggling of food to the Vietnamese Communists and to open tribal lands for development. Tribal resistance has been strong, and army elements have overreacted by burning villages and staging executions.

The insurgents are apparently supported and perhaps directed by Vietnamese Communists.

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6. Communist China

The Cultural Revolution is evidently interfering again with China's military research and development program. The latest evidence is in the form of giant poster attacks in Peking aimed at the chief of China's advanced weapons projects. This man--a vice premier and member of the powerful Military Affairs Committee--is one of Chou En-lai's closest political allies. He is the fourth of Chou's subordinates to come under attack in the last six weeks.

In speeches last winter, Chou deplored the damage caused by factional fighting to the military weapons programs--especially in missiles. We now see that Chou's attempts to insulate these programs from the political fight have failed.

7. Nigeria

Federal and Biafran representatives meeting in London since the beginning of the week have made little or no progress toward setting up substantive negotiations.

8. Cuba

Drought has hit Cuban agriculture for the second year in a row. Sugar cane production is down at least ten percent and food and livestock production is also suffering. Meat, rice, and dairy products are in shortest supply; even bread--which is normally available in adequate quantities--is beginning to appear on the shortage list.

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- 2.) North Vietnamese Reflections of U S
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16

11 May 1968

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

11 May 1968

I. NOTES ON THE SITUATION

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Soviets Want Contacts: The Soviets are trying to put out more lines to get information on the Paris talks. Wednesday a Soviet diplomat called at the US Embassy, Paris, to suggest informal contacts between Soviet and US representatives in the French capital.

The Russian was clearly fishing for information about the talks, although he charged his proposition off to the need for better relations. He asked about possible expansion of the talks, the role to be played by the French, and plans for press coverage.

Moscow got caught short when Hanoi agreed to talks and, as the Soviets' Asian ally seems less than fully communicative, the Russians hope to buy some insurance. They probably are making similar approaches to the French.

* * *

Hanoi Praises Logistics System: The North Vietnamese are giving extensive publicity to the achievements of their logistics network, doubtless in part to inspire those involved in moving record amounts of men and supplies toward South Vietnam.

In an 8 May domestic broadcast in Vietnamese, Hanoi reported on a recent meeting of logistics personnel held to praise the 1966-67 achievements. The report claimed that communications and transportation workers have defeated both American bombs and natural calamities to insure the uninterrupted flow of materials such as ammunition and medical supplies to troops--especially "those en route to conduct military operations."

Predictably, the broadcast did not come right out and say that a great portion of the transport effort

is in support of Communist forces in South Vietnam. It did, however, single out Front representative Nguyen Van Tien as being present at the congress, along with General Giap.

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Life in Hanoi: There is a greater sense of calm among the people of Hanoi since the end to the US bombings [redacted]. The cost of living, however, remains high with the rice still rationed and adulterated with flour.

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

Meeting in Hanoi Praises American Protesters: Hanoi has publicized a 5 May meeting sponsored by the Fatherland Front--North Vietnam's catch-all mass organization--called to support the "American spring struggle" against the war. According to a 6 May Hanoi Vietnamese domestic broadcast, the meeting was addressed by the minister of culture and other officials involved in the international peace movement. All roundly condemned US involvement in Vietnam while praising the variety of antiwar activities that

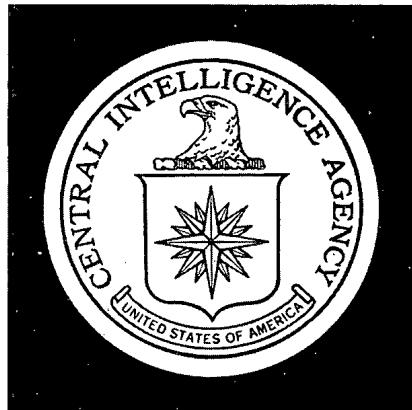
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have occurred in American universities and cities over the past several months. The meeting also was attended by Americans Susan Sontag, Robert Greenblatt, and Andrew Kopkind. Greenblatt was quoted welcoming the support and friendship of the North Vietnamese people and praising the resistance of the Vietnamese Communists to allied efforts in Vietnam. The meeting closed unanimously adopting a letter to be sent to Americans "praising their struggle against the war" and thanking them for supporting Hanoi's position.

* * *

Front Also Supports US Antiwar Movement: The Liberation Front has joined in the praise of current unrest in US universities. The Front claims the disturbances manifest the dual struggle of American students against the war in Vietnam and racist segregation. In an 8 May Vietnamese language broadcast, the Front listed the demonstrations that have occurred at Columbia, the University of Chicago, and other institutions and noted that many of the protests were being led by Negroes and other minority groups.

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The President's Daily Brief

~~Top Secret~~ 13 May 1968

[Redacted]

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THE PRESIDENT'S
DAILY BRIEF
13 MAY 1968

1. Czechoslovakia

The Prague-Moscow confrontation seems to have become one of watchful waiting.

No significant Soviet troop movements have been noted over the weekend, but the Russians have trained their propaganda guns on Prague. For their part, the Czechs show little tendency to cave in. Neither are they going out of their way to antagonize the Soviets. They may be moving to mute some of the more discordant voices at home--a prominent liberal has publicly called for an end to indiscriminate attacks on the party.

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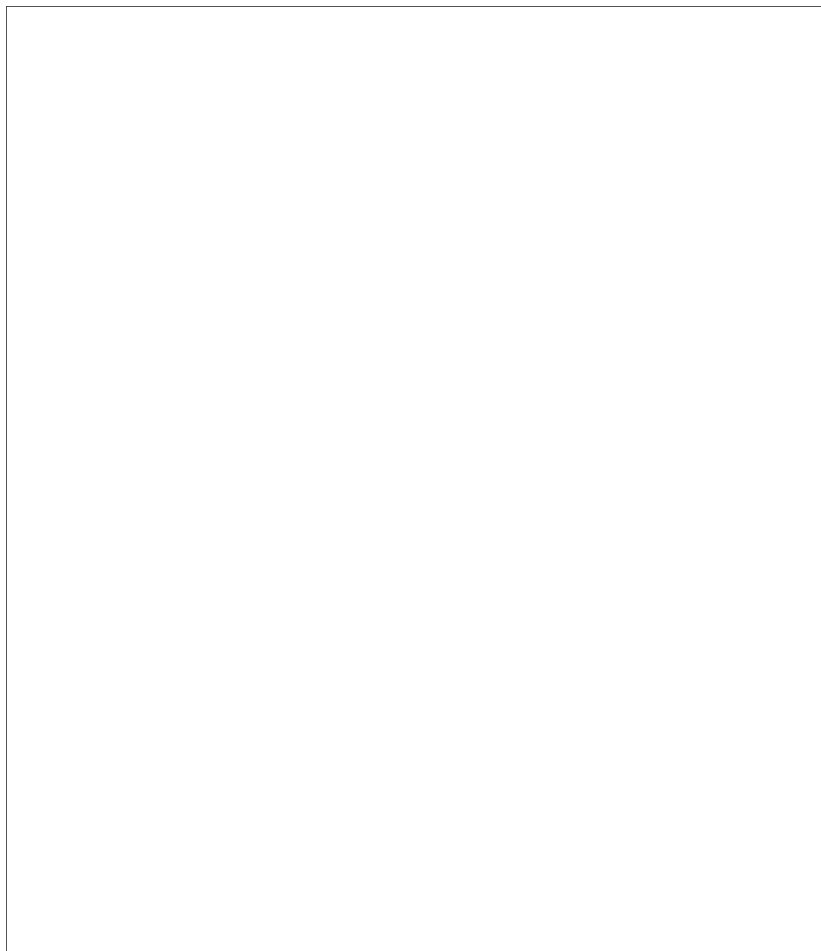
2. France

Given the emotional student issue and widespread labor discontent, the call for a general strike today is likely to get considerable support from workers. The government's concessions have done little to defuse the situation. Demonstrations are planned along with the strike. These easily could get out of hand.

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3. Australia

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**4. Congo**

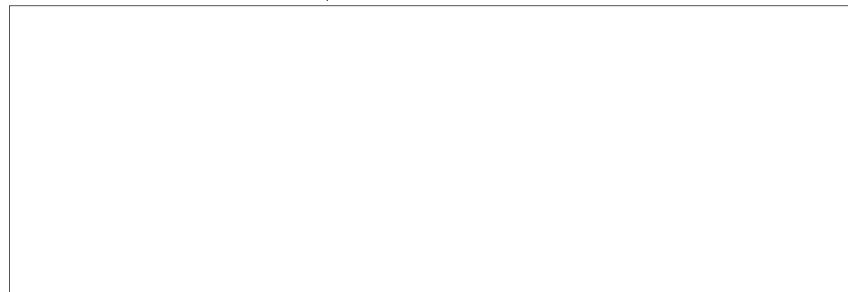
Pressing economic and administrative problems have been allowed to drift while Mobutu goes junketing around Africa. Paper work stacking up on Mobutu's desk includes recommendations for cutting expenditures in an effort to bail the Congolese budget out of its deepening deficit.

Mobutu may paste on a few stop-gap measures, but, so long as the government keeps floundering along, he is likely to remain more interested in travel than in getting down to the hard work of finding a lasting solution.

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5. Burma

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6. Dominican Republic

The leftists are talking about trying to disrupt municipal elections to be held this coming Thursday. Any violence would be mostly in Santo Domingo, but the security forces will be on their toes and probably can handle the situation.

7. Panama

David Samudio, the government's candidate, seems to have a slight edge in the few returns so far reported. No final tally is expected before tonight, however.

Arias supporters already are shouting "foul," but, aside from some cases of ballot box theft

things have been relatively calm for a Panamanian election. Real trouble, if it comes, would be more likely tonight or tomorrow--particularly if the government carries through with its plans to declare Samudio the winner regardless of the balloting.

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- 2.) North Vietnamese Reflections of U S
Political Attitudes



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16

13 May 1968

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

13 May 1968

I. NOTES ON THE SITUATION

Hanoi Sets Its Conditions Regarding Paris Talks:
During the weekend the North Vietnamese laid out their full set of conditions for further diplomatic progress and warned that if the US fails to comply, "difficulties" will arise during the talks.

Hanoi on 12 May broadcast in English a summary of a Nhan Dan editorial, again stressing that the "first question" for the Paris talks is ending the bombing and "all other acts of war." Dropping any earlier ambiguities about the specifics of "acts of war," the paper tabled Hanoi's maximum demands. It specified that not only the bombing but all overflights, including reconnaissance and leaflet drops, as well as naval gunfire, artillery firing across the Demilitarized Zone, and sabotage operations must end. The halt to these actions must be "definitive and unconditional" and include the entire territory of North Vietnam.

In its most direct reference to the issue of reciprocal Communist military restraint, the paper said that the US has "no right whatsoever to set any conditions to the North Vietnamese Government." Like most other recent North Vietnamese statements, it did not mention the San Antonio formula or specifically rule out some reciprocal move.

According to Nhan Dan, Hanoi already has shown its "good will" by agreeing to the Paris talks, and the next move is up to the US. The editorial did not threaten to inflict the usual military "punishment" or to break off the talks if the US fails to stop the bombing. It merely warned that the US would be responsible for any "difficulties" during the talks.

North Vietnamese statements have made a special point of labeling the discussions opening on Monday as "formal talks," rather than the preliminary contacts the

Communists envisaged prior to 3 May. After the discussion of procedural matters in Paris on 11 May, the spokesman for the North Vietnamese carefully noted that agreement had been reached on official talks between "Americans and North Vietnamese." Other statements often imply that even postbombing talks will be strictly bilateral by saying they will involve "other problems of concern to the two sides."

Hanoi clearly anticipates, however, that other parties will be drawn in at some point. The Communists have moved quickly to bring up their new front organization in South Vietnam as one of the parties to later negotiations. Answering a question about who would represent South Vietnam in Paris, the spokesman for the North Vietnamese responded that the Liberation Front and the new Vietnam Alliance of National, Democratic, and Peace Forces were the "authentic representatives of our compatriots," and would speak for the South.

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Peking and the Paris Talks: Peking is maintaining its silence on the current talks in Paris. The visit of Thai Prime Minister Thanom to the United States, however, was used by the New China News Agency on 10 May to reiterate Peking's charge that the United States intends to occupy South Vietnam, using the dual tactics of "peace talks hoax" and "war blackmail."

China's unwillingness to take public notice of the negotiations was made even more obvious when it failed to report the presence of senior members of the North Vietnamese negotiating team in Peking on 7 and 8 May. The Chinese were silent even though the Vietnam News Agency reported that Xuan Thuy and his colleagues en route to Paris were met at the Peking airport by Foreign Minister Chen Yi and other Chinese officials.

* * *

Soviet Union's Attitude Toward Peace Talks: The Soviets continue to take an approving view of the talks. Izvestia on 11 May spoke of the "favorable atmosphere" in Paris and took an oblique swipe at the Chinese by adding that, "it is obvious that the peace-loving forces in all countries will do their utmost to strengthen that atmosphere." On 12 May the Italian Communist Party paper L'Unita quoted Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko as saying in an interview that Hanoi's agreement to talk opens a "real road" to a peace settlement. Gromyko coupled this with a reassertion of Moscow's intent to continue aid to the Vietnamese Communists.

Moscow also continues to mix its endorsement of the talks with claims that the responsibility for success in negotiations will lie with the United States. Pravda on 12 May charged that the US is planning to expand the war and called this a "policy which lies like a black shadow on the Paris negotiations."

* * *

Conflicting French Statements on Liberation Front Presence: Etienne Manac'h, who heads the Asian bureau of the French Foreign Ministry, told a US official that no National Liberation Front officials were in Paris yet. He repeated earlier information

that two Front men were waiting in Prague but they did not wish to proceed without agreement on their status. Manac'h said France wanted Front representation limited to a press office, although the Front seemed to be holding out for something more official.

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

There is nothing of significance to report today.

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The President's Daily Brief

~~Top Secret~~ 14 May 1968



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THE PRESIDENT'S
DAILY BRIEF
14 MAY 1968

1. Panama

Announcement of the official returns of Sunday's election has been postponed following violence in the capital yesterday. Mob attacks broke out as supporters of opposition leader Arias retaliated for a shooting involving partisans of Samudio, the government candidate. Both contenders are claiming victory on the basis of their own widely differing unofficial tallies.

2. Czechoslovakia

There has been no substantial change in the Czechoslovak-Soviet situation.

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In Prague, Dubcek and his colleagues are restating, in low key, their intent to pursue their reform program.

3. North Korea

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4. Communist China

Recent satellite photography of the Shuang-Cheng-Tzu missile test center shows work under way on two new tactical or submarine missile systems.

Little progress is evident, however, in the medium-range missile program. Also, the ICBM launch area is still torn up, and major modifications under way there mean that ICBM testing is postponed for several months.

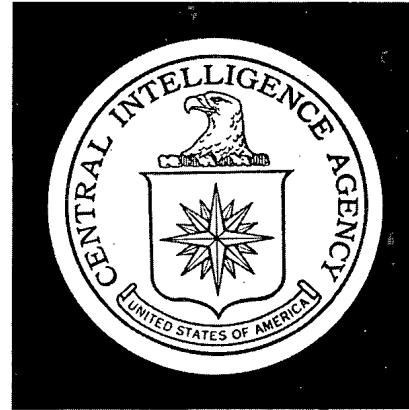
5. Indonesia

President Suharto is again feeling the rough edge of public criticism. His recent effort to reduce subsidies of petroleum products and public utilities by raising their prices has led to other price increases, particularly of textiles and rice. All this has brought renewed grumblings from the politicians and from student groups.

Some anti-inflationary measures planned for this year have already been postponed because of these political pressures. Suharto may also find it necessary to silence some of his critics by offering them posts in the new cabinet to be formed by early July.

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16

14 May 1968

**Special Daily Report on North Vietnam
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14 May 1968

I. NOTES ON THE SITUATION

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Hanoi Claims New Victories in South: Hanoi's International Service in English on 11 and 12 May broadcast editorials praising the People's Liberation Armed Forces for having created a "new development in the new situation" in South Vietnam through their concerted attacks over the last several days.

The editorials spoke of significant victories throughout the country. They singled out for special praise, however, the fighters in the Saigon area for their "daring, successful attacks," and claimed that they had seized and now controlled many quarters of Saigon after decimating their opposition.

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

There is nothing of significance to report today.

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The President's Daily Brief

~~Top Secret~~ 15 May 1968



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THE PRESIDENT'S
DAILY BRIEF
15 MAY 1968

1. Vietnam

[redacted] who defected near Saigon [redacted] says that the first reaction of enemy forces to the Paris talks probably will be to fight harder to achieve the most favorable bargaining position possible. He claims [redacted] that the rank and file are increasingly war weary and that their morale will probably sag if the talks are dragged out.

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2. Czechoslovakia

Both Prague and Moscow now seem to be trying to ease the tension. The press and radio on the Czech side give the impression that Dubcek has decided to move against the extreme liberals who have been irritating Moscow while at the same time pushing forward his reform program. As for the Russians, their activity near the Czech border continues to taper off.

3. Panama

Both sides are still claiming victory in Sunday's elections. [redacted]

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[redacted] the electoral tribunal will be unable to certify the results before June or July, but when it does, "Samudio will win by about six thousand votes." [redacted]

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[redacted] Arias intends to ask the tribunal to declare him the winner at once. If it refuses, Arias claims, his followers will be told "to act as they see best." In this situation, extremists supporting Arias would probably try to provoke new disorders against the government.

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4. United Kingdom

The British press generally agrees that the Wilson government may have lost its will and capacity to govern, and that the Labor Party ought to consider over the next several months whether a change of leadership might be advisable. Most papers, however, are not calling for Wilson's immediate resignation; in fact, the slashing attacks on the prime minister by the King newspaper chain seem to have united Labor supporters behind Wilson, at least for the short term.

Of more importance for the long run is the view expressed by several papers that if another economic crisis intervenes, a majority of the cabinet will almost certainly consider Wilson too great a liability and will ask him to resign.

In a cable in this morning, Ambassador Bruce reaches similar conclusions. He says that any new sterling crisis would almost certainly force drastic action. He comments that "the person of the prime minister is almost the only thing left to throw out of the boat to keep sterling afloat." It would not be a question of a cabinet plot or personal ambition, but of the necessity for the prime minister to sacrifice himself to save the country.

5. Middle East

Thanks to massive Soviet military deliveries to Egypt, Iraq, and Syria since the June war, the Arab stocks of military equipment now outweigh those of Israel almost as much as they did just before the war broke out. This is discussed in greater detail in today's Annex.

6. Nepal

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ANNEX

The Status of Soviet Military Aid to the Arabs

By the end of last month, the Soviet Union had replaced about \$350 million of the estimated \$450 million worth of military equipment lost by the Arabs in the June war. There are still sizable support equipment losses to be made good, but we expect the Soviets to correct this deficiency in the coming months.

In concrete terms, the Soviet resupply effort has:

--Restored Egypt's air and ground force inventories of major combat equipment to between 80 and 90 percent of prewar holdings;

--Replaced most of Syria's losses of major military equipment;

--Continued the delivery of aircraft and other equipment to Iraq, in line with a prewar agreement, so that Iraq's holdings are now well above 1967 levels;

--Made offsetting deliveries to Algeria to compensate for the aircraft which that country turned over to Egypt during the war.

Jordan, of course, has not received Soviet military aid. Even so, the stocks of Egypt, Iraq, Syria, and Jordan relative to those of Israel are impressive.

--These Arab states now have a 4 to 1 advantage over Israel in high performance (MACH 2) jet fighters;

--A 2 to 1 advantage in tanks and self-propelled guns; and

--A 4 to 1 superiority in total artillery pieces.

The Arab superiority in military hardware is likely to grow--particularly if Israel fails in its current effort to get new high performance jet fighters.

The galling thing about all this to the Soviets, however, is that the Israeli soldier remains far out in front of his Arab counterpart in motivation, training, and leadership. Nothing the Soviets can do will close this all-important gap in the foreseeable future.

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Political Attitudes

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50X1

16

15 May 1968

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

15 May 1968

I. NOTES ON THE SITUATION

The North Vietnamese in Paris: Hanoi diplomats in Paris are getting excellent marks in press and public relations. They are projecting an image of firm confidence mixed with reasonableness, even under the pressure of persistent and sometimes irritating press questioning. Nguyen Van Le's press conference on 13 May was apparently typical. As reported by the French news agency, the North Vietnamese spokesman simply and deftly turned aside questions that he did not care to discuss in detail. Le was questioned on what North Vietnam would do if the US refused to stop the bombing. He neatly sidestepped the question. When pressed harder, he dismissed the journalist by telling him that the "reply" probably suited the question. He said it with a smile, however.

Some of the flexibility is also evident in Xuan Thuy's opening remarks. These, while faithful in all significant respects to well established Communist positions, appeared deliberately to avoid polemics. Xuan Thuy used little of the harsh language which Hanoi frequently employs in propaganda forums. On the issue of the bombing, for example, instead of demanding a complete and immediate cessation as a sort of ultimatum--as Hanoi has done in the past--Thuy said only that the North Vietnamese Government wanted a clear and positive answer to the demand that the bombing be stopped. He made no threat to break off the talks, and his closing sentence avoided any sense of urgency. He implied only that he wanted an answer sometime during the course of "these official conversations."

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Hanoi Press on Paris Talks: Yesterday morning's newspapers in Hanoi gave heavy play to the Paris talks, according to the French news agency man in the North Vietnamese capital. Most of the coverage was

devoted to Xuan Thuy's initial statement in Paris on Hanoi's position; Governor Harriman's statement was summarized in some 15 lines. The French report did not say which portions of Harriman's statement were included in the brief summary.

* * *

Hanoi Continues to Boast: An authoritative article by "Victor" in the Hanoi army daily, broadcast on 13 May in English on the international service, stressed that the recent series of attacks had successfully combined popular uprisings with effective strikes at the heart of allied military positions in the urban areas. This "continuous revolutionary struggle," it claimed, has clearly shifted the balance of forces to the Communists and altered the political situation in their favor as well. "Victor" points to the "growing prestige" of the Liberation Front and the establishment of the National Alliance as evidence of the increased isolation of the Saigon government. The recent attacks, the article concludes, will be a major factor in forcing the US to accept complete defeat.

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Front Responds to Ho Letter: The Liberation Front has responded to Ho Chi Minh's letter of 8 May praising the renewed Communist offensive in the South by pledging to score greater military successes, especially while preparing to celebrate Ho's birthday on 19 May. In a letter broadcast by Liberation radio in Vietnamese on 14 May, Front leader Nguyen Huu Tho rehashed Communist claims of victory in the past several years and voiced the Front's determination to press on with the struggle until the South is liberated and the unity of Vietnam assured. The statement made no mention of the US "peace hoax" which was referred to in Ho's letter. So far, the Liberation Front has made no public reference to Hanoi's offer to meet with the US in Paris nor to the subsequent opening of talks. A Hanoi broadcast, however, claimed in general terms that the Front's news agency had endorsed Hanoi's move.

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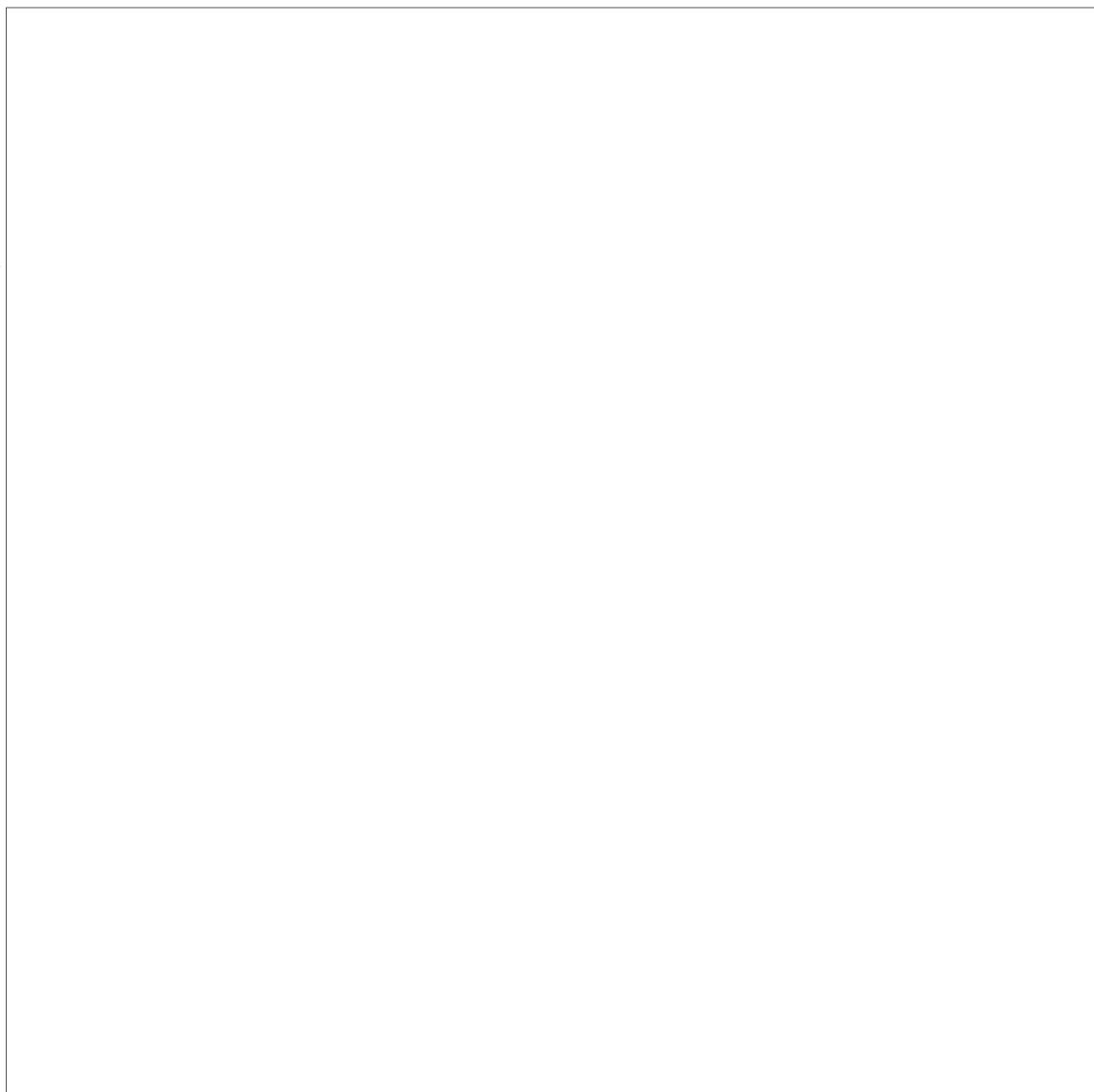
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Moscow Treatment of Paris Talks: The Soviet press and radio gave a straightforward account of the mechanics of Monday's meeting, but presented only Hanoi's side of the dialogue. Scattered comment continued to reiterate that the US must stop the bombing, etc., before the talks can progress to a "serious stage."

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Results of 8 May Photographic Mission: A high altitude photographic mission of 8 May brought back some good pictures of several airfields in the Hanoi-Haiphong area. No significant change is discernible in the air order of battle, but the pictures do show one badly damaged IL-28 bomber off the main runway at Phuc Yen. This is the one that recently crashed while trying to land.

The mission provided the most comprehensive coverage since January of priority industrial targets. Five of the principal power plants in the national network are in partial operation, and

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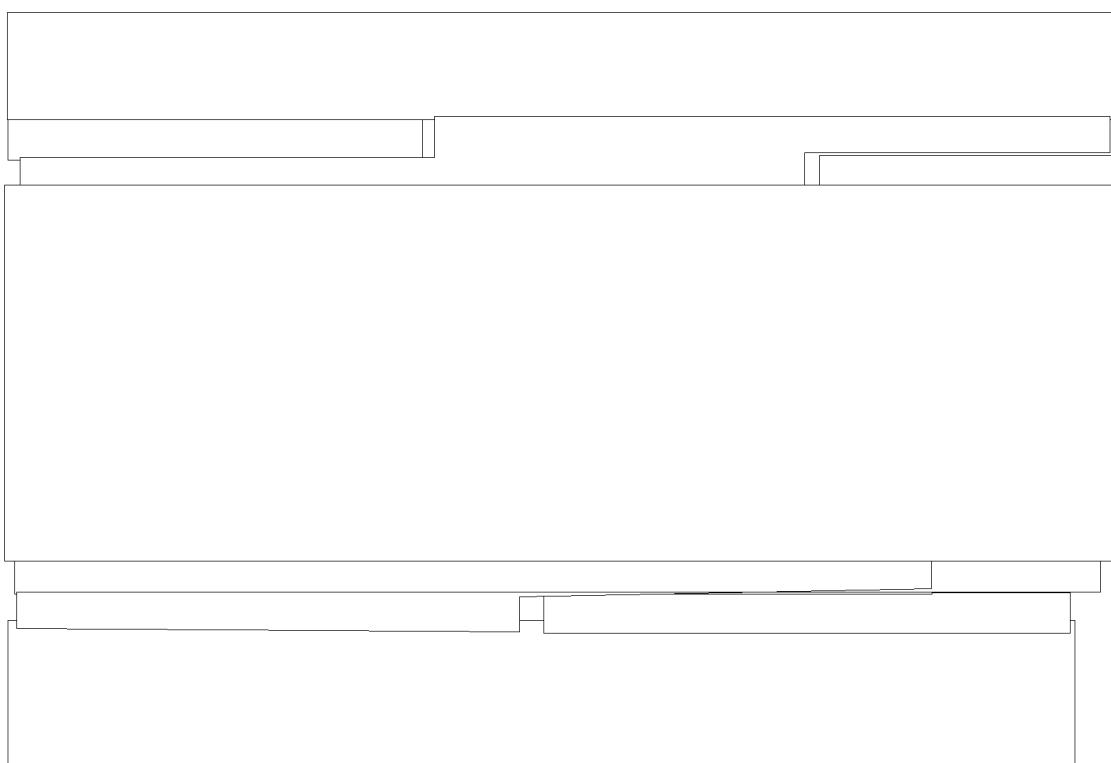
construction at three of these is continuing.

The pictures show about 170 rail cars in the environs of Haiphong--one of the highest levels ever observed there.

The Doumer bridge at Hanoi is still unserviceable.

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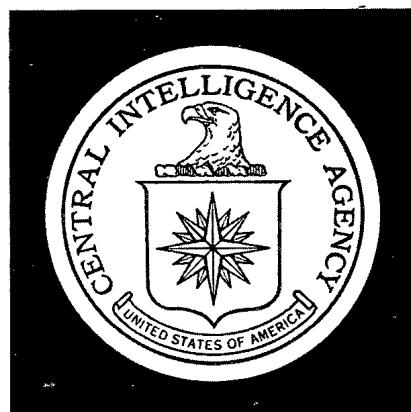
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II. NORTH VIETNAMESE REFLECTIONS OF US POLITICAL ATTITUDES ON THE WAR

There is nothing of significance to report.

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The President's Daily Brief

~~Top Secret~~ 16 May 1968



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THE PRESIDENT'S
DAILY BRIEF
16 MAY 1968

1. Vietnam

Ambassador Bui Diem, Saigon's special representative in Paris, told members of the US negotiating team that he hopes "intermediaries" in the Vietnamese exile community will put him in touch with the North Vietnamese. He has not yet had any such contact, he said. His instructions permit him to meet the North Vietnamese--if they approach him first.

* * *

A series of enemy mortar attacks and ground probes in South Vietnam's Central Highlands yesterday may signal the start of a Communist offensive in the area.

2. France

The government has already gone a long way in its effort to appease the rebellious students. It may have to go even further. The students and the opposition in parliament continue to demand the heads of the ministers of education and interior. Premier Pompidou is anxious to do all he can to take the steam out of a censure motion scheduled for parliamentary vote early next week. We do not expect the government to be voted down.

Signs of division are beginning to show up among the antigovernment forces. Some students and teachers, for instance, suspect the labor unions of exploiting the trouble for their own purposes. Also, the Communist and anarchistic flavor of recent demonstrations may well erode the public support which the students have had since the start of the demonstrations.

3. Czechoslovakia

Prague has again publicly reassured Moscow of its "permanent cooperation." Premier Cernik announced that Soviet leaders had been invited to Czechoslovakia, but that the visit will not be in "the nearest future."

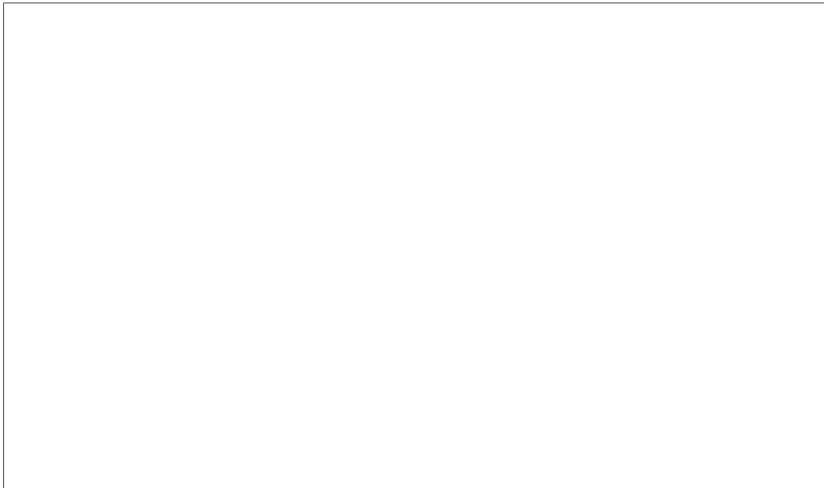
Cernik put it well when he responded to a newsman's question about outside pressures on the new Czech leaders. "It is polemics, not pressure," he said. "Perhaps there will be pressure later on; we do not know... but we are going to go ahead and do what we must, and we will see."

4. Greece



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5. Japan



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6. Dominican Republic

The US election campaign is already having an impact on Dominican politics.

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The Dominican Revolutionary Party is declaring that the end of the Johnson administration will inevitably mean defeat of the "reactionary" Balaguer government, which it calls a product of President Johnson's "policy of force." Last week Juan Bosch's successor as party leader publicly proclaimed his blessings to the "liberal" wing of the US Democratic Party--and impartially to Vice President Humphrey and Senators Kennedy and McCarthy.

7. Chile

The Communist Party joined with the big Radical Party on Monday in a declaration harshly attacking the beleaguered Frei government and calling for unity of action by all "progressives." The joint declaration is clearly an early success for the Communists in their effort to build a "Popular Front" to contest the 1970 elections. The idea will appeal to leftists in other parties, including the President's.

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- 2.) North Vietnamese Reflections of U S
Political Attitudes

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16

16 May 1968

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

16 May 1968

I. NOTES ON THE SITUATION

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Rice Prospects Poor: Bad weather and inefficient use of labor reduced acreage for the spring crop. The May harvest will probably be about 200,000 tons below the prebombing average of 1.5 million tons. The North Vietnamese harvest two rice crops annually--one in October (the larger) and one in May.

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Chinese Aid Still Coming: Despite Peking's clear displeasure over Hanoi's decision to talk with the US, there has been no noticeable reduction in Chinese aid to North Vietnam.

The Chinese probably reason that any efforts to coerce the North Vietnamese through the aid program would only reduce Peking's influence in Hanoi.

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

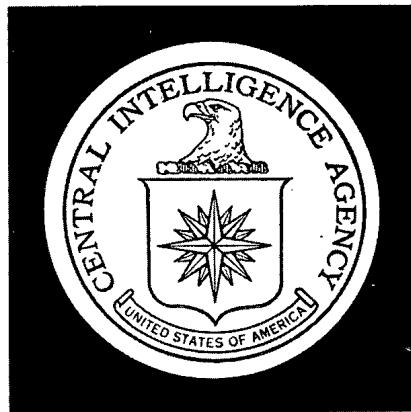
Front Supports Poor: According to Western press reports, the chairman of the Liberation Front has cabled his support to the participants in the Poor People's March. The cable noted that the campaign constituted "an offensive against the ruling circles."

Hanoi Plays up Presence of American Students:
In its English language international broadcast on 15 May, Hanoi announced that four American students representing various elements of the antiwar movement in the US had recently arrived in North Vietnam. They were having meetings with officials involved in student affairs. The broadcast provided little more on the activities of the students other than to state that they talked with Vietnamese students about the peace movement in the US.

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Statement by American Professor Broadcast by Hanoi: In an English language transmission on 12 May, Hanoi broadcast a statement by Professor Robert Greenblatt, who is currently in Hanoi along with other American leftists. According to the broadcast, Greenblatt voiced his praise and admiration for the North Vietnamese and recounted in some detail the antiwar activities that have taken place in the US over the past several months. He concluded on the note that the revolution in Vietnam is assisting the progressive American people in conducting their own revolution to achieve liberty and freedom.

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The President's Daily Brief

~~Top Secret~~ 17 May 1968



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THE PRESIDENT'S
DAILY BRIEF
17 MAY 1968

1. South Vietnam

The enemy continues to step up the military tempo in the Central Highlands with mortar attacks and ground probes. There are signs that Communist forces in other areas of South Vietnam are gearing up for further offensive activity. This might be timed to coincide with Ho Chi Minh's birthday on 19 May.

2. Lebanon-Israel

The Lebanese are jittery following Israel's shelling of a village last Sunday. For domestic reasons, Lebanon is reluctant to stop Arab terrorists based in Syria from transiting Lebanese territory. As the Syrians increase their infiltration activities, Israel's punitive attacks against Lebanon are likely to increase.

3. Arab States -
Israel

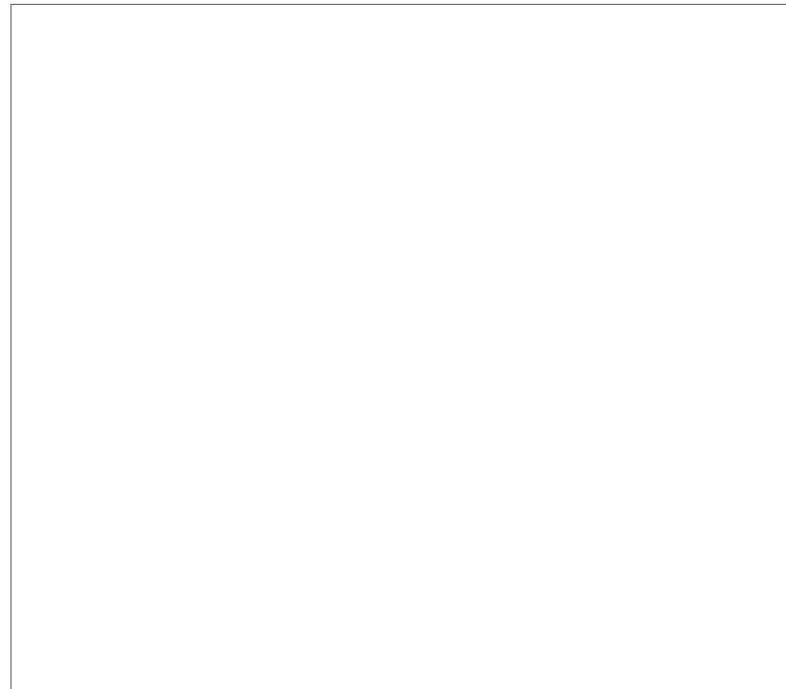
Gunnar Jarring is back in New York, where he hopes to arrange talks among the disputing parties, but the outlook for his mission remains bleak.

The Egyptians stick to their stand that they will not negotiate in the same room with the Israelis. For their part, the Israelis still insist on face-to-face talks.

Jarring indicates that if meetings cannot be arranged within "some weeks," he will have to hand the Arab-Israeli hot potato back to the Security Council.

4. Czechoslovakia

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5. Pakistan -
Soviet Union

While Pakistani defense officials say the Soviet Union has offered a "few" SU-7 ground attack aircraft, we think it doubtful that there is a firm commitment. When Kosygin visited Rawalpindi last month, he suggested [redacted]

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[redacted] that he had met Pakistani requests with only a vague promise.

The Soviets want to protect their good relations with India. They also are trying to promote a better atmosphere between India and Pakistan. Providing such military hardware to Pakistan would hardly seem the way to meet these goals.

Some dividends would accrue, however. The Chinese position in Pakistan would be undercut, and the Soviets would be better able to assure a stiff Pakistani attitude toward the Peshawar facility.

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- 1.) Special Daily Report on North Vietnam
- 2.) North Vietnamese Reflections of U S
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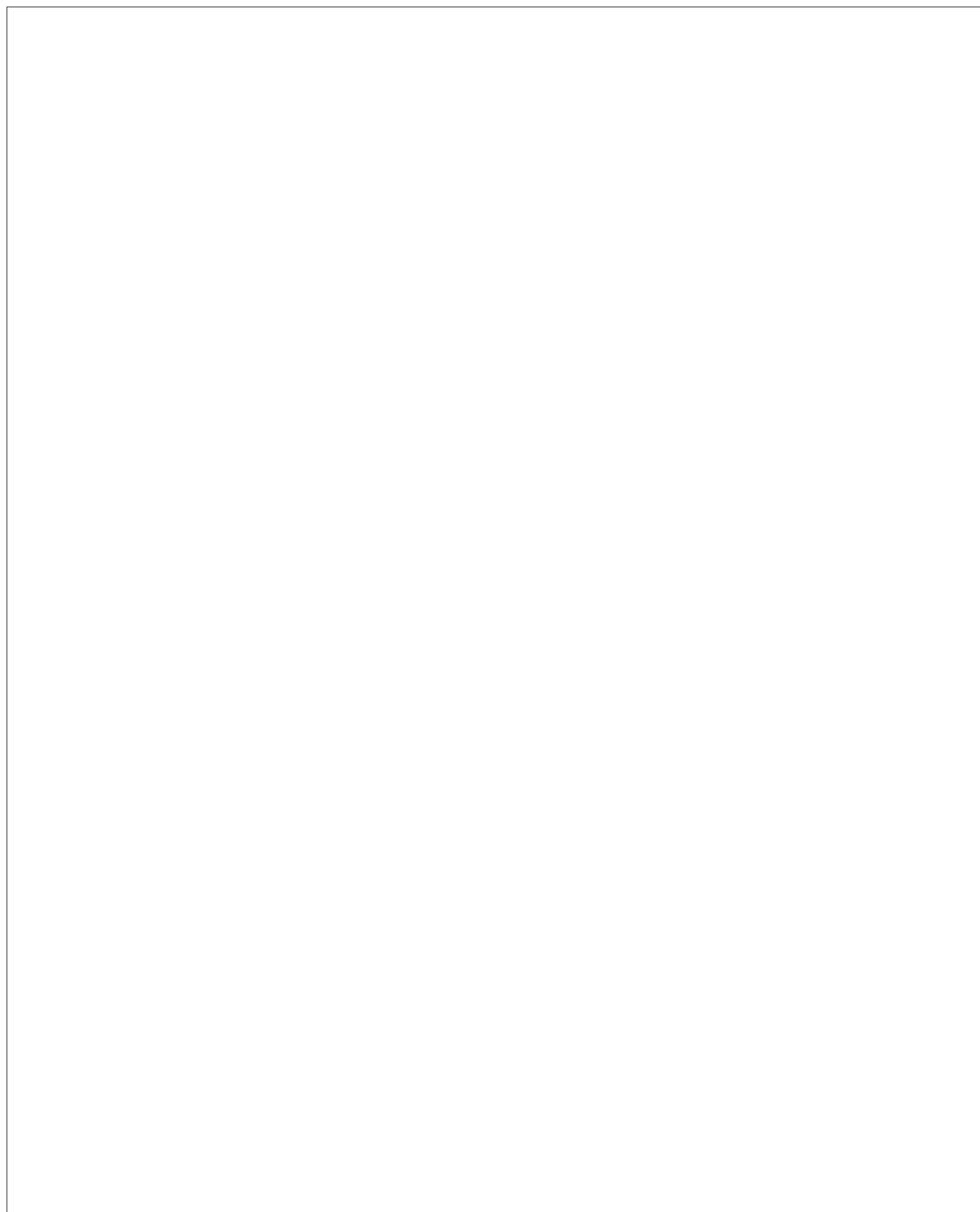
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17 May 1968

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

17 May 1968

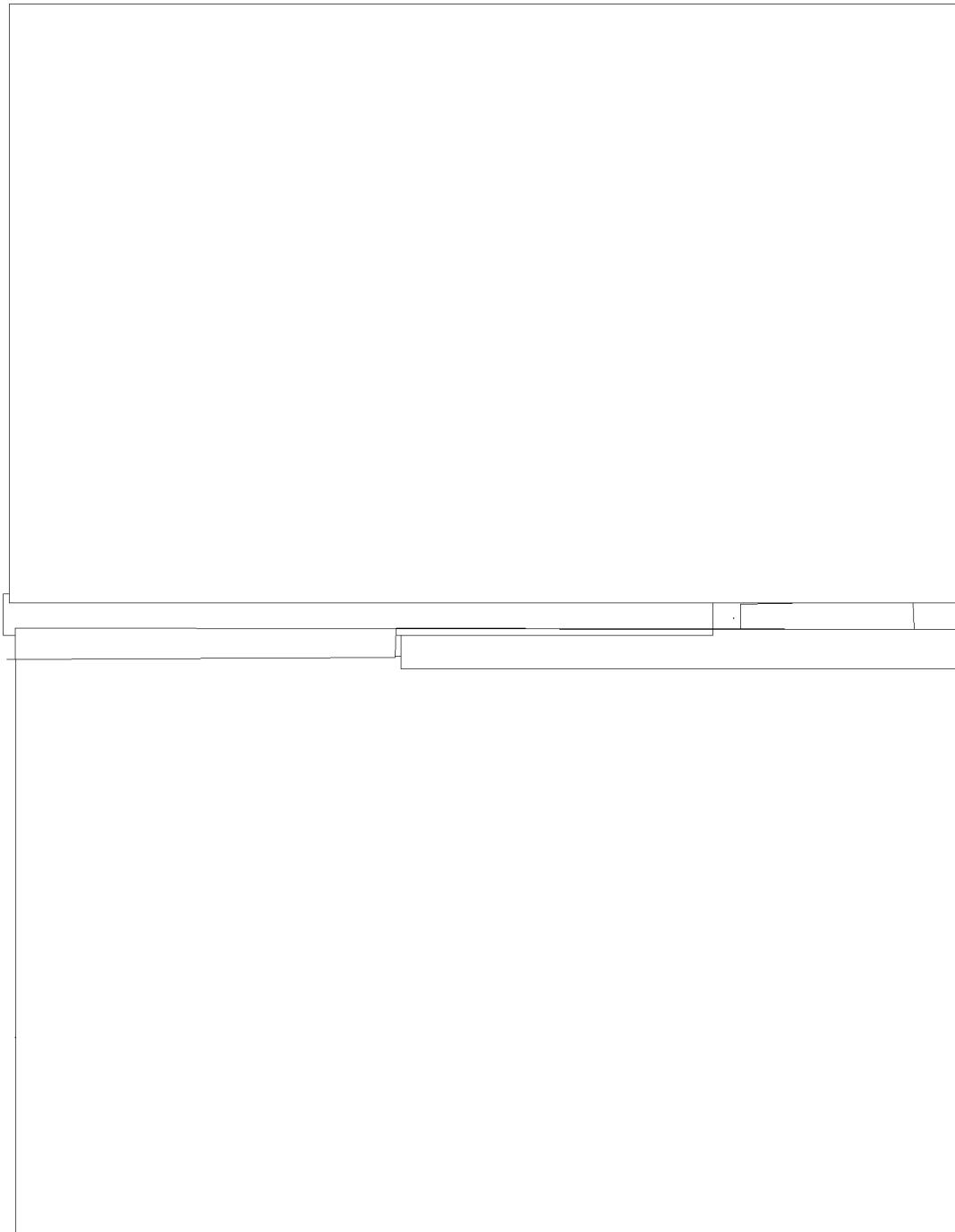
I. NOTES ON THE SITUATION

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New Charges of Intensified US Bombing: In its 16 May Vietnamese language broadcast to South Vietnam, Hanoi made its latest charge of intensified US bombings in the area south of the 20th parallel. The broadcast listed a long series of civilian targets and population centers that the US had "wantonly"

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"bombed" and noted that this was occurring even though the US had begun official talks in Paris. It was claimed, however, that the air defense network in the southern part of the country has been highly successful in countering US air activity and that the people are determined to keep on fighting the US "shoulder to shoulder" with their southern brothers.

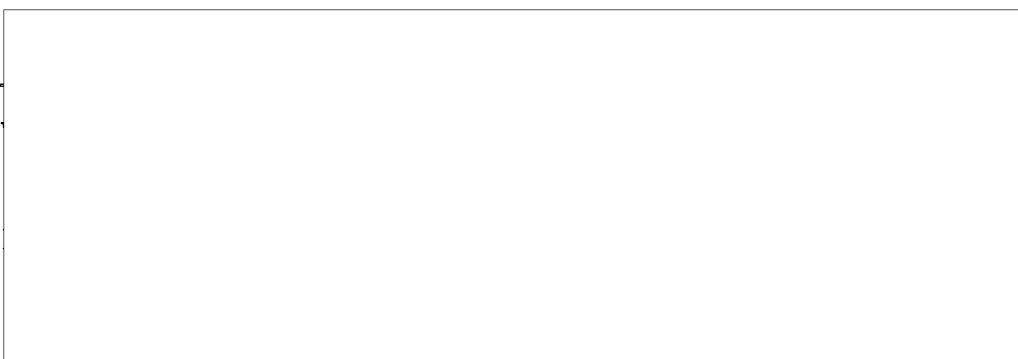
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II. NORTH VIETNAMESE REFLECTIONS OF US POLITICAL ATTITUDES ON THE WAR

Hanoi Cites Antiwar Activities by US Servicemen: Hanoi has publicized a long list of antiwar actions it claims US servicemen have taken over the past several months. Broadcast in English on 15 May, the list includes riots, desertions, and sabotage. Some servicemen are even said to have "disabled themselves" to avoid serving in Vietnam.

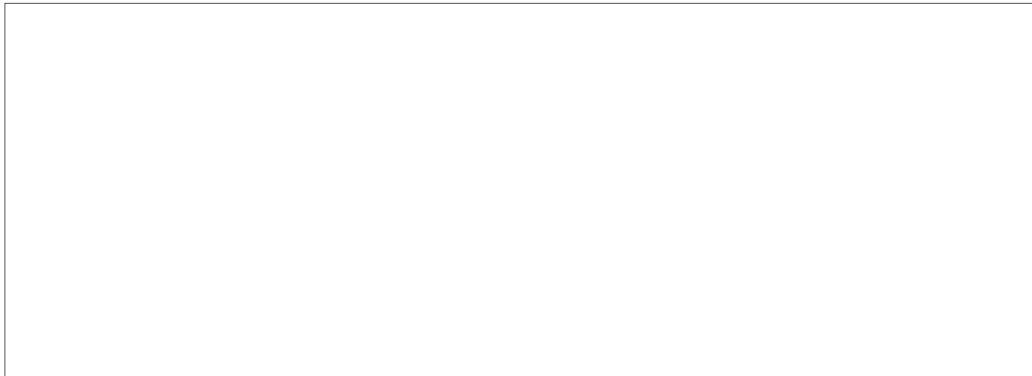
The broadcast charged that more than 10,000 young Americans had fled abroad rather than be sent to Vietnam, and that additional thousands were forming antiwar organizations. Particular emphasis was placed on the claim that many of the protesting servicemen were Negroes who were also demanding the practice of racial equality in the service. One "black soldier" who refused to go to the Far East to "become cannon fodder" was quoted as saying he should stay in the US to fight for the freedom of the Afro-Americans.

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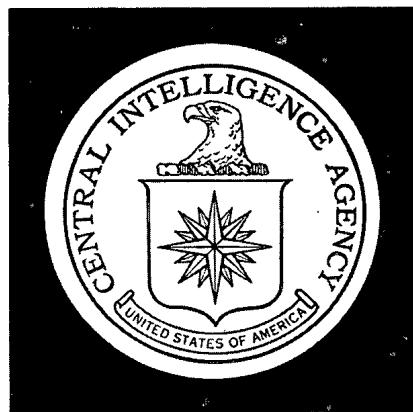
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The President's Daily Brief

~~Top Secret~~ 18 May 1968



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THE PRESIDENT'S
DAILY BRIEF
18 MAY 1968

1. South Vietnam

Resignation of Prime Minister Loc and his cabinet this morning came at President Thieu's request and in preparation for the long-planned government reorganization. There is no aspect of crisis, despite all the scurrying around by newsmen. The embassy believes announcement of the new cabinet--presumably to be headed by Tran Van Huong--will come tomorrow.

2. North Korea

Signs are appearing that a shake-up recently took place high in the leadership. Positions just below the top three in the hierarchy seem to have been affected. Details are hard to come by, but early indications are that hard-liners have won out over men who are--by North Korean standards--moderates.

3. Soviet Union -
Czechoslovakia

Kosygin's sudden appearance in Prague yesterday signals the start of some tough bargaining. We expect him to insist on firm commitments from the Czechoslovak leaders that they will moderate their course and effectively curb liberal dissidence within and outside the Communist Party. If Kosygin is satisfied, he may then be forthcoming about Prague's earlier request for a large and desperately needed loan.

Soviet Defense Minister Grechko, who also turned up in Prague yesterday, brought along a number of high-ranking officers. This show of military brass will add weight to Kosygin's arguments. Soviet military units, meanwhile, remain in place around Czechoslovakia's borders.

4. France

The domestic crisis is getting worse as student and labor disturbances spread outside Paris. Premier Pompidou's stern public warning on Thursday has been met only with defiance. The workers in a number of key factories have joined in the struggle, calling strikes of "unlimited duration" and in some cases seizing the plants.



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[redacted] has it on good authority that the regular army has been alerted to move in should the reinforced police and gendarmes be unable to handle the situation.

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Late press reports say De Gaulle has cut short his trip to Rumania by one day and will return to Paris today to take personal command.

5. Berlin

The West Berlin branch of the neo-Nazi National Democratic Party plans a rally in the city today. This will invite counterdemonstrations by leftist students. The West Berlin police are preparing for trouble.

* * *

The East Germans, encouraged by Bonn's reluctance to take strong countermeasures to the restrictions on access they have applied so far, are said to be thinking of requiring passports and visas for all West Germans traveling overland to Berlin. This would be a logical next step.

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6. Panama

General Vallarino seems finally to have concluded that Arnulfo Arias' electoral majority was so big that his victory cannot be denied.

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What happens next is anyone's guess. Vallarino will likely resist any attempt by President Robles to fire him, and it could well be Robles who gets kicked out.

Vallarino's most immediate problem is to assure continued unity of the National Guard.

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7. Communist China

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8. Israel

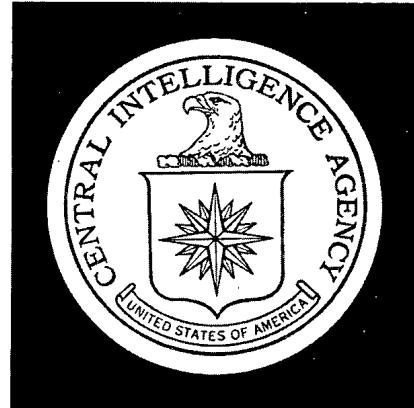
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9. Cambodia

The tribal rebellion in the north-east, and a more serious Communist-led insurgent effort in the south, come at a bad time for Sihanouk. The budget is already strained from four years of economic decline. Sihanouk cannot find the money to beef up the army. He blames the Communists for his troubles, but still cannot seem to understand how all this could happen under such an enlightened leader as he.

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16

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18 May 1968

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

18 May 1968

I. NOTES ON THE SITUATION

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Press Officer Gives His Impressions: Nguyen Van Sao, one of the press officers of the North Vietnamese delegation to Paris, reportedly told a friendly journalist that he intended to stay in Paris for a "long time." He made the statement in London, where he was a correspondent for a Vietnamese newspaper before joining the Paris team. He also volunteered the information that the head of the delegation, Xuan Thuy, would not remain in Paris much longer than two weeks.

Sao's remarks are probably largely his own impressions. He is not a high-ranking individual in the North Vietnamese scheme of things, and it is doubtful that he has any inside information on Hanoi's intentions on the talks. He has made free-wheeling statements in the past which have not always been completely accurate, and probably has a better idea of his own plans than he does of Xuan Thuy's.

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Soviet Officials Hope for Success: Several Soviet diplomatic officials from the ambassadorial level on down have been expressing a hope for the success of the Paris talks. Reference to the possibility of improved Soviet-US relations has on several occasions been coupled with these expressions. Little additional private commentary has been forthcoming, however, and the Soviets have been careful not to imply that success may be brought about by any concessions on Hanoi's part. On the contrary, Soviet public media have been pushing the line that the onus for success or failure rests on the US.

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Hanoi Resumes Shelter Construction, Discourages Returnees: According to a French press dispatch from Hanoi, North Vietnamese authorities have ordered a step-up in shelter construction in the capital city and have begun a campaign to prevent evacuees from returning en masse.

[redacted] one of the first noticeable results of the US bombing restrictions was the influx of people from outlying areas.

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The French news service now reports that the city has inaugurated a "short competition campaign" to "evacuate the population and increase shelter construction." The problem is not minor, according to the news dispatch, which cites figures in the tens of thousands for individual wards. Parents have been informed that children must stay out of the city and cannot come home even for the summer recess.

The evacuation order may have been necessitated by an inability to cope with the wholesale return of hundreds of thousands of former residents in a short space of time. The coupling of the evacuation order with increased shelter construction, however, implies that Hanoi is prepared for a resumption of the bombings.

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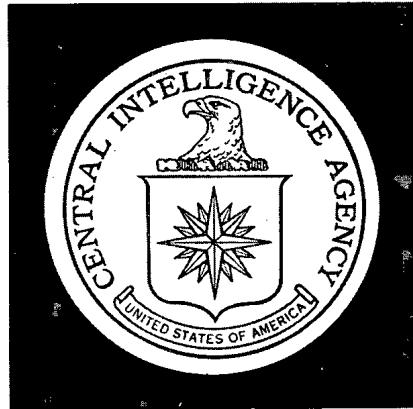
II. NORTH VIETNAMESE REFLECTIONS OF US POLITICAL ATTITUDES ON THE WAR

Hanoi Backs Poor People: On 17 May the Hanoi news agency's international service in English picked up the recent Viet Cong radio item on the Poor People's Campaign. It called the campaign the beginning of a "period of struggle of profound social significance," and linked it to the civil rights and antiwar movements in the US. The broadcast asserted that the cause of these "struggles" was US preoccupation with the war in Asia and said that the "South Vietnamese people" consider such demonstrations a manifestation of "militant solidarity."

* * *

Hanoi on Reserve Call-up: North Vietnamese propaganda has made a special point of noting measures which it describes as further US escalation of the war. The latest of these was in a Hanoi broadcast on 16 May in Vietnamese to South Vietnam which cited Associated Press reports about the call-up of 20,000 US reservists. The broadcast says this occurred just when the Paris talks were beginning, and charges that this "proves" the US is still bent on "aggression" in Vietnam. The broadcast ridicules the idea that a few thousand additional troops can save the US from a "stalemated situation."

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The President's Daily Brief

~~Top Secret~~ 20 May 1968



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THE PRESIDENT'S
DAILY BRIEF
20 MAY 1968

1. France

De Gaulle this morning is confronted with:

--a mushrooming strike which has paralyzed large areas of the country;

--student protestors as intransigent as ever;

--a censure motion in the legislature against the Pompidou government.

Strikers have occupied more than 250 factories and idled large parts of the transportation network. According to the press, the Paris police may go on strike next.

The thread which ties the workers to the students is their dissatisfaction with what Ambassador Shriver calls the "constipated bureaucracy" of the country. For the workers, this apparently includes their own labor federations. Significantly, none of the federations has called a general strike, and all seem to be trying to rein their members in.

We believe Pompidou will survive the censure motion. He may lose a few votes from the leftist fringe of the Gaullist party, but these will probably be offset by votes from conservative deputies who fear that the successor to Pompidou's government would be a leftist coalition including the Communists.

De Gaulle himself is still pulling his punches. He is not even scheduled to talk to the nation until Friday. He has a formidable arsenal of weapons to bring to bear, ranging up to the declaration of a state of emergency. His own position is not threatened, but he will need all his skill to head off the challenge to the structure he has built around himself.

2. South Vietnam

Tran Van Huong's appointment as premier will probably increase the government's following among several important civilian groups in South Vietnam, including the militant Buddhists and the people in the southern part of the country.

Ky and the generals, on the other hand, are a bit worried. [redacted]

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3. East Germany

A growing number of East Germans are saying their country should follow Czechoslovakia's lead. Some are even beginning to question the stability of the Communist world and the value of the Warsaw Pact's guarantees. [redacted]

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[redacted] Such openly expressed sentiments help explain why Ulbricht is pushing so hard for a Soviet crackdown on Prague.

4. Panama

[redacted] the winner in last Sunday's presidential elections may be declared later this week. Since Arias supporters predominate on the electoral board which performs this function, we expect that Arias' victory will be confirmed.

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The Samudio forces are now trying to subvert some of the members of the electoral board. As long as Vallarino and the National Guard support Arias, however, Samudio's prospects are pretty dim.

5. Nigeria

Federal troops have taken the airport at Port Harcourt. This was the terminal for the air shuttle which was the Biafrans' only access to the outside world. The government in Lagos had been pushing hard to capture it in order to strengthen its hand further at the peace talks which open in Uganda this week.

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16

- 20 May 1968

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

20 May 1968

I. NOTES ON THE SITUATION

Mai Van Bo Interview: North Vietnam's permanent representative in Paris, Mai Van Bo, gave an interview on 16 May to a Western journalist in which he commented on Hanoi's attitude to the peace talks. The main impression given by Bo was that the North Vietnamese negotiators were not prepared to agree to reciprocal action for a full US bombing halt of the North.

Bo went on to say that Hanoi did not expect the US to stop the bombing and as a result would continue to fight in Vietnam while continuing the "deaf persons' dialogue" in Paris. In answer to the question of whether the North Vietnamese would continue to negotiate if the Americans do not stop the bombing soon, Bo said that they would continue the conversations as long as they "appeared to be useful." He added that he did not believe it would be useful to make a "symbolic gesture" to enable the Americans to save face while stopping the bombing.

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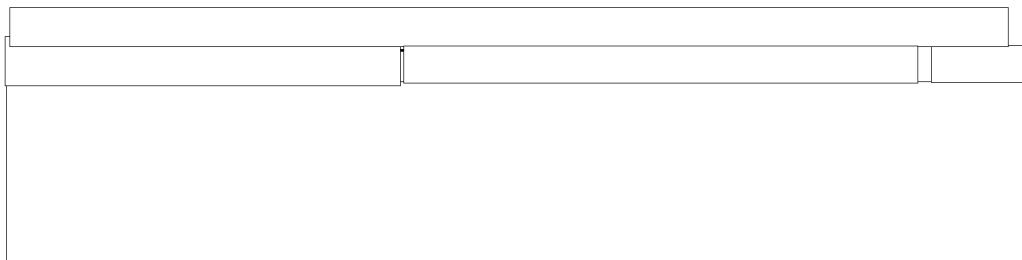
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North Vietnamese to Give Paris Reception:

Etienne Manac'h, Asian bureau chief of the French Foreign Ministry, has told a US official that the North Vietnamese are planning a large reception at a Paris hotel on 21 May. Manac'h said the French premier and foreign minister probably would not attend, but there would be high-level Foreign Ministry representation. A number of diplomats, including representatives from NATO countries, have also been invited.

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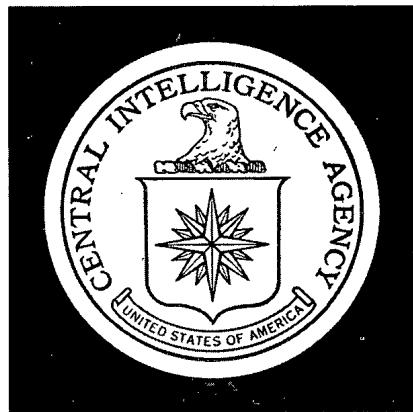
Hanoi's Delegation Settling In: Manac'h also said that the North Vietnamese delegation had asked the French to help with the installation of teletype machines and direct telephone lines from their recently acquired villa to the Majestic Hotel and North Vietnamese offices in town. The villa is one formerly occupied by French Communist leader Thorez and now owned by the French Communist Party. Manac'h indicated that everything pointed to the North Vietnamese settling down for a long stay in Paris.

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

There is nothing of significance to report today.

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The President's Daily Brief

~~Top Secret~~ 21 May 1968



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THE PRESIDENT'S
DAILY BRIEF
21 MAY 1968

1. France

The tide has not turned yet. Strikes continue to mushroom all over the country. The Paris police are now demanding immediate pay raises and openly warning that their patience is wearing thin. They have not yet threatened to join the strikers, but it could come to that.

A police strike would immensely complicate the picture for De Gaulle. He would have to bring in the army, which he would regard as a last resort. French military officials have expressed doubt whether even regular troops in the Paris area could be relied on in all circumstances.

At this point, De Gaulle still seems intent on avoiding open confrontation. He knows that use of force to dislodge the protestors would almost surely bring on new violence.

2. Czechoslovakia -
Soviet Union

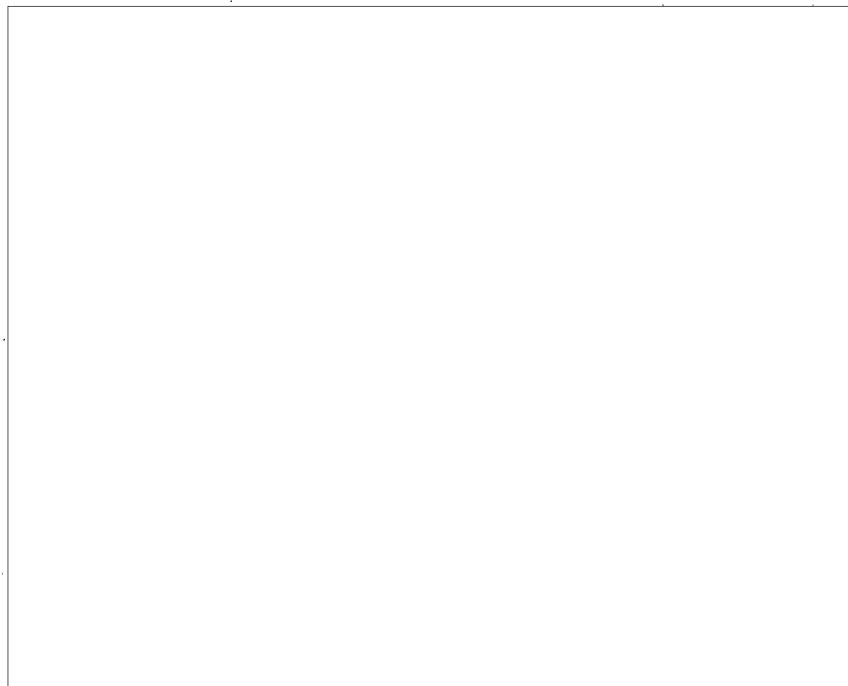
Nothing has happened yet to suggest a break in the Kosygin-Dubcek stalemate. A ranking liberal leader in Prague pointedly declared on Sunday that Czechoslovakia will not retreat in the face of Soviet pressure. He tempered his remark, however, with a warning that the party will not tolerate attacks on its supremacy.

3. United Kingdom

Sterling was under heavy speculative pressure yesterday in all markets. The Bank of England is buying pounds, but it is in bad shape with almost no foreign exchange left. By yesterday, it had spent nearly all of the \$7 billion loaned by other central banks to support sterling during the past year. When these funds run out, sterling will face a de facto devaluation, and that might bring the fall of the Wilson government.

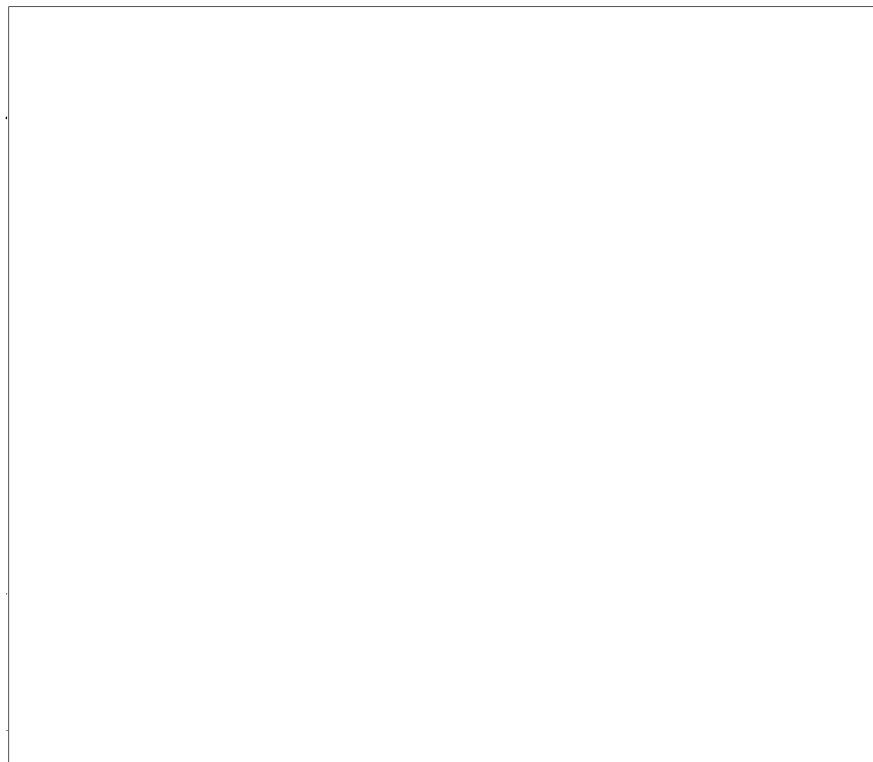
4. West Germany

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5. South Vietnam

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Thieu tells Ambassador Bunker that he and Huong expect to complete formation of the new cabinet in a day or two, and that at least five of the 17 incumbents will be kept on, including two generals.

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6. Australia

Prime Minister Gorton is making his own foreign policy to a much greater extent than Harold Holt ever did. He is relying more and more on his own staff

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The most obvious difference between Gorton and his foreign and defense ministers is his idea that Australia should rely after 1971 on well-armed mobile military units based at home. The ministers contend that Australia should maintain a force in Malaysia.

7. North Korea

The North Koreans are working to expand relations with various Middle East countries. Since the first of the year they have set up diplomatic relations with Iraq and South Yemen and opened trade offices in Lebanon and Kuwait.

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8. Israel

The cabinet meeting yesterday was a rough one for Eshkol. He managed to get endorsement "in principle" for his foreign policy, but Dayan and the other hawks were extremely critical on some points--particularly Eban's "acceptance" of the November Security Council resolution and the transfer of the Jarring talks to New York. In effect, Eshkol and friends have been put on notice that further "concessions" will endanger the coalition government.

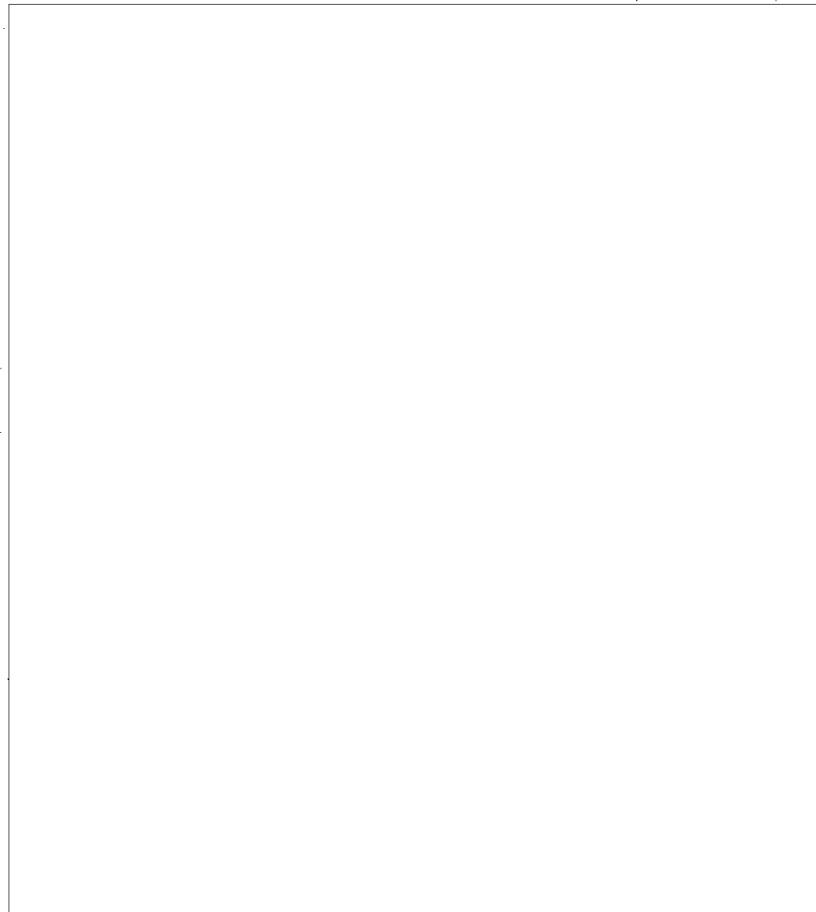
9. Soviet Union

With the current ferment in Czechoslovakia, Moscow has additional good reason to keep a sharp eye on its respective intellectuals.

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10. Haiti

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11. Cuba

President Dorticos has been out of public sight for nearly two months. His absence was especially obvious last week when the new Soviet ambassador presented his credentials--to Foreign Minister Roa. We do not know whether Dorticos' problem is physical or political.

21 May 68

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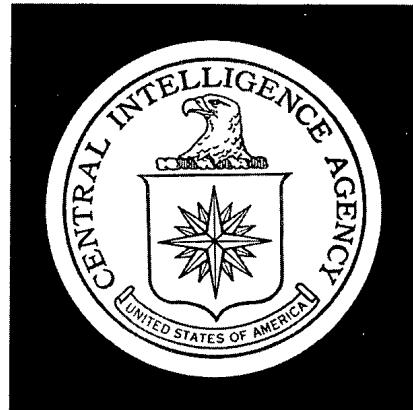
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16

21 May 1968

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

21 May 1968

I. NOTES ON THE SITUATION

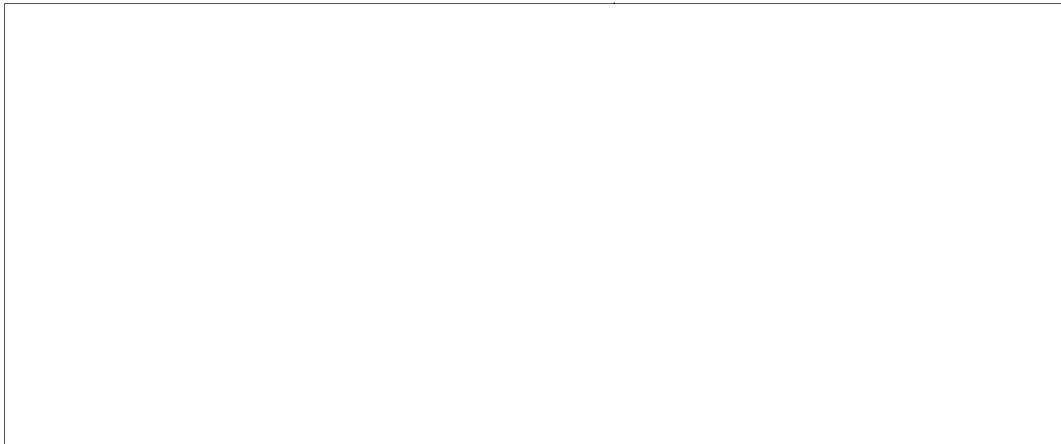
Hanoi Stresses Southern Victories: Hanoi's latest review of Communist military "successes" in South Vietnam since Tet concluded that, although the allies have failed in their objectives, heavy fighting may still be necessary before a Communist victory is assured. An editorial in the Hanoi daily Nhan Dan, broadcast in English in the International Service on 20 May, listed the usual statistical details which generally accompany the Communist claims of victory in the "general offensive and uprising." It also ridiculed the effort of the US to take measures to prevent further Communist attacks. The editorial zeroed in on the contention that the Saigon government is divided and is suffering serious political, economic, financial, and social difficulties. Contributing to this decline, the editorial alleged, is the growing strength of the Viet Cong as well as the formation of a "bloc of national unity" represented by the new National Alliance. The Alliance was described as "effectively working for the rallying of more people in the fight against the US."

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Civil Defense Preparations Continue: A French news dispatch from Hanoi bears out [redacted] 50X1
[redacted] continued defensive preparations. North Vietnamese authorities are said to have begun a "short competition campaign" in the capital to "evacuate the population and increase shelter construction." Hanoi is troubled by the influx of thousands of evacuees who returned following the beginning of bombing restrictions.

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Hanoi Delegate on Paris Talks: Ha Van Lau, deputy head of North Vietnam's negotiating team, in talking to a Japanese newsman on 18 May, said that Hanoi regards the US entry into talks as acceptance of its demand that the bombings be stopped. Asked what Hanoi would do if the US refused to stop the bombings, Lau said "the talks will continue." He also said that Hanoi believes the US attitude toward negotiations is closely dictated by domestic political considerations and that North Vietnam does not expect serious bargaining until early August under the pressure of the political conventions.

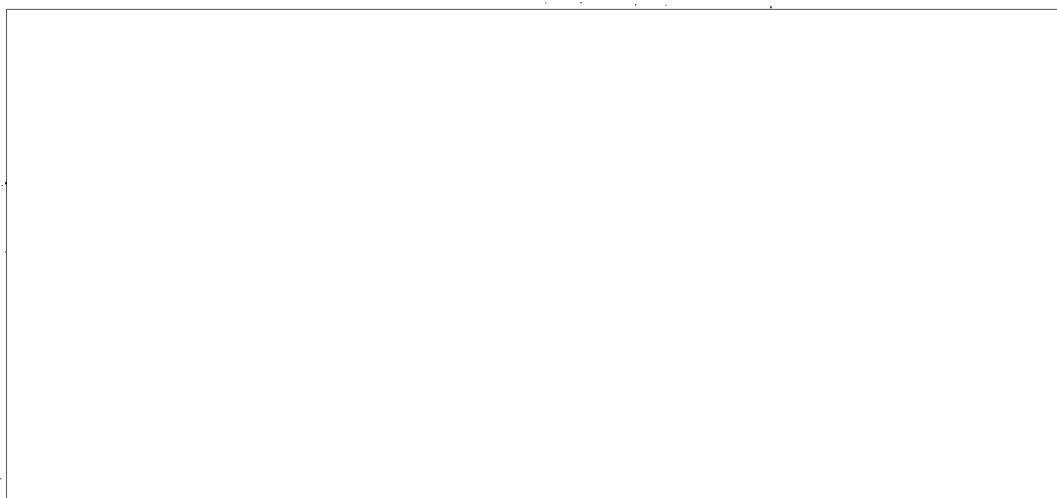
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North Vietnamese Diplomatic Travelers: In its continuing effort to gain the support of neutral governments for its position in the war, Hanoi has for the first time dispatched a representative on a "friendship visit" to Pakistan and Afghanistan. Ngo Minh Loan, the North Vietnamese ambassador to Peking, arrived in Rawalpindi on 17 May for a six-day visit and is receiving considerable government and press attention. Prior to his departure for Kabul, Loan is scheduled to be received by President Ayub and other Pak officials. In statements to the press, Loan has avoided direct comment on the Paris talks. He did state, however, that it is apparent from the US position that there has been no basic change in US policy.

Other traveling Hanoi representatives are being more forthcoming in offering their views of the Paris talks. North Vietnam's Deputy Foreign Minister Hoang Van Loi, who is currently in Syria, was quoted by Damascus radio as saying that the "victories of the South Vietnamese people" have forced the US into the Paris negotiations, and that these victories will make the negotiations brief. Loi also stressed that the US must stop the bombing and added that "we will get what we want either through struggle or through negotiations."

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Nhan Dan Commentary: Like Hanoi's public spokesmen in Paris, North Vietnamese media remain fixed on a full bombing halt as the first condition for any progress in the talks with the United States. A Nhan Dan commentary on 20 May scored the concept of reciprocal military restraint and demanded a complete and "unconditional" bombing cessation. The paper noted that the US had raised many other issues in Paris, "in the hope of diverting public attention" from the bombing question. It said that the Communists were armed with "concrete evidence and valid reasons" on all these issues, which "will be discussed" after a bombing halt.

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

Hanoi Propaganda Silent on US Elections: Hanoi's propaganda since 3 May has contained no discussion of the US presidential election campaign. There has been no mention of the Indiana or Nebraska primaries. Xuan Thuy's statement at the Paris talks on 13 May took note of US domestic criticism of American policy on Vietnam and named Senator Robert Kennedy as one of the critics, but this passage was not included in the summary of Xuan Thuy's statement disseminated by the Vietnamese News Agency.

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The President's Daily Brief

~~Top Secret~~ 22 May 1968



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THE PRESIDENT'S
DAILY BRIEF
22 MAY 1968

1. France

In the face of growing protests throughout the country, De Gaulle is sticking to his guns. He apparently does not plan, at least for now, to replace those cabinet ministers who are being roundly criticized for their handling of student and labor unrest.

Gaullist leaders in the National Assembly are confident that the Pompidou cabinet will survive the censure motion being voted on today or tomorrow.

There is speculation that De Gaulle may be thinking of putting his money where his mouth is by calling a popular referendum. He would certainly think twice about this, however, given the demonstrated depth of opposition to his economic and social policies.

[redacted] the government, confronted with the unforeseen events of recent weeks, is punchy and no longer acting as a government. All depends on De Gaulle. He can save the situation, but some believe that he is better at handling the generals' revolt, acting against American hegemony, and preaching nationalism in Bucharest than he is at proposing a new social contract to the nation's workers.

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2. Panama

Some circles in the National Guard
are bitter over the probable victory of
Arias.

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3. Haiti

The situation is still murky, but
it appears that government forces have
the insurgents on the run. Port-au-
Prince remains calm.

4. Argentina

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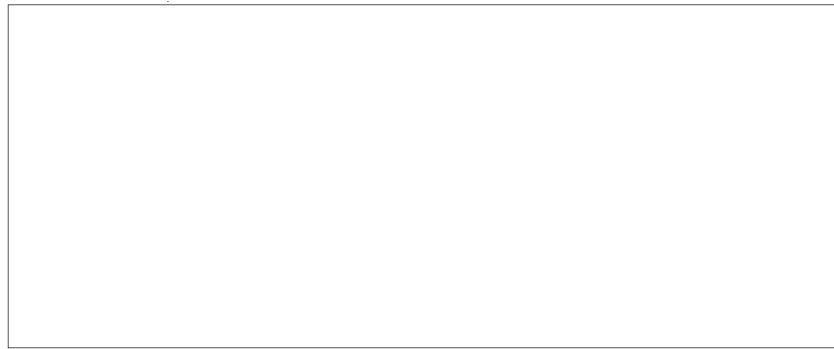
5. South Korea

Tightened security was probably
the main purpose behind President Pak's
cabinet reshuffle yesterday. The key
change was the return of an able army
career man to the post of home minister,
which controls the police. The commu-
nications and transportation ministries,
both security related, were given to
other able men.

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6. Soviet Union

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**7. Brazil -
Soviet Union**

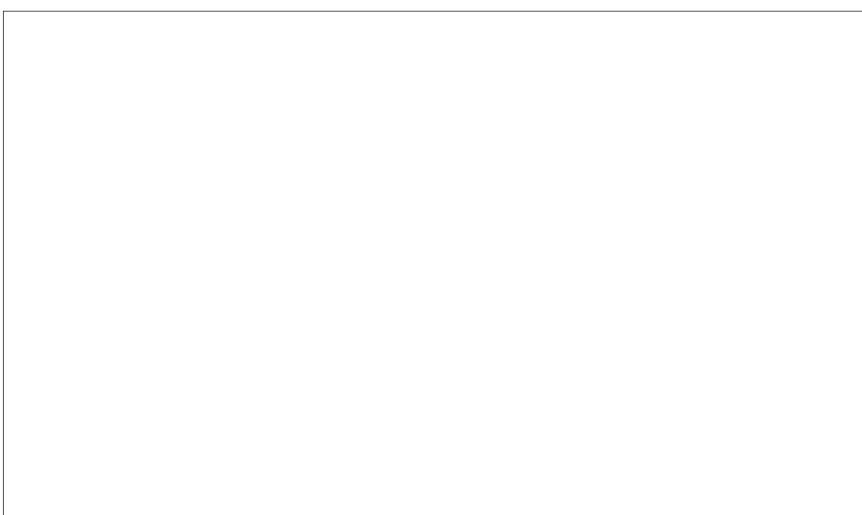
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The Soviets are also chafing over another, and less grim, naval embarrassment--Brazil's retention of their space support ship, the Kegostrov. It is now more than two weeks since it was picked up. A Soviet apology for "inadvertent" violation of Brazil's territorial waters has cut no ice with the navy

**8. Communist China**

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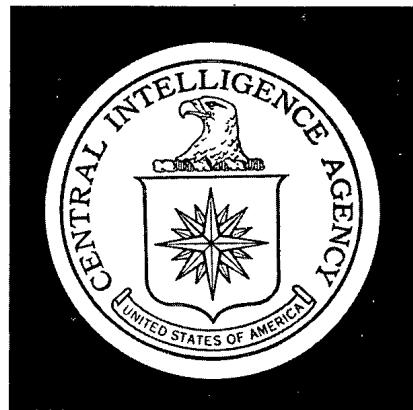
Peking is arranging abroad for record amounts of chemical fertilizer. This apparently stems from worry over food prospects this year. Communist China's own fertilizer production has been severely disrupted by the Cultural Revolution, and the abnormally good crop year of 1967 is not likely to be repeated.

9. Algeria

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FOR THE PRESIDENT'S EYES ONLY

- 1.) Special Daily Report on North Vietnam
- 2.) North Vietnamese Reflections of U S
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16

50X1

22 May 1968

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

22 May 1968

I. NOTES ON THE SITUATION

50X1

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More North Vietnamese Missions to Western Europe: The government in Helsinki has agreed to receive a North Vietnamese representative of ambassadorial rank around the end of this month. This mission is part of a new effort by Hanoi to make its position known in non-Communist countries.

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We also hear that a North Vietnamese trade mission has been visiting the Netherlands and Belgium.

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Hanoi on Chinese Support: As if to underscore that Chinese support for the war is continuing despite Peking's annoyance with the Paris talks, Hanoi broadcast an English language item on 21 May noting that "the 700 million Chinese people" are pledged to provide "powerful backing" to Vietnam. The broadcast attributed these words of praise to Chinese Vice Premier Li Hsien-nien, who reportedly used them when receiving an otherwise obscure North Vietnamese hydraulics survey delegation.

* * *

North Vietnamese Propaganda: In a long but unnoteworthy propaganda commentary on 21 May, the North Vietnamese army daily again argues that US charges of Communist aggression are "absurd" and that the US is trying to "evade" the "pressing problem" of halting the bombings. The paper says that Vietnam is one country and therefore there can be no question of Vietnamese aggression. In other sections, it rejects Ambassador Harriman's suggestion of similarities in the US and North Vietnamese positions, and says that only the US can restore the status of the Demilitarized Zone.

* * *

Hanoi on South Vietnam Shakeup: In a broadcast in Vietnamese to South Vietnam on 20 May, Hanoi radio cited Western reports of President Thieu's recent cabinet reshuffle as evidence of new political instability in Saigon. The broadcast says that Prime Minister Loc's "fall" from power shows that the US has been unable to bring about a stable and effective administration in Saigon. Hanoi usually

is quick to pick up and make use of political problems in South Vietnam, and we are likely to see more of this theme in the coming months.

* * *

Communist Political Developments: The Communists continue to publicize their new National Alliance among international audiences, and in South Vietnam they claim to be building up grass roots organizations which will reinforce their plans for a coalition government under the Alliance.

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At a press conference on 17 May, the Front representative in Prague emphasized the appeal the Alliance had among Vietnamese living abroad.

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Back in South Vietnam, the Communists say they are building the kind of local grass roots structure which will strengthen their claims of territorial control, particularly in rural areas. On 18 May, Hanoi announced that "people's liberation committees" had been set up in 170 "newly liberated villages" in four delta provinces. The committees reportedly are taking over self-defense duties and civilian administration.

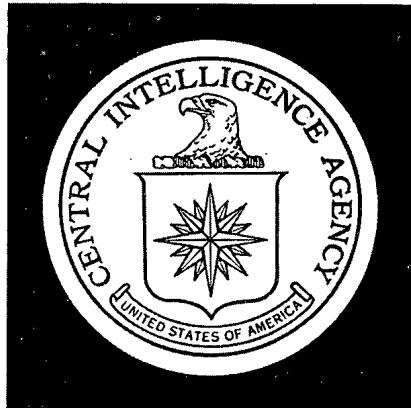
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II. NORTH VIETNAMESE REFLECTIONS OF US POLITICAL ATTITUDES ON THE WAR

Nothing of significance to report.

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The President's Daily Brief

~~Top Secret~~ 23 May 1968



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THE PRESIDENT'S
DAILY BRIEF
23 MAY 1968

1. France

Acceptance by union leaders of Pompidou's offer to open a "dialogue" with labor could be the first step toward a negotiated settlement. The obstacles are impressive, however. For one thing, there is no assurance that the rebellious workers can be brought back under control of the union leaders. For another, the powerful organization of French employers says it will oppose any government-union agreement calling for higher wages.

Moreover, a new outbreak of student demonstrations in Paris early this morning has further complicated the picture.

Defeat of the opposition's censure motion yesterday does strengthen the government's hand, but even in the easiest of circumstances France will never be quite the same again. A leading Gaullist deputy confided to a US Embassy officer this week that the General will be obliged to make important modifications in his social and economic programs--and even his foreign policies--in order to reunite the people behind him.

De Gaulle will do his utmost to preserve intact his force de frappe program--but this, too, may have to suffer.

2. Soviet Union -
Czechoslovakia

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3. Italy

Communist gains in this week's election came in the face of relative economic prosperity and despite developments on the international Communist scene which had seemed to undercut the Italian party's propaganda position. Many Italians evidently wanted simply to oppose the government; the Communists--the only major opposition party--got the votes. Communist strength went up 11 seats for a total of 177 in the 630-man parliament.

Premier Moro, whose Christian Democrats won 266 seats, is the leading candidate to head a new center-left coalition government. The demoralization of his Socialist coalition partners, however, will make that party more difficult to deal with. They had hoped to win back some of the seats taken earlier by a Moscow-oriented splinter party, but actually they met with an over-all loss, winning only 91 seats.

4. Panama

Postelection tension rose several more notches last night after a pitched battle in the capital between gangs supporting the rival presidential contenders. Several were injured before the National Guard restored order.

The official vote count is moving ahead slowly, with Arnulfo Arias in the lead. Some administration officials continue casting about for ways to head off an Arias victory.

5. India

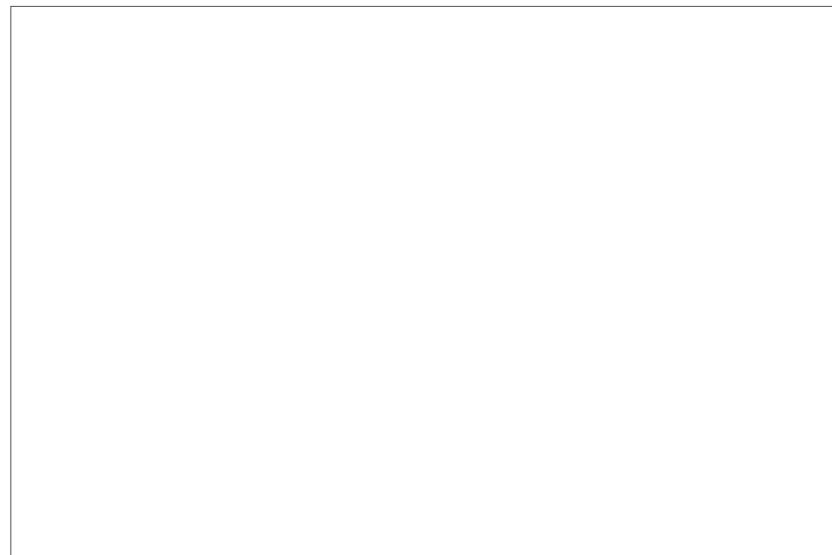
The Congress Party has made some progress in recent state and local elections. It still has a long way to go before it recovers from the disaster of last year's general elections, but Mrs. Gandhi must feel encouraged.

6. Afghanistan

The old way of doing things is coming under attack even in this outpost of traditionalism. Students and workers have been leading demonstrations and strikes in recent weeks and even parliament is showing unaccustomed aggressiveness in its criticism of the conservative prime minister. So far, the King has stayed in the background, but the old establishment is now pressing for an end to the careful "experiment in democracy" he launched a few years ago.

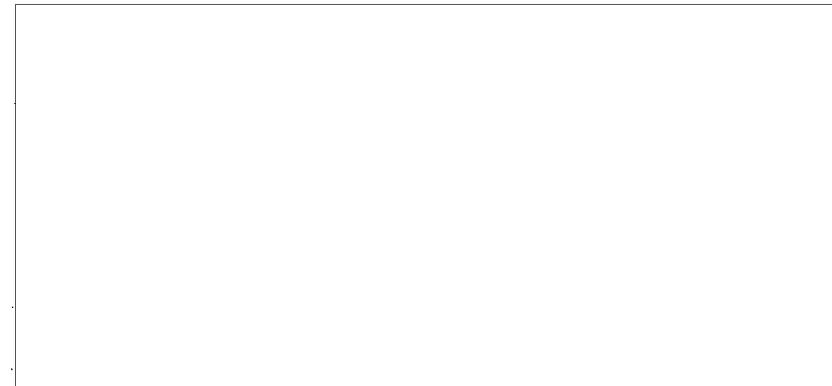
7. Communist China

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8. Central African Republic

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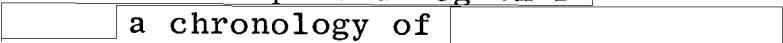




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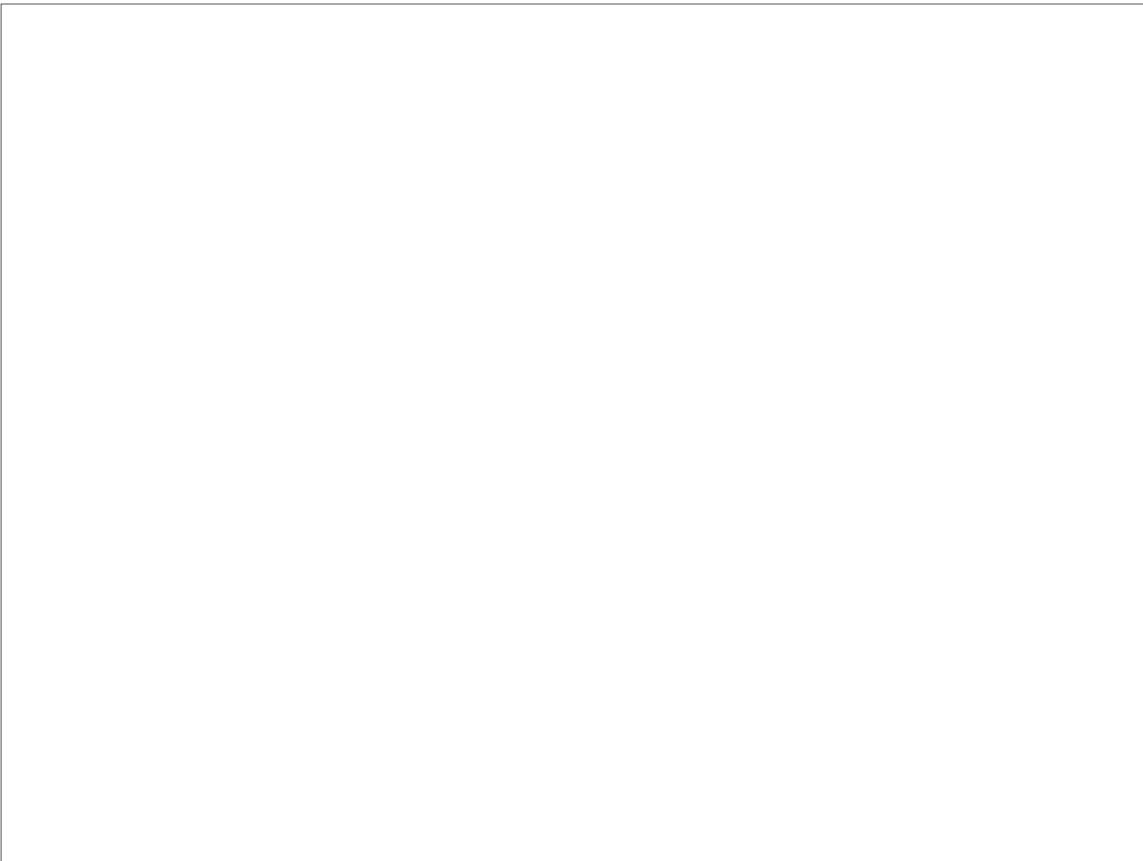
The Soviet Leadership's Reaction to the
Czechoslovak Situation in Early May

We have pieced together 

 a chronology of  early May when the Soviet leadership made and implemented its decision to step up the pressure on Czechoslovakia. We think we can discern a "make-haste-deliberately" attitude within a well coordinated team of three. Brezhnev clearly assumed the lead. We also believe the record shows that the Soviets took a measured approach to the use of power and avoided sharp reflex actions, much as they did in the Middle East crisis last summer.

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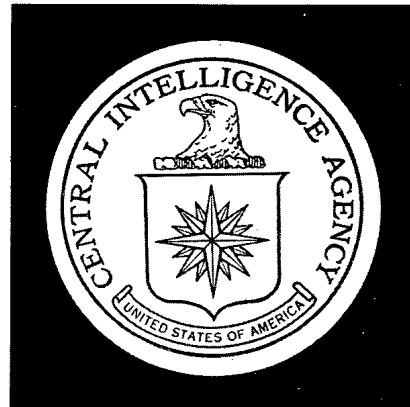
We think we can see in all this activity an approach strongly reminiscent of the Soviet modus operandi in last summer's Middle East crisis. Brezhnev played the key role, but apparently only after getting the general agreement of Kosygin and Podgorny. Once the three had decided to act, they moved quickly to get the proper stamp of approval from their colleagues. Avoiding rash actions, they took a line which permitted the gradual application of political, military, and economic pressure. This "gradualist" approach has come to be a hallmark of the leadership's approach to many problems, foreign and domestic.

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16

23 May 1968

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

23 May 1968

I. NOTES ON THE SITUATION

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More from Hanoi on "Friction" in Saigon: Hanoi propaganda continues to play up the government reorganization in Saigon as another sign of friction between Thieu and Ky, and as an unraveling of the South Vietnamese political fabric. A Hanoi international

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service broadcast in English on 22 May claimed that the friction between the two South Vietnamese leaders had been smoldering a long time and was now erupting into the open. The broadcast also emphasized other alleged signs of disintegration in Saigon, such as the debate of government policies in the National Assembly. It concluded that no reshuffling of the cabinet would be able to "shore up the tottering Saigon regime."

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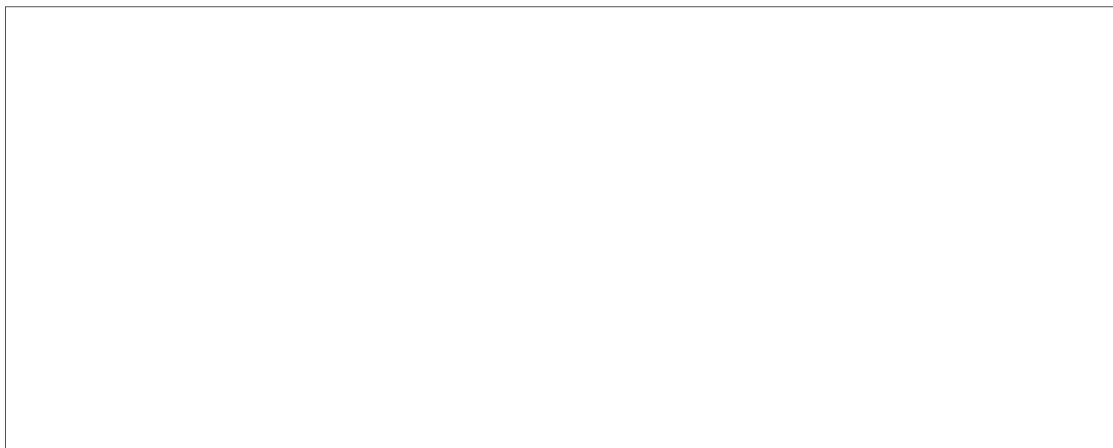
The Genesis of the Tet Offensive: The Viet Cong [redacted] who rallied to the government in April claims that the Communists began to revise their basic strategy for the takeover of South Vietnam last spring. He claims that their decision to take a new look at the war in the South was triggered both by US Operation Junction City and by conflicting advice and pressures from the Chinese and the Soviets on how to conduct the war. This rethinking eventually evolved into a new policy calling for a "general offensive and general uprising" later in the year.

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The defector claims he received this information from his superior. Although his reporting in the past has frequently drawn on intraparty gossip and speculation, he is probably generally correct on the timing of Hanoi's policy reconsideration. He may also have put his finger on some of the factors which necessitated such a revision--a combination of US military pressure and less than satisfactory cooperation and support from the two senior Communist allies.

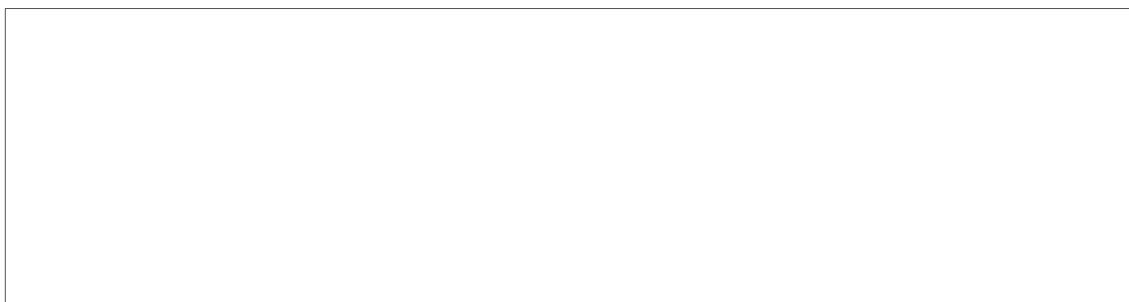
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II. NORTH VIETNAMESE REFLECTIONS OF US POLITICAL ATTITUDES ON THE WAR

Antiwar Rally in US: Hanoi Radio on 22 May publicized an antiwar rally held on 19 May in Madison Square Garden in New York. The Hanoi broadcast claimed that the rally was attended by artists and writers who demanded that the US stop its war in Vietnam.

This same rally apparently was also referred to by Xuan Thuy in his prepared statement of 22 May, when he said that nearly 20,000 Americans had organized a meeting in New York to demand a change in the US attitude in Paris. The meeting, he added, was an example of "progressive opinion in the US" which opposed the administration's policy on Vietnam.

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The President's Daily Brief

~~Top Secret~~ 24 May 1968



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THE PRESIDENT'S
DAILY BRIEF
24 MAY 1968

1. France

Word has begun to leak out about De Gaulle's package plan for getting France back under control. When he talks to the nation today, he will probably announce some arrangement by which workers and students can participate in the running of the factories and universities. He also is likely to schedule a popular referendum--a tried-and-true Gaullist device--for this summer. There is still a good chance that he will shuffle his cabinet, either now or in the near future. All this will presumably be flavored with De Gaulle's patented appeals to order and the glory of France.

This package, plus the opening of some splits between students and labor, may permit De Gaulle to regain the initiative. The package, however, is clearly not responsive to one demand essential to many of the dissidents--the end of Gaullism.

The ferocity of last night's pitched battle with the police shows that the students at least have not lost their touch.

2. South Vietnam

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3. Czechoslovakia -
Soviet Union

Dubcek and Premier Cernik on 22 May flew to the spa where Kosygin is "vacationing." Both sides are doing their best to pretend that there are no serious differences between them, and the Czechs have made numerous small gestures to avert the Soviets' displeasure. The media of the two countries have continued their sparing match, however, and we are certain that a good many important points remain at issue behind the facade of brotherliness.

As one of its conciliatory gestures, Prague has agreed to participate in Warsaw Pact exercises this summer.

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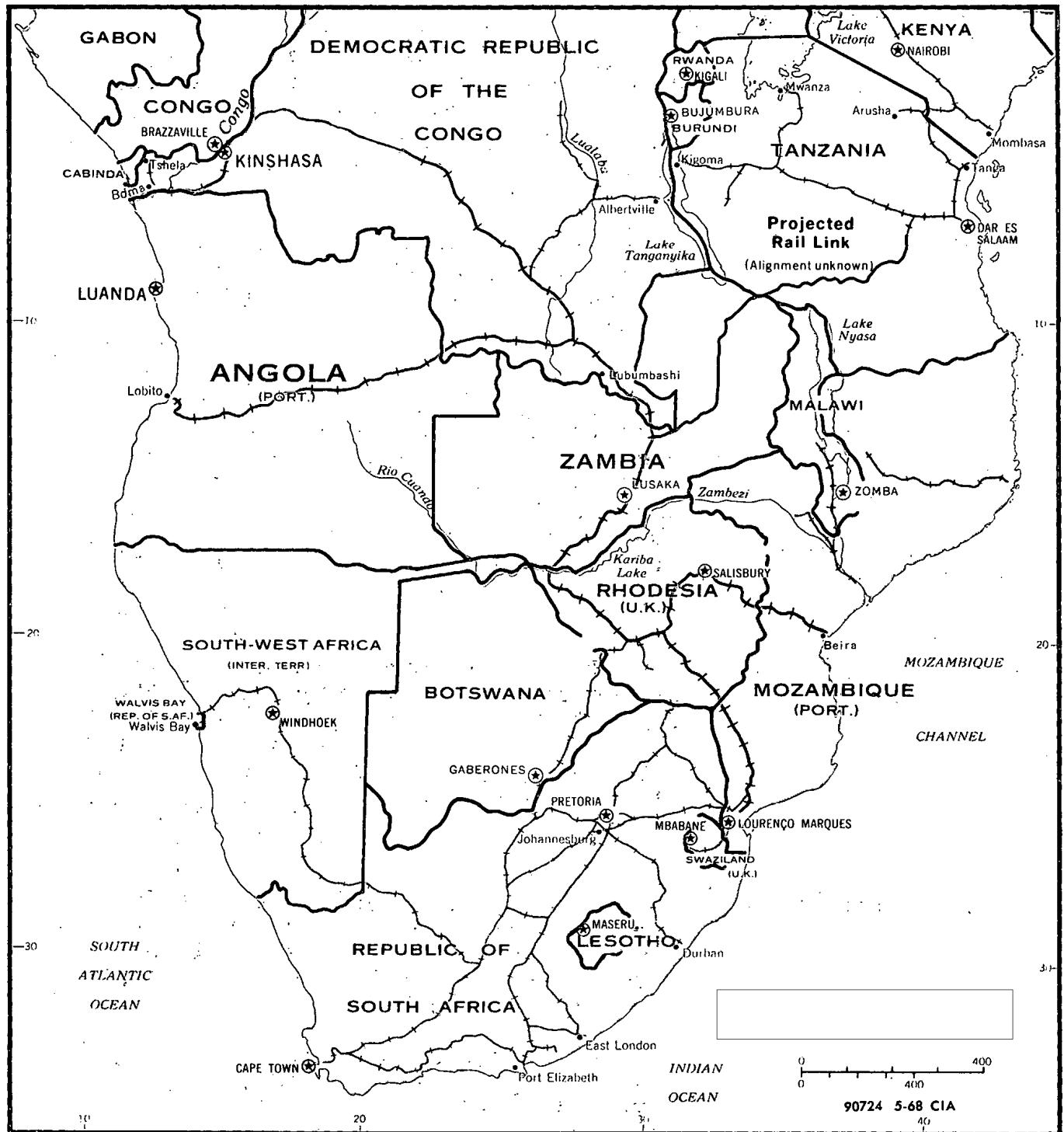
4. Czechoslovakia-
France

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5. Communist China

May 24, 1968

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6. Panama

Samudio supporters have now forced the replacement of the vote-counting board's president. This is the third man to sit in this particular hot-seat since the elections. The first was literally sickened by the pressures he was subjected to by the Samudio forces; his deputy and stand-in was simply too objective to be satisfactory.

Since the president can vote only in case of a tie, the 6-to-4 Arias majority on the board will probably stand up most of the time. Moreover, Vallarino has reaffirmed his promise not to condone fraud in the vote counting.

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**7. Communist China - East Africa**

Peking is pushing ahead with surveys for the projected railway linking Tanzania and Zambia. Over 300 Chinese are now in Tanzania to do a detailed study of that part of the route, and a similar number is expected in Zambia around September. Actual construction could start in late 1969 or even earlier.

The Chinese have made available exceedingly generous financing for their part in this project, including an open-ended, interest-free loan to be repaid partly in commodities. Chinese generosity has already gained Peking considerable leverage over Tanzania's foreign policy.

8. Australia

Our embassy in Canberra has it from an influential Australian official that Prime Minister Gorton would like the ANZUS treaty strengthened. He is thinking in terms of a permanent watch committee to look for potential trouble spots. The embassy believes Gorton may float the idea during his visit here next week.

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16
24 May 1968

Special Daily Report on North Vietnam
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24 May 1968

I. NOTES ON THE SITUATION

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Social Notes from Paris: The North Vietnamese are not overlooking the social possibilities which the French capital provides to promote their cause.

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The Paris delegation has already staged one large reception which included prominent French personalities with some background in Vietnamese affairs--a former prime minister, French Communist Party officials, and high-level French Foreign Ministry representation. They are planning an even bigger party for next Saturday to celebrate Ho Chi Minh's birthday. Xuan Thuy has composed a special poem for the occasion. The entertainment will feature Vietnamese national singing and dancing, and the guest list will probably include prominent members of the overseas Vietnamese community.

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On Cambodia: Hanoi has made a special effort in the past few days to blame the US for raising the issue of Cambodia in the talks. A Foreign Ministry statement and extensive Nhan Dan commentary have condemned US "aggression" in Cambodia. These charges are coupled with accusations that the US is trying to broaden the Paris talks to include issues other than the bombing halt.

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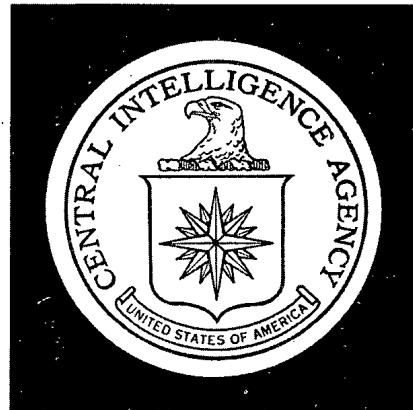
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II. NORTH VIETNAMESE REFLECTIONS OF US POLITICAL
ATTITUDES ON THE WAR

There is nothing significant to report today.

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The President's Daily Brief

~~Top Secret~~ 25 May 1968



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THE PRESIDENT'S
DAILY BRIEF
25 MAY 1968

1. France

De Gaulle's announcement of a referendum on reforms has not eased things--the immediate situation remains tense and ugly. Rioting has been reported this morning in Paris and in large provincial cities as well. The police are getting tougher, and troops have been placed on alert.

French labor unions reacted to De Gaulle's statement by urging strikers to increase pressure on the government. The strike scene is likely to improve only if the government comes forward with concrete reform proposals during crucial negotiations with labor and business leaders today.

The interior minister, one of the key targets of student-labor unrest, may be looking for someone else to pin his troubles on. He apparently is considering a white paper that would make what Ambassador Shriver calls the "traditional" accusation that CIA inspired the student uprisings. Any such document would be completely fictional--there has been absolutely no CIA involvement.

2. Czechoslovakia

The US Embassy believes the week ahead may be an important one. The Central Committee convenes Wednesday with the possibility of a showdown between contending factions.

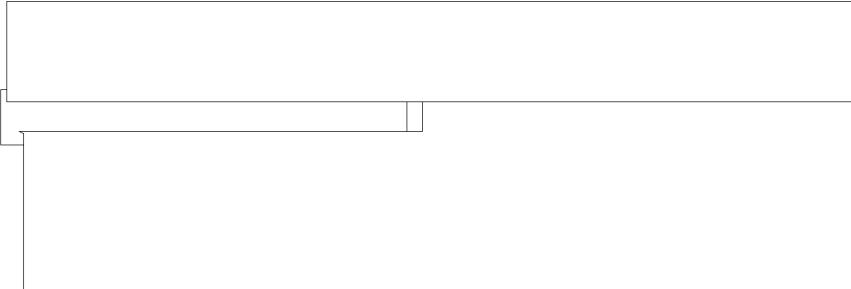
Kosygin returned to Prague yesterday and may be getting ready to go back to Moscow. Just how much he actually has accomplished is uncertain--the Czechs are saying things designed to mollify the Soviets, but nothing to suggest surrender.

3. Israel



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4. Cuba-Egypt



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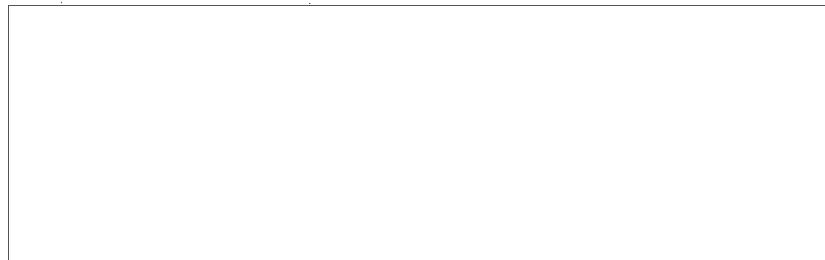
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5. Haiti

Duvalier sees American skulduggery behind every real or rumored plot against himself. The latest invasion by exiles is no exception. He is convinced the US was involved and is determined to air his case before the UN Security Council in hopes of embarrassing Washington. Meanwhile, the remnants of the vanquished invader band are headed for the Dominican border.

6. Arab States -
Israel



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25 May 68

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7. Communist China

The United States Intelligence Board on Thursday approved a National Intelligence Estimate, The Short-Term Outlook In Communist China. Among the conclusions reached in this estimate:

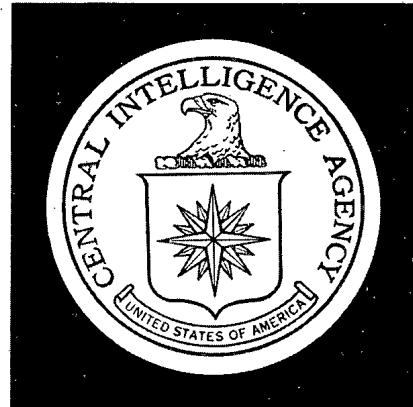
--The ranks of those alienated by Mao's Cultural Revolution have grown even though he broke the back of his high-level party opposition two years ago. The Cultural Revolution, in fact, has been a failure in most respects and has done great harm to China. In all likelihood, it will be gradually phased out.

--Over the next year or so, there will be many twists and turns, although the general trend will be toward regaining stability. The military will play a key role in efforts to rebuild the political and economic base.

--During this period, China is likely to be more preoccupied with domestic affairs than with foreign developments.

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16

25 May 1968

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

25 May 1968

I. NOTES ON THE SITUATION

"Legislature" Meets: With much fanfare, the North Vietnamese have held their first National Assembly meeting in two years. Preliminary broadcast announcements yesterday did not specify the date of the meeting, but it was the occasion for the turn-out of virtually the entire leadership and a major speech by Premier Pham Van Dong which has only begun to come in. The entire Politburo turned out, with the exception of Pham Hung and Le Duc Tho (both of whom have been out of sight for many months and may be in the South) and Le Thanh Nghi (who is on an aid mission in Europe). By special invitation of President Ho, the Liberation Front representative in Hanoi also participated on the "presidium" of the meeting "during this session."

Only preliminary reports and summaries of the speeches are available at this time. Both Assembly President Truong Chinh's opening remarks and Premier Pham Van Dong's 90-minute speech, however, appear to be focused on recent developments in the war and Hanoi's hopes for a successful conclusion of the struggle. The Premier's speech is entitled, "Forward, Total Victory Will Be Ours" and has three major divisions: the war in the South, the war in the North, and foreign support. The early summaries indicate that the Communists are telling their people that final victory is within their grasp if they will mobilize for one last push. In reference to the Paris talks, the Premier apparently used a hard line on the issue of reciprocity. At the regular news briefing by the North Vietnamese delegation in Paris yesterday, however, the North Vietnamese spokesman opened the briefing by assuring the newsmen that the Premier's speech did not convey any intention to break off the talks.

* * *

Hanoi Fetes Visiting American Negro Communist:
Hanoi announced in its English language broadcast on 23 May that James Jackson, described as a "leader of

the US Communist Party," was in North Vietnam at the invitation of the Vietnam Journalist Association. The broadcast noted that Jackson was given a rare audience with President Ho Chi Minh and was received by other Hanoi government, party, and trade union officials. The broadcast also quoted Jackson as "reaffirming the support of the US Communist Party and the American people for the Vietnamese people's struggle against US aggression."

* * *

Economic Aid: North Vietnamese Politburo member Le Thanh Nghi--Hanoi's chief economic negotiator--arrived in Budapest on 23 May, according to the Hungarian press. For the past three years Nghi has made the circuit of Communist capitals about every six months to update economic aid agreements. The last trip of this type was an extensive two-month tour in the summer of 1967. The only unusual feature of the current visit is the lack of publicity when the delegation passed through Peking and Moscow. Such visits normally start with well publicized stops in both places before the delegation goes on to other countries. The first announcement of the current tour is the stop in Budapest. Hungary makes only a token contribution of economic assistance to North Vietnam.

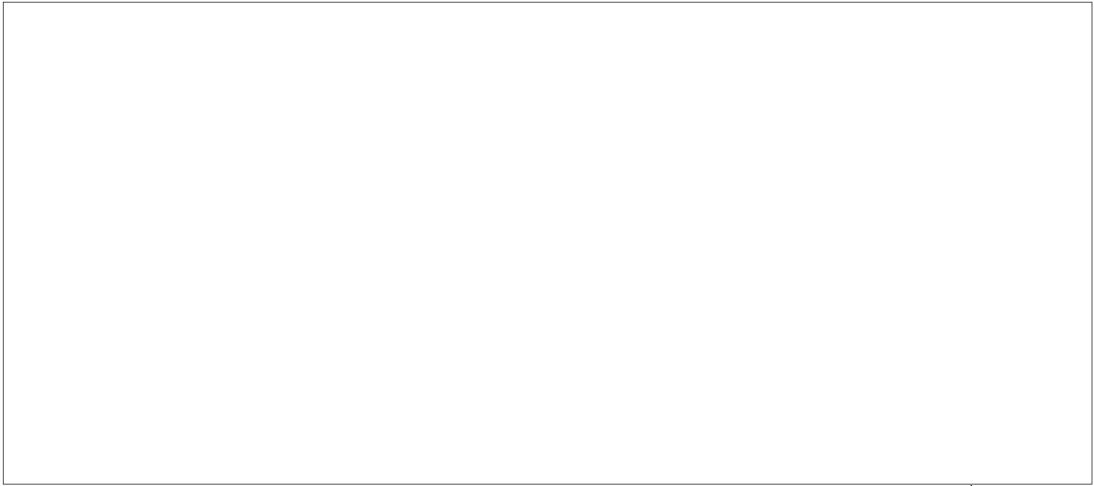
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Hanoi Reports on the Crisis Situation in France:
The French Press Agency correspondent in Hanoi, in a dispatch on Thursday, reported that the current crisis in France is being followed closely by the North Vietnamese. Publicly, however, the regime has adopted a cautious position. No official commentary has been made on the situation; and the first public reference to it came only in the 23 May issue of the party daily. The paper stressed the social, rather than the political aspects of the crisis, and no connection was made with the Paris talks. The correspondent claimed, however, that many North Vietnamese were anxiously wondering what impact the situation would have on the discussions.

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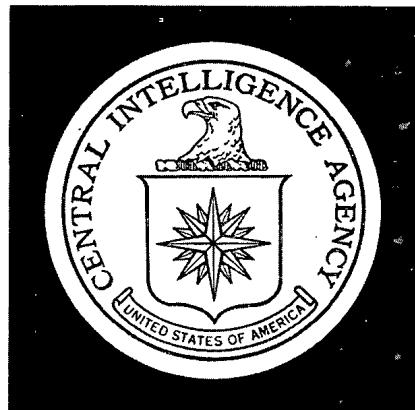


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II. NORTH VIETNAMESE REFLECTIONS OF US POLITICAL ATTITUDES ON THE WAR

There is nothing of significance to report .

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The President's Daily Brief

~~Top Secret~~ 27 May 1968



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23

THE PRESIDENT'S
DAILY BRIEF
27 MAY 1968

1. France

The government this morning announced a provisional settlement of the nationwide strike. The heart of the agreement is an across-the-board wage hike of 7 percent for industrial workers on 1 June, and another 3 percent on 1 October.

Pompidou told the press that the agreement meets most but not all of labor's demands. It is still not altogether certain whether this will be enough to get the strikers back to work.

Prospects all the same are for more violence as students prepare for a new demonstration this afternoon in defiance of the edict suspending the right of assembly.

The response to De Gaulle's call for a referendum continues to be negative.

2. South Vietnam

Prime Minister Huong's cabinet contains no major surprises.

The key portfolios of defense and interior are retained by military officers, generals Vy and Khiem, respectively. Vy is a holdover from the Loc cabinet and is close to the senior generals. Khiem, on the other hand, has been brought in apparently to strengthen Thieu's hand against pressures from Ky's military supporters. Huong took the revolutionary development post himself.

The new cabinet favors technicians over politicians with organized support. With nine of the 18 ministers clearly identified as southerners, the new cabinet has a stronger southern flavor than its predecessor, a development not likely to sit well with Ky and other northern generals.

3. Czechoslovakia -
Soviet Union

Neither Moscow nor Prague has had anything to say yet about the results of Kosygin's trip to Czechoslovakia which ended on Saturday. There are some signs that the Soviets will wait for the outcome of the Czech Central Committee meeting this week before deciding on their next move.

Kosygin apparently failed to extract any major concessions from the Czechs. He did get assurances, however, that Prague will participate actively in the Warsaw Pact and the "international Communist movement," and that some measures are being taken to restrict the activities of non-Communists.

4. Soviet Union

The Russians have still not commented on the crash of their TU-16 close to the USS Essex in the Norwegian Sea on Saturday.

5. Haiti

The Haitians in the Security Council today will probably charge that the US allowed the exiles to obtain aircraft and equipment in this country and tolerated anti-Duvalier broadcasts from US soil. The Haitian press has already stated that four Americans piloted the attacking aircraft.

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27 May 68

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6. Cuba

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[Redacted]
President Dorticos had been out of
public sight for two months. We now
learn that he appeared last week on
Havana television.

7. Thailand

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27 May 1968

16

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

27 May 1968

I. NOTES ON THE SITUATION

War Crimes Tribunal to Meet in Paris: The International War Crimes Tribunal is proceeding with plans to hold a conference next month in Paris, notwithstanding the French internal situation and the current talks between the US and North Vietnam.

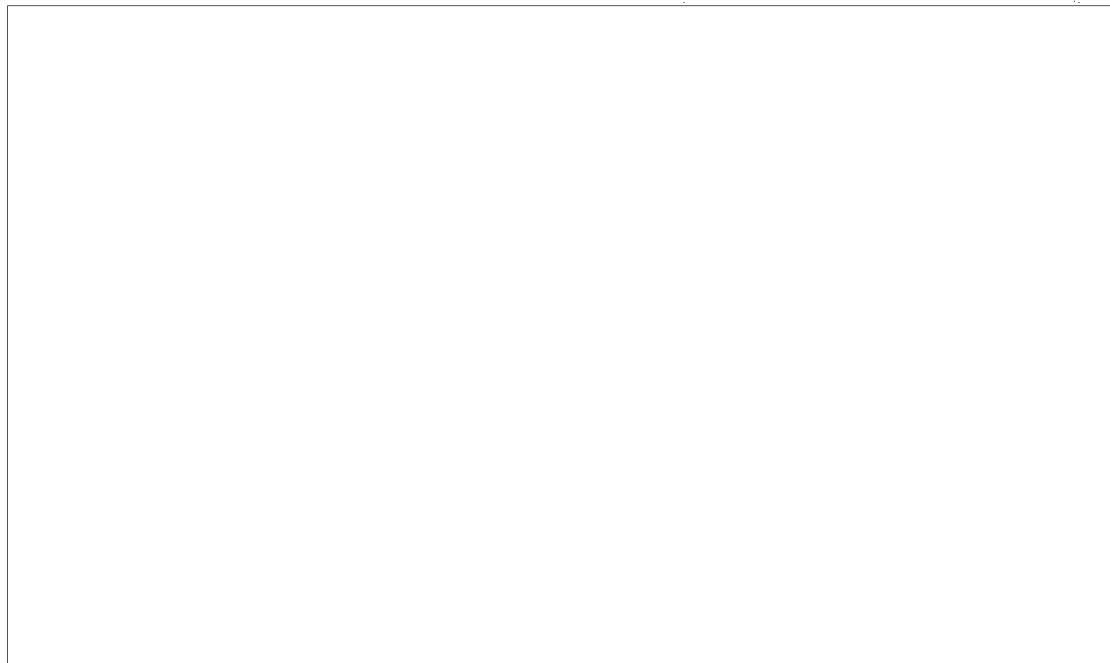
[redacted] the conference is to deal with "United States genocide in Vietnamese population centers since the Tet offensive."

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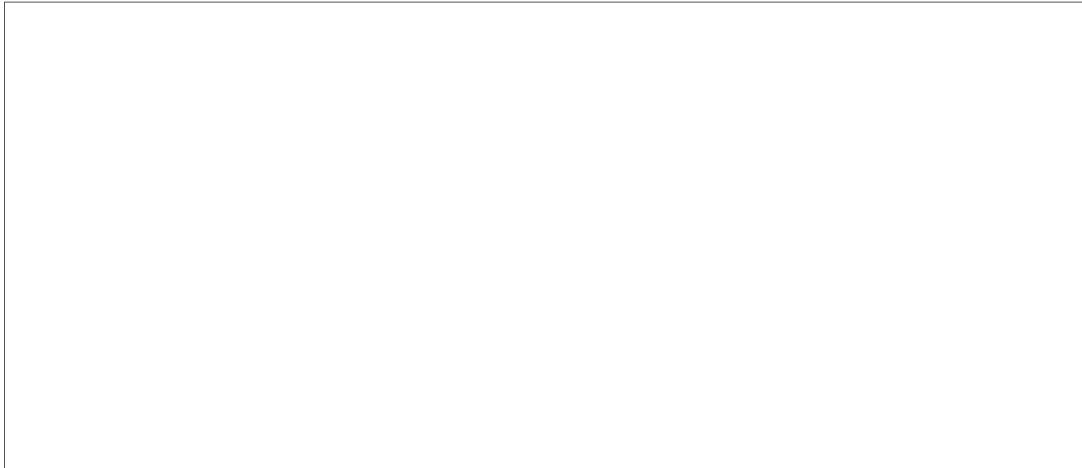
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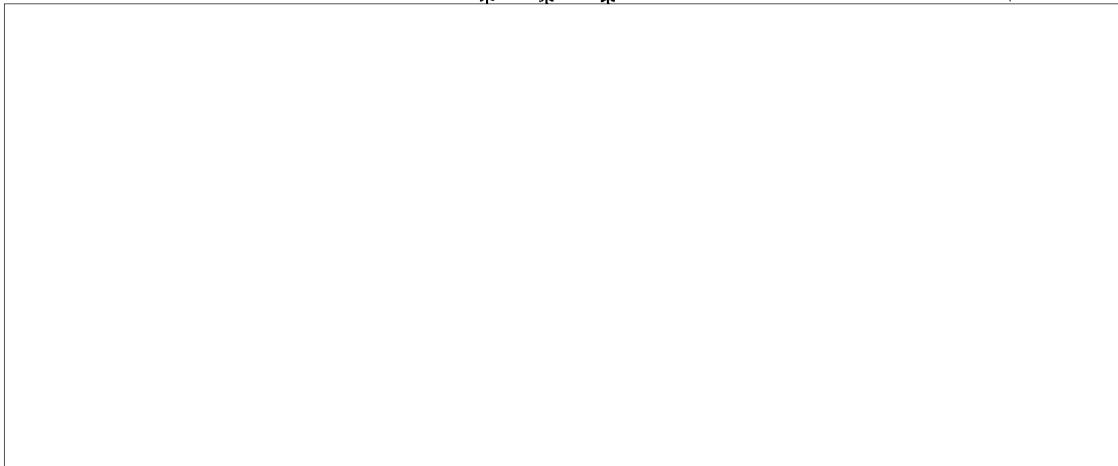
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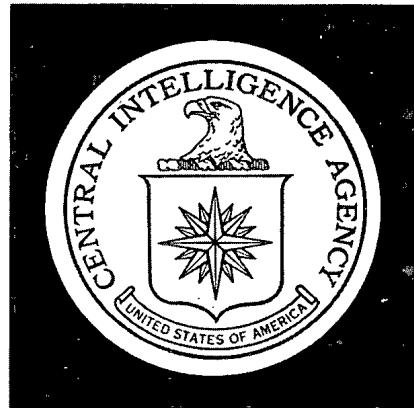
Hanoi Proposes Postponement of Elections: A committee of North Vietnam's National Assembly has proposed that Assembly members' terms of office be prolonged, according to a Hanoi broadcast of 25 May. The committee suggests that elections be postponed until "the situation permits." Assembly elections had been scheduled for sometime this year.

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

There is nothing of significance to report today.

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The President's Daily Brief

~~Top Secret~~ 28 May 1968



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THE PRESIDENT'S
DAILY BRIEF
28 MAY 1968

1. France

The old-line French organizations-- and these include the Communist Party and the trade unions as well as the Gaullist government--yesterday were rebuffed again by the workers. Despite strenuous efforts by the Communist labor leaders in particular, the rank and file rejected the concessions granted over the weekend. In some cases the union officials were hooted off the platform when they tried to present their case.

The Communist union is now demanding even more concessions.

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Yesterday the Citroen Company, which has always been hardnosed in its labor relations, said it was asking the courts to order the strikers out of its plants. The workers are likely to react by digging in deeper.

Yesterday's student demonstrations avoided violence, but a US Embassy officer reports a pervasive feeling in the Paris Latin Quarter that there will be more trouble.

De Gaulle, who knows his old magic is not working, is said to be full of bitterness over these challenges at home when his influence abroad is so high. We understand he is wondering if he should have called for a referendum.

Ambassador Shriver reports that most of the French public has been highly critical of the government, and particularly of De Gaulle. Only Pompidou has emerged with his standing enhanced. Shriver notes a surprising tolerance for the current disruption. He finds, in fact, that the youth and even a good many of the middle-aged are exhilarated by the fresh winds blowing through France.

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2. France

In probing the heady and chaotic world on the other side of the Paris barricades,

countless numbers of "action committees" among the rebellious students. Most of these small groups have given themselves ideological labels, such as anarchist, Maoist, Trotskyite, Communist or rightist. In many cases, more than one group claims a given label. The two major Maoist groups, for instance, are in conflict as much with each other as with any of the other groups. One group intriguingly calls itself the "Freud - Che Guevara Action Committee."

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Until very recently there was no organized effort that we know of to co-ordinate the activities of these groups. According to the latest reports, a shadowy "central committee" of some kind has appeared at the Sorbonne. We know nothing so far of its membership or the extent of its authority. The students meet requests for such information with great hostility.

Our embassy is now getting reports that the students have established contact with some of the younger workers. The students are angry with the established unions for stealing their thunder, but they apparently think they can count on some support from contemporaries in the labor movement.

3. Vietnam

Fighting in South Vietnam slackened off somewhat after the sharp clashes of the weekend. A new battle broke out near Saigon, however, and the Communists are geared up for more heavy combat in both the western highlands and the northern provinces.

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4. Panama

Vallarino yesterday prevented the newly appointed head of the electoral board, a Samudio man, from taking office. This apparently leaves the way clear for the board to declare Arias' victory.

Since Samudio has no chance as long as the National Guard supports Arias, his supporters may now try to split the Guard. Important elements in the Guard have long been bitterly opposed to Arias, but we do not know whether they would dare to move against Vallarino.

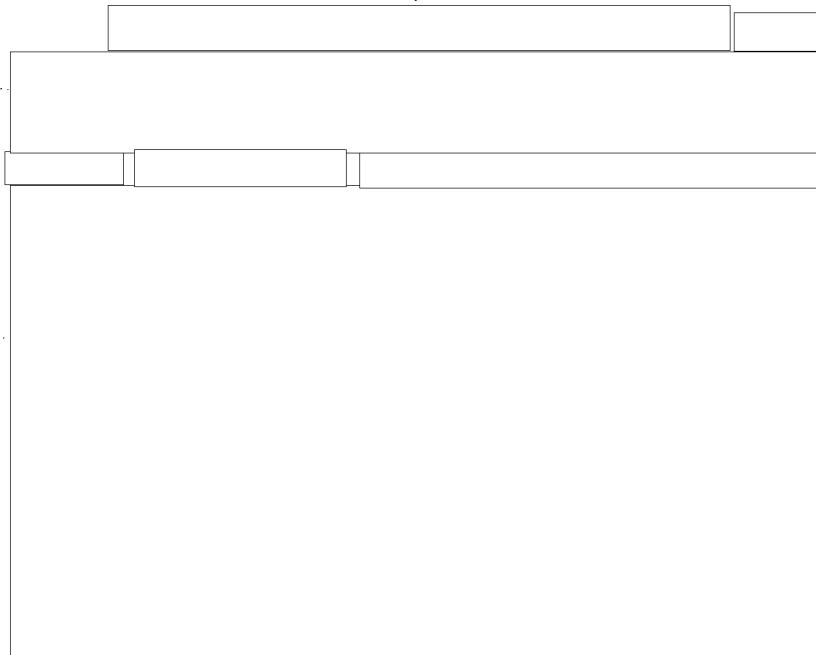
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5. Iraq

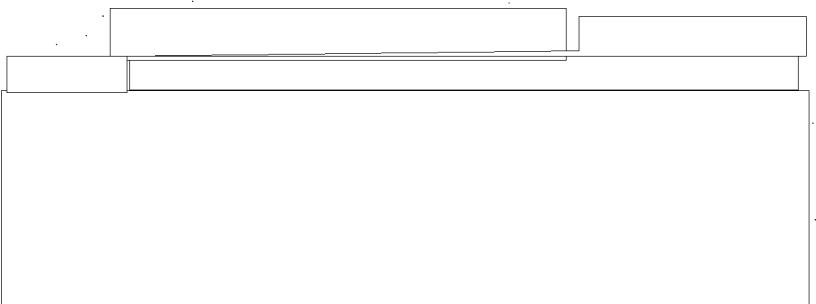
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6. Cuba -
Soviet Union



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7. Soviet Union

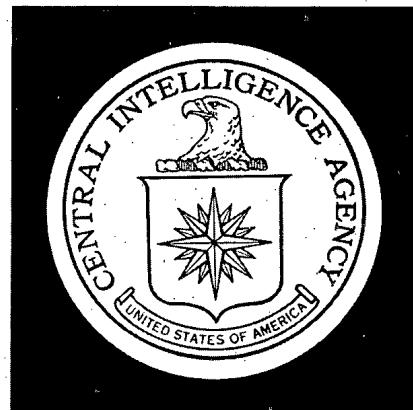


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- 2.) North Vietnamese Reflections of US Political Attitudes

Top Secret

16

28 May 1968

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

28 May 1968

I. NOTES ON THE SITUATION

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More Trainees to Poland: Two hundred more Vietnamese have arrived in Gdansk for training in the shipbuilding industry, according to the 13 May Polish press. The report also indicated that yet another group would arrive soon to take part in the training program, which is to last three to four years.

As of late last summer, there were some 2,000 North Vietnamese in Poland, about 75 percent of them in industrial training programs and the rest in higher education. Earlier this year, at least one group of some 300 arrived for training in various Polish enterprises. The total Vietnamese student and trainee complement in Poland probably is around 2,500.

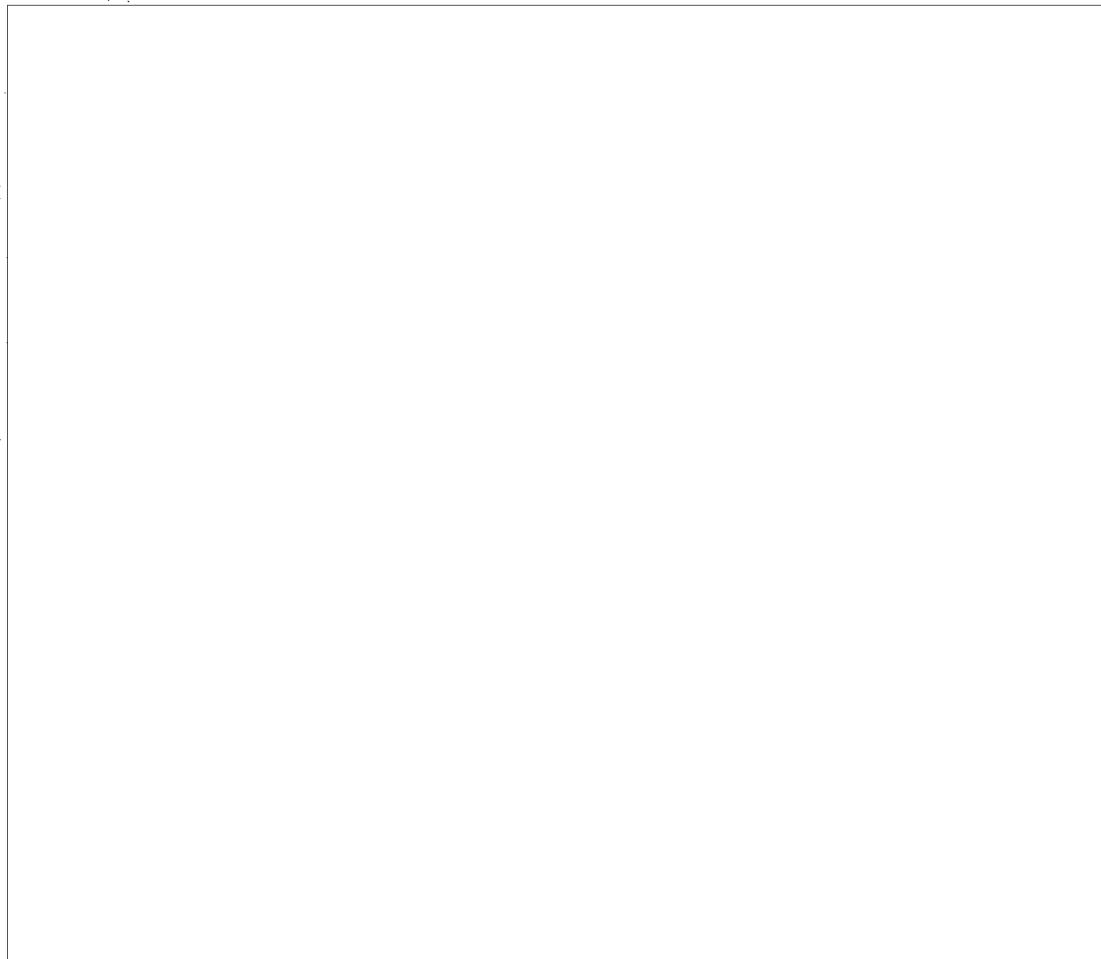
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Propaganda on National Assembly: The North Vietnamese continue to pat themselves on the back over the recent session of the National Assembly. Hanoi press and radio output in Vietnamese and English is rehashing the Assembly's theme: "All for victory over the US aggressors."

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Infiltrators Not Welcome: Some of the peasants in Thanh Hoa Province, North Vietnam, refused to give water for cooking rice to soldiers on the way South,

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Troops going South through the southern provinces of North Vietnam reportedly were billeted in private homes and were unpopular because of their thievery and misconduct.

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

There is nothing significant to report.

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The President's Daily Brief

~~Top Secret~~ 29 May 1968



50X1

23

THE PRESIDENT'S
DAILY BRIEF
29 MAY 1968

1. France

The text of the draft law to be put to referendum on 16 June is scheduled for publication today. It will offer students an opportunity to participate in running university affairs and workers more voice in economic and social matters. Ambassador Shriver notes, however, the consensus of observers is that the outcome of the referendum will be close.

Aside from the serious problems he has with the political opposition, the students, and the unions, De Gaulle must now appeal to a younger electorate. He has found older citizens among his strongest supporters and young people cool or critical of him. By one estimate, more than a million older voters have died since the 1962 referendum, and some 2.5 million young voters have been added to the lists.

2. Czechoslovakia

Czech consumers are getting at least the promise of the good life. Friday Premier Cernik announced a major switch in Prague's long-range economic planning. While the change may take a decade, the new look in Czech investment will reduce emphasis on heavy industry--on which Communist ideology traditionally insists--and provide more resources for consumer goods production.

3. Iceland

The Communists plan demonstrations during the meeting of NATO foreign ministers in Reykjavik 24-26 June. There could be some violence, although the police are aware of Communist intentions and are making their own preparations.

4. Canada

Trudeau's Liberal Party holds a big lead in the latest Gallup Poll taken in early May. The Liberals got 50 percent to 29 percent for the Conservatives. Looks are deceiving in Canadian polls, however. The Liberals were polling strong early in the 1965 campaign--and they failed to win a majority in Parliament. We think the race will look a lot more even by the time Canadians vote on 25 June.

5. Middle East - Africa

Food supplies in a belt stretching from India to Morocco are threatened by the most serious locust plague in years. The UN's Desert Locust Service has issued a "special warning" that locust invasions may hit 16 nations.

The most dangerous situation is in Saudi Arabia where extensive swarms are breeding. Other breeding grounds are located along the Moroccan-Algerian border, in Iran and Pakistan, and in the Somali Republic where one swarm covers more than 200 square miles. Unless the breeding is controlled, the swarms will begin moving next month.

6. Japan

Sato has won no high marks for his handling of the Swordfish affair, and it will be haunting him when upper house elections are held 7 July.

Sato failed to take forceful action when charges of nuclear contamination were first thrown around by an irresponsible press. He is doing nothing now as public concern feeds on loaded stories coming from the panel of Japanese scientists who investigated the Swordfish--and the panel is chaired by a long-time member of the Japanese Communist Party.

7. Soviet Union

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8. Sino-Soviet

What it lacks in originality, Peking's commentary on Soviet affairs makes up in pure nastiness. A short broadcast yesterday provides a typical example.

The broadcast dealt with a recent Moscow visit by Malaysia's Deputy Prime Minister Razak. Less than 400 words long, the commentary used the term "Soviet revisionist renegade leading clique," or a suitable variant, 14 times. The Soviets, in fact, came off much worse even than the US imperialists.

9. South Vietnam

The Communists apparently plan to continue harassing Saigon now while they prepare for major attacks on the city this summer. Captured documents, prisoner interrogations

[redacted] point toward a significant enemy build-up in the provinces around Saigon. The movement of North Vietnamese troops into the area is particularly heavy.

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10. Peru

Two of the 16 Mirage fighter-bombers on order from France have arrived in Peru. French technicians will assemble the aircraft.

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Political Attitudes



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16

29 May 1968

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

29 May 1968

I. NOTES ON THE SITUATION

National Assembly Session: North Vietnam's recent National Assembly session was used to explain Hanoi's current policies on war and peace to the home front. The Assembly has no real importance in itself except as an instrument to put a stamp of authority on decisions already hammered out in the Communist Party. It did not even meet during the past two years when regular air raids made such a gathering hazardous.

The materials so far published on the Assembly session break no new ground. They concentrate on the military situation in South Vietnam, the success of North Vietnam in coping with the bombings, and the new political avenues which have been opened by the Paris talks. The language used to describe diplomacy as simply "another front" in the struggle is notably explicit and parallels the line often used in secret Communist indoctrination materials.

The speeches tried to convey the impression of order, stability, and economic progress in North Vietnam, despite the impact of the war. There was even talk of postwar reconstruction plans. Any suggestion that the people can now relax, however, was tempered by exhortations for continued strenuous work and sacrifice in order to achieve "final victory."

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Hanoi Propaganda: Hanoi continues its tireless recounting of US air attacks against civilian targets in the southern part of the country. Radio Hanoi carried an English language broadcast on Monday disparaging the US bombing restriction by claiming that the raids are deliberately timed to catch farmers returning home from the fields for rest. Schools, homes, churches, and dams head the list of

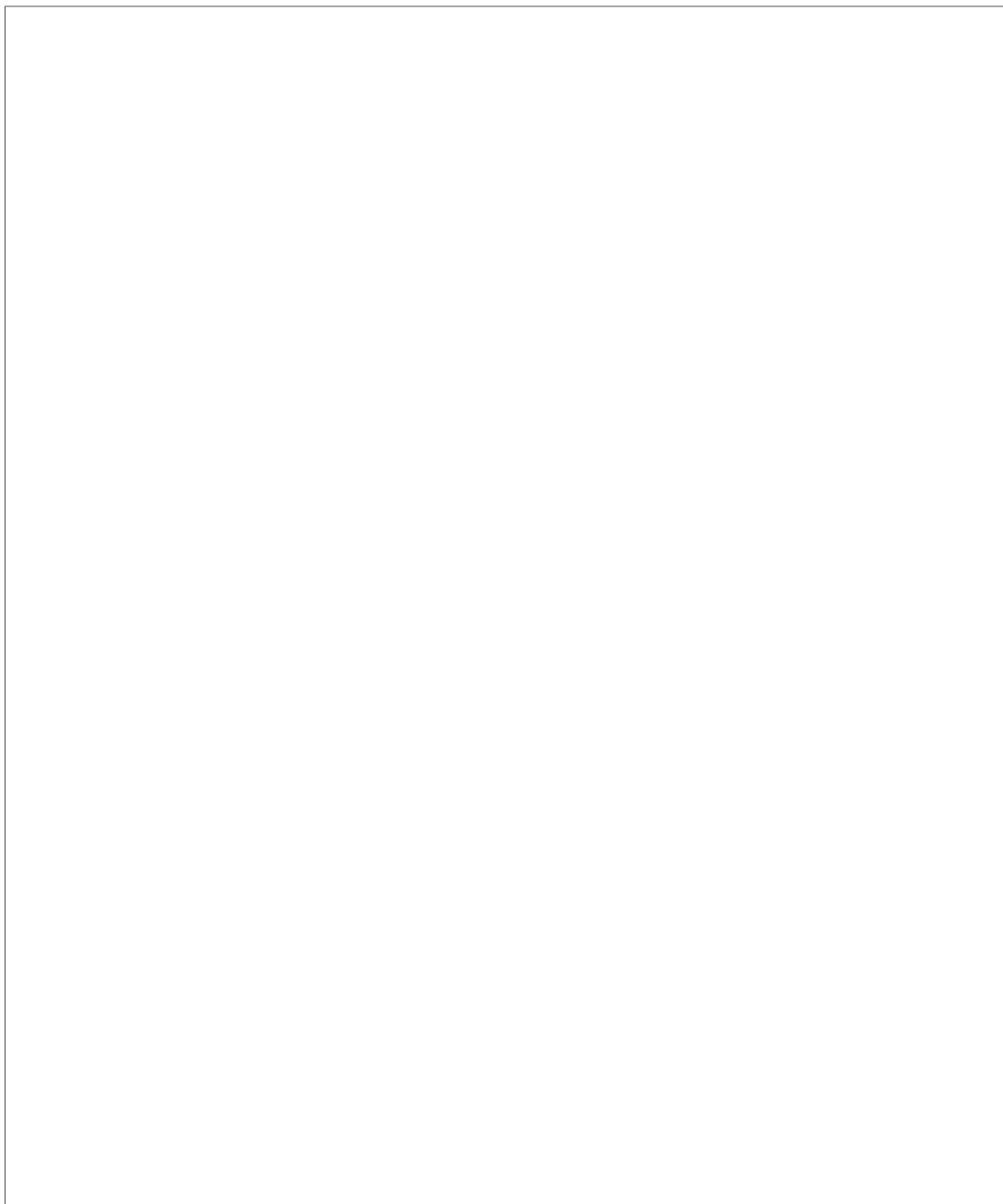
targets said to have been destroyed south of the 20th parallel. The attacks in Nghe An Province since the first of April, said the radio broadcast, had killed "hundreds" of civilians.

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More Chinese Reaction to Paris Talks: [redacted]

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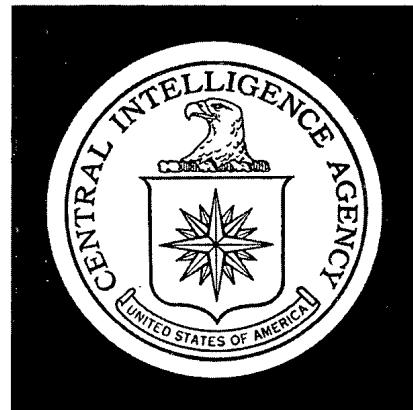
wall posters have begun to show up in the Chinese capital condemning the US - North Vietnamese talks.

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II. NORTH VIETNAMESE REFLECTIONS OF US POLITICAL
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Top Secret



The President's Daily Brief

~~Top Secret~~ 30 May 1968



50X1

23

THE PRESIDENT'S
DAILY BRIEF
30 MAY 1968

1. France

The government is near paralysis as the country slips further toward anarchy. Clearly, the situation is reaching the point where some sort of catharsis is required. If De Gaulle recognizes this, it would not be out of character for him to resign, sacrificing himself "for the good of France," rather than permitting catharsis to take a more violent and destructive form.

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[Redacted]

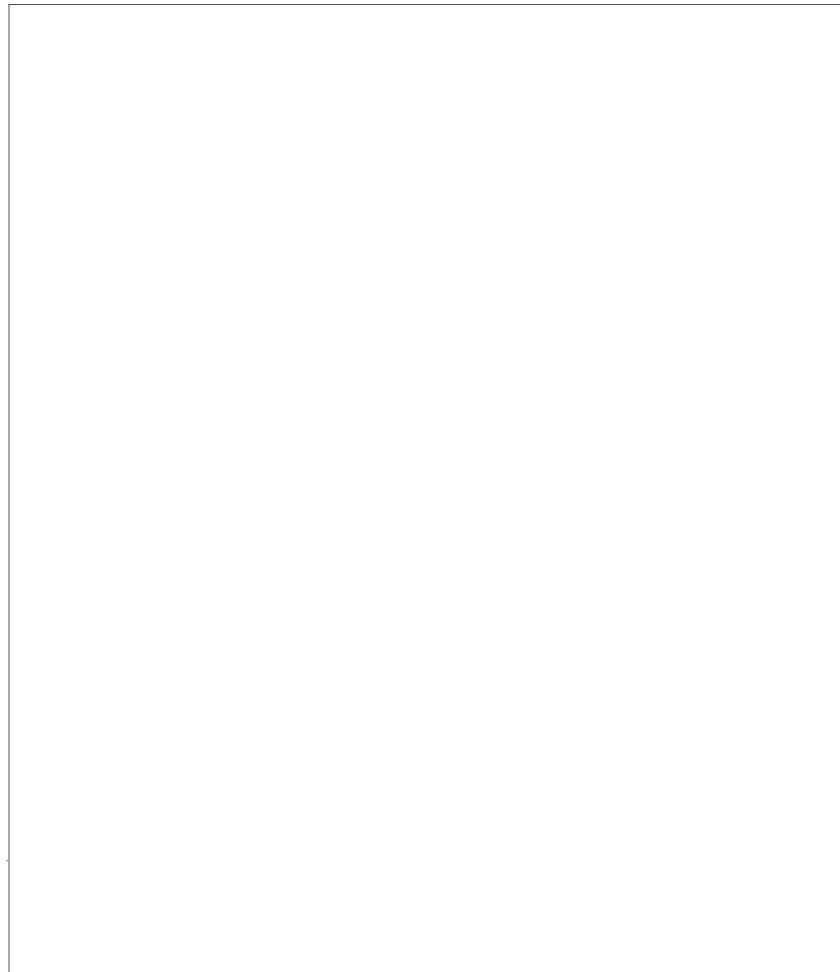
De Gaulle apparently interrupted his trip to his country estate yesterday for a hurried conference with General Massu and other army commanders. This was presumably to ensure that he had their support for the steps he intends to take upon his return to Paris later today.

Outside the regime, the political fortunes of ex-Premier Mendes-France appear to be on the upswing. A hero to the "antiestablishment" leftists, he has growing support among workers and students. Certain middle-of-the-road politicians are now also pushing him as the "man of the hour," capable of restoring order while keeping the Communists out of power.

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2. Jordan

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**3. Iran**

The Shah continues to resist Soviet offers to sell him great quantities of military equipment. The Soviets will not be discouraged easily, however. The large credits which Iran will earn from its exports of natural gas to the Soviet Union can most conveniently be offset, in the Soviet view, by military deliveries.

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4. Brazil

A new and potentially significant reform movement is emerging under the leadership of Archbishop Dom Helder of Recife. He already has a substantial following, especially among the poor and the clergy in the impoverished northeast.

Dom Helder now hopes to launch a nonviolent protest campaign against the inequities of the traditional social system. He may have obtained at least general approval for his effort from the Pope during his visit to Rome last month.

The Archbishop said he would avoid criticism of the authorities, but his most recent speech openly encouraged student opposition to the government. Conservative Brazilians, of course, regard him as a threat, and many military men call him a leftist radical. In fact, however, he has refused on at least one recent occasion to support extremist-led agitators.

5. East Europe

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16

30 May 1968

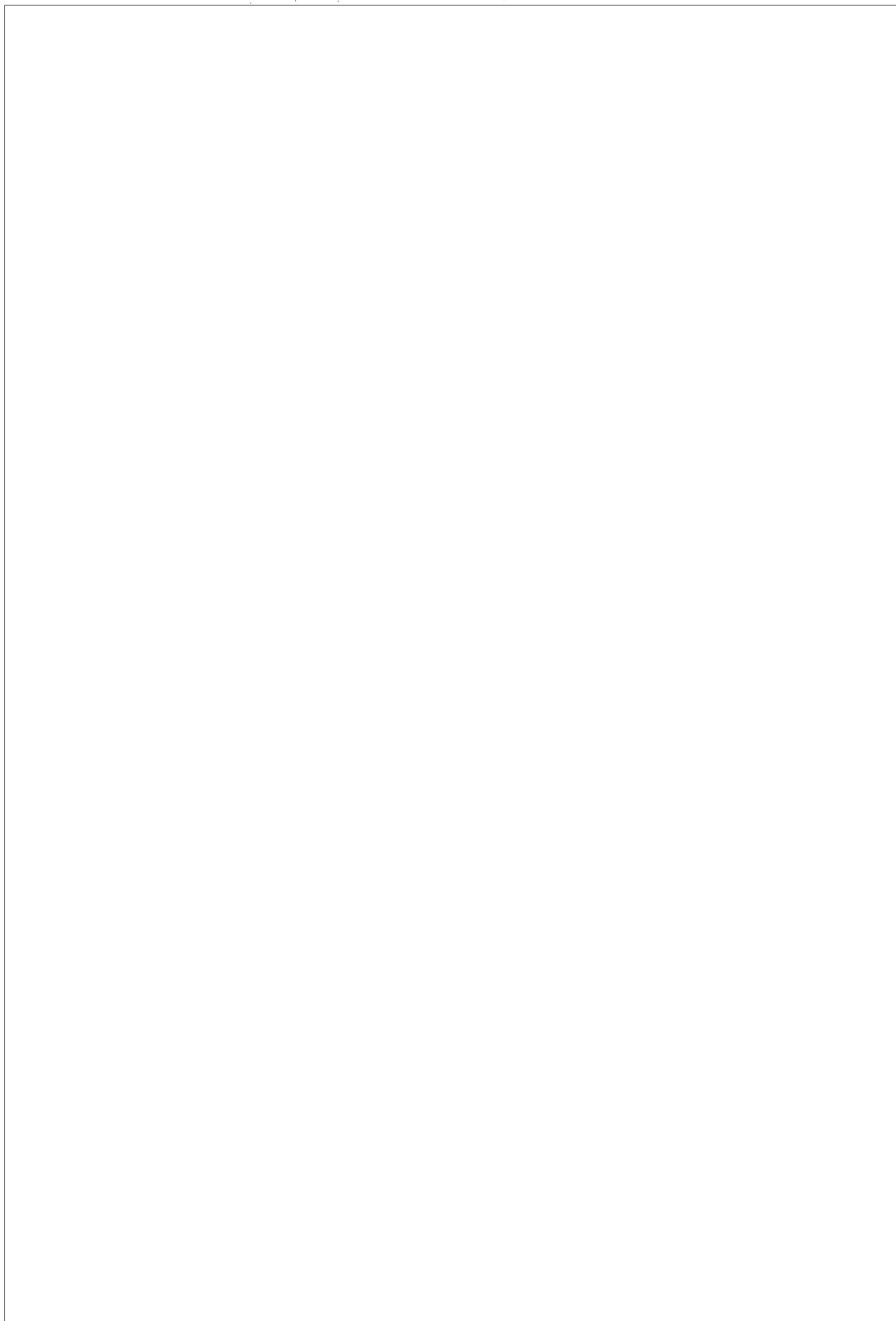
Special Daily Report on North Vietnam
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I. NOTES ON THE SITUATION

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Bridge Repairs: The Communists are making permanent repairs to bridges on rail lines in northern North Vietnam. Photography of 16 and 22 May showed steel bridge trusses stored in the vicinity of the destroyed Paul Doumer Bridge. A large floating crane near the bridge--capable of lifting the trusses into place--has been used to remove part of a sunken span and, in addition, damaged bridge piers are being repaired.

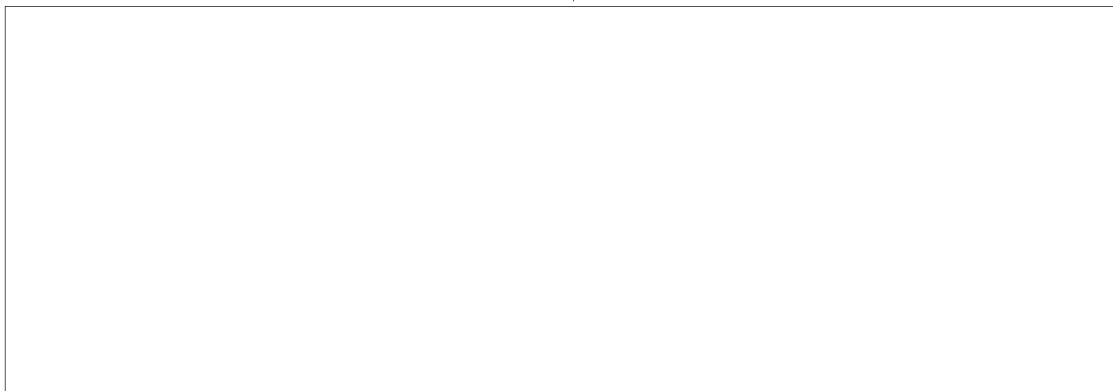
Earlier repairs to the Doumer bridge were make-shift and consisted of decking laid on rebuilt and improvised piers. The use of steel trusses, similar to the type in the original bridge, indicates that the Communists are seeking to restore the bridge to its original condition. There are 16 bypasses to the Doumer bridge in operation.

The same photography also showed trusses being used for bridge repairs on the Hanoi - Thai Nguyen rail line.

* * *

Another Traveling Diplomat: The North Vietnamese ambassador to Moscow has become the latest Hanoi official to travel to a neutral country to lobby for the North's position on the bombing issue. According to a report from the US Embassy in Helsinki, the ambassador arrived there on 28 May for what was described as a "friendship visit" in order to inform the Finnish Government of North Vietnam's views on the war. In questioning by the press upon his arrival, the ambassador sidestepped questions on Hanoi's attitude toward the Paris talks by claiming that his government was always "optimistic." He also dodged questions as to whether North Vietnamese troops were engaged in the fighting in South Vietnam.

The ambassador is scheduled to have talks with several Finnish Government officials and to meet with the Finnish Red Cross. It is not clear whether he will travel to other countries, although if past visits of this sort are any indication, he will make several other stops before returning to his post.



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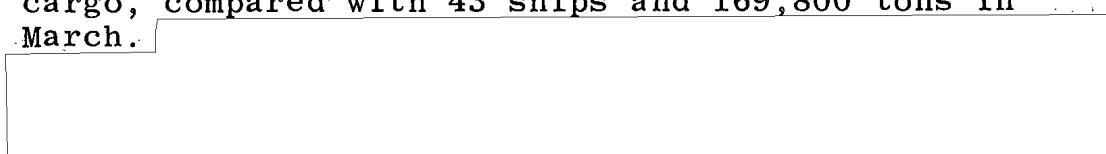


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Foreign Shipping During April: Ship congestion at Haiphong eased considerably in April as the restriction of US bombing allowed a quickening of unloading operations. The average layover time for dry cargo ships departing the port fell from 28 days in March to 19 days in April and some further improvement is expected in May. The movement of cargo inland from the port apparently did not accelerate, however, and the volume of cargo in open storage increased.

Ship arrivals and imports continued at a high level, although they were down slightly from March. Forty foreign ships arrived with 152,400 tons of cargo, compared with 43 ships and 169,800 tons in March.



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During the first four months of 1968, the number of foreign ship arrivals was the same as in the comparable period of 1967, but imports were 14 percent higher.

Free World ships carried 29 percent of the total imports in the first four months of 1968 compared with only 13 percent during the same period in 1967.

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Aid Agreement with Hungary: North Vietnam and Hungary concluded a supplemental economic and military aid agreement for 1968 and aid agreements for 1969 on Tuesday. The supplemental agreement for this year, signed by North Vietnamese Deputy Premier Le Thanh Nghi, probably revises aid requirements listed in the original 1968 agreement signed last October. Nghi's trip to Eastern Europe has not received the publicity that previous aid-seeking trips have received, but he can probably be expected to visit other East European capitals and the USSR before returning to Hanoi. Nghi's current tour of Europe could point to a desire to adjust the composition of aid now that the bombing of a large part of North Vietnam has ceased, but may also reflect a need for greater quantities of aid than had been anticipated last fall.

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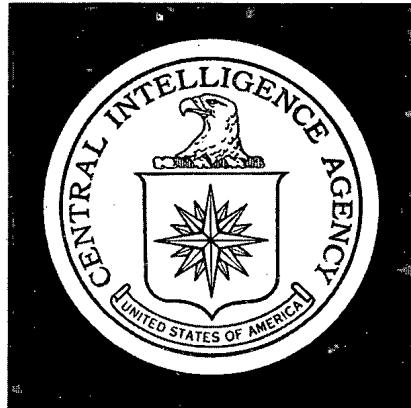
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**II. NORTH VIETNAMESE REFLECTIONS OF US POLITICAL
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The President's Daily Brief

~~Top Secret~~ 31 May 1968



50X1

THE PRESIDENT'S
DAILY BRIEF
31 MAY 1968

1. France

By refusing to resign, De Gaulle has brought France to the verge of disaster. Francois Mitterrand, head of the Federation of the Left, expressed the dominant response of all opposition groups by saying that the parties of the left are prepared to answer what he sees as De Gaulle's "call to civil war."

The leadership of the left would probably like to take advantage of De Gaulle's call for new elections in order to try to come to power legally. The events of the past three weeks, however, show that the leaders of the left have been swept along by their more radical rank and file. Now it is highly questionable whether these leaders can regain control and rally their followers for a legal assault on the regime at the ballot box.

The reaction of the people has been both angry and enthusiastic. On the one hand, more workers have left their jobs, including some public service employees; on the other, thousands of Gaullists have jubilantly taken to the streets. When, how, and if a head-on collision between right and left will occur is not yet clear, but a spark could touch it off.

2. Czechoslovakia

We see in Dubcek's speech at the opening of the Central Committee session an attempt to satisfy the party's liberals while at the same time mollifying the party's conservatives and the Soviet Union. Dubcek responded favorably to the demand of the liberals by recommending that a party congress be convened in September and that a new central committee be elected. The plenum also ousted from the Central Committee ex-party leader Novotny, the most obvious member of the conservative faction.

In an effort to forestall a further intensification of the factional struggle, however, Dubcek again rejected attempts to discredit the party as a whole and to create an "atmosphere of hysteria." He appealed for party unity, and emphasized repeatedly that anti-Communist and anti-Socialist tendencies had to be decisively and publicly exposed.

3. Italy

The decision of Socialist Party leaders to abandon participation with the Christian Democrats in a coalition government does not mean that a new political crisis is at hand. The Christian Democrats will presumably form a minority government and the Socialists are not likely to join the opposition in Parliament.

The Socialists' decision--subject to approval by their Central Committee today--does reflect their anguish over the poor showing they made in the elections last week. Party leaders are coming to the conclusion that their participation in past coalition governments was a bad deal. They were unable to push the Christian Democrats toward the reforms they think the country needs--and the result has been more votes for the Communists.

4. Panama

Arnulfo Arias yesterday accepted his credentials as president-elect after the National Elections Board certified his victory by over 40,000 votes. Government candidate Samudio rejected the board's action, but said he would contest it by legal means rather than force. Continued National Guard backing for Arias and expected defections from Samudio's ranks, however, are likely to undermine any initiatives by the government-controlled Electoral Tribunal to upset the results.

5. North Vietnam

Sea shipments are arriving in North Vietnam at a record rate. Shipments in May are up some 28,000 tons over the previous monthly record set last January

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Shipments from China this month are up more than 50 percent over last year's average. Most of this cargo is food.

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Political Attitudes

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50X1

31 May 1968

16

Special Daily Report on North Vietnam
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31 May 1968

I. NOTES ON THE SITUATION

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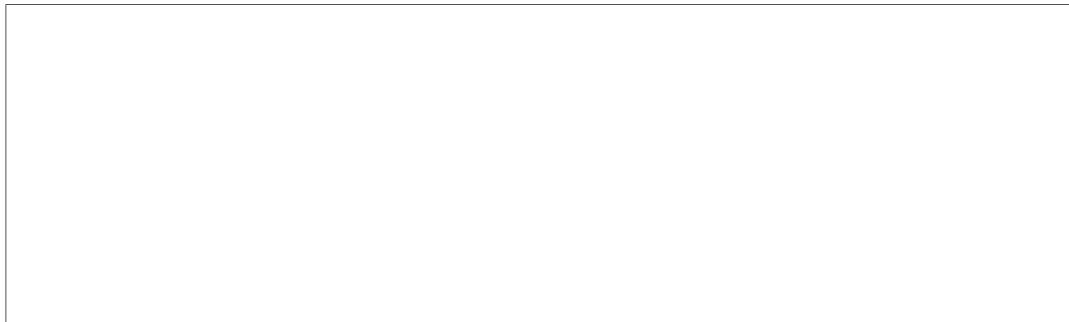
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Nhan Dan on Talks: An authoritative article yesterday in Nhan Dan restated yet again Hanoi's standard line on the Paris talks. As broadcast in English by the North Vietnamese international service, the article said that there were "many other concrete questions" to be taken up at the talks, but that it was necessary first "to determine the unconditional cessation of the bombing and all other acts of war" against North Vietnam. The article claimed

that the US, in agreeing to the talks after Hanoi had made clear its view of their purpose, had in effect indicated its agreement with that purpose. Most of the article was devoted to a rebuttal of Ambassador Harriman's suggestion that the Demilitarized Zone be restored to its status under the Geneva Accords.

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