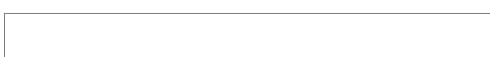




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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

THE PRESIDENT'S DAILY BRIEF

1 November 1971

PRINCIPAL DEVELOPMENTS

Soviet Deputy Defense Minister Kutakhov is in New Delhi to assess India's defense requirements as both India and Pakistan continue to vie for international support. (Page 1)

Germany	
	(Page 2)

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The Soviet naval task group arrived at Havana yesterday to begin its ten-day visit to Cuba. (Page 3)

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

INDIA-USSR-PAKISTAN

Soviet Deputy Defense Minister Kutakhov arrived in New Delhi on Saturday for what Indian officials describe as a routine visit to assess India's defense requirements. The officials say the trip was arranged last month at the height of the Indo-Pakistani military buildup along the borders.

Kutakhov's trip follows closely that of Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Firyubin late last month.

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On Saturday, the Indian defense and foreign ministries held the first of what are to be daily press briefings on the military situation. The officials, while accusing the Pakistanis of hundreds of border violations on both the east and west fronts last month, admitted for the first time that Indian Army troops have been engaged in fighting on the border with East Pakistan. (Previously, New Delhi had claimed that such skirmishes involved only Border Security Forces.)

Pakistani President Yahya Khan on 30 October again called on Pakistani refugees--both Hindu and Moslem--to return home from India. Yahya asserted that the number of "genuine refugees" was only around two million--not 9.5 million as claimed by New Delhi.

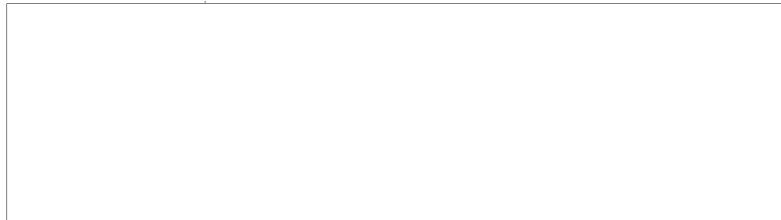
Yahya's statement on the refugees is most likely intended to balance the version being expounded by Prime Minister Gandhi on her foreign tour.

Mrs. Gandhi, now in the UK, is scheduled to meet with UN Secretary General Thant on Wednesday. She is expected to tell him that India opposes all UN initiatives other than efforts aimed at encouraging the Pakistani Government to negotiate a settlement with the East Pakistanis.

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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

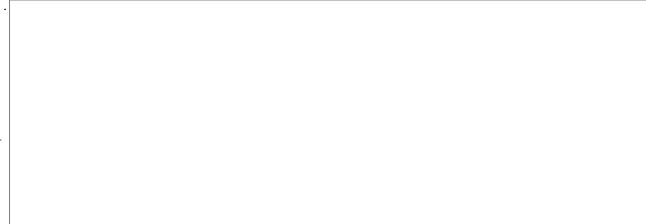
EAST GERMANY - WEST GERMANY



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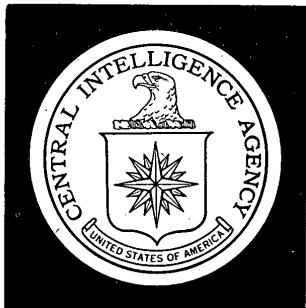
FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

NOTE

USSR-Cuba: The Soviet naval task group arrived at Havana yesterday to begin its ten-day visit to Cuba. Since leaving the Mediterranean three weeks ago, the ships have conducted training operations including antisubmarine maneuvers and reconnaissance of the USS Saratoga as it headed toward Bermuda. On the basis of previous performance, the group is expected to make several calls in Cuban ports and perform training maneuvers south of the island and in the Gulf of Mexico. The two Soviet TU-95 naval reconnaissance planes that flew to Cuba on 27 October were still at Jose Marti airfield when the ships arrived. Completing his five-day visit to Cuba, Soviet Premier Kosygin left for home on Saturday.

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THE PRESIDENT'S DAILY BRIEF

2 November 1971

PRINCIPAL DEVELOPMENTS

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[Redacted] There is heavy fighting in Cambodia. (Page 2)

Communist China expects to occupy its seat in the UN by the end of the week. (Page 3)

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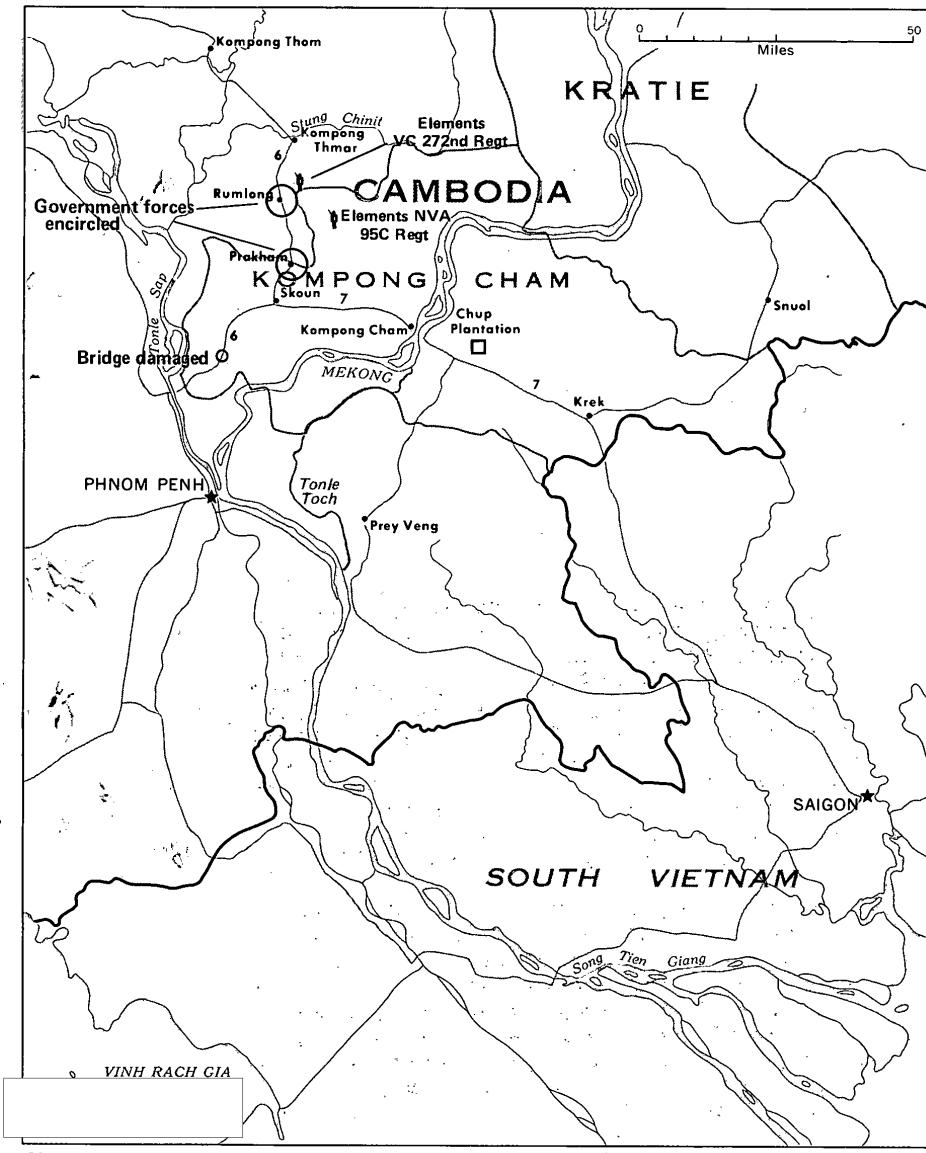
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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY



FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

CAMBODIA

Four government battalions, accompanied by armored vehicles, are moving up Route 6 from Skoun in an attempt to relieve eight other battalions that have been encircled between the villages of Prakham and Rumlong. At the same time, several Khmer Krom battalions from Kompong Thmar have moved down the highway to within a mile of Rumlong, which has been the object of some of the Communists' sharpest attacks. Altogether the government now has 39 battalions, or about 20,000 men, assigned to the Chenla II task force strung out between Skoun and Kompong Thmar town.

There is evidence that the Communists have committed additional numbers of their best troops to the Route 6 operation--a further sign that their dry season offensive has begun. In the past week, elements of two regiments--the 95C and the 272nd--of the Communist 9th Division have crossed west of the Mekong River to within easy striking distance of Route 6.

There are several possible explanations for these attacks along Route 6. With better weather approaching, the Communists may want to re-establish their control over the highway to facilitate the movement of supplies to the west. They may also want to undermine Phnom Penh's morale by inflicting some sharp setbacks to what has been the government's best-run military operation. It is also possible that the Communists are seeking to forestall any government plans for operations against their important bases and supply points east of Route 6 or into Kompong Cham or Kratie provinces.

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NOTE

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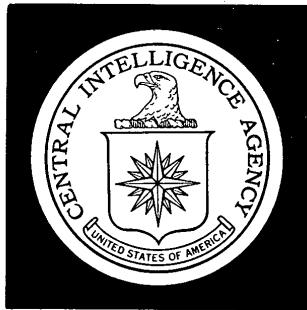
Communist China - UN: Peking's delegation to
the UN is expected to depart today, arriving in New
York on 5 or 6 November

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The group is to be headed by acting Foreign Minister Chi Peng-fei, whose presence would be a measure of the great importance Peking assigns to the symbolic act of occupying its seat in the UN. The prompt departure of the delegation would suggest that the Communist Chinese have concluded the Nationalists have little chance of retaining their places in specialized UN agencies. Taipei's acting Foreign Minister, however, told Ambassador McConaughy yesterday that his government intends to make a strong fight to remain in the specialized agencies.

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THE PRESIDENT'S DAILY BRIEF

3 November 1971

PRINCIPAL DEVELOPMENTS

President Yahya says he will agree to withdraw Pakistani forces unilaterally from their forward positions. (Page 1)

Prime Minister Sato has taken a much more flexible line on China since the passage of the Albanian resolution. (Page 2)

A new Soviet decree states that the output of selected consumer goods will rise by 90 percent in the next five years. (Page 3)

A high West German official has provided the most explicit statement to date of Bonn's position on mutual force reductions. (Page 4)

The Jordanians are considering seeking a united Arab call for UN sanctions against Israel on the Jerusalem issue. (Page 5)

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

INDIA-PAKISTAN

President Yahya told Ambassador Farland yesterday that he would agree to withdraw his forces unilaterally from their forward positions. No specifics of a withdrawal were discussed, but he added that "this doesn't mean that I would pull the troops back into the barracks."

Yahya undoubtedly hopes to encourage US pressure on Prime Minister Gandhi to take similar action. Although Indian Foreign Minister Singh [redacted] said that New Delhi would consider withdrawing if the Pakistanis pulled their troops back, Defense Minister Ram has committed himself publicly that there will be no withdrawal as long as the East Bengal problem remains unsolved.

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The Pakistanis would find it far easier to withdraw on the western frontier than in the East, where border clashes with guerrillas or Indian forces occur daily. If Yahya envisaged returning the troops to their peacetime stations in the West, some of these posts are less than 20 miles from the border and the troops could return in a matter of hours.

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

JAPAN-CHINA

With the resolution of the China issue in the United Nations, Prime Minister Sato has publicly stated that Japan wishes to begin official negotiations leading to recognition of the Peoples Republic. He intends to dispatch a high-level Liberal Democratic Party emissary to Peking to pave the way for a visit by either himself or Foreign Minister Fukuda. The ruling party's executive board has reached agreement on a resolution which acknowledges that the Peoples Republic represents China.

In the past week Sato has sounded much more flexible on China relations. In a Diet debate the day after the UN vote he made what the press termed the first formal apology by Japan for its wartime actions on the mainland and said that Peking need have no fear of a Japanese militaristic revival. Two days ago Sato admitted that the logical justification for the 1952 Japan - Republic of China Peace Treaty had crumbled with the UN General Assembly's passage of the Albanian Resolution. While he stated flatly that his government would not abrogate the treaty as a precondition for negotiations with the Chinese Communists, both he and Fukuda have expressed a willingness to consider the treaty a matter for discussion with them.

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

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USSR

A new party and government decree states that the output of selected consumer goods will rise by 90 percent during the period 1971-1975. It also stresses the need to improve the quality and variety of such goods. Enterprises are to be prevented from cutting production of "items in great demand," and the performance of those producing mainly non-consumer items is to be measured, to a considerable extent, by their production of consumer goods. The decree also provides for the creation of a reserve fund to subsidize the production of those consumer items "having a comparatively low profitability."

The traditional Soviet emphasis has been on heavy industry, and prices and incentives have been tailored toward this goal. Consumer goods production has suffered accordingly. The new decree represents Party Chief Brezhnev's attempt to fulfill a promise he made at the 24th party congress last spring that a program on consumer goods would be forthcoming. As have previous--and unsuccessful--Soviet efforts to satisfy the consumer without reordering basic economic priorities, it relies on direct administrative control of the enterprise rather than on such economic levers as a more rational price system.

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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

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WEST GERMANY

In a conversation with Ambassador Rush late last week, State Secretary Frank provided the most explicit statement of the West German position on mutual force reductions to date. Bonn's most important divergence with Washington, he said, is the belief that the opening phase of negotiations should seek agreement on general principles and on constraining troop movements rather than on immediate reductions. In addition, Bonn believes that the geographic area of the reduction must extend beyond the two Germanies, and that at some stage reductions of indigenous, as well as foreign, troops must be included.

We see increasing signs that the Germans are coming to share French and British skepticism that mutual force reductions could accord with European defense interests. Bonn also appears concerned that Washington's interest in negotiations on force reductions might be dictated by domestic pressures for unilateral withdrawal of large numbers of US troops from Europe.

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

UN-JERUSALEM

The Jordanians are mulling over the possibility of seeking a united Arab call for UN sanctions against Israel on the Jerusalem issue, according to several high Jordanian officials. This would be done at a meeting of Arab foreign ministers scheduled to be held in Cairo on 13 November.

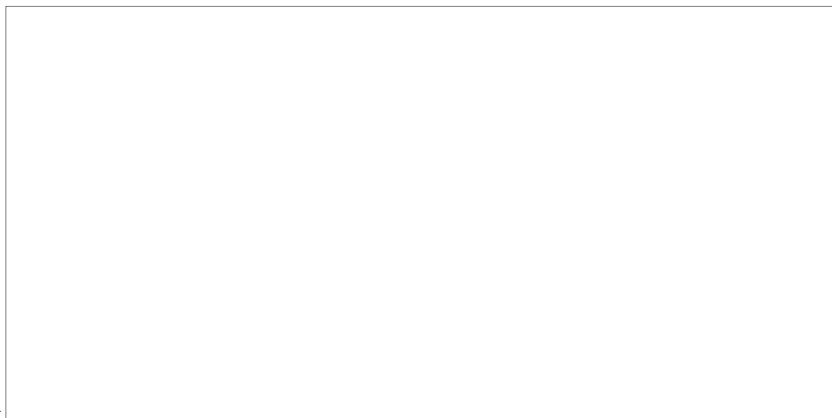
Two considerations appear to dominate Amman's thinking. One is that failure to initiate the move on sanctions could result in yielding leadership on this subject to Syria. Jordan also is concerned about Peking's ability to stir Arab animosity toward King Husayn's government. Taking the strong line on sanctions would, according to the Jordanians, result in more Arab support and reduce any immediate impact of activity by Peking.

Ambassador Brown suggests that Amman this time may well be willing to risk the prospect of a US veto on sanctions and force the matter to a vote in the Security Council.

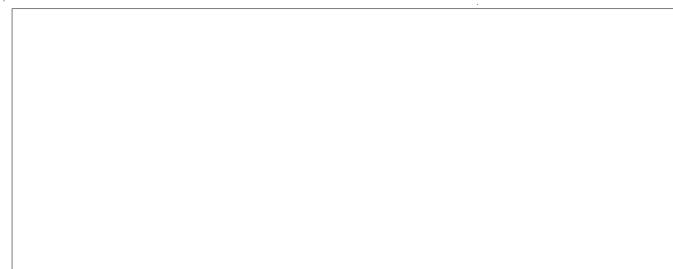
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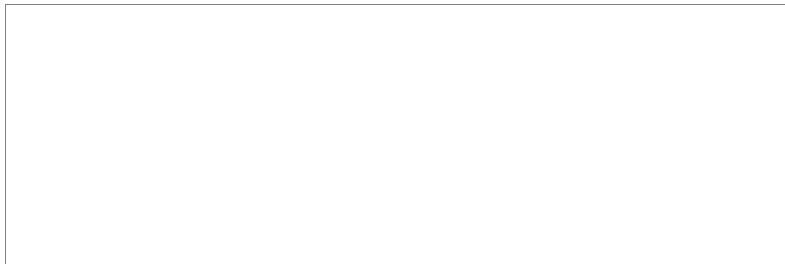


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THE PRESIDENT'S DAILY BRIEF

4 November 1971

PRINCIPAL DEVELOPMENTS

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[redacted]

Both the Indians and Pakistanis are claiming that fighting has increased in areas along the East Pakistan border. (Page 2)

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[redacted]

the Pakistanis have been trying to elicit a public statement of support from the Chinese (Page 4).

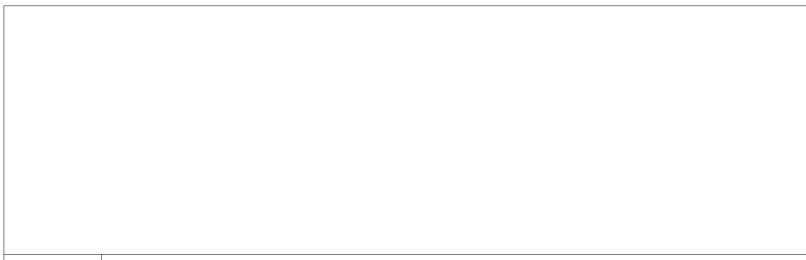
A Cambodian task force that had been successfully pushing north on Route 6 was halted yesterday by a Communist ambush. (Page 6)

Chinese engineer-construction troops in northern Laos apparently have been augmented. (Page 7)

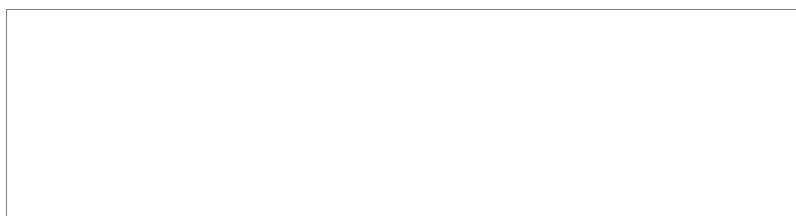
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INDIA

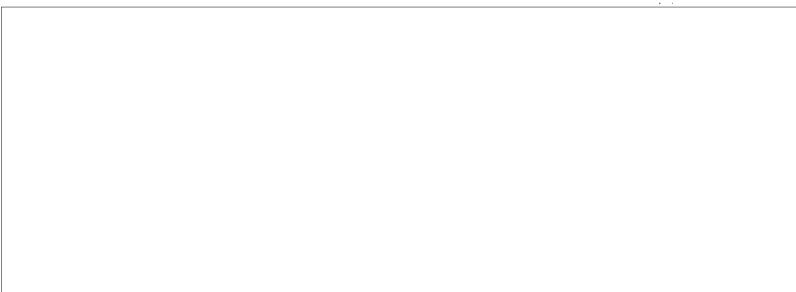


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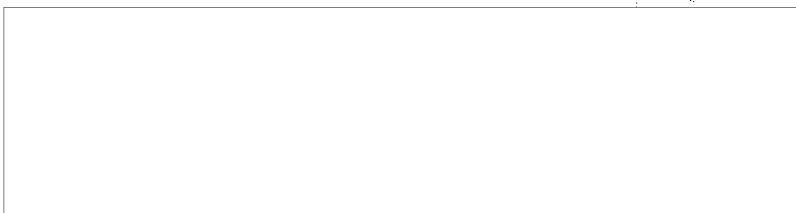


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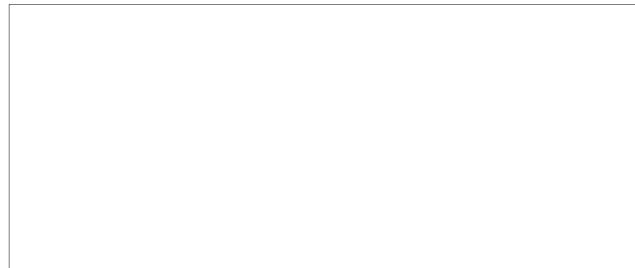
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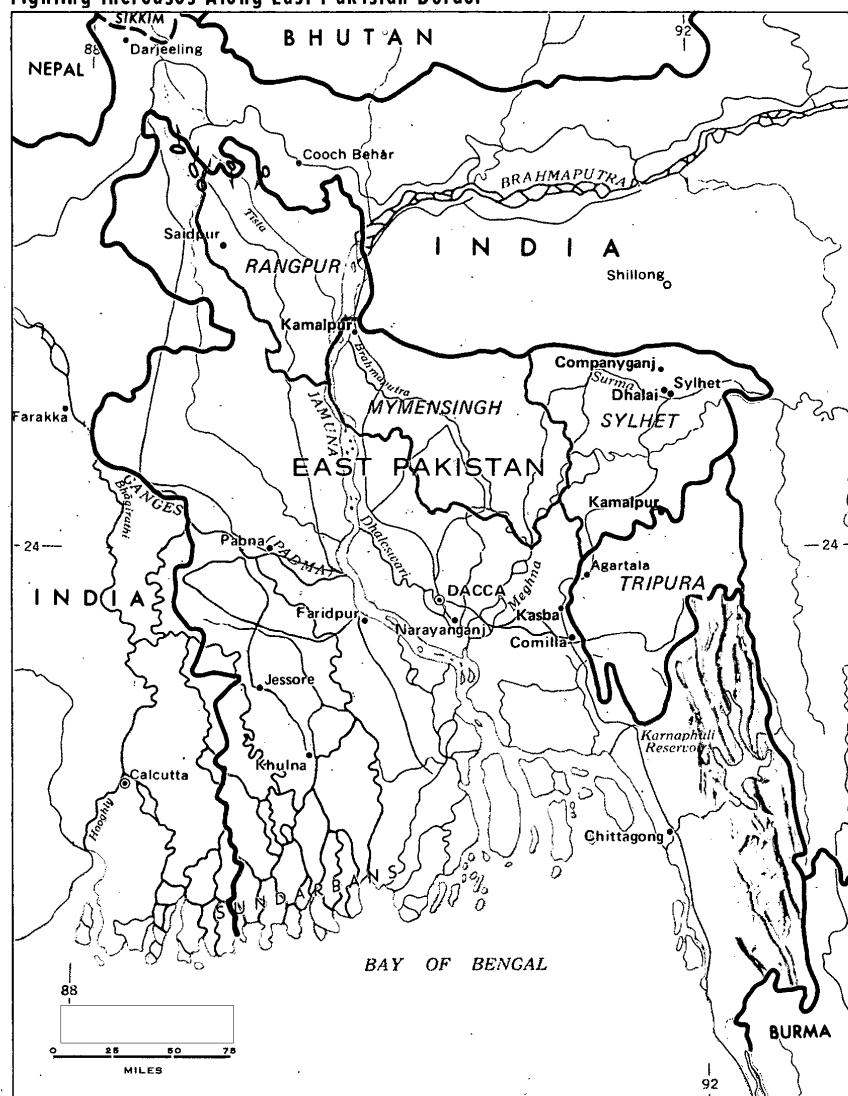
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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

Fighting Increases Along East Pakistan Border



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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

INDIA-PAKISTAN

In recent days, both sides have issued a stream of accusations and stories about recent engagements on the East Pakistan border involving hundreds of men. These charges are difficult to sort out, but it appears that fighting has indeed intensified.

According to the Indians, heavy casualties have been inflicted by the Mukti Bahini in a major offensive along the border in Sylhet, Mymensingh and Rangpur districts. Indian press reports claim that in Sylhet District, electric plants have been destroyed, Razakars--the locally recruited government militia--are surrendering in large numbers, and heavy fighting has occurred at Companyganj. The Pakistani press says that in the past ten days, company-sized groups of "Indian agents"--supported by Indian regulars--have been beaten back with heavy losses at Kamalpur in Mymensingh, Dhalai, and Kasba.

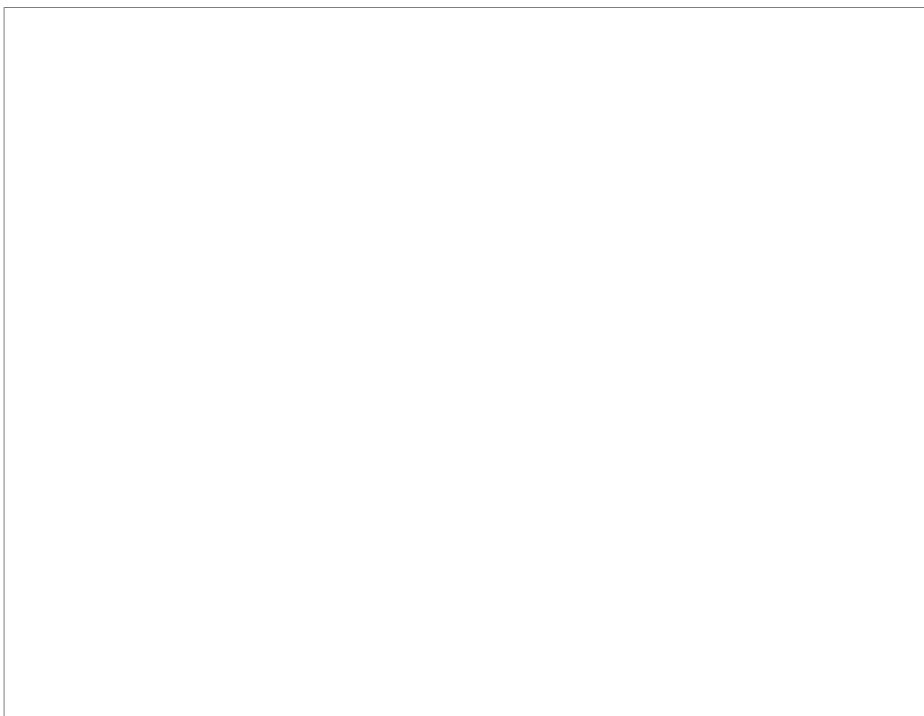
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Both India and Pakistan continue to charge each other with unprovoked shelling along the border. The Indians have announced publicly that they took "action"--unspecified--to halt the shelling of Kamalpur in Tripura. [redacted]

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[redacted], a large Indian force entered the area opposite Kamalpur, destroyed Pakistani installations, and was still occupying the area on 1 November.

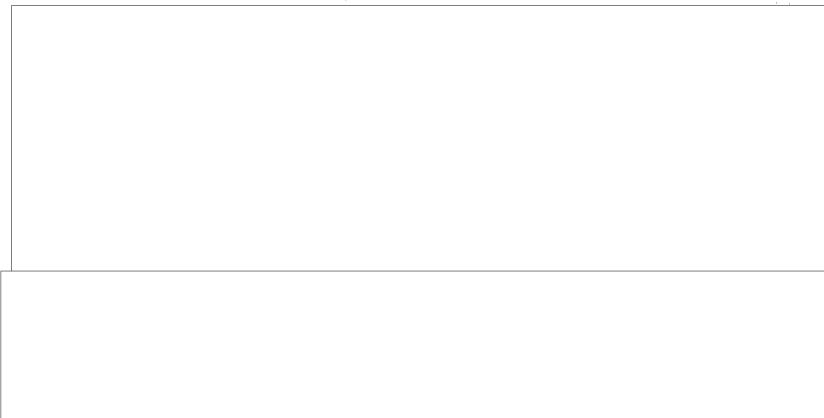
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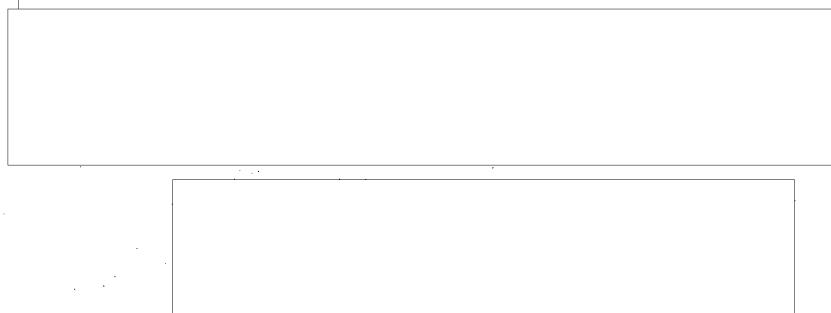
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INDIA-USSR



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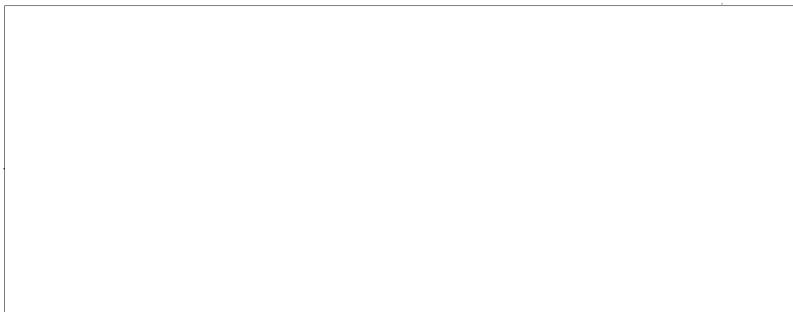


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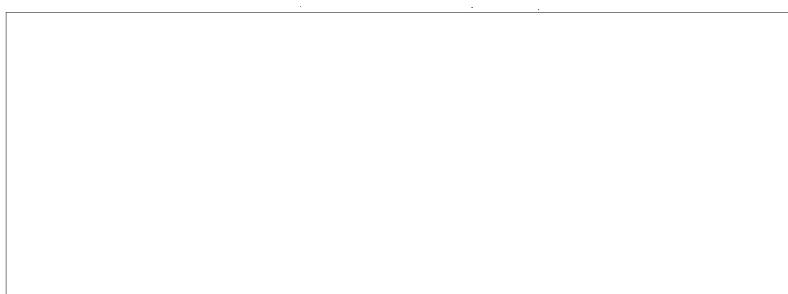
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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

PAKISTAN - COMMUNIST CHINA



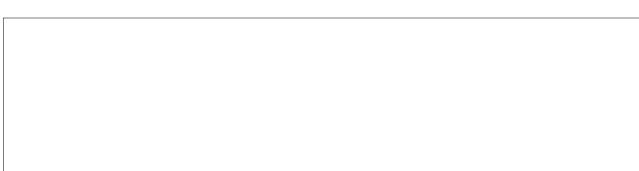
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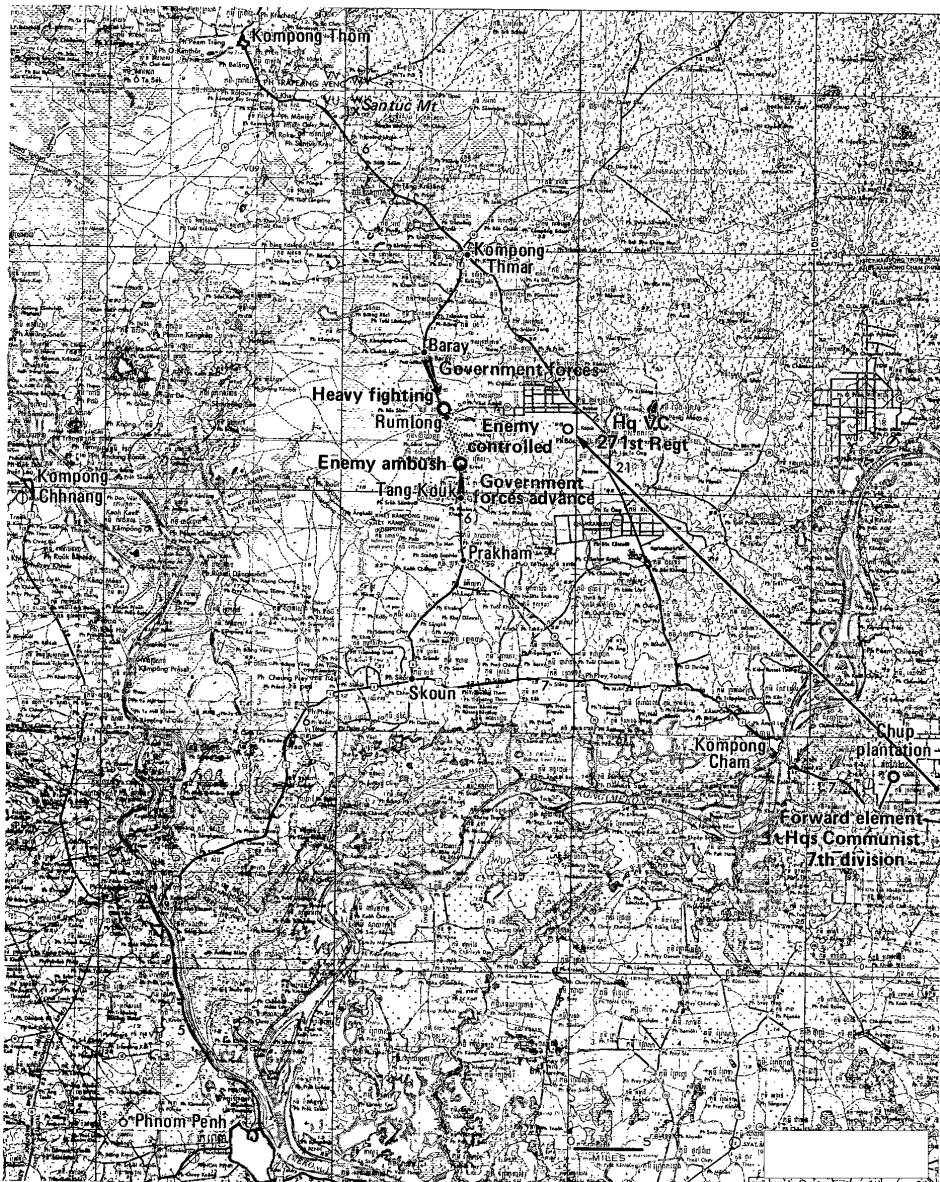
FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

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On Tuesday Yahya confided to Ambassador Farland that he planned to send a delegation to Peking on 5 November that would include Air Marshal Rahim Khan and Foreign Secretary Sultan Khan. The purpose was to maintain contact with the Chinese in both the military and political fields and to ask again for a public announcement of support at this time of crisis. Yahya also said that Chinese ability to assist Pakistan is "definitely limited," but he had been promised that as much military equipment as possible would be made available.

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

CAMBODIA: Route 6 Area



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552064 11-71 CIA

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

CAMBODIA

A government task force of Khmer Krom troops that had moved north on Route 6 from Skoun to within four miles of embattled Rumlong village was ambushed yesterday as it began a drive on Rumlong. The task force, which had split into two columns for its final thrust, pulled back to allow air strikes on suspected Communist positions, and has orders to resume its assault today.

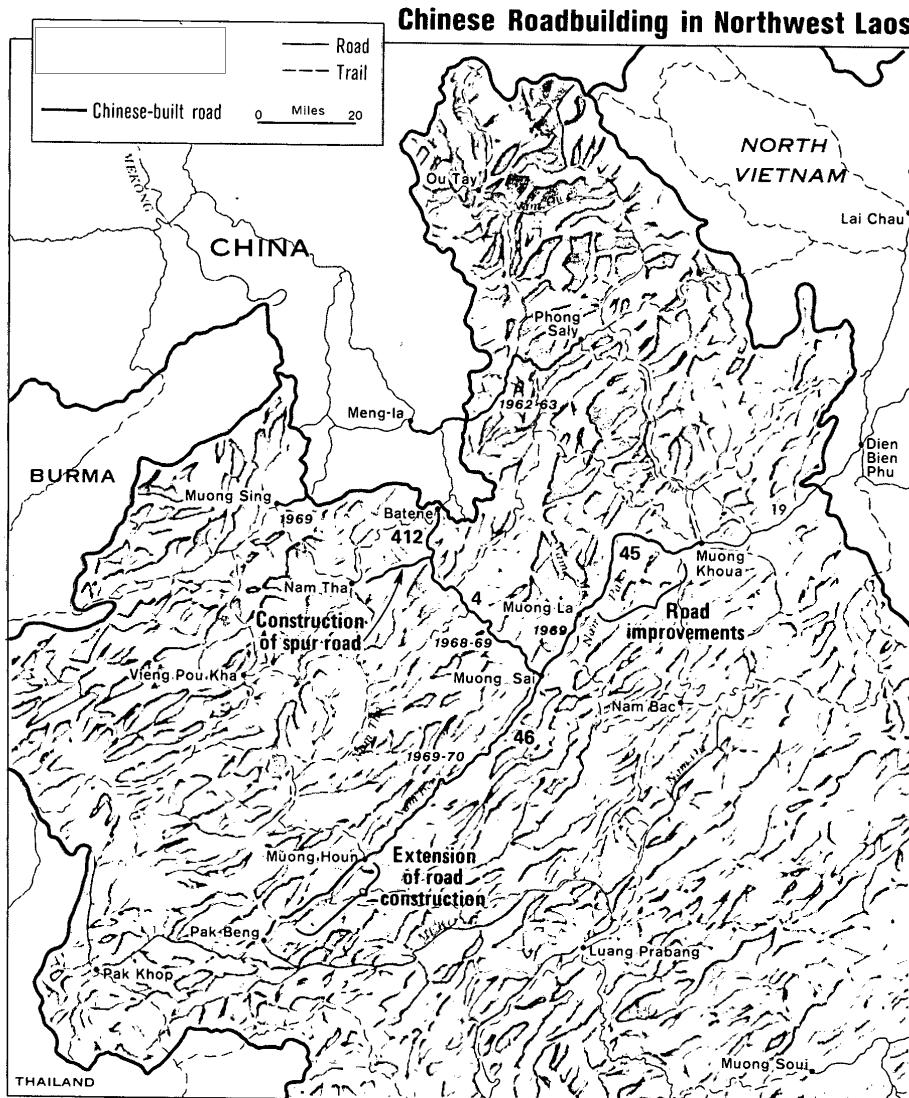
A second Khmer Krom relief force moving south from Kompong Thmar apparently is still stalled on the outskirts of Rumlong. This force has had unusually heavy casualties in recent fighting, but its morale still appears good.

Prime Minister Lon Nol, since his recent visit to government forces at Baray, has asked for additional US armored vehicles and helicopters in order to improve the mobility of Cambodian reaction forces.

The Communists apparently plan to intensify their pressure against Route 6. Intercepts show that a third regiment--the 271st--of the Vietnamese Communist 9th Division has also crossed the Mekong and is now located east of Route 6 close to the division's other two regiments. There is an indication that the 9th Division regiments may be planning to stay in the field for some time. The Communist 7th Division recently moved a headquarters element into the Chup rubber plantation, suggesting that it may be assuming responsibility for defense of the 9th Division's normal base areas.

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

COMMUNIST CHINA - LAOS

Three additional Chinese engineer-construction regiments may be in Laos.

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Previously, Chinese forces in Laos have included five engineer-construction regiments and an AAA contingent, with an estimated total strength of up to 27,000 troops. The three new regiments would add some 6,000 troops.

Currently, the Chinese are working on three widely separated construction projects in Laos.

--They have extended the motorable limits of Route 46 southwest of Muong Houn to within 12 miles of Pak Beng on the Mekong River.

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spur road begun last dry season to run westward from Route 412 is now motorable to within three miles of Nam Tha; this road was given low priority last year, but the use of heavy equipment has speeded up progress this dry season.

--The Chinese are improving the section of Route 45 between Muong La and Muong Khoua at the Nam Ou River, although as yet there has been no attempt to link with Route 19 from North Vietnam.

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

CHILE

President Allende's impatience with the performance of his coalition members is growing.

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[redacted] Allende last week again complained to Popular Unity leaders about the self-interested behavior of the member parties which, he asserted, is losing popular support for his government. Noting the months of quarreling over the copper compensation issue, Allende said he had decided to handle this matter himself without further guidance from them. He intimated that he also intended to call all the shots himself in the foreign policy sphere.

As he observes his first anniversary in office, Allende clearly appears intent on asserting his personal leadership and on blaming his supporters for Chile's worsening economy. Allende's overtures to non-Marxist political groups and to the armed forces appear to be an attempt to broaden his bases of support and strengthen his ability to act independently.

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

NOTE

North Vietnam: Intercepts and press stories show that military recruitment has again been receiving high priority. Army inductions rose sharply in August and the call to arms apparently continued into October. The new inductees should be ready for infiltration in three to six months and, together with men called up in last May's drive, should provide a substantial manpower pool for military operations during the dry season of 1971-72.

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THE PRESIDENT'S DAILY BRIEF

5 November 1971

PRINCIPAL DEVELOPMENTS

In Indochina, the movement of North Vietnamese troops through the infiltration pipeline increased in October. (Page 1)

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The French [redacted]

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(Page 2)

In Chile [redacted]

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[redacted] (Page 3)

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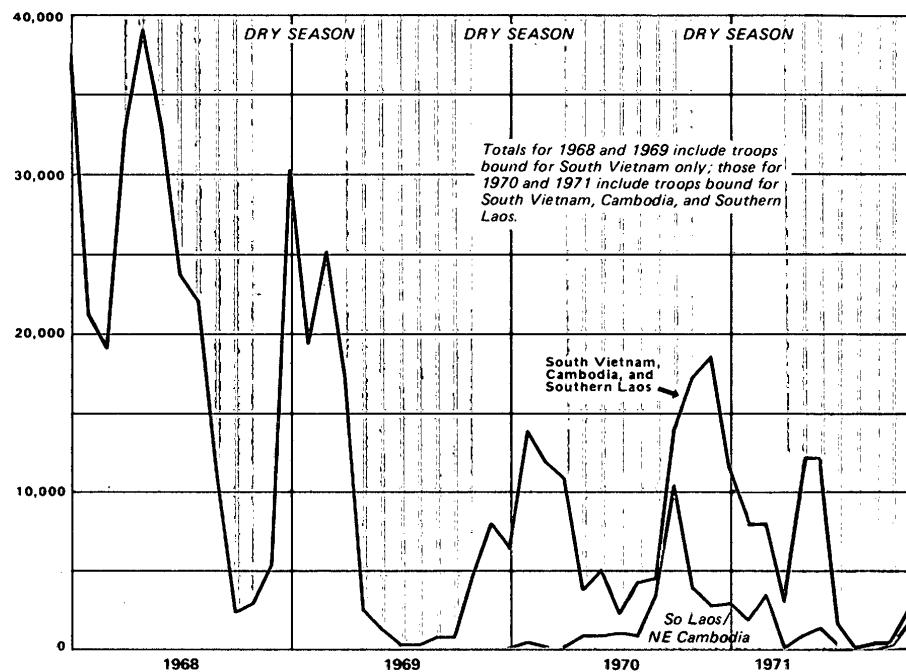
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North Vietnam is reinforcing its troops in north Laos in preparation for the coming dry season offensive. (Page 4)

The Chilean Army High Command reportedly has decided to reject a Soviet military credit. (Page 4)

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

North Vietnamese Infiltration Starts*



*Because most infiltrating personnel moving south after January 1971 were detected outside of North Vietnam, these data have been adjusted to reflect probable starting dates into the system.

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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

INDOCHINA

North Vietnamese intercepts indicate that at least nine infiltration groups including as many as 2,500 men started south in October. Of these, approximately 600 are bound for South Vietnam, most to an area just below the Demilitarized Zone. The remaining 1,900 troops are headed for southern Laos and northeastern Cambodia to augment logistic and combat forces along the infiltration corridor.

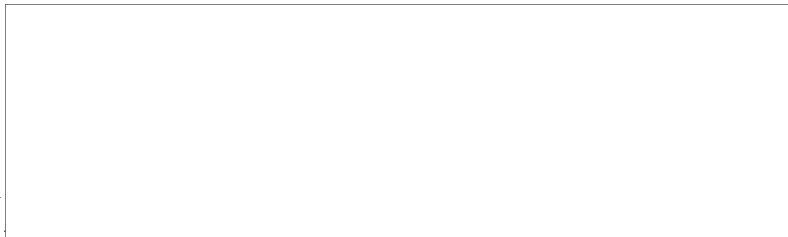
It is likely that the number of men bound for duty in the corridor is greater than that reflected in communications. The group numbering system suggests that another seven groups, totaling up to 4,000 troops, have already started south, bound for this area. This movement is continuing into early November with one new group of 500 men entering the system thus far.

The flow of infiltrators resumed later this year than in 1970, when large numbers of troops began moving south during September. Most of those, however, were combat troops sent to southern North Vietnam to bolster forces there in anticipation of allied attacks into Laos. The location of three Communist divisions just north of the Demilitarized Zone makes a similar move unnecessary this year. This force could respond quickly to any threat in southern Laos or northern South Vietnam.

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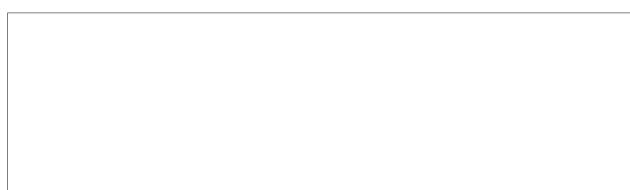
FRANCE



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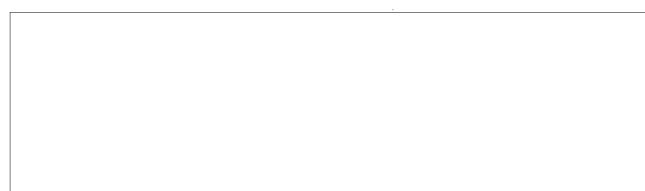


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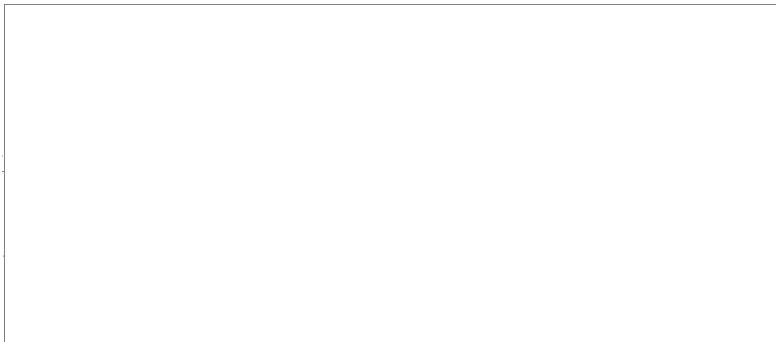


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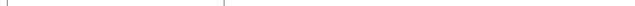
CHILE



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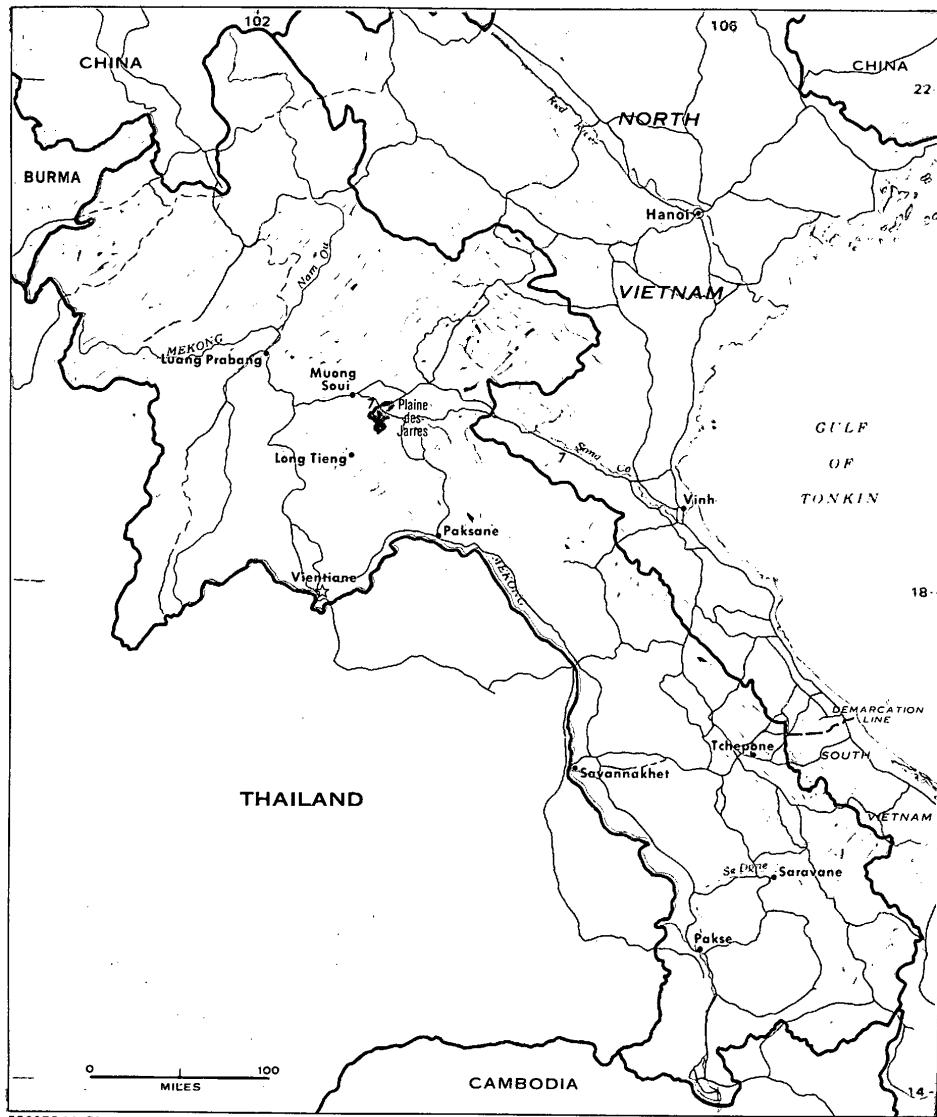
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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

LAOS



552075 11-71

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**NOTES**

Laos: Intercepts show that at least nine North Vietnamese infiltration groups are entering north Laos in preparation for the coming dry season offensive. When the new personnel (a minimum of 1,700 men and probably considerably more) arrive, the North Vietnamese force around the Plaine des Jarres is expected to total two divisions plus two or three support regiments. Last year, when the North Vietnamese held the Plaine, they did not begin sending reinforcements until January, and then only one regiment. The departure of reinforcements now suggests that Hanoi plans to begin an offensive earlier than last year. It also suggests that the North Vietnamese realize that Vang Pao's forces are stronger and better deployed and supported than they were when the Communists pushed them off the Plaine in February 1970.

Chile-USSR: [redacted]
the Chilean Army High Command has decided to reject
the \$50-million Soviet military credit [redacted]

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[redacted] The generals are said to base their rejection on difficulty of obtaining spare parts and on the grounds that the government's political orientation could change. President Allende may in effect have scotched the deal when he publicly denied on 18 October that a Soviet military credit had been offered.

USSR-Cuba: [redacted]
[redacted] The Soviet naval task group now visiting Cuba remains in port in Havana.

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Pakistan: President Yahya has told Ambassador Farland that he expects the treason trial of Pakistani leader Mujibur Rahman to run for "some time yet." Yahya said the prosecution had already presented 66 witnesses and still had many more to call before the defense begins its case.

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THE PRESIDENT'S DAILY BRIEF

6 November 1971

PRINCIPAL DEVELOPMENTS

Communist China [redacted]

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(Page 1)

Pakistani regulars have so far failed to dislodge Indian troops that entered East Pakistan on 30 October. (Page 2)

There is still heavy fighting along Route 6 in Cambodia, and another major roadway, Route 5, has been cut. (Page 3)

Soviet advisers participated in a recent Aden Government cross-border operation against dissident tribesmen in Yemen. (Page 4)

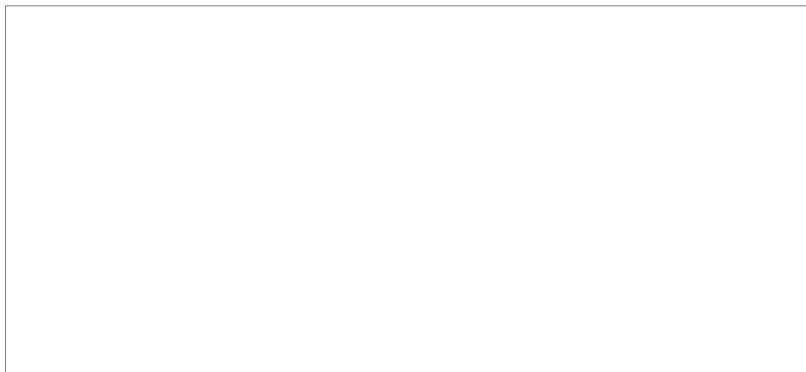
The Soviets are allowing Jewish activists to emigrate to Israel, hoping to avoid embarrassing demonstrations during celebrations of the revolution's anniversary on 7 November. (Page 5)

Japanese exports are still not affected by the new US economic policy. (Page 6)

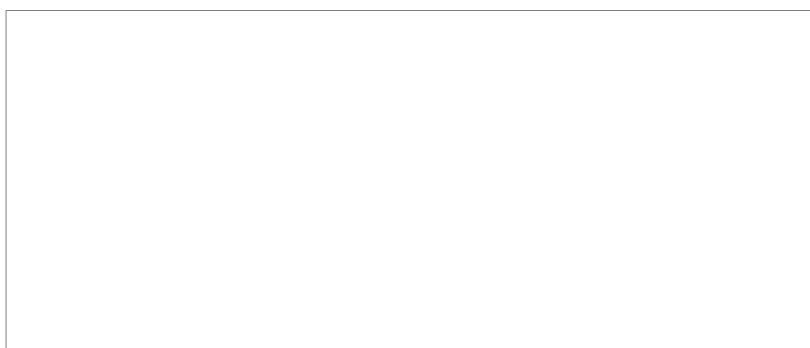
FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

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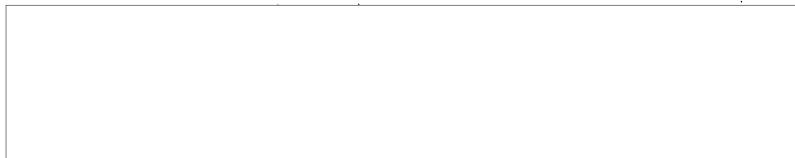
COMMUNIST CHINA



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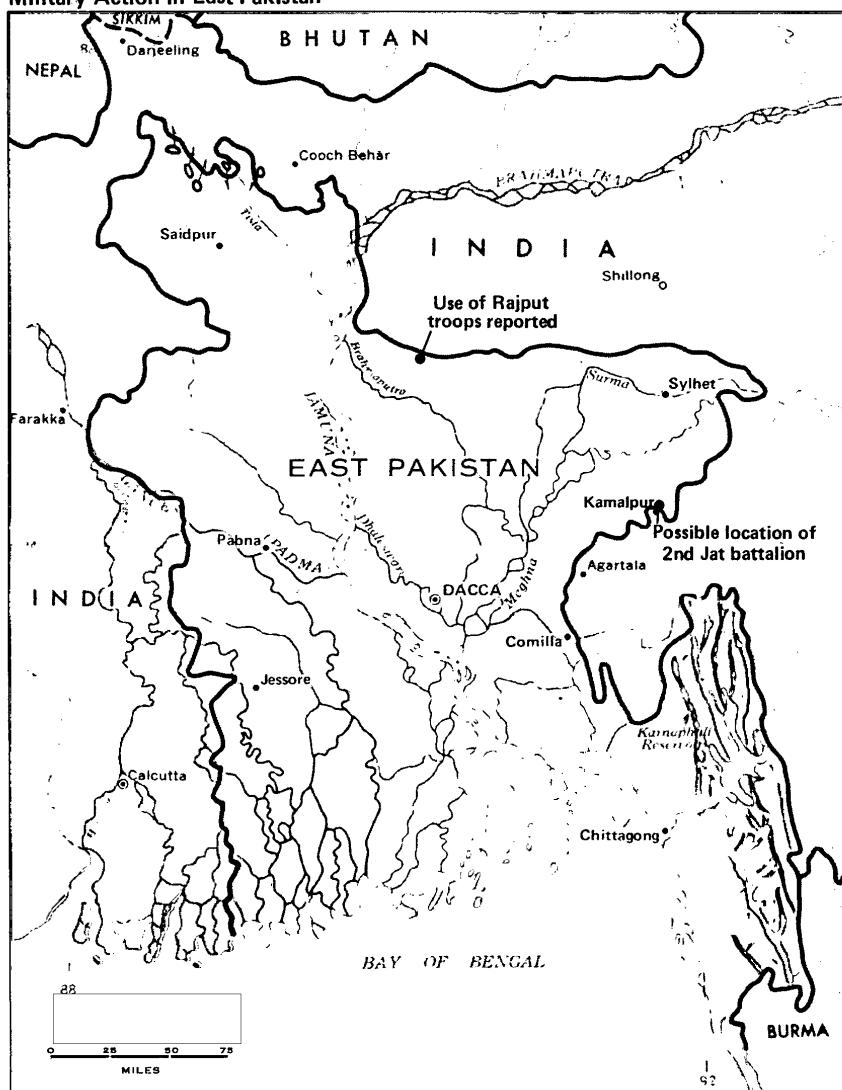
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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

Military Action in East Pakistan



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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

INDIA-PAKISTAN

In The President's Daily Brief of 4 November we reported information [redacted] that an Indian Army force had entered East Pakistan to destroy Pakistani installations opposite Kamalpur and was still occupying the area as of 1 November.

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Indian and Pakistani regulars in this area is continuing.

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[redacted] on the night of 4-5 November the Pakistanis launched two counter-attacks, but [redacted] the Jats held their position. The Indians were said to have had ten casualties, bringing to 50 their total killed in the fighting as of that date.

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The Pakistani press is claiming that the Rajput Regiment is [redacted] fighting in the East.

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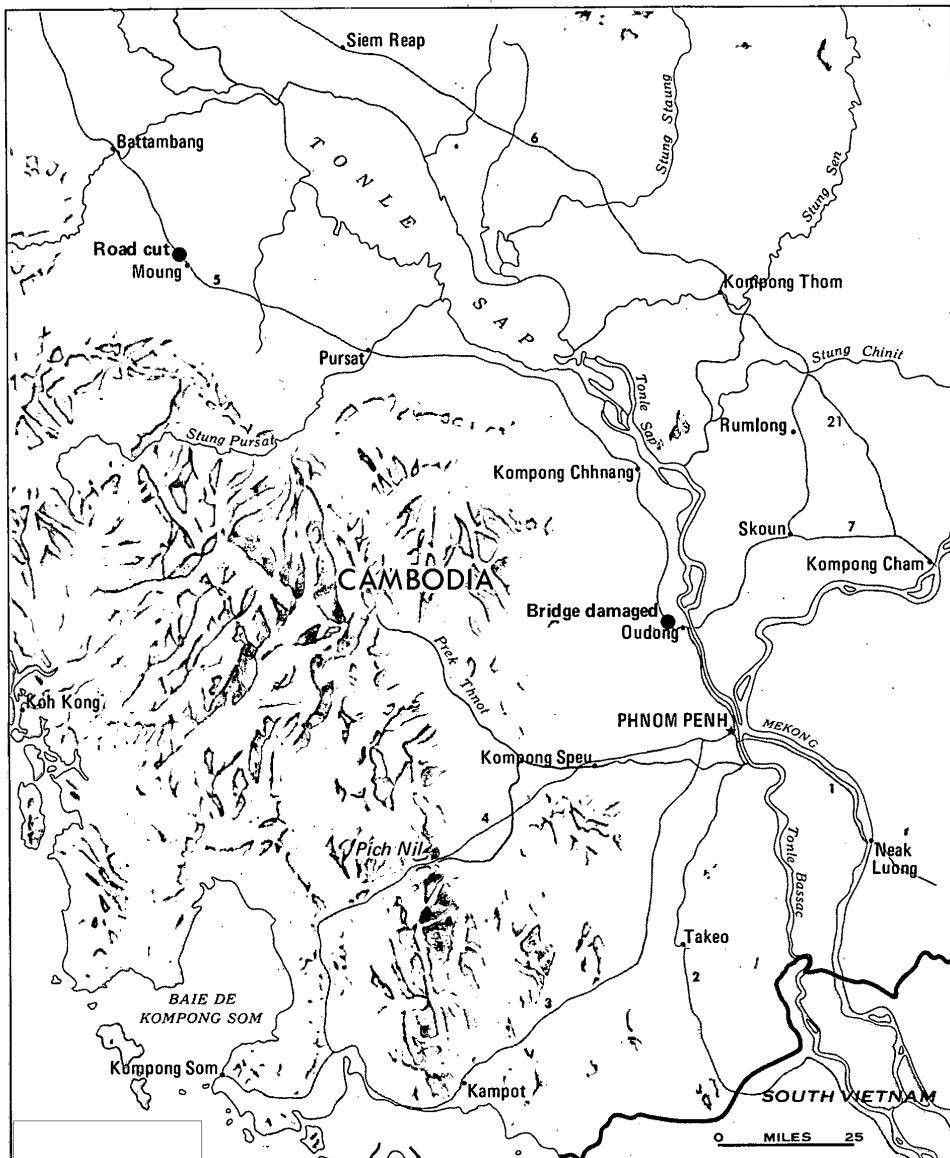
Although this claim is not confirmed, it does appear that the Indians are now using regulars fairly openly and in some strength in East Pakistan. Continued operations of this sort in support of the Mukti Bahini could stimulate a Pakistani response, such as attacks on Mukti Bahini bases in India.

A Bangla Desh announcement that its air force will counter Pakistani air attacks may be aimed at boosting internal morale, but it could also be intended as a cover for future Indian Air Force strikes.

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[redacted] it would need Indian aircraft, bases, and logistics support to conduct operations.

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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

CAMBODIA

Continued Communist resistance on Route 6 has prevented the Khmer Krom task forces just north and south of Rumleng from pushing into that village. Although the Khmer Krom have taken some heavy casualties, they appear determined to keep trying to advance along the highway from both directions. Government defenders in and around Rumleng have borne up well under steady Communist pressure and have been resupplied by airdrops. Heavy allied air strikes have helped to keep the Communists in the vicinity pinned down and evidently have inflicted sizable losses on them.

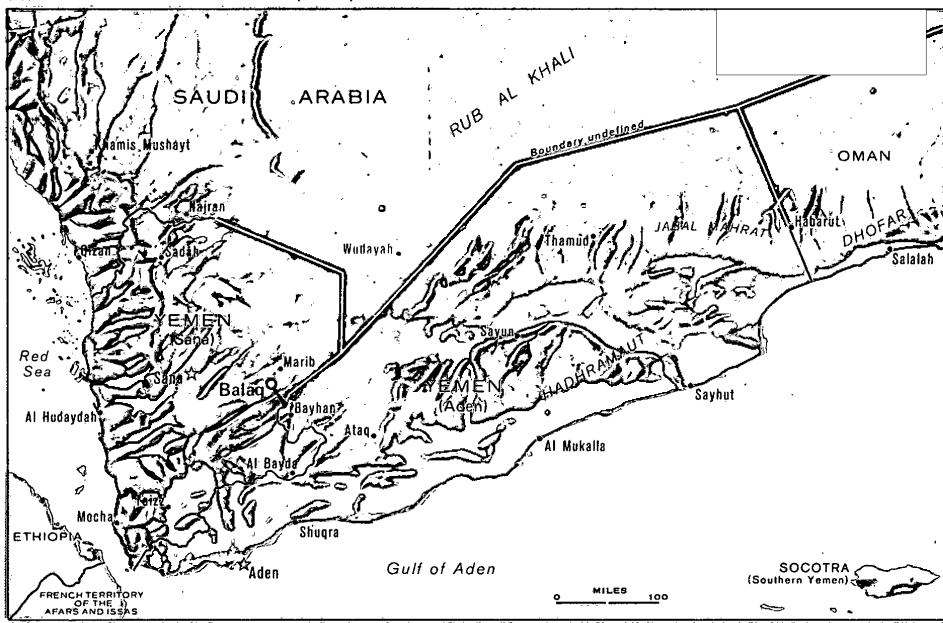
The Communists now have an estimated 7,200 troops arrayed along Route 6 against some 20,000 Cambodian soldiers.

Communist forces have also cut another major roadway--Route 5--in Battambang Province several miles north of the town of Moung. They apparently also have caused considerable damage to a key bridge near Oudong.

These actions clearly are designed to halt the government truck convoys carrying rice from Battambang to Phnom Penh, but could also presage heightened Communist activity throughout this region.

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

Adeni Incursion into Yemen (Sana)



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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

USSR - SOUTH YEMEN

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[redacted]
more than 45 Soviet advisers supported a recent cross-border raid by the Adeni Government against dissident tribesmen. The "hit-and-run" expedition took place on 17 October, when several hundred troops crossed into neighboring Yemen (Sana) for a distance of about 25 miles to attack anti-Aden dissidents whose activities have flared up somewhat in recent weeks. The Soviets played no combat role, but were involved in servicing field guns and aircraft and in airlifting Adeni troops and weapons.

Soviet advisers have taken part in operations of this type in the past in the southern Sudan and in both Yemens, where remote locations have provided a low-risk opportunity to shore up friendly governments.

In the case of South Yemen, economic and military assistance to this impoverished country has provided the Soviets an opportunity to establish a sizable presence. The radical ideology of the Adeni regime also provides a certain amount of rapport. All this has enabled the Soviets to gain access to Aden's air and maritime facilities. To date, they have limited themselves to infrequent port calls, but their naval activity in the Indian Ocean would be aided by reliable provision and repair facilities at Aden, which is one of the best ports in the area.

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

USSR

From 1 to 3 November, 350 Jews received Israeli visas, according to the US Embassy in Moscow. In addition, the 93 Jews who demonstrated at the Central Committee building in September are said to have been promised exit visas. Many of the applicants are well-educated professionals and come from major cities, such as Moscow and Leningrad. The embassy's informant also reported that Soviet authorities have even begun to accept applications from Jews who have no relatives in Israel.

The rate of Jewish emigration has fluctuated greatly during the past year, but this three-day total is very high. Many of those who emigrated in recent months have been old, poorly educated and unskilled, coming from outlying areas of the Soviet Union. The change to allow urban Jewish activists to emigrate is probably designed to avoid embarrassing demonstrations during the revolution anniversary celebrations on 7 November. The increased rate is almost certainly a temporary tactic; it was used by the regime at the time of the party congress earlier this year.

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

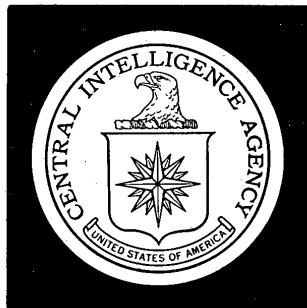
FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

NOTE

Japan: Apparently still unaffected by the new US economic policy, Japanese exports rose more than 20 percent last month compared with October 1970, while imports remained essentially unchanged. This gave Japan a trade surplus of \$300 million for the month. Tokyo recorded a \$710-million increase in foreign reserves during October, raising total reserves to slightly over \$14 billion. Repayment by foreign exchange banks of \$200 million in foreign currency borrowed from the Bank of Japan contributed to the increase, as did the Bank of Japan's reported purchase of \$100 million during October to control the yen float.

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SUNDAY CABLE
7 November 1971

USSR-FRANCE

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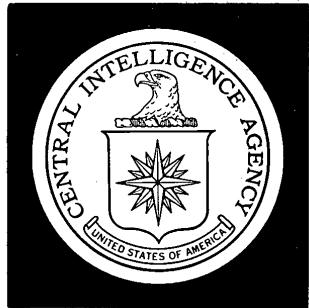
The [redacted] official minutes
of the Brezhnev-Pompidou conversations do not go much
beyond the public record [redacted]

[redacted] Pompidou [redacted] vetoed the idea of
a Soviet-French friendship treaty. [redacted]

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8 November 1971

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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

THE PRESIDENT'S DAILY BRIEF

8 November 1971

PRINCIPAL DEVELOPMENTS

On *Page 1*, we comment on the speech of Soviet polit-buro member Grishin marking this year's anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution.

[redacted] the recent visit of Soviet party leader Brezhnev to France [redacted]

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on *Page 2*.

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European Community finance ministers are discussing a possible formula for breaking the international monetary impasse. (*Page 3*)

An attack on a UN relief ship in East Pakistani waters could reflect deliberate guerrilla policy.
(*Page 4*)

[redacted] 50X1

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

USSR

The traditional speech on the anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution, delivered by junior politburo member Viktor Grishin, was a fairly routine affair and reflected satisfaction with the course of the USSR's foreign and domestic policies. Grishin did, however, seem at pains to demonstrate that Moscow's current "peace offensive" was not inconsistent with past Soviet foreign policy and did not mean any slackening in the Soviet ideological struggle against "imperialism." Grishin did not mention President Nixon's forthcoming visit to Moscow or otherwise comment on Soviet-American relations, except to note that "known, positive results" have been achieved at SALT. He made the standard pitch for normalization of Sino-Soviet state relations.

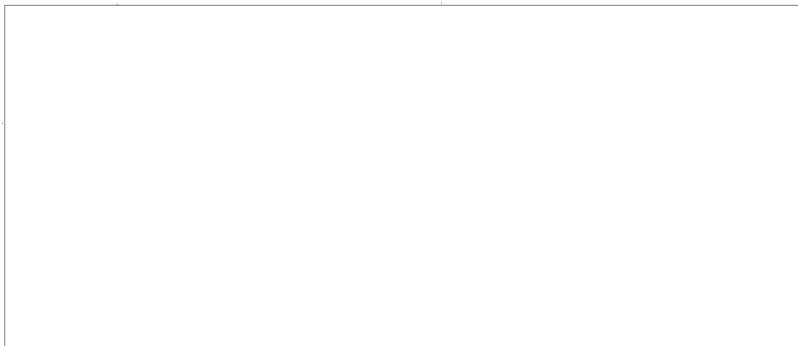
In discussing the recent travels of Soviet leaders abroad, Grishin gave primary emphasis to party leader Brezhnev's recent visit to France. He also singled out the Berlin agreement and the improvement in Soviet - West German relations as important contributions to the progress of European detente, and noted that a Conference on European Security might be possible "as early as 1972."

The selection of Grishin is in keeping with the practice established after Khrushchev's ouster of rotating the anniversary speaker. It is, however, an indirect snub to the two more senior members of the politburo--Vorонов and Shelepin--who have not yet been so honored.

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

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USSR-FRANCE



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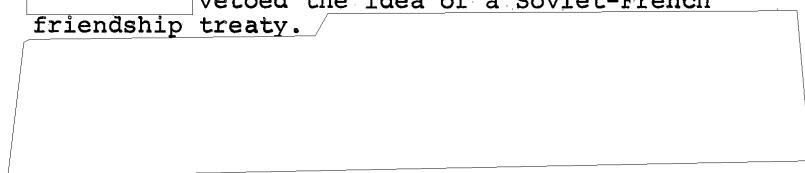
[redacted] the official minutes of the Brezhnev-Pompidou conversations do not go much beyond the public record and [redacted] Pompidou [redacted] vetoed the idea of a Soviet-French friendship treaty.

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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

INTERNATIONAL MONETARY DEVELOPMENTS

European Community finance ministers are discussing a formula which they hope may break the international monetary impasse. At a meeting in Rome last week French Finance Minister Giscard D'Estaing indicated that France could probably go along with a plan that:

- Maintained the gold parity of the French franc,
- Devalued the dollar vis-a-vis gold by about five percent,
- Retained essentially without change the franc-lira and franc-sterling rates,
- Revalued the deutschemark by about five to six percent and the Benelux currencies by much smaller percentages,
- Removed the US import surtax.

Germany indicated that it will accept this package provided that Japan at least matches the German revaluation and that Canada also revalues substantially.

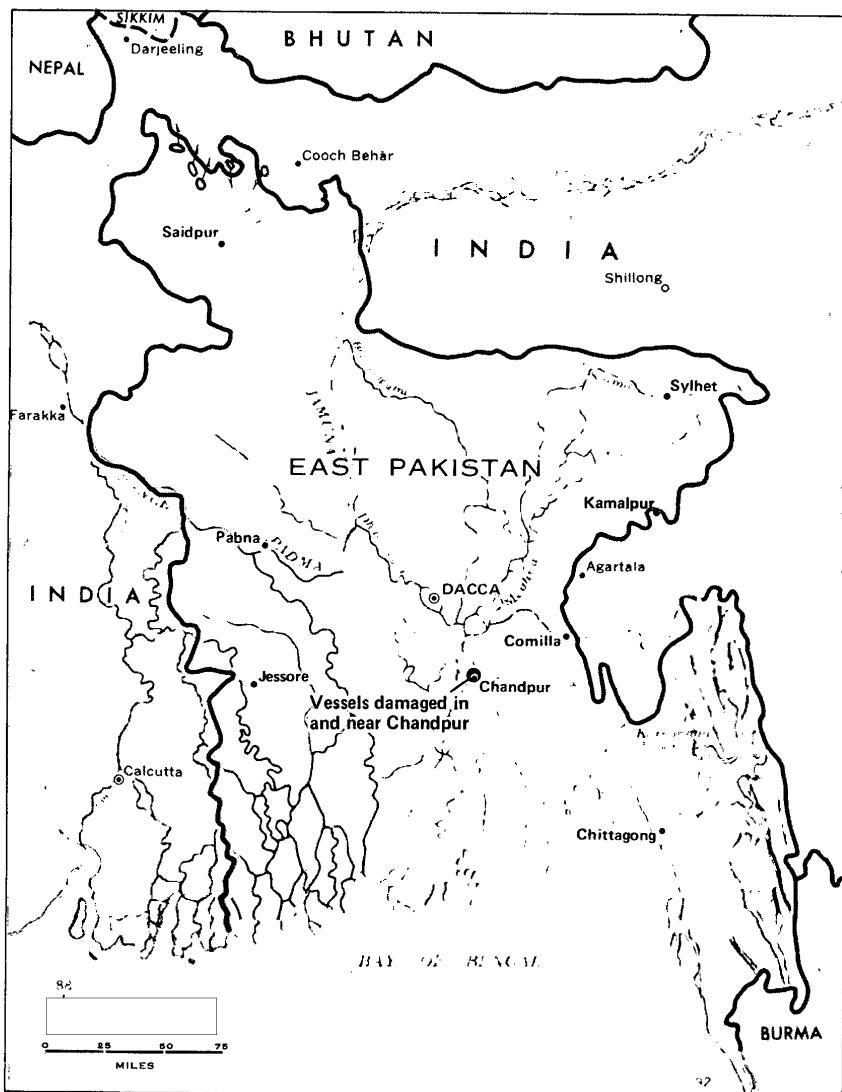
Japan and Canada are likely to find Bonn's demands acceptable since their current market exchange rates already show substantial de facto revaluations. Italy, however, may be unwilling to accept a revaluation of the lira vis-a-vis the dollar by as much as five percent.

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The EC will have an opportunity to discuss the package further when the finance ministers meet again just prior to the Group of Ten meeting on 22 November.

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Action in East Pakistan



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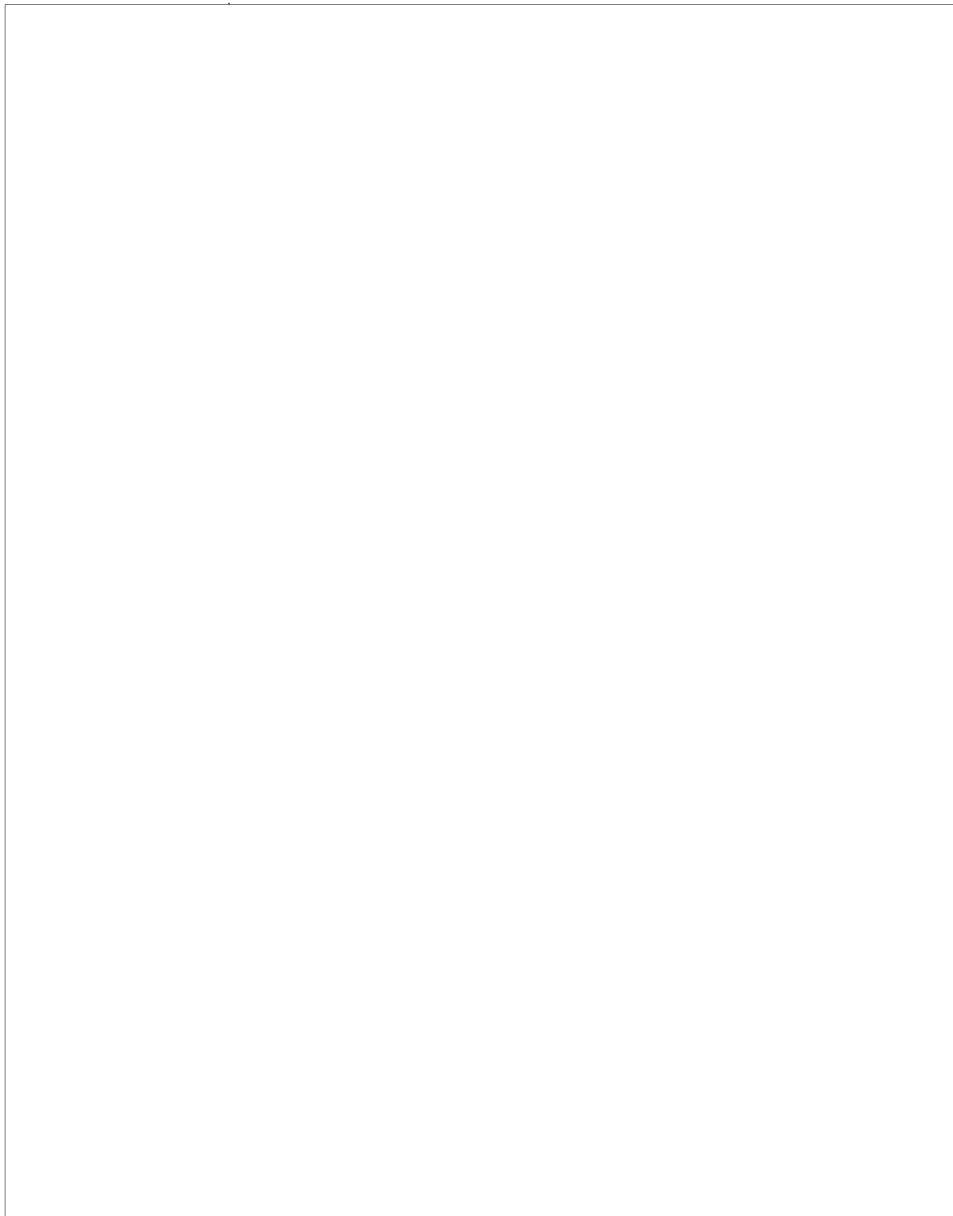
FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

PAKISTAN

On 5 November one of several US-financed coastal vessels carrying foodgrains and clearly marked as engaged in UN relief operations was damaged by an explosion near the East Pakistani port of Chandpur. It follows by three days the sinking at Chandpur of a Pakistani ship also carrying foodgrains.

The attack on the UN vessel could indicate that some guerrilla groups--not necessarily those under the control of the Bangla Desh "government"--are initiating a policy of interfering with UN relief operations. The guerrillas in the East are concerned that international relief efforts are not helping the majority of the Bengali people. There are, in fact, numerous reports that some aid is being diverted exclusively to the Pakistani Army and its supporters.

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY



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NOTES

USSR-Egypt:

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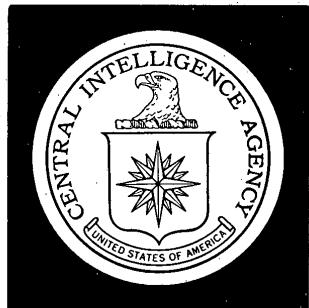
The Soviets currently maintain six reconnaissance version Badges at Cairo West and four other TU-16s at Aswan in support of their Mediterranean naval forces.

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The President's Daily Brief

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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

THE PRESIDENT'S DAILY BRIEF

9 November 1971

PRINCIPAL DEVELOPMENTS

Peking has reaffirmed its political commitment to Pakistan but has preserved considerable freedom of maneuver in the Indo-Pakistani dispute. (Page 1)

Widespread guerrilla activity in East Pakistan is beginning to erode the confidence of some West Pakistanis serving in the province. (Page 2)

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No additional new-type silos were detected at deployed missile complexes in the most recent satellite photography of the USSR. (Page 4)

Prominent Japanese business leaders will visit Peking to explore channels of communication in the absence of formal diplomatic ties. (Page 4)

The Turks anticipate a Soviet proposal for a friendship and nonaggression treaty. (Page 4)

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

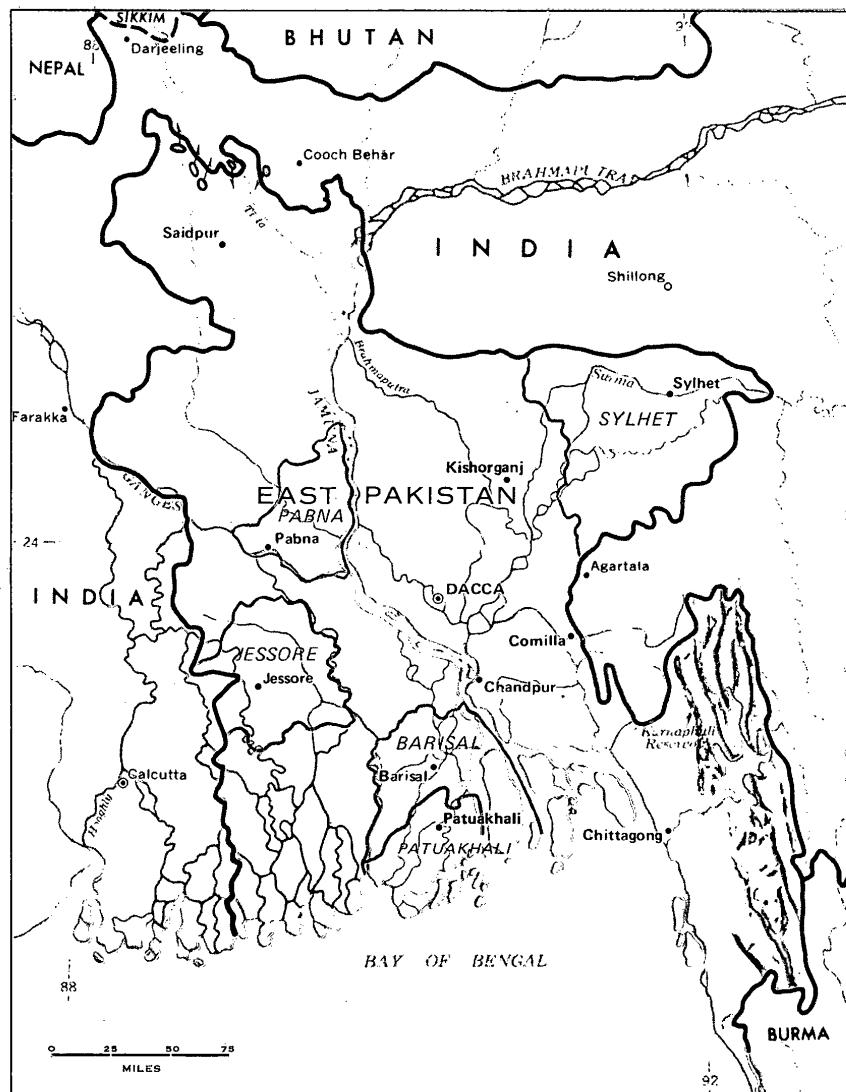
COMMUNIST CHINA - PAKISTAN

In a banquet speech on Sunday, Chinese Acting Foreign Minister Chi Peng-fei told a high-level Pakistani delegation that China continues to endorse Pakistani unity and will resolutely support Pakistan if it is attacked. Blaming "domestic secessionists" along with "foreign aggressors" and "interventionists" for the troubles in East Pakistan, Chi condemned India for exploiting the East Pakistan situation by means of "subversive activities and military threats." In contrast to Chou En-lai's letter of support sent last April to President Yahya Khan, however, Chi did not accuse either the US or the USSR of directly interfering in Pakistan's internal affairs. Chi also told the Pakistanis that "disputes between states should be settled by the two sides concerned through consultations and not by resorting to force."

The Chinese have given little public encouragement to Islamabad since Chou En-lai's letter to Yahya. The Pakistanis have been anxious to extract fresh evidence of support. They got less than they had hoped for. The Chinese statement that India and Pakistan should negotiate, not fight, is gratifying, but the Pakistanis will be less pleased with the advice that the internal crisis in East Pakistan needs "a reasonable settlement," which smacks of a negotiated compromise. In effect, Pe-king has reaffirmed its political commitment to Pakistan but has preserved considerable freedom of maneuver.

On the military side, Chinese pledges of support were vague and linked to the contingency of external aggression. The Pakistani delegation contained high-ranking military officers, but there was no mention of increased Chinese arms aid.

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY



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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

PAKISTAN

Guerrilla activity continues widespread in East Pakistan. There are indications that pressure from the guerrillas is beginning to have its effect on the West Pakistanis and their agents serving in the provinces.

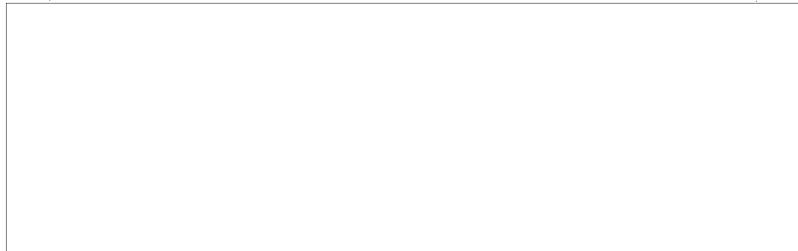
--The guerrillas have driven police and militiamen from the Kishorganj area and are in effective control there

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--There has been heavy fighting in Sylhet District, according to another source, with 30 Pakistani soldiers killed in the first five days of November.

--There are still frequent bombings in Dacca and Chittagong. A member of the Provincial Assembly was assassinated near Dacca on 7 November, and earlier two assembly candidates were badly wounded in Chittagong.

--According to several observers, the Mukti Bahini openly controls the rural areas of Barisal and Patuakhali districts. The Mukti Bahini is attempting to eliminate radical leftist guerrilla bands in these districts and possibly in Pabna and Jessore districts as well, and there have been several clashes.



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SOUTH VIETNAM



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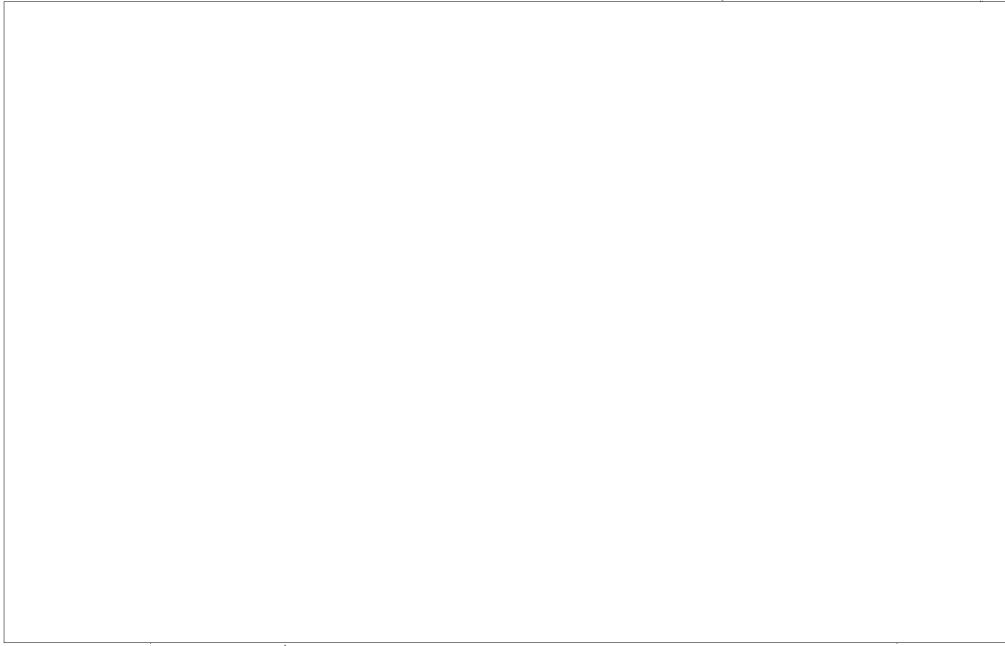


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NOTES

USSR: No additional new-type silos were detected at deployed missile complexes in the most recent satellite photography. Only four of the 25 new-type silos at SS-9 complexes were seen on this coverage--three at Zhangiztobe and one at Dombarovskiy. Construction is progressing on the site at Dombarovskiy but does not appear to have advanced on the Zhangiztobe sites since they were last seen in September. The other 66 new-type silos at Pervomaysk and Derazhnya, where SS-11s are deployed along with a few MRBMs and IRBMs, were not seen because of cloud cover. Analysis of the photography is continuing, and further details may become available.

Japan - Communist China: An important group of Japanese business leaders will leave for Peking on 12 November to explore means of establishing communications in the absence of formal diplomatic ties. While this is not an officially sponsored visit, the members of the group are all major backers of the ruling Liberal Democratic Party and can be expected to report back to Premier Sato. If pressed by the Chinese, they no doubt are prepared to talk in Peking about their economic ties with Taiwan, but as of now, they believe they can trade with the Communists as well as maintain their interests on the island.

USSR-Turkey: Prime Minister Erim expects Soviet President Podgorny to push for a 25-year treaty of friendship and nonaggression during his visit to Turkey next April. Erim has told Ambassador Handley that the Soviet ambassador on two separate occasions proposed consideration of such a treaty, along the lines of earlier pacts made in the 1920s. These agreements are still on the books, but Moscow is interested in a new treaty which would have current political impact. The Soviets succeeded in India, but were rebuffed by Indonesia, Canada, and France, when they recently proposed such treaties with those governments. They probably will be no more successful with the Turks.

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THE PRESIDENT'S DAILY BRIEF

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PRINCIPAL DEVELOPMENTS



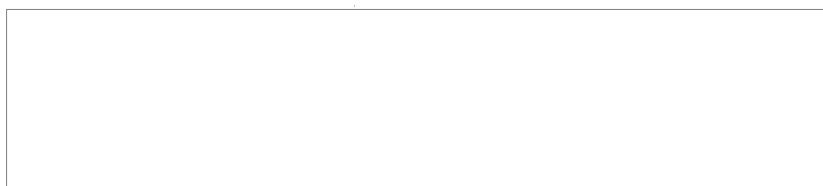
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The Soviets have air-to-surface missiles in Egypt

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(Page 2)

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The military situation in Cambodia is discussed on
Page 3.

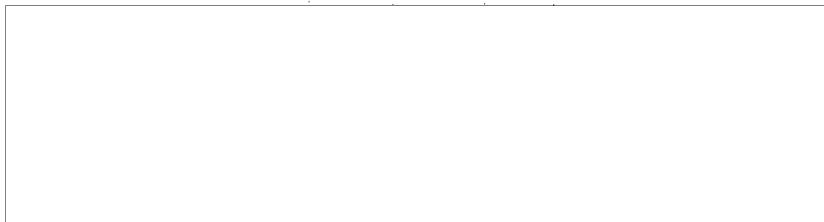


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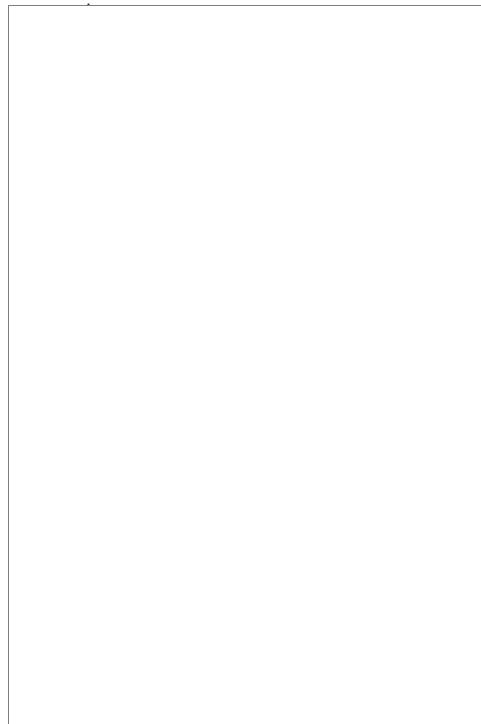
INDIA-PAKISTAN



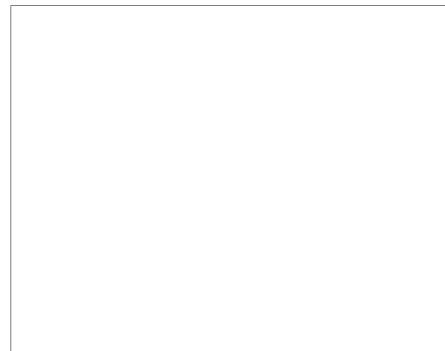
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Only one incursion by Indians in battalion strength has been confirmed. The Pakistani press, however, has reported the use of Indian regulars several times, including an attack yesterday on the eastern border by two companies supported by armor and artillery.

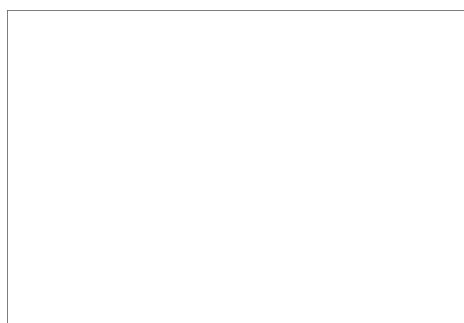
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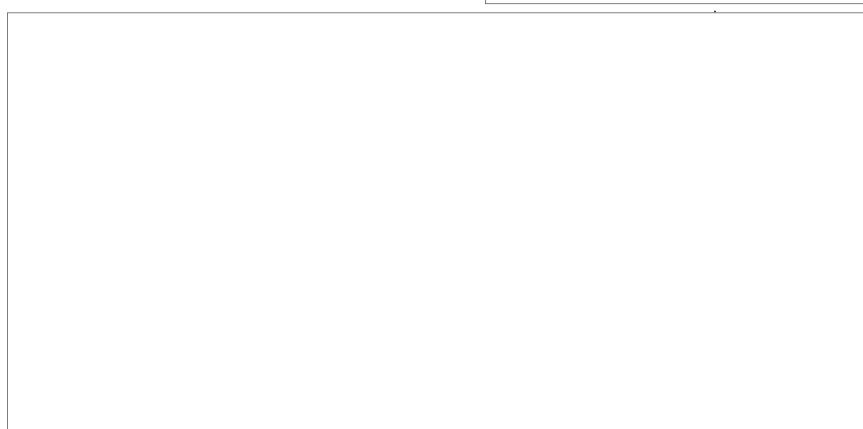
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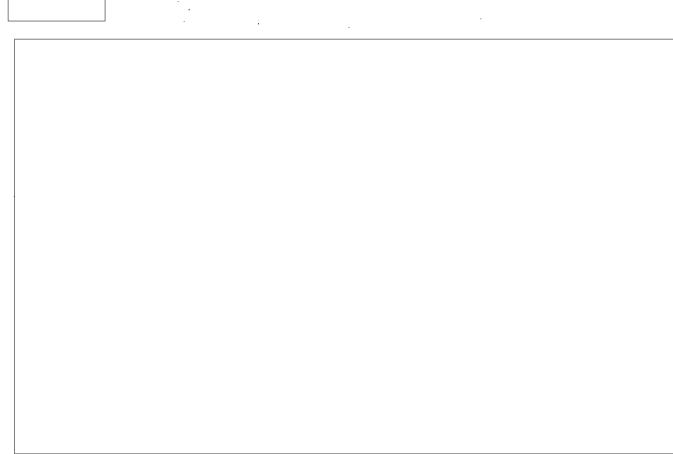
FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

USSR-EGYPT

A Soviet-built air-to-surface missile has been seen in recent satellite photography of Aswan air-field in Egypt. It is a type called the "Kelt" and was designed to be fired from TU-16 medium bombers.

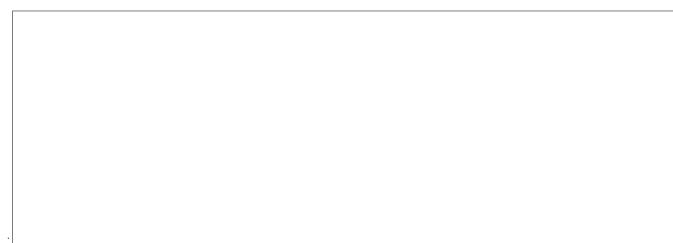


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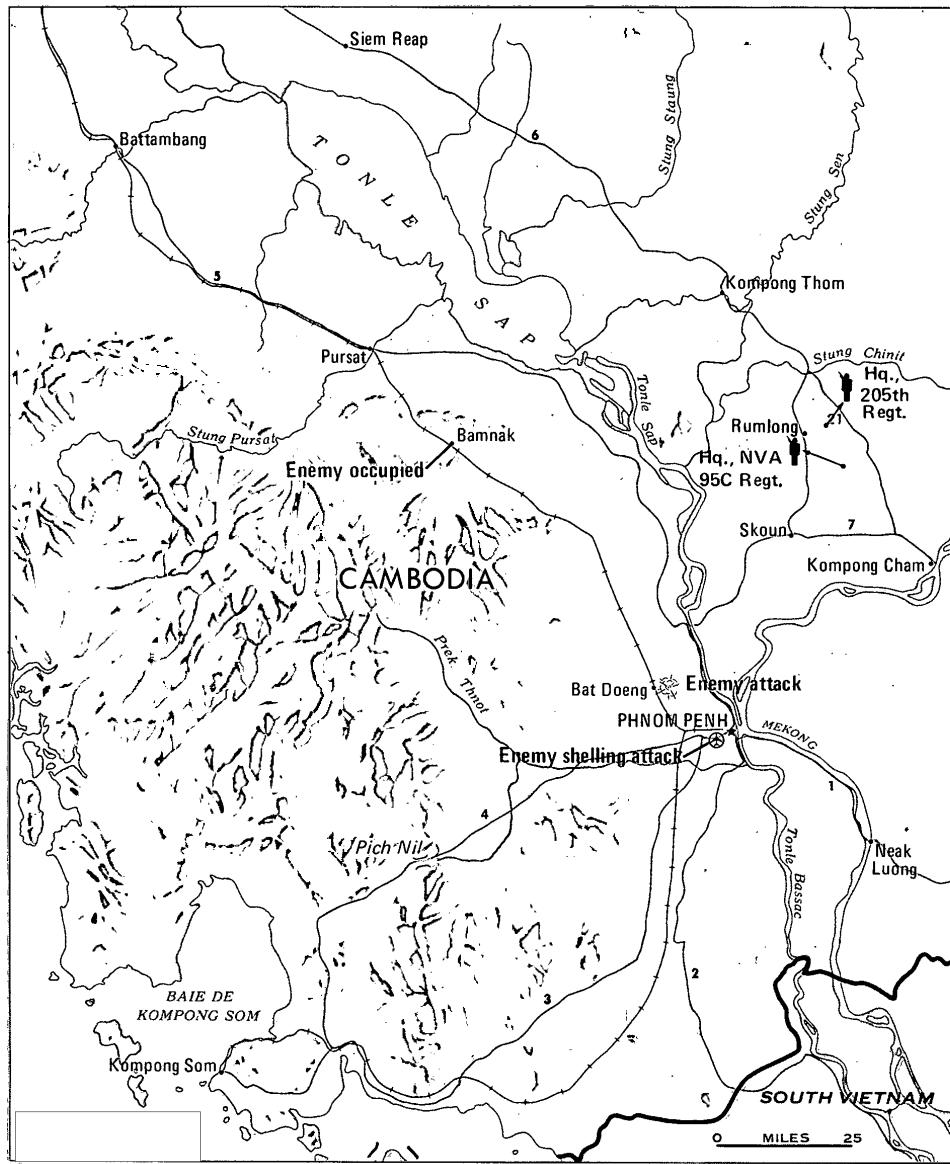
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CAMBODIA

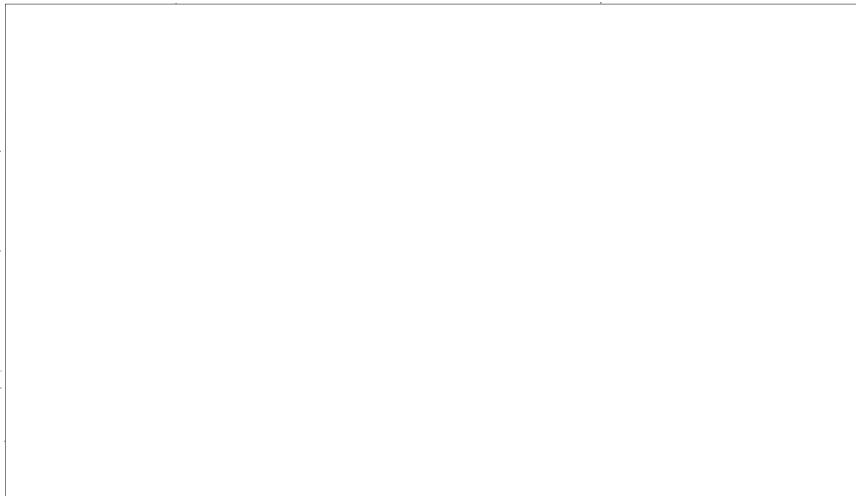
The Communists hit Pochentong airfield near Phnom Penh early this morning with a 50-round barrage of mortar, recoilless rifle, and rocket fire. Four people were killed and six wounded, according to initial reports. Three aircraft were destroyed and 12 damaged. Several support buildings were hit, but key navigation and communications facilities were missed and the airport is functioning normally. Following this strike, a government installation on the perimeter of the airfield was attacked by enemy troops, who inflicted fairly heavy casualties. These were the first attacks in the Phnom Penh area since late September, when enemy sappers caused extensive damage to several oil storage facilities.

The Communists are also increasingly active northwest of the capital. On Monday, two government battalions were attacked about ten miles from Phnom Penh near the rail line town of Bat Doeng. The Communists have also occupied the village of Bamnak, further north along the rail line, following two days of sharp fighting there, and ambushed a relief force from Pursat.

In the Route 6 area, the Communists may be rotating their forces while keeping up pressure on government units near Rumlong. The headquarters of the North Vietnamese 95C Regiment has moved closer to the village and is now located on the west side of Route 6, while the Vietnamese/Khmer Communist 205th Regiment has pulled back to a position about 13 miles northeast of Rumlong, possibly for rest and refitting.

The continued hard fighting along Route 6 is beginning to exact a psychological toll in Phnom Penh, where the optimism of Cambodian military leaders has given way to excessive pessimism. Prime Minister Lon Nol is scheduled to meet with his field commanders today to discuss what to do next.

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY



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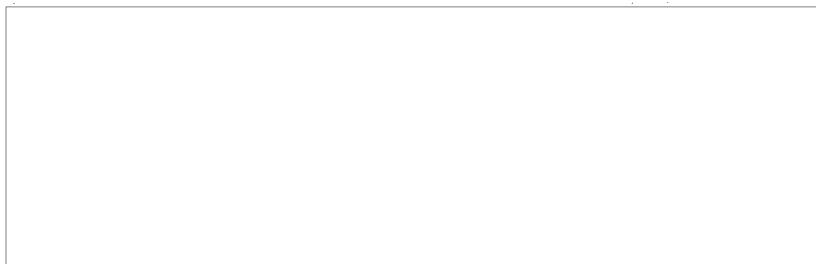


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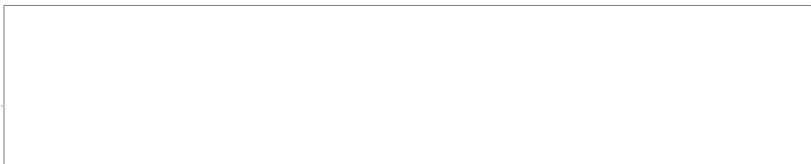
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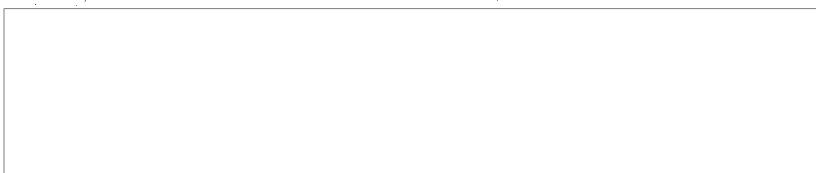
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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

NOTES

Communist China:

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USSR-Cuba: The Soviet naval group that has been visiting Cuba left Havana yesterday following a ten-day port call. The two guided missile ships, two diesel submarines and a tanker were located off the western tip of Cuba this morning. If they follow past practice they will operate for a short time in the Gulf of Mexico and south of Cuba. They will probably also make a call at Cienfuegos before leaving the Caribbean. A Cuban announcement of their departure from Havana said the group has begun training maneuvers.

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THE PRESIDENT'S DAILY BRIEF

11 November 1971

PRINCIPAL DEVELOPMENTS

On *Page 1* we comment on the assassination yesterday of South Vietnamese politician Nguyen Van Bong.

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	(Page 2)

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British Foreign Secretary Douglas-Home is going to Rhodesia in an effort to settle the independence dispute. (*Page 3*)

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

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SOUTH VIETNAM

Nguyen Van Bong, who was killed yesterday in Saigon by a bomb explosion in his automobile, was one of the country's most effective and respected politicians. He was the leader of the Progressive Nationalist Movement, one of the few Vietnamese political parties with organizational strength outside the capital and one which did fairly well in the recent National Assembly elections. Bong had been rumored as a possible selection for prime minister in the event that President Thieu decided to broaden his government through a cabinet reorganization.

Bong's assassins have not been identified, but suspicion is falling on the Communists since he had no known political or personal enemies. Although there is no obvious reason why the Communists might single out Bong, they have conducted similar acts of terrorism in the past, primarily to demonstrate that security in Saigon is still precarious.

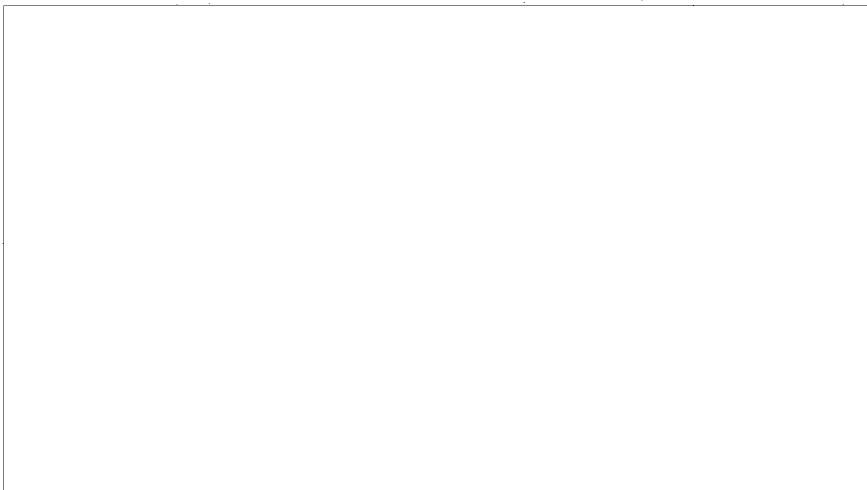
The Progressive Nationalist Movement had been following a course of moderate opposition since its establishment in 1968. Its line is not likely to change much as a result of Bong's death, although the party's number two man, Nguyen Ngoc Huy, is considered to be somewhat more sympathetic to the government.

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

USSR



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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

UK-RHODESIA

Heath is sending Foreign Secretary Douglas-Home to Salisbury on Sunday in fulfillment of his election campaign pledge to try to settle the six-year-old Rhodesian independence dispute.

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[redacted] preliminary negotiations over the past several months have not advanced as far as the government had hoped, but the Foreign Secretary's presence in Rhodesia apparently is believed necessary to advance the talks further.

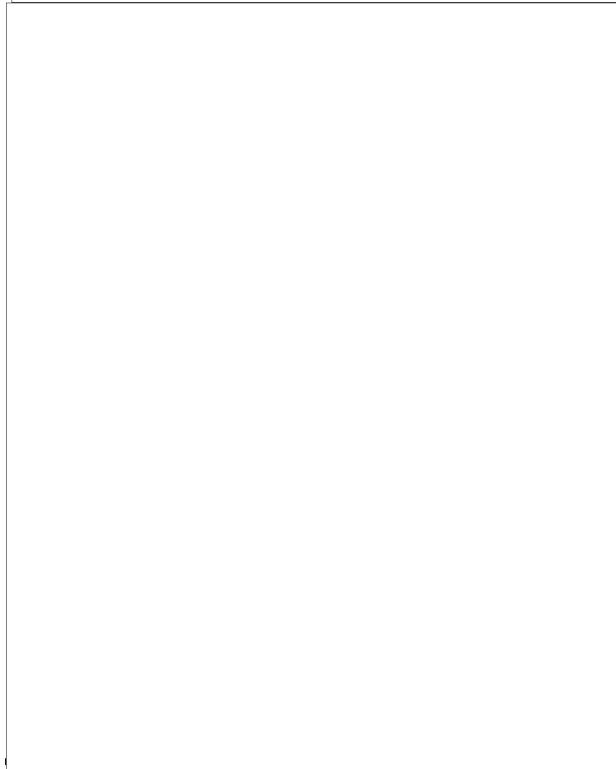
The major point to be settled is progress toward ending racial discrimination. The British still insist that any new agreement must provide for unimpeded progress toward majority, i.e., African rule. Although Rhodesian Prime Minister Smith, according to one report, wants a settlement because of economic problems, he has recently come under intense pressure from his own party to adopt even stricter racial segregation measures.

Heath may well believe that a Rhodesian settlement, or at least a demonstrated drive to attain one, will shore up his support among right-wing Tories, whom he wants to back legislation necessary to effect Britain's entry to the EC.

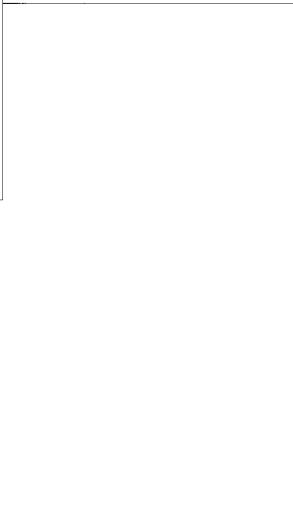
FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY



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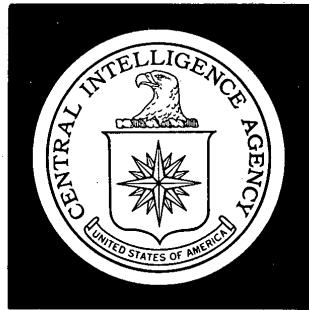
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THE PRESIDENT'S DAILY BRIEF

12 November 1971

PRINCIPAL DEVELOPMENTS

Further skirmishing is bringing India and Pakistan closer to a war, although neither seems eager for one. (Page 1)

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Soviets
 India (Page 2)

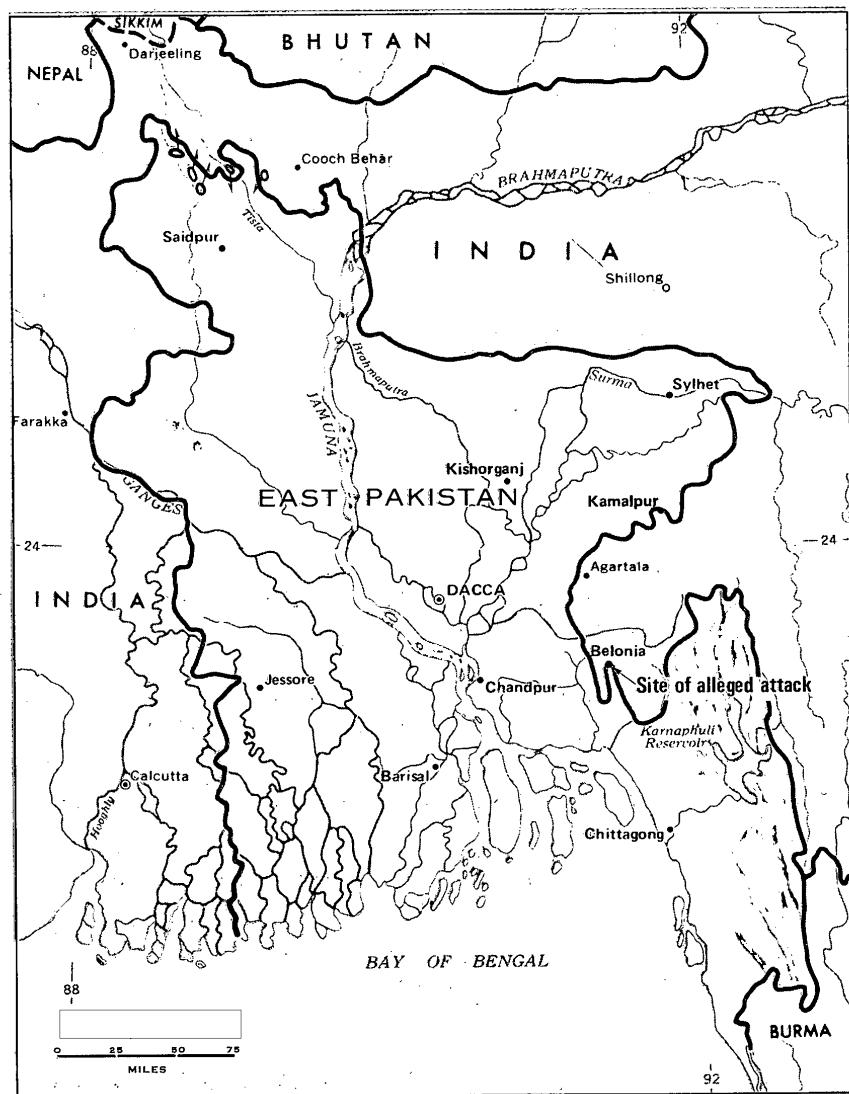
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On Page 3 we comment on Egyptian President Sadat's latest speech.

The Soviet naval task force is in the Gulf of Mexico after conducting operations with the Cuban Navy. (Page 4)

President Allende believes his prospects have improved for restructuring the Chilean congress. (Page 5)

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY



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INDIA-PAKISTAN

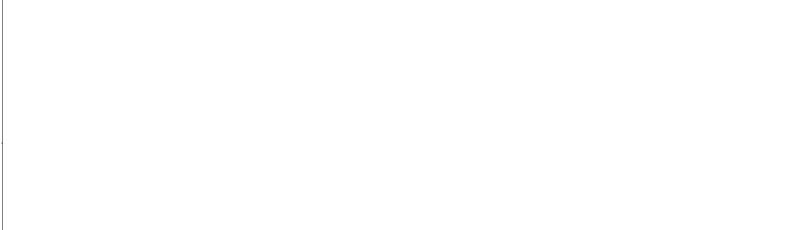
The two sides are edging closer to the brink, although neither seems to want to plunge over it.

The Pakistanis have charged publicly that on 10 November Indian regulars and Mukti Bahini attacked in brigade strength in the Belonia area.

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the Indians penetrated three miles against badly outnumbered Pakistani troops, but that the Pakistanis staged a successful counterattack. The press reports 200 Indian casualties, and the source claims Pakistani losses were about the same.

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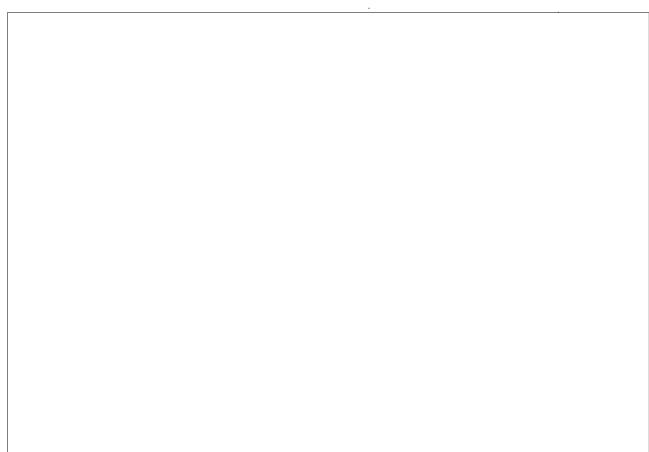
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USSR-INDIA



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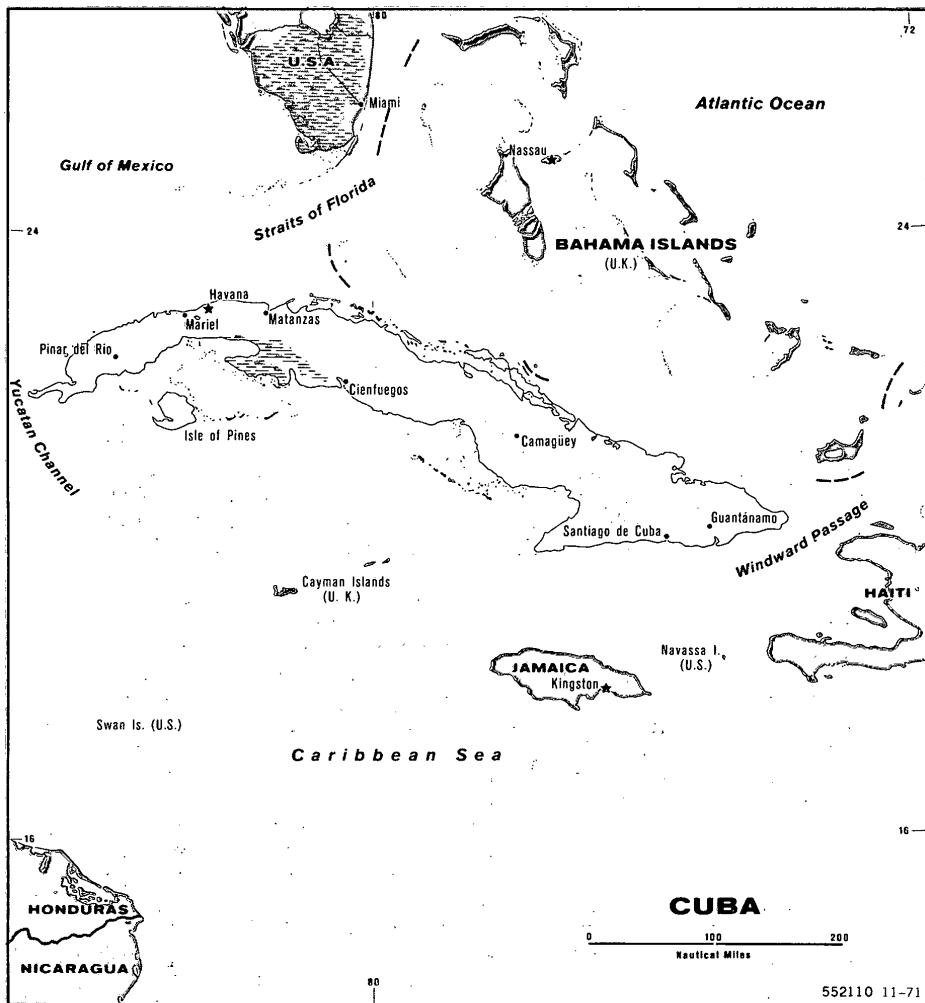
EGYPT

President Sadat's address to the nation yesterday, billed as a major policy statement, hewed for the most part to well-known Egyptian conditions for an accommodation with Israel. Sadat closed no doors in the search for a settlement but he said that, as a necessary first step, the Israelis must respond to Ambassador Jarring's request that they state their final conditions.

Sadat also dwelt at length on his rationale for the failure thus far of US mediation efforts. Holding the US accountable for the deadlock, he accused Washington both of succumbing to domestic "Zionist pressure" and of using Israel as a "tool" for American interests in the Middle East. In a clearly intended contrast, he lauded the Soviet Union as "a friend in war and a friend in peace" that has "withheld no assistance to strengthen our military ability."

In giving a preview of the speech to the US interests section in Cairo, Sadat's confidant, Muhammad Haykal, complained bitterly that he could not understand the US approach to negotiations. Haykal urged as a favor to Sadat a temperate response to the speech.

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY



FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

USSR-CUBA

The Soviet naval task force has been operating in the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean since leaving Havana three days ago. During their first day out of port the Kresta- and Kashin-class missile ships, along with the two F-class submarines, conducted operations northwest of Havana with Cuban Navy sub-chasers and aircraft. Following this activity, one of the submarines went into the port of Mariel and is still there.

Early this morning the ships were continuing into the Gulf of Mexico following refueling operations yesterday. Traveling together, the Kresta cruiser and the Kashin destroyer were some 250 nm northwest of Havana. The remaining submarine is currently unlocated. The tanker and a Soviet intelligence collection ship that joined the group on 10 November are now in the Caribbean.

If the ships follow past naval patterns they will call at Cienfuegos for a short time before heading into the Atlantic.

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CHILE

[redacted] President

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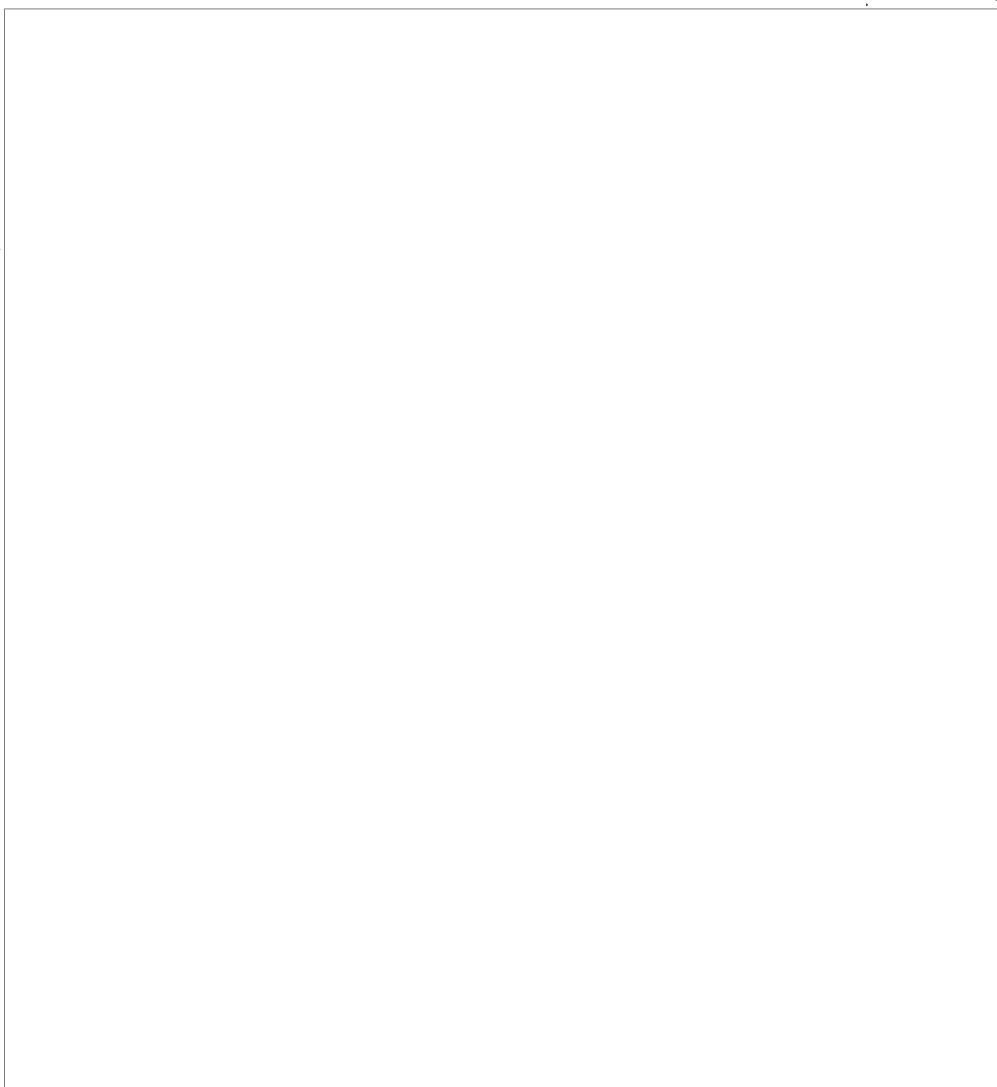
Allende believes he has found a formula for creating a unicameral legislature which the present congress might approve. His proposal would include an updated reallocation of seats and other features, such as protecting senatorial terms that extend to 1976, to make it palatable even to opposition legislators.

Allende apparently has tailored his bill to win the support of the opposition Christian Democratic Party, the largest both in Chile and in the congress. Christian Democratic legislators have previously said that they could stall a unicameral assembly bill for up to a year by the lengthy amendment process.

Allende's current plan is to try to avoid any stalling by demanding that the bill be passed as submitted or rejected. If it is rejected, he intends to call a plebiscite on the matter. He would cast the plebiscite in terms of capitalism versus socialism--rather than democracy versus Marxism--in the belief that this would make it harder for the Christian Democrats to mount an effective opposition campaign.

Allende apparently believes that a unicameral legislature, together with reappointment, will eliminate much of the obstructionism of the present congress and result in a more responsive body. His current proposal is far less radical than the "people's assembly" with broad powers that was a major plank in his Popular Unity coalition platform. As such, its changes of adoption appear considerably better.

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NOTES

Israel-Egypt:

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THE PRESIDENT'S DAILY BRIEF

13 November 1971

PRINCIPAL DEVELOPMENTS

An article in a Soviet journal strongly endorses President Nixon's visit to the USSR. (Page 1)

Japan is now determined to make a real effort to open official contacts with Peking but there is uncertainty over how to proceed. (Page 2)

The North Vietnamese are continuing to strengthen their forces in northern Laos in preparation for their dry season offensive. (Page 3)

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

USSR-US-SALT

An article in a Soviet journal gives a strong endorsement to President Nixon's visit to the USSR. Yury Arbatov, the Kremlin's leading expert on American affairs, writing in the October issue of his USA Institute's journal, described the trip as a "positive act" that will help reduce tensions in US-Soviet relations and will promote the success of SALT. The article was approved for publication on 12 October--the day of the joint announcement of the trip.

One passage touches on the impact of defense spending on domestic priorities. Arbatov professes that broad circles in the US have come to believe that it is impossible for even a country as wealthy as the US to provide "guns and butter" at the same time. With a GNP less than half that of the US and with expenditures on arms almost as great, Arbatov's implied message for Soviet readers rings fairly clear: "If they can't do it, how can we?"

Relaxed and conciliatory in tone, the article seems to be an attempt to explain and defend the trip against the background of long-standing tensions in the USSR's relations with the US. The Soviet readership of the journal, largely upper- and middle-level bureaucrats, is being told that, while the regime's acceptance of the presidential visit does not entail sacrifices of essential positions, it markedly enhances possibilities for increased cooperation in various areas from arms control to trade.

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

JAPAN

The Japanese, in the wake of the UN vote, are now determined to make a real effort to open official contacts with Peking. Prime Minister Sato has repeatedly acknowledged that Japan must normalize relations, but there are sharp differences within the ruling Liberal Democratic Party and the Foreign Ministry about how to proceed. The Japanese dilemma is compounded by the fact that Peking has thus far given no public indication of a willingness to talk.

Tokyo believes it is no longer politically acceptable merely to live with rebuffs from Peking. The Foreign Ministry's top China expert told a US official earlier this week that both Sato and Foreign Minister Fukuda still hope to be able to open negotiations with Peking without preconditions. He is convinced, however, that talks are impossible unless Tokyo explicitly acknowledges Peking as the sole legitimate government of China, and Taiwan as an integral part of the Peoples Republic.

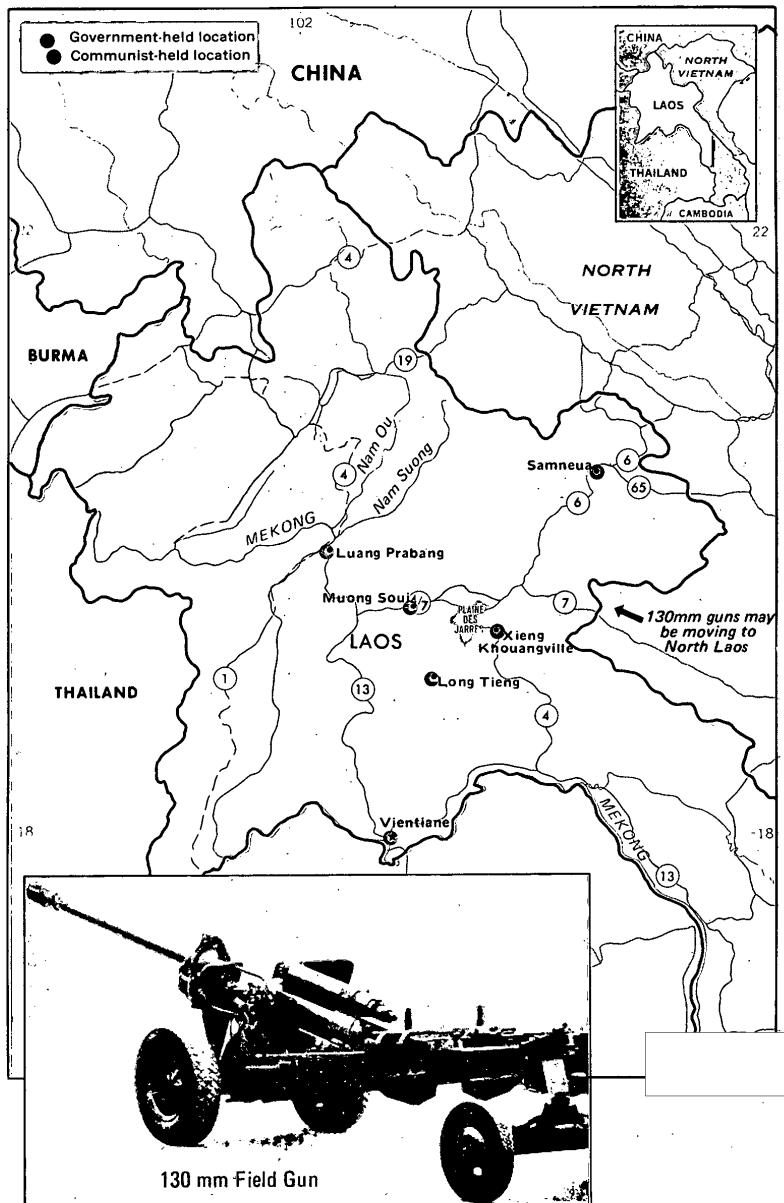
There is also a growing willingness on the part of some senior Liberal Democrats to explore the possibility of concessions in order to get talks going.

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the prime minister in public
has steadfastly refused to consider abrogation.

Feelers such as this are likely to continue over the next few months. Sato is likely to move cautiously and to remain reluctant to commit his government publicly to any major change in China policy until after President Nixon's trip to Peking.

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LAOS

The North Vietnamese are continuing to strengthen their forces in northern Laos in preparation for their dry season offensive. According to intercepts, 16 130-mm. artillery pieces and about 1,300 rounds of 130-mm. ammunition were to be sent from North Vietnam between 1 and 10 November.

This will be the first time the Communists have deployed this weapon to northern Laos. Several 122-mm. weapons were deployed before the dry season in 1970. The 130-mm. has a range of approximately 16 miles, several miles beyond that of the 122-mm. and that of the government's largest gun. Like the 122-mm., however, it is vulnerable to air strikes.

Other messages indicate that a total of about 4,300 North Vietnamese troops are now on their way to the Plaine des Jarres area. One intercept suggested plans for the movement of additional troops.

Some of the men en route may be fillers for units already near the Plaine. Other infiltrating groups have been identified as elements of the 312th Division. Two of the division's three regiments deployed to north Laos earlier this year.

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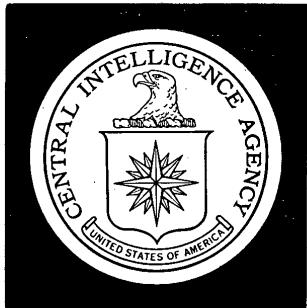
FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

NOTE

Pakistan: On several occasions, US and UN officials in East Pakistan have observed Pakistani troops and police riding in vehicles with UN insignia. Vehicles used in the UN relief effort are clearly marked to prevent attacks by the guerrillas. Continued use by the security forces of UN-marked vehicles will invite Mukti Bahini attacks on authentic relief efforts.

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THE PRESIDENT'S DAILY BRIEF

15 November 1971

PRINCIPAL DEVELOPMENTS

The Chinese [redacted]

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[redacted] (Page 1)

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Cambodian troops have been evacuated from Rumlong,
and Communist harassment near Phnom Penh continues.
(Page 2)

West Germany's Egon Bahr believes that Pankow wants
an accord with Bonn within the next month. (Page 3)

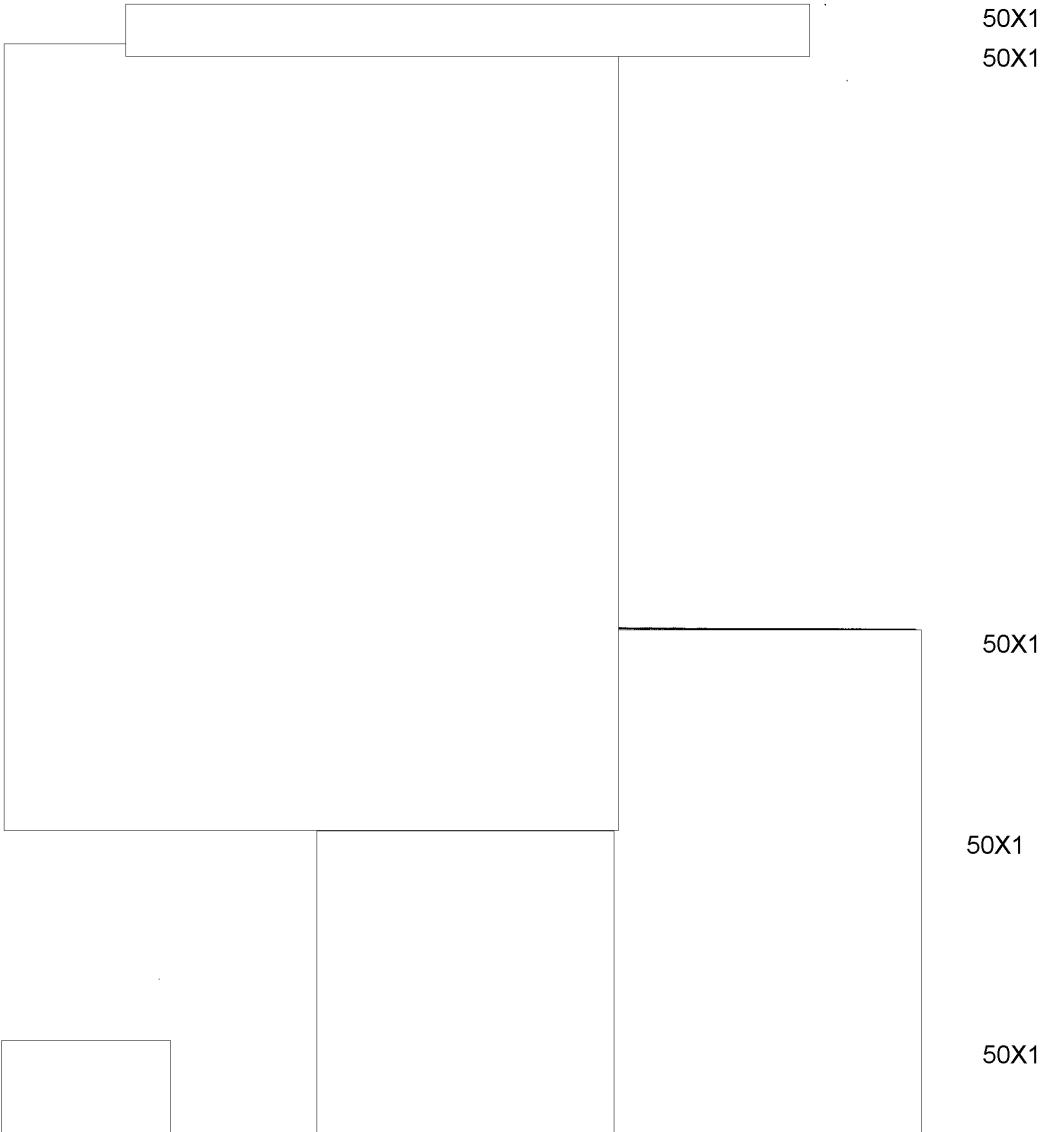
Czechoslovakia [redacted]

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[redacted] West Germany. (Page 4)

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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

COMMUNIST CHINA



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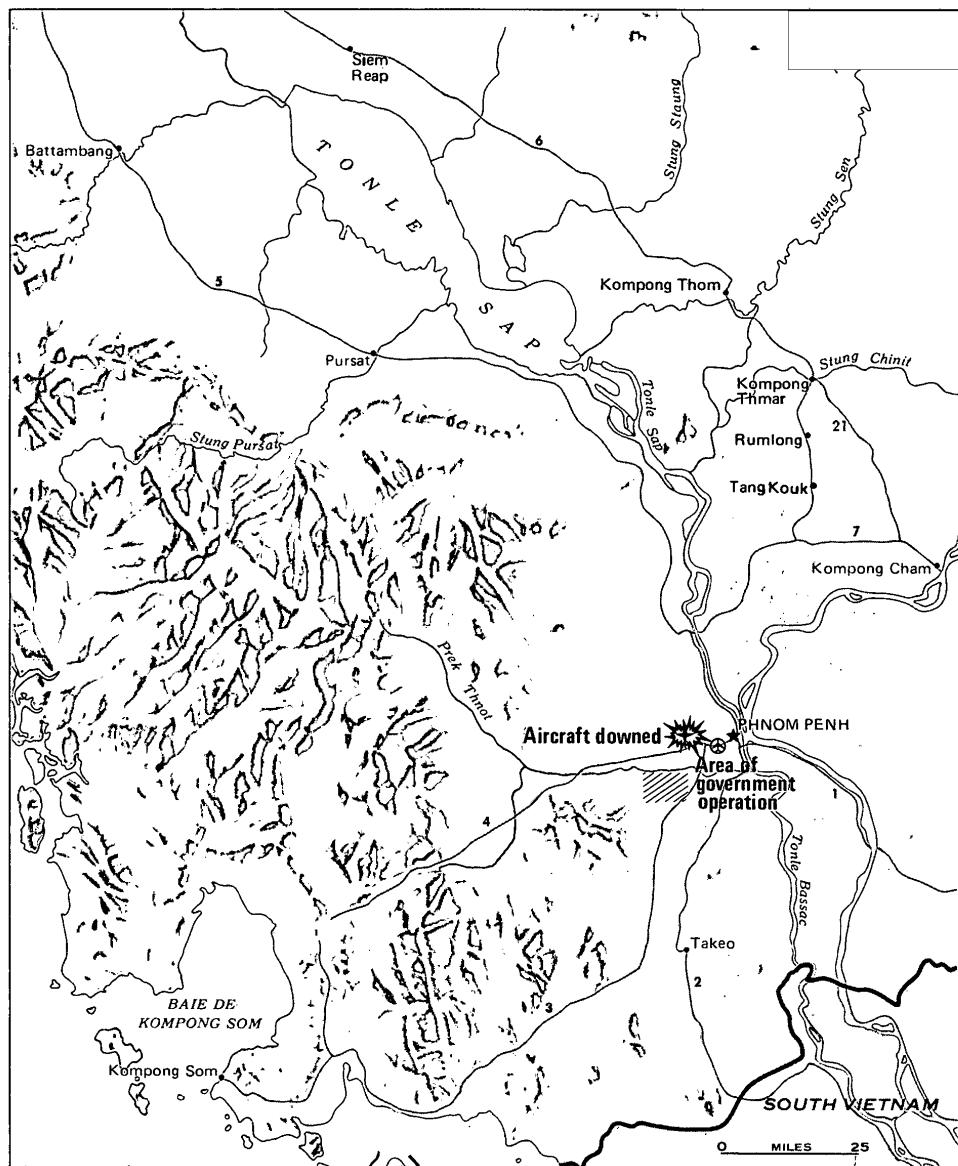
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CAMBODIA

The US Defense Attaché reports that the more than 700 Cambodian Army troops defending the town of Rumlong abandoned it without incident on Saturday. The government reinforcements that had tried unsuccessfully to break through the Communists' three-week siege of the village remain dug in along Route 6 awaiting new orders from Phnom Penh.

These reinforcements, consisting of 20 battalions divided into task forces north and south of Rumlong, have been kept largely immobilized by effective Communist mortar and rocket fire. Although Prime Minister Lon Nol has asked his commanders to propose a course of action, new offensive thrusts along the highway are not likely. One Cambodian General Staff officer has commented that, with the abandonment of Rumlong, there is no need to try to reopen Route 6 as the forces cut off north of the town can be resupplied by air. Intercepts have indicated that the Communist units closest to the road are located near this northern task force.

In the Phnom Penh area, a nine-battalion government operation launched on 12 November to counter the recent spate of enemy attacks southwest of the capital has already engaged in several skirmishes. Pochentong Airfield also continues to be a Communist target. Six rocket and mortar rounds hit the field yesterday, causing the government to move a number of military aircraft to other locations. A Cambodian Air Force plane was downed in fighting just west of Phnom Penh

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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

EAST GERMANY - WEST GERMANY

Midway in last week's unprecedented four-day negotiating session, West Germany's Egon Bahr told Western ambassadors that he was convinced that Panckow wants to reach an accord before the NATO ministerial meetings in December. This would be designed to give a green light for multilateral preparations for a Conference on European Security. Bahr says that, in response to his direct question, East German negotiator Kohl confirmed this assessment. Bahr concludes that Bonn will be able to extract a very satisfactory agreement, but probably only at the last moment.

Bahr's assessment, which we think may be overoptimistic, is likely to induce him and his counterpart in the parallel West Berlin - East German talks to take a tough negotiating stance in the coming weeks. With the East Germans recently appearing even more forthcoming than usual in their public statements, however, Bahr stated that he was having some difficulty in upholding Bonn's position on matters of substance without appearing to procrastinate.

In both sets of talks last week, the East Germans gave ground on several points, while continuing to resist on others. Major differences include determining how closely the accords should be linked to the four-power Berlin agreement, defining misuse of the autobahns, inspecting unsealed vehicles, and granting one-day passes to West Berliners for visits to the East.

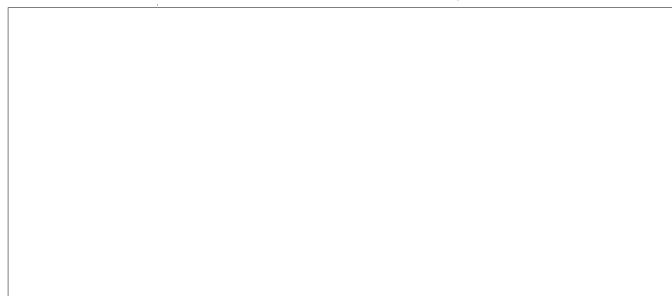
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CZECHOSLOVAKIA - WEST GERMANY



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South Vietnam: Some of the drastic economic reforms being announced today are likely to prove highly unpopular by sparking new price increases and market uncertainties, according to the US Embassy. In a major address before the National Assembly early today President Thieu sought to justify the new measures as necessary to increase tax revenues, to reduce dependence on foreign assistance, and generally to make the economy more self-sufficient. Thieu appears confident that he has emerged from the recent election strong enough to take fairly heavy criticism, but he may also anticipate that some of the blame for the unwelcome decrees can be deflected onto the uncertainties of US aid policy.

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THE PRESIDENT'S DAILY BRIEF

16 November 1971

PRINCIPAL DEVELOPMENTS

On *Page 1* we discuss the initial reaction noted in Hanoi radio broadcasts to the President's announcement of further US troop withdrawals.

Cambodian forces along Route 6 have been ordered to reorganize and consolidate positions they now hold.
(*Page 2*)

The French are preparing to launch a third nuclear-powered ballistic missile submarine in early December. (*Page 3*)

Two more Soviet TU-16s have flown to Egypt and have been identified as missile configured. (*Page 4*)

The West Germans

(*Page 5*)

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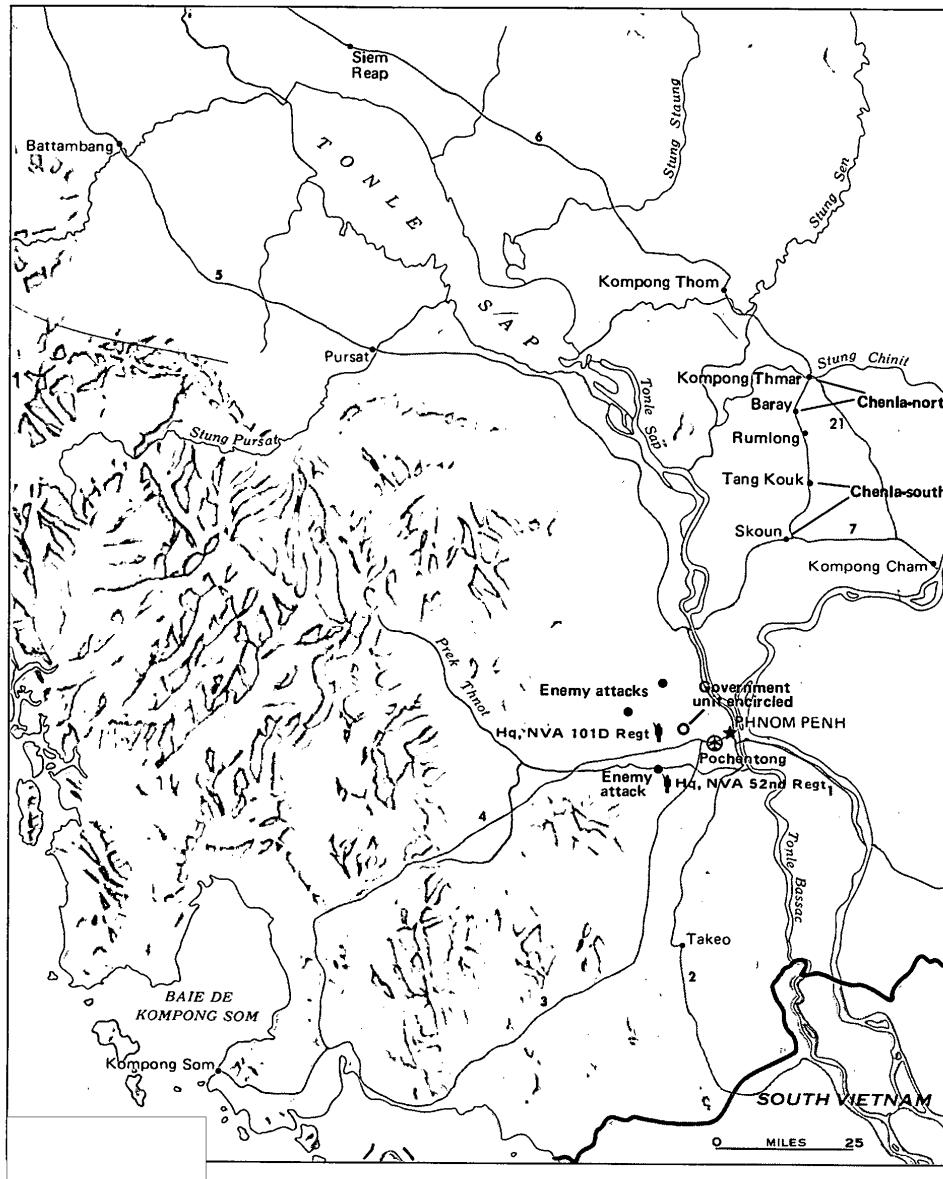
NORTH VIETNAM

Initial reaction from Hanoi radio broadcasts to the announcement of further US troop withdrawals suggests that the Communists may have expected the President to change US policy. There was a note of disappointment in the North Vietnamese broadcasts, which alleged that the President failed to offer any "decisive change...at all." The Communists charged that the US plans to continue indefinitely its Vietnamization program, its air war, and its support of the Thieu government. They implied that the US could not expect the Communists to agree to any restraint on the level of their military operations in South Vietnam in exchange for a further reduction of the US military effort.

The broadcasts emphasized that the Vietnamese Communists' seven-point proposal remains the cornerstone of their demands for a negotiated settlement. In an apparent reference to the President's plans to visit Peking and Moscow, they complained that the US planned to carry out the "dirty trick" of conducting "diplomatic activities" through other channels aside from Paris.

The Communists reiterated their contention that the US must agree to points one and two before a negotiated settlement is possible. As usual, the broadcasts were vague on the other five, however, implying they may be negotiable. Point one calls for the withdrawal of all US and allied military personnel and materiel from Vietnam and the cessation of military action by these forces within Vietnam. Point two demands an end to US military aid and political backing for Thieu so that a coalition regime can be established.

There was no hint in the Communists' broadcasts that they plan to make any concession on the matter of US prisoners of war. In fact, the broadcasts left the impression that Hanoi believes US prisoners may become even more important as a negotiating card in any future arrangement on ending the US role in Vietnam.



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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

CAMBODIA

Prime Minister Lon Nol, after meeting with his field commanders, has ordered the forces along Route 6 to reorganize and consolidate positions the government still controls. The two columns of the Chenla II task force--each with about 10,000 troops--will become two separate operational commands. Chenla-north is to hold and defend the towns of Baray and Kompong Thmar, and Chenla-south will be responsible for the security of Tang Kouk and Skoun. The commands have been authorized to take the offensive against the Communists if feasible.

Government losses have been heavy. The US defense attaché, who visited the area yesterday, estimates that total Cambodian casualties during the past three weeks may have been equivalent to four to six battalions (2-3,000 troops). The abandonment of Rumleng this weekend also appears to have been costly; one battalion left behind 40 wounded as well as radios, mortars and two 105-mm. howitzers.

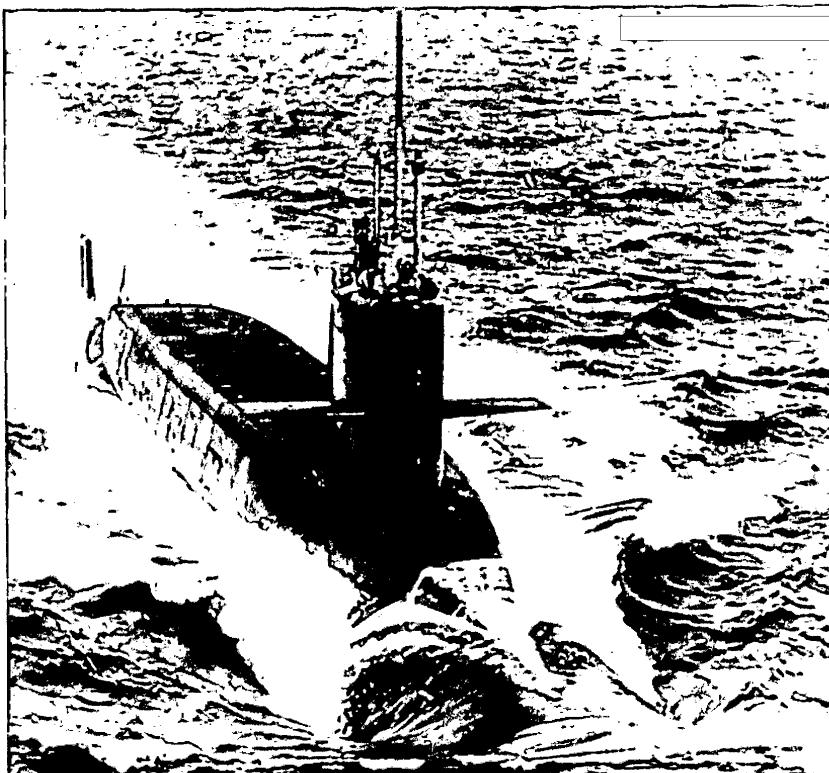
Although the government seems to be abandoning its efforts to reopen Route 6, Lon Nol is trying to salvage as much as possible from the Chenla II operation, which had achieved more than its initial objectives when the Communists launched a counteroffensive in late October. The division of command, however, will increase the vulnerability of the Chenla forces, particularly those in the northern command which remain dependent on aerial resupply.

In the Phnom Penh area, Communist elements are reported to have surrounded part of a Cambodian Army battalion about seven miles west of Pochentong Airfield. Several nearby outposts have been hit. The government forces that have been sweeping an area southwest of the airfield have suffered substantial casualties in sharp fighting in the past few days.

Intercepts show that two North Vietnamese regiments are within 15 miles of the airport. These units are closer to the city than any main force Communist regiments have been since the Cambodian war began.

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

First French Nuclear-Powered Ballistic Missile Submarine



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FRANCE

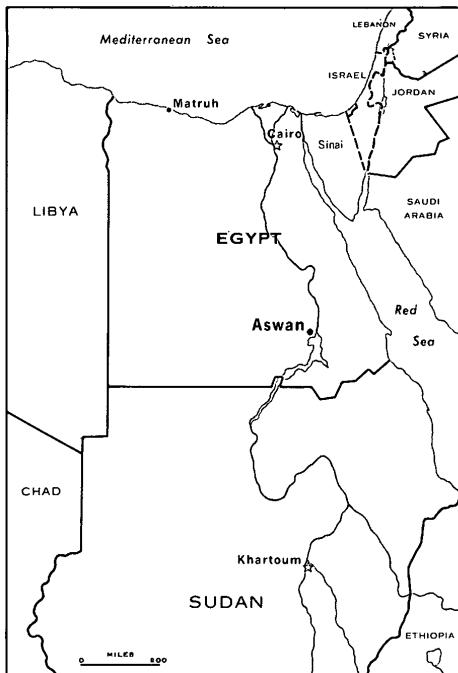
The third French nuclear-powered ballistic missile submarine, Le Foudroyant, will be launched on 4 December. Scheduled to become operational in 1974, Le Foudroyant will be the first of the 16-tube French nuclear submarines to carry missiles with thermonuclear warheads

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Construction has already begun on a fourth submarine, and a fifth is planned. Thus, at the end of the 1970s, France is expected to have five submarines

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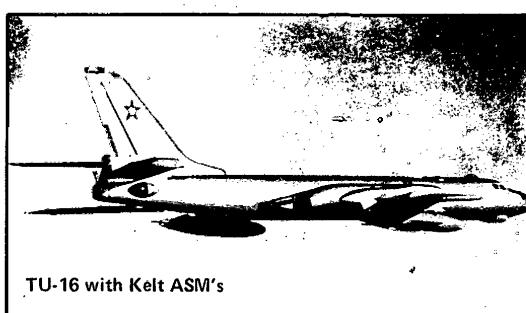
Additional TU-16s at Aswan

AS-5 Kelt

Length	30 ft
Maximum range	120 nm
Maximum speed	Mach 0.9-1.2
Warhead-HE or nuclear	1100 - 2200 lbs
Powerplant	rocket
Accuracy	
against land targets	1-2 nm CEP
against ships	75% hit probability

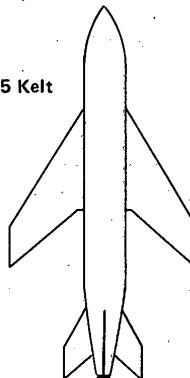
Carrying Aircraft TU-16 Badger G

Combat radius unrefueled	1200 nm
One refueling	1900 nm
Missiles carried	2
Maximum launch speed	440 kts



TU-16 with Kelt ASM's

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USSR-EGYPT

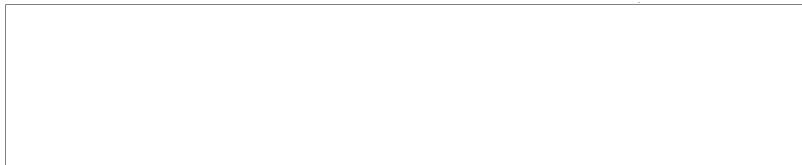
On Sunday two more Soviet TU-16s with Egyptian markings flew from Budapest to Aswan airfield. One of them was photographed by pilots from the USS Independence and determined to be configured to carry two AS-5 Kelt air-to-surface missiles.

Five Soviet TU-16s, at least four of which have been identified as capable of carrying ASMs, have flown to Aswan since 5 November, and as many as five more are scheduled to make the flight before the end of the month.

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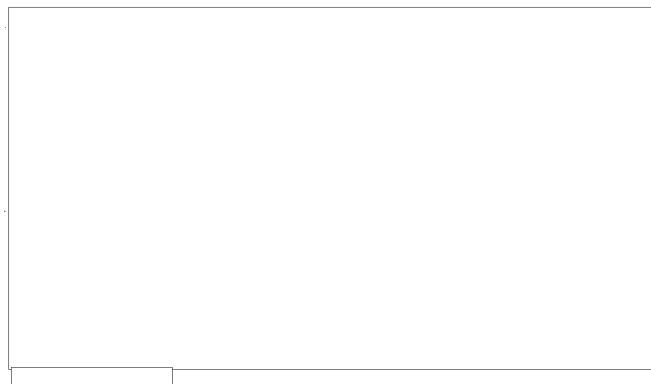
WEST GERMANY



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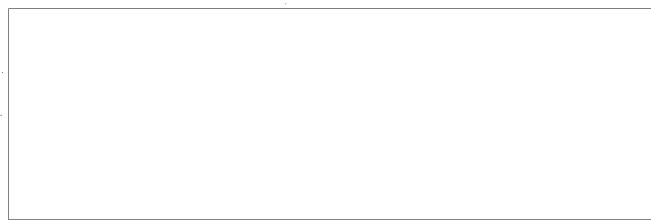


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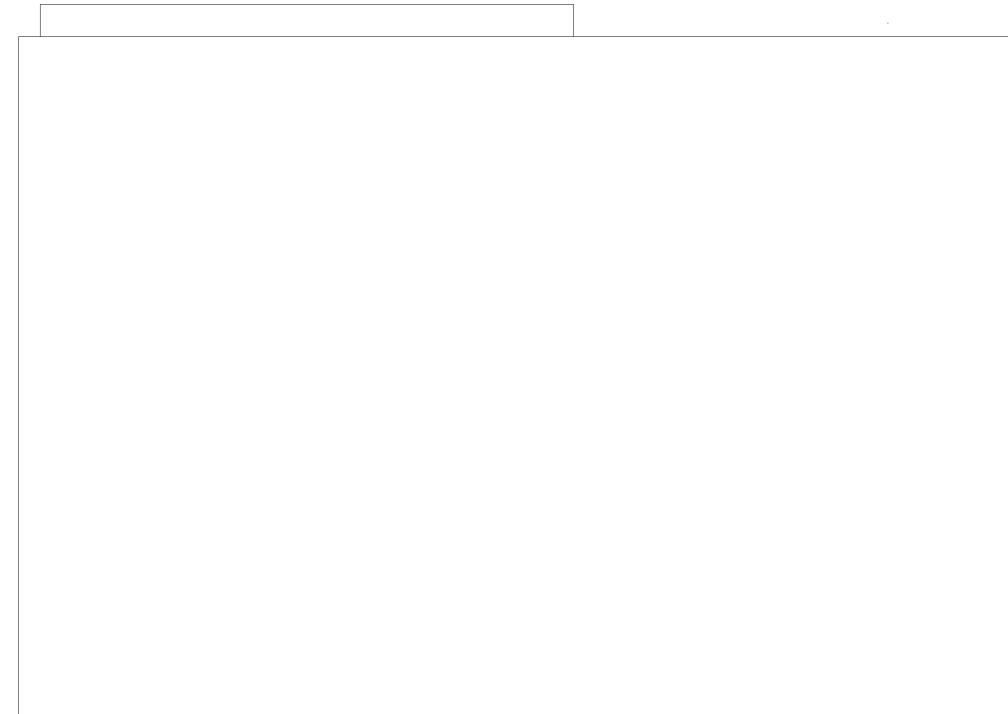


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Communist China: [redacted]

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India-Israel: [redacted]

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THE PRESIDENT'S DAILY BRIEF

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PRINCIPAL DEVELOPMENTS

In Cambodia, the government has launched several operations to counter the Communist threat in the Phnom Penh area. (Page 1)

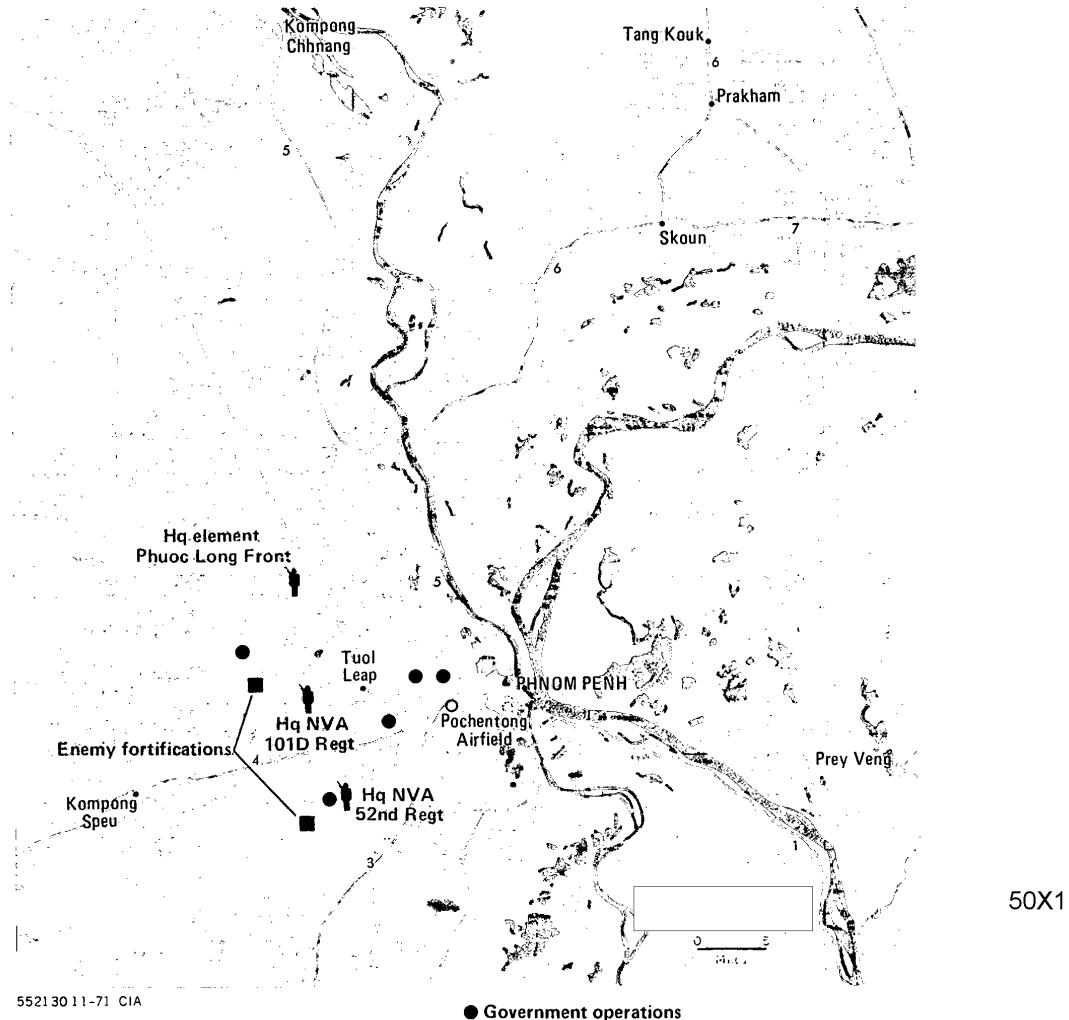
New flooding in North Vietnam is likely to cause further heavy losses in the important November rice crop that was damaged by high waters in August. (Page 3)

A number of European leaders are increasingly worried over the deadlocked international monetary situation and warn of strong pressures for retaliation and trouble for NATO's military effort unless a settlement is achieved soon. (Page 4)

In Southeast Asia, government moves are having some impact on drug operations in the triborder area of Laos, Burma, and Thailand. (Page 5)

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

CAMBODIA: Phnom Penh Area



FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

CAMBODIA

The government has launched several operations to counter the Communist threat in the Phnom Penh area. Five government battalions from operations southwest of Phnom Penh began a belated move north from Route 4 to aid troops encircled at Tuol Leap. The village was overrun by the Communists, however, before the relief column could reach the stranded defenders. Another multibrigade force is operating about 11 miles north of Kompong Speu town, less than five miles from the last known location of the North Vietnamese 101D Regiment. Closer to Phnom Penh, eight battalions are on a search-and-destroy mission west of the capital, while two other battalions are searching for enemy rocket positions just north of Pochentong Airfield. The airfield, which was closed to commercial air traffic on Monday, has since reopened. The daily rocket and mortar shellings have caused little damage.

Reinforcements have also been brought to Phnom Penh. A Khmer Krom infantry brigade and a squadron of 15 armored personnel carriers from the Chenla II front have been positioned on the city's northern outskirts.

In addition to the Communists' 101D Regiment, elements of the Phuoc Long Front, including its 52nd Regiment, the 96th Viet Cong Artillery Regiment, and a number of Khmer Communist local force units are within 30 miles of Phnom Penh. [redacted]

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[redacted] US air observers report that in some cases they have constructed concealed bunkers and fox-holes, indicating an intention to stay in the area.

It is possible that the movement of the Phuoc Long Front elements closer to Phnom Penh--last dry season they operated farther to the southwest--is the beginning of a strategy to counter the government's efforts to extend its control in the countryside by threatening the capital. The Communists might hope to accomplish this by interdicting Routes 4 and 5, both of which are within striking distance of the 52nd and 101D regiments, or by hitting installations close to Phnom Penh.

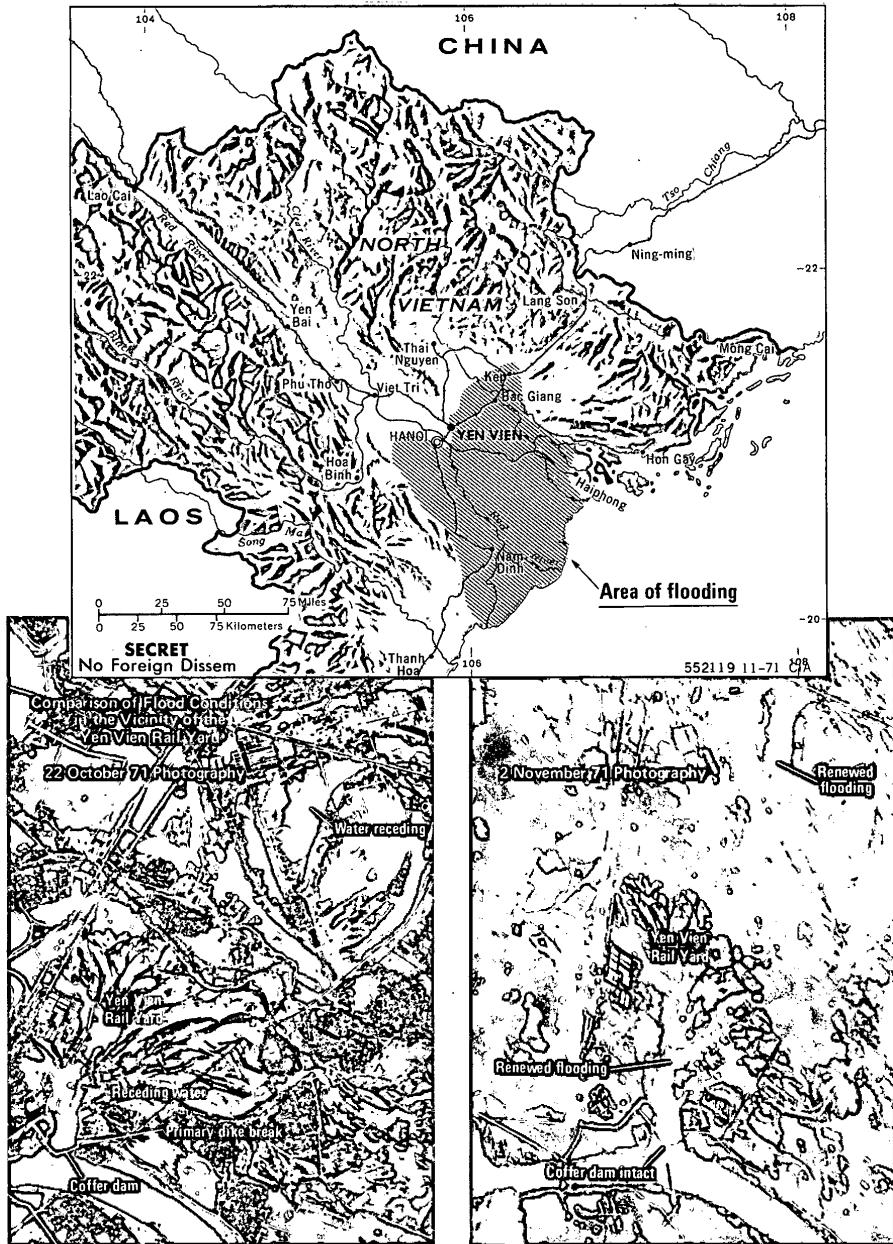
(continued)

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

The Communists might have difficulty pursuing such a course over the entire dry season, however, because of problems in supplying forces west of Phnom Penh, the government's numerical superiority, and because the open terrain around Phnom Penh makes them vulnerable to air strikes. In any case, the movement of Communist main force regiments west of Phnom Penh is almost certainly meant to have a psychological impact on the government and the city's residents, as well as to cause a diversion of troops from the Chenla II operation.

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY



FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

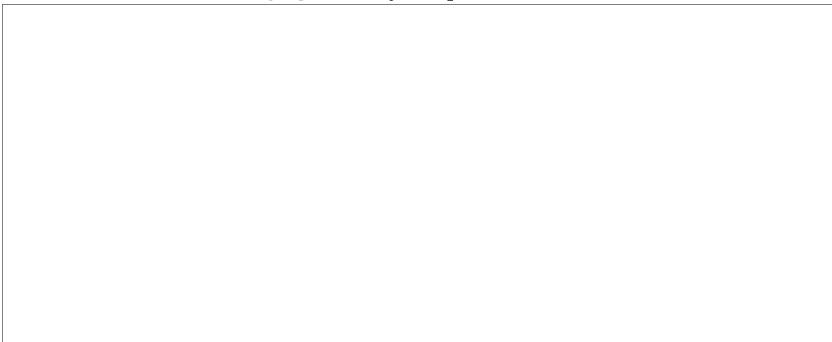
NORTH VIETNAM

Photography of 22 October and 2 November shows that a typhoon has caused new large-scale flooding in the same general areas of the Red River Delta that were inundated by rains last August. Many parts of the area are isolated, although the principal transportation routes appear intact.

The new flooding will further reduce yields and may even cause total crop failures in fields that had survived the August floods. Considerable effort will be needed to restore the irrigation system. Earlier photography had shown extensive breaching of irrigation canals, and a large number of pumping stations appear to have been damaged. Reconstruction of these facilities may take up to a year, in which case the two principal rice crops of 1972 would be affected. The government is viewing the situation with alarm and has called for the planting of fast growing secondary crops to make up some of the shortfall in rice production.

A substantial increase in food imports from both China and the USSR took place in October to help offset the losses from the flooding in August. The loss of even a part of the November harvest and crop shortages in 1972 would require increasingly heavy imports.

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INTERNATIONAL MONETARY DEVELOPMENTS

A number of European leaders are increasingly worried over the deadlocked international monetary situation. They warn that unless economic differences are resolved soon, there will be strong pressures for retaliation and difficulties for NATO's military effort. Their concern appears genuine. At the same time, however, they clearly hope that by conveying these concerns they will induce the US to make concessions, particularly at the Group of Ten meeting later this year.

--In Paris, Ambassador Watson notes the French contention that opinion will turn "decisively" against the US if Washington fails to make clear its terms for settlement. Many officials and businessmen apparently believe the US is blocking a negotiated solution and fear it may already be too late to reach agreement before the issues are politicized in the US and French election campaigns. The ambassador anticipates that France may move to protect its own trade position by means of special export incentives, a more restricted policy toward US imports, or moves against US private investment.

--European central bankers meeting recently in Basel also voiced their alarm over the lack of progress. Each stressed that the international economic uncertainties are damaging their economies, which are already in recession or facing the imminent likelihood of one. These men see the stalemate between the US and France over a US gold price increase as the main impediment to a settlement.

--NATO Secretary General Luns fears that US-European differences will "get out of control" if left unsettled for four or five months. In particular, he is concerned that retaliatory measures and recessionary trends in Europe may lead to a further reduction in defense budgets and erosion of confidence in the Alliance. He hopes for some discussion of monetary problems at the NATO ministerial meeting in early December.

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

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SOUTHEAST ASIA

The Lao Government has confiscated three tons of acetic anhydride, a key chemical for conversion of morphine base into heroin. This seizure constitutes approximately one fourth of the acetic anhydride reportedly shipped into Laos and Thailand over the past six months.

It usually requires one ton of the chemical to produce one ton of heroin. Shortages of refining chemicals have apparently contributed to a recent slowing down of heroin processing and marketing in the triborder area of Laos, Burma, and Thailand, and to the closing of some small refineries. Larger refineries, however, probably have been less affected because they can store quantities of chemicals in excess of day-to-day needs.

[redacted] traffickers based in Burma's Shan State, a major opium- and heroin-producing area, have encountered enough pressure from Thai and Laotian officials to consider moving their products through Rangoon rather than the triborder area.

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NOTE

India-Pakistan: The Indian deputy high commissioner in Karachi has booked 72 seats on flights to New Delhi later this week for 30 staff members and their dependents. The Indians have told US officials in Karachi that most of those leaving had earlier received transfer orders, but were unable to depart because of travel restrictions which had been lifted only recently. The Indian explanation is plausible. On the other hand, there is no indication that New Delhi plans to replace the departing personnel [redacted]

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18 November 1971

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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

THE PRESIDENT'S DAILY BRIEF

18 November 1971

PRINCIPAL DEVELOPMENTS

The reassumption of full power by Thailand's military leaders will have little effect on domestic or foreign policies. (Page 1)

Prime Minister Gandhi hopes that outside pressures on Islamabad will impel the Pakistanis toward an accommodation. (Page 2)

We discuss on Page 3 the impact of China's leadership struggle on the country's armed forces.

China	Japan (Page 4)	50X1
East Germans	(Page 5)	50X1
Panama	(Page 6)	50X1

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

THAILAND

The reassertion of full power by Field Marshal Thanom and the Thai military establishment will not have a dramatic effect on the way Thailand is governed nor on the country's domestic or foreign policies. Nor do the changes appear to be a direct consequence of arguments over substantive policies, either domestic or foreign. There is no evidence that issues of direct interest to the US figured in the considerations that led to the government's moves.

The military had become increasingly exasperated over its difficulties with political opponents and particularly with a sometimes recalcitrant parliament, which was abolished with the annulment of the constitution that created it.

The suspension of the constitution and parliament will be popular throughout the military and will temporarily provide a sense of decisiveness and direction that has been absent at the top.

There seems little doubt that the military will bring off its reassumption of full power with a minimum of difficulty. It seems unlikely that any troop commanders will challenge the leadership, particularly since the immediate targets of the government are civilians. There will be considerable grumbling among the Bangkok citizenry, but any demonstrations should be easy to contain.

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

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INDIA-PAKISTAN

Prime Minister Gandhi has adopted a restrained posture since coming home last weekend from Europe and the US. She told Parliament she still hopes Western countries will be able to bring Pakistan to negotiate with imprisoned Eastern leader Mujibur Rahman. She told her own party's deputies that India must not act "in haste or anger" but instead should continue to explore all possible avenues to a solution.

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For the moment, Mrs. Gandhi apparently wants to see whether Western pressure on Pakistan will force Islamabad in the direction of accommodation. She is also counting on growing pressures upon Islamabad from the Mukti Bahini guerrillas, who with Indian support are making increased inroads in many areas of East Pakistan.

There have been signs that President Yahya may be attempting to test West Pakistani public attitudes toward the idea of releasing Mujibur Rahman. During the past two weeks the government has allowed West Pakistani opposition groups to call publicly for Mujib's release

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There remain, however, serious obstacles to any attempt by Yahya to deal with Mujib. Most of the West Pakistani public would probably acquiesce, but the reaction of military leaders is less predictable since many officers believe Mujib is responsible for the massacre last March of Pakistani troops and their families. Moreover, it is unlikely that either Mujib or Yahya could make significant concessions and still maintain their positions of leadership.

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COMMUNIST CHINA

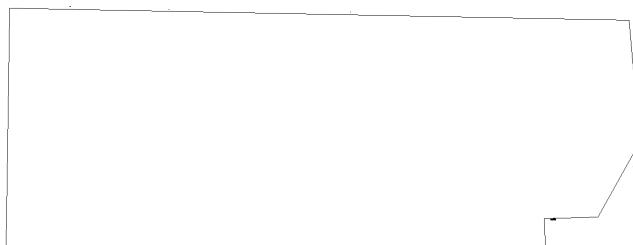
The political role of the armed forces is being downplayed in the wake of the leadership upheaval. For years the armed forces were touted as a model for nationwide emulation. Since the fall of Defense Minister Lin Piao and other military leaders, however, radiobroadcasts have emphasized the necessity for the military to subordinate itself to "collective leadership" under the party. In addition, the army's performance in the many civil governing tasks it inherited as a result of the Cultural Revolution is getting less public attention. Finally, there have been a number of warnings to army units to observe strict discipline and obey all orders.

Peking is concerned lest the political upheaval spread outward to the regions, where military commanders have in the past been faced with local manifestations of the factionalism at the center. Beyond that, however, there have been indications since last summer that some among the leadership in Peking have been arguing for a reduction of the overwhelming influence of the army. Premier Chou En-lai has publicly expressed concern that China had assumed the image of bureaucratic military dictatorship. Privately, he has said that some institutional changes wrought during the Cultural Revolution are likely to be only temporary, implying that he foresees a further lessening of military influence. This may mean more civilians in top jobs. One veteran civilian cadre, the Hunan provincial party boss, has recently turned up in Peking, where his ranking just below the active politburo members in a recent leadership turnout suggests that he is slated for a high post.

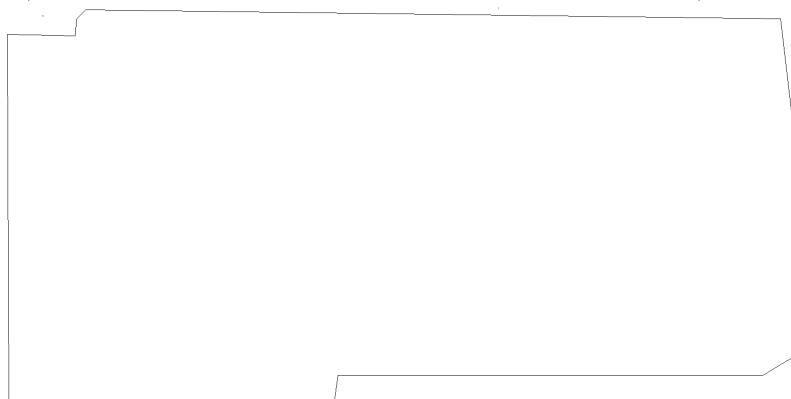
The process of rectifying the present imbalance between military and civilian authority will not, however, occur overnight nor result in a broad purge of the present military administrators. The military was well represented among the large turnout of party and government figures in Peking last week, and on 13 November a former army political commissar was identified as the new head of an important ministry. He is the sixth military man in the past year to be named chief of a central ministry.

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COMMUNIST CHINA - JAPAN



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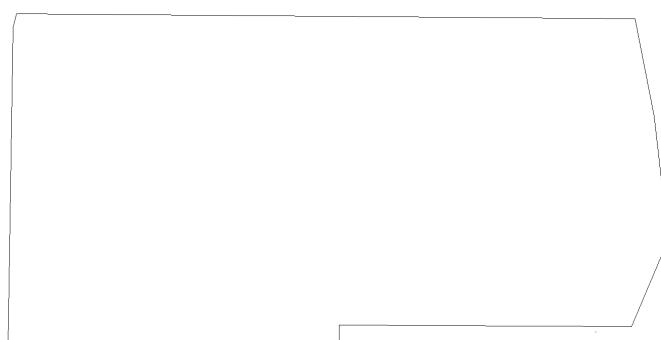
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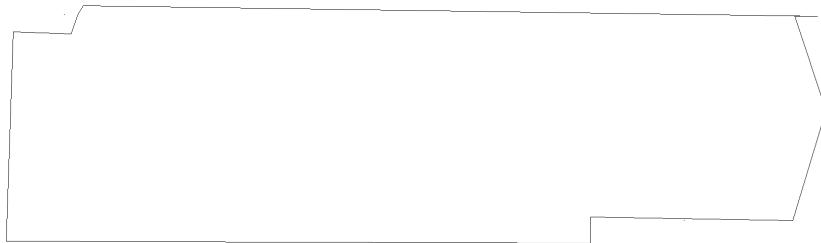


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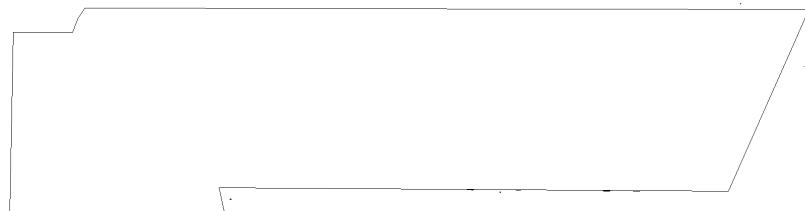
USSR - EAST GERMANY



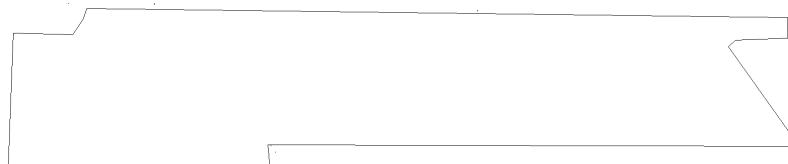
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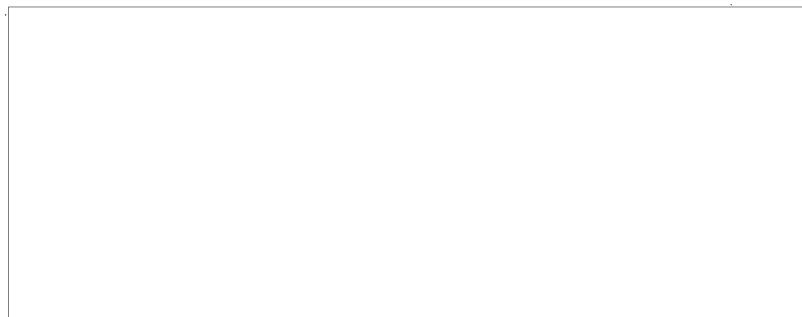


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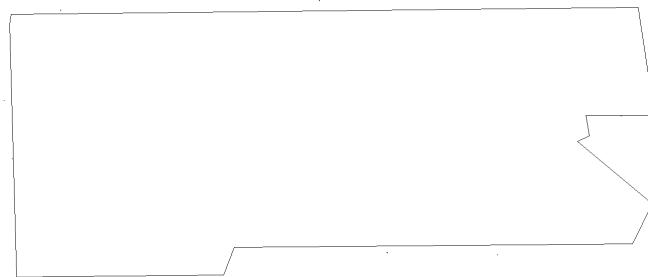
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PANAMA



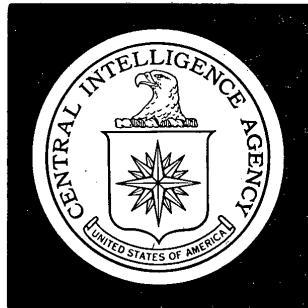
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19 November 1971

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THE PRESIDENT'S DAILY BRIEF

19 November 1971

PRINCIPAL DEVELOPMENTS

A coordinated Cambodian Government drive west of Phnom Penh has foundered. (Page 1)

[Redacted]

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(Page 2)

[Redacted]

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(Page 3)

[Redacted]

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Chinese

(Page 5)

Peru plans to ask the OAS to review the Cuban problem before the end of the year. (Page 6)

Prospects have improved for a settlement of Iran's claim to one of the disputed Persian Gulf islands. (Page 7)

[Redacted] Annex [Redacted] South Korea [Redacted]

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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

CAMBODIA: Phnom Penh Area



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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

CAMBODIA

In the fighting west of Phnom Penh, a coordinated government drive to retake Tuol Leap village foundered yesterday when two battalions under the command of Lon Non, Prime Minister Lon Nol's brother, disregarded operational plans and were dispersed by the Communists. The orders have now been changed to call for the encirclement of Tuol Leap by all seven battalions of the government task force, which will then try to clear the area between Tuol Leap and Route 4.

In addition to two previously reported Vietnamese Communist regiments of the Phuoc Long Front, the Communists apparently have moved other troops into the area. These include a possible third regimental-level unit from the Front and another command element. Both have been detected west of Tuol Leap.

[redacted] Cambodian Communist troops are working closely with the Vietnamese Communists in the current action around Phnom Penh. [redacted]

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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

Infiltration Routes



FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

INDOCHINA

[redacted]

disclosed the presence of ten new infiltration groups. The strength of only one group was revealed--slightly over 500 men.

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In the past, the groups moving through the system have averaged about 570 men each. If the remaining nine groups are this size, the ten new groups together would total about 5,600 personnel.

All ten are going to South Vietnam or Cambodia, and the bulk--seven groups, or perhaps 3,900 men--are en route to the central highlands of South Vietnam. Approximately 1,100 troops are destined for the southern parts of South Vietnam or Cambodia, and about 600 men are going to an area just south of the Demilitarized Zone.

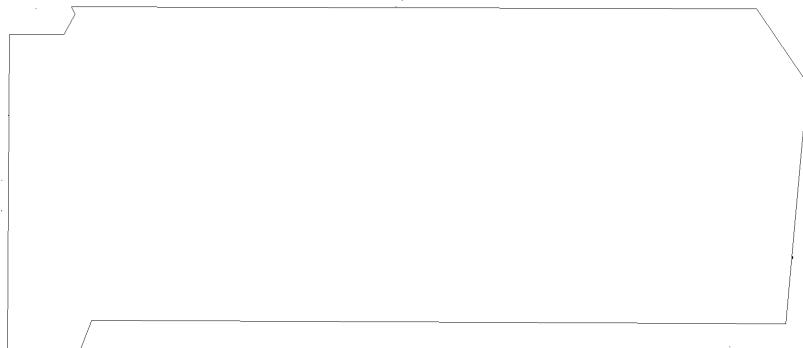
The number of enemy personnel now in the pipeline bound for South Vietnam or Cambodia may be even greater than has been reflected in communications. Analysis of the identification numbers of the new groups suggests that eight additional groups, possibly totaling up to 4,600 troops, have started south but have not been detected. If so, as many as 19,500 personnel may have started out from North Vietnam since the current flow began in early October.

Intercepted communications this year have so far provided less continuity on the movement of personnel through the system than previously, and it is possible that the flow is greater than we have been able to detect. It is too early to make comparisons with the infiltration flow of previous years.

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INDIA - PAKISTAN - COMMUNIST CHINA



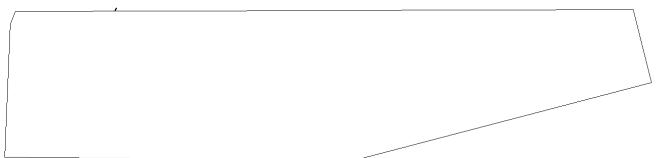
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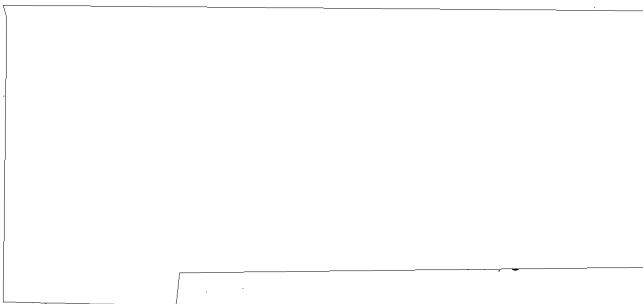
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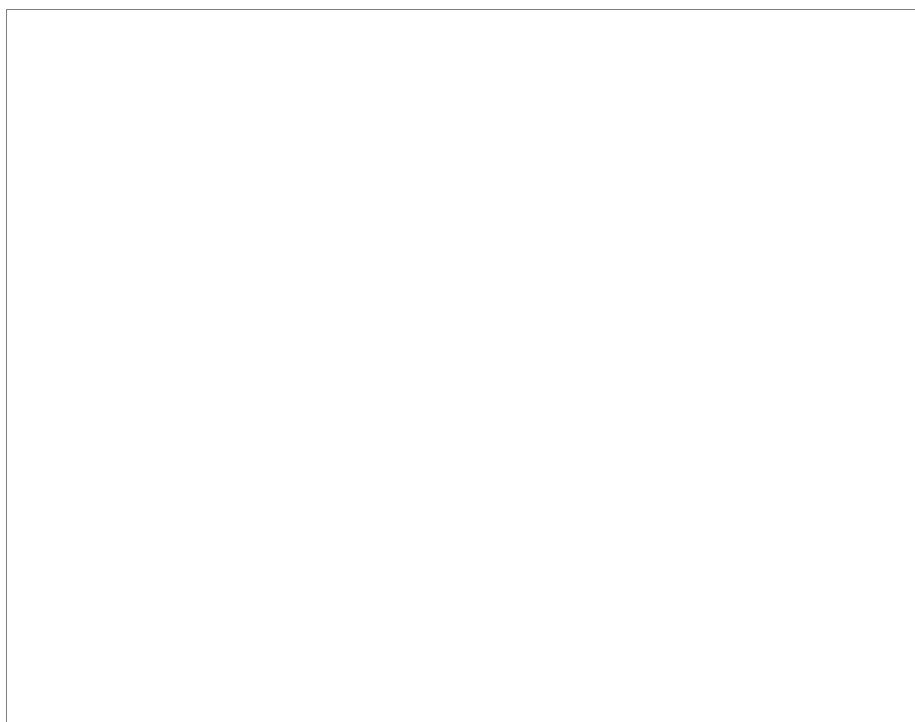
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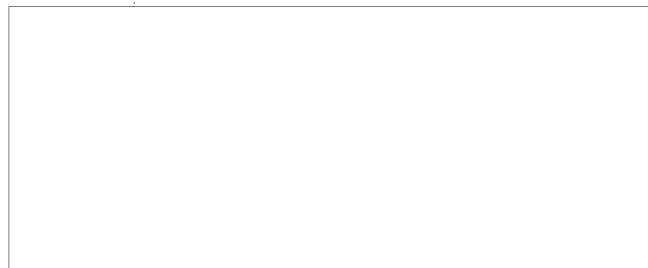
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COMMUNIST CHINA



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PERU-CUBA

The Velasco government is still toying with the idea of leading a hemispheric effort to bring Cuba back into normal communion with other Latin American states.

Foreign Minister Mercado told Ambassador Belcher yesterday that Peru would take the initiative in the OAS before the end of the year to have the Cuban problem reviewed. The subject of resuming diplomatic relations with Cuba is also under consideration but is a subject of sharp controversy among cabinet members. Mercado insisted that Lima would take no unilateral action pending OAS consideration, but he had previously indicated that if the OAS fails to respond, Peru would then feel free to act on its own.



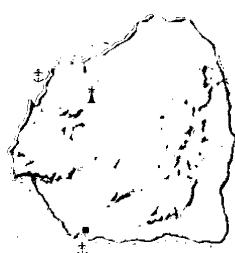
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Disputed Islands in the Persian Gulf



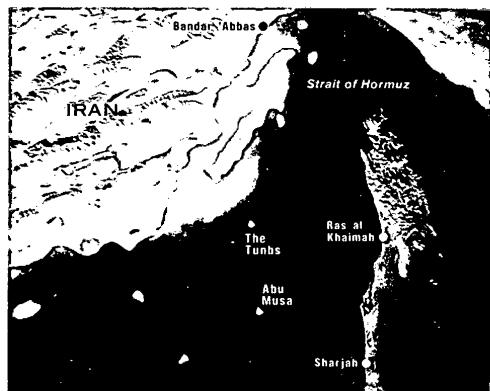
Great Tunb
(Controlled by Ras al-Khaimah-
Claimed by Iran)



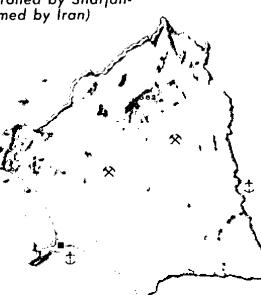
(26°15'N 55°18'E)

Little Tunb
(Controlled by Ras al-Khaimah-
Claimed by Iran)

(26°14'N 55°09'E)



Abu Musa
(Controlled by Sharjah-
Claimed by Iran)



(25°52'N 55°03'E)

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IRAN - PERSIAN GULF

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[redacted] the Shah is taking a less rigid attitude toward
the disputed Persian Gulf island of Abu Musa [redacted]

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[redacted] The Shah told US Chargé Douglas this week that because of Iran's military power "it could afford to be generous and flexible." The Sheikh who claims the Tunbs, the two other islands in dispute, still refuses to consider any such transfer, however.

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Tehran activated its long-standing claim to the tiny islands when Britain announced plans to withdraw its military forces from the area by the end of 1971. The Shah asserted that they were vital to protect Iran in the Gulf and publicly stated that Iran would seize them. The British, anxious to retain some influence on the Arab side of the Gulf as well as in Iran, have sought to make Iranian occupation palatable to the sheiks primarily by persuading Iran to promise them a share in any future wealth produced by the islands.

The Iranians are now assembling a military force nearby and we expect that when they land on Abu Musa under the prospective agreement they will also occupy the Tunbs. Iraq and some other Arab states will certainly protest such action, but do not appear to be planning any countermoves.

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NOTES

Thailand: The new military government has named members of a Revolutionary Party "headquarters" which will oversee the workings of the government, with General Praphat designated as Marshal Thanom's deputy. Other members named to the "headquarters" also were leaders in the old government, but Foreign Minister Thanat is not included. Thanat has spoken about retirement for several years and could be bowing out on his own accord, although some military leaders have not liked his advocacy of better relations with Communist China.

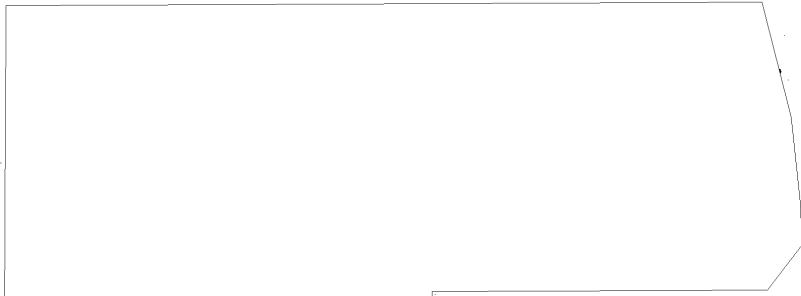
Japan-US: The Japanese trade surplus with the United States continued to rise sharply during October, reaching \$227 million. As compared to October 1970, exports to the US rose by 28 percent, led by a 165-percent increase in automobile shipments. Clearly the US surcharge and appreciation of the yen have not yet affected US-Japanese trade. Japanese imports from the US fell by 15 percent, reflecting the continued economic slowdown in Japan. Based on data for the first ten months, we believe that Japan's favorable trade balance vis-a-vis the US this year will be about three billion dollars, or around twice that of 1970.

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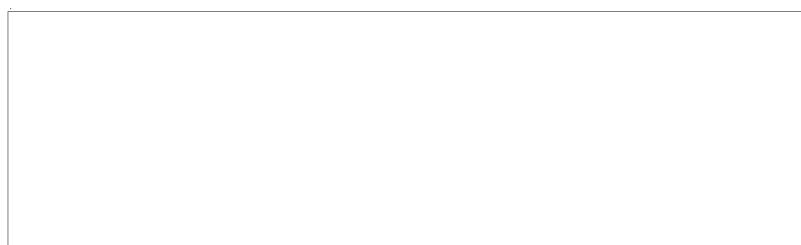
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SOUTH KOREA'S NEW FOREIGN POLICY

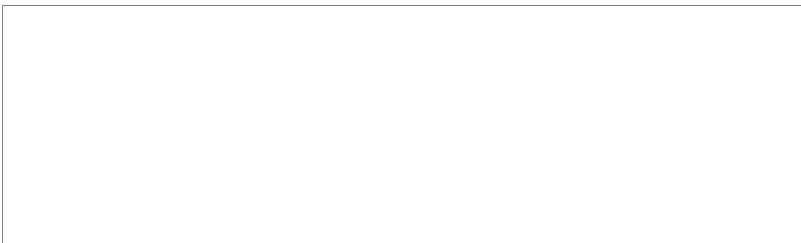
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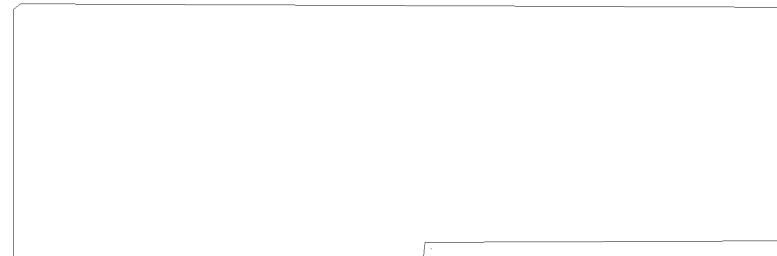
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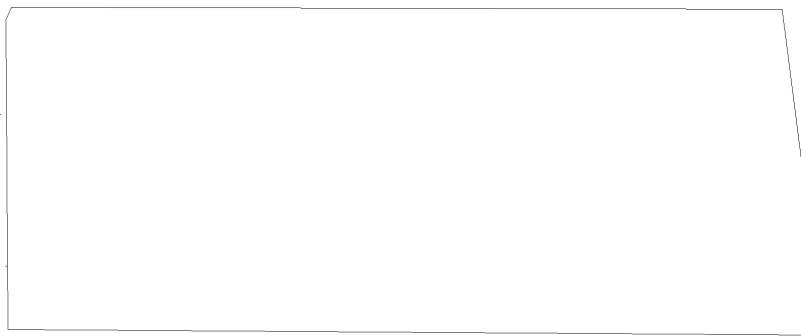
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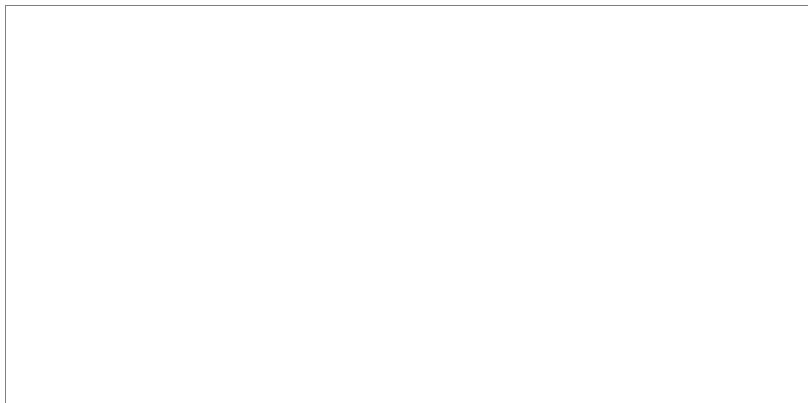


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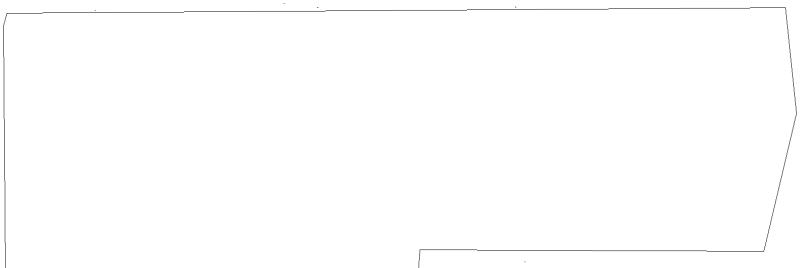
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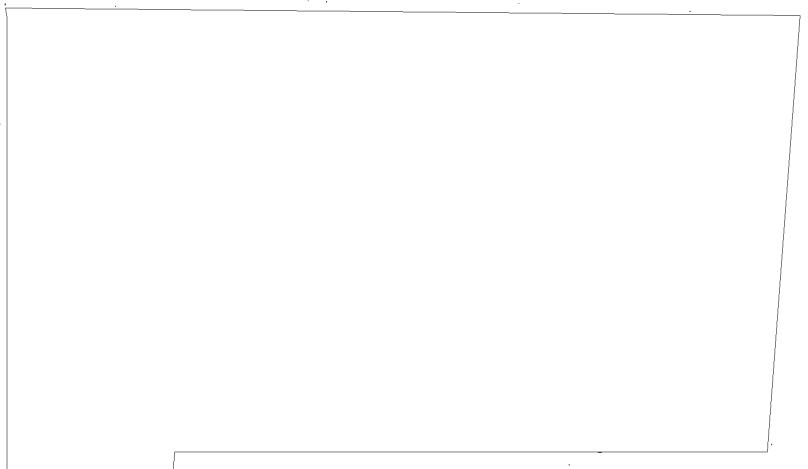
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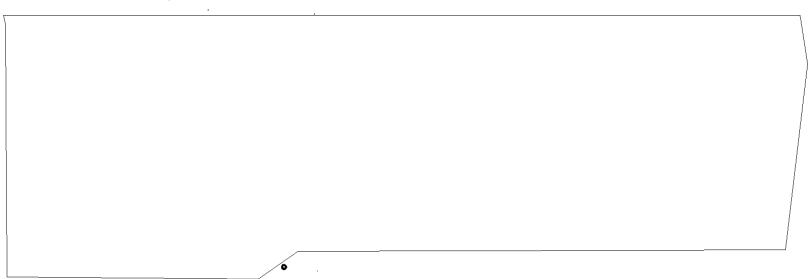
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THE PRESIDENT'S DAILY BRIEF

20 November 1971

PRINCIPAL DEVELOPMENTS

The recent military activity close to Phnom Penh has put the Cambodian economy under new strains. (Page 1)

On Page 2 we comment on the likelihood of a Warsaw Pact foreign ministers' meeting late this month.

Japan may be preparing to reverse policy and permit the extension of government credit to North Korea to purchase industrial plants. (Page 3)

North Vietnam's premier is heading a delegation to Peking. (Page 4)

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

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CAMBODIA

Phnom Penh is beginning to feel an economic pinch from the current fighting close to the city and from Communist interdiction over the past two weeks of Route 5, the capital's main link to the ricebowl in the northwest. Hoarding in the city is on the increase, and prices have been moving upward rapidly. To add to the problem, the economic reform measures introduced last month have not yet made an impact.

The tight rice situation may ease somewhat next month if a shipment of rice due from Japan arrives in the capital and if some rice from the new harvest becomes available. In the meantime, however, the government may have to dig into its stock of very low quality rice in order to feed the population. The uneasy military situation, together with the ineffectiveness to date of the stabilization program, could dissuade other countries from contributing to a proposed fund for boosting Cambodia's foreign currency reserves.

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

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WARSAW PACT

[redacted] there will
be a meeting of the pact foreign ministers in Warsaw
by the end of this month. The possibility of a
rapid conclusion of the inter-German negotiations
on Berlin could mean that the gathering will be an
important one in the development of the pact's po-
sition on European security.

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[redacted]
Pravda on 18 November went so far
as to misquote East German party chief Honecker to
the effect that the German talks "can and must be
successfully concluded in November." (In fact,
Honecker said he was interested in reaching an
agreement this month--"if it was possible".)
Pravda went on to argue that preparations should
begin in the "very nearest future" for a Conference
on European Security and Cooperation.

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*The USSR will probably use the pact
meeting to issue a fresh joint appeal
for such preparations in the hope of
influencing the NATO ministers' meeting
scheduled for 9-10 December.*

*A pact gathering also will most likely
take up the question of mutual force
reductions. Lately, Moscow has attrib-
uted little urgency to this question,
and there are no signs that the Soviets
and their allies have done anything yet
to develop a common position on this
issue. The USSR has still not officially
agreed to talk to former NATO Secretary
General Brosio, who has been commissioned
to sound out Moscow's position.*

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JAPAN - NORTH KOREA

The Japanese trade minister recently indicated he favored Japanese financing for the sale of industrial plants to North Korea. Three such deals are under consideration, having a value of nearly \$10 million.

This would be a complete reversal of policy. Japanese business has long been interested in selling factories to North Korea, and this interest has perked up following the imposition of US import restrictions and recent moves by Pyongyang to improve relations. A major stumbling block until now has been the North Koreans' inability to secure adequate financing.

Another block has been Tokyo's unwillingness to alienate South Korea. Although Seoul can be expected to protest a move by Tokyo to extend credit to Pyongyang, the South Koreans of late have lessened their opposition to such trade. Tokyo's efforts to improve relations with Peking also make it likely that the Japanese are considering similar financing of trade with Communist China.

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

NOTE

North Vietnam - Communist China: A North Vietnamese delegation headed by Premier Pham Van Dong began an official visit to Peking today. In addition to serving as the occasion for an effusive show of Sino - North Vietnamese solidarity, the visit will offer Hanoi an opportunity to probe Peking's current position on the war in the wake of the recent changes in the Chinese power structure. The delegation will also be seeking the latest reading on the state of relations between Washington and Peking, along with whatever further reassurances it can get from the Chinese.

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THE PRESIDENT'S DAILY BRIEF

22 November 1971

PRINCIPAL DEVELOPMENTS

The Soviets have taken a positive approach during Secretary Stans visit in Moscow. (Page 1)

President Yahya appears to believe that a political solution in East Pakistan is the only workable one, but, according to Ambassador Farland, Yahya may be getting agitated over the continuing failure to find a way to settle the crisis. (Page 2)

Le Duc Tho, the North Vietnamese peace talks negotiator, may be returning to Paris, perhaps with some new initiative in hand. (Page 3)

The current spate of fighting continues in Cambodia with no particular progress for government forces reported (page 4), while in Laos both sides are preparing for dry season offensives (page 5).

Egyptian President Sadat's tough speeches to front-line troops are undoubtedly designed to create additional international pressure on Israel to move toward a settlement. (Page 6)

A North Vietnamese MIG-21 nearly shot down a B-52 over Laos. (Page 7)

Part of the Soviet task force in Cuban waters has put to sea. (Page 8)

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

USSR-US

The Soviets have taken pains to set a positive tone for the current visit of Secretary Stans. During over three hours of private talks with Secretary Stans on Saturday, Soviet Premier Kosygin broached specific ideas for realizing his expressed hope that the visit would lead to a substantial increase in economic relations. Reflecting the priority Moscow attaches to expanded bilateral ties, Kosygin proposed that working groups of experts be set up to discuss various facets of a new economic relationship. He suggested that they deal with financial and trade matters, science and technology, and such projects as joint development of Soviet natural resources.

Kosygin proposed that after three or four months of deliberation, the findings and recommendations of such working groups might be readied for conclusion on the occasion of President Nixon's visit to the USSR. The Soviet Premier volunteered the opinion that political relations between the USSR and US would be still further improved by that time.

Soviet media have reported factually on the Stans-Kosygin meeting and noted that Secretary Stans gave Kosygin a letter from President Nixon concerning development of bilateral economic relations. TASS pointed out that the letter was received "with satisfaction."

During the Stans party's more detailed talks with economic and trade officials over the next several days, it may become clearer whether the Soviets have significantly modified their attitudes on the problems that have inhibited bilateral economic relations. Short of hard currency and with West European credit sources quite fully utilized, Moscow may indicate its willingness to make certain concessions to American business practices in order to attract capital and know-how.

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

INDIA-PAKISTAN

President Yahya told Ambassador Farland last Thursday that East Pakistan will be given so much provincial autonomy that support for the government will increase there. Yahya added that once a civilian government is established--presumably in early January--it will be of "no concern" to him whether the government wants to deal with Mujibur Rahman. Yahya asserted that Prime Minister Gandhi, not Mujib, is the key to a solution.



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Yahya appears to believe that his plans for a political solution to the East Pakistan crisis are the only means of extricating himself from an untenable situation. Ambassador Farland reports that he sensed in Yahya the first signs of agitation. The president said that recent Indian incursions into East Pakistan were enough to start a war, but that it would be foolhardy for Pakistan to initiate hostilities. He observed that it is equally foolhardy for India to prod Pakistan--whose cause is "self-survival"--into war.

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

NORTH VIETNAM

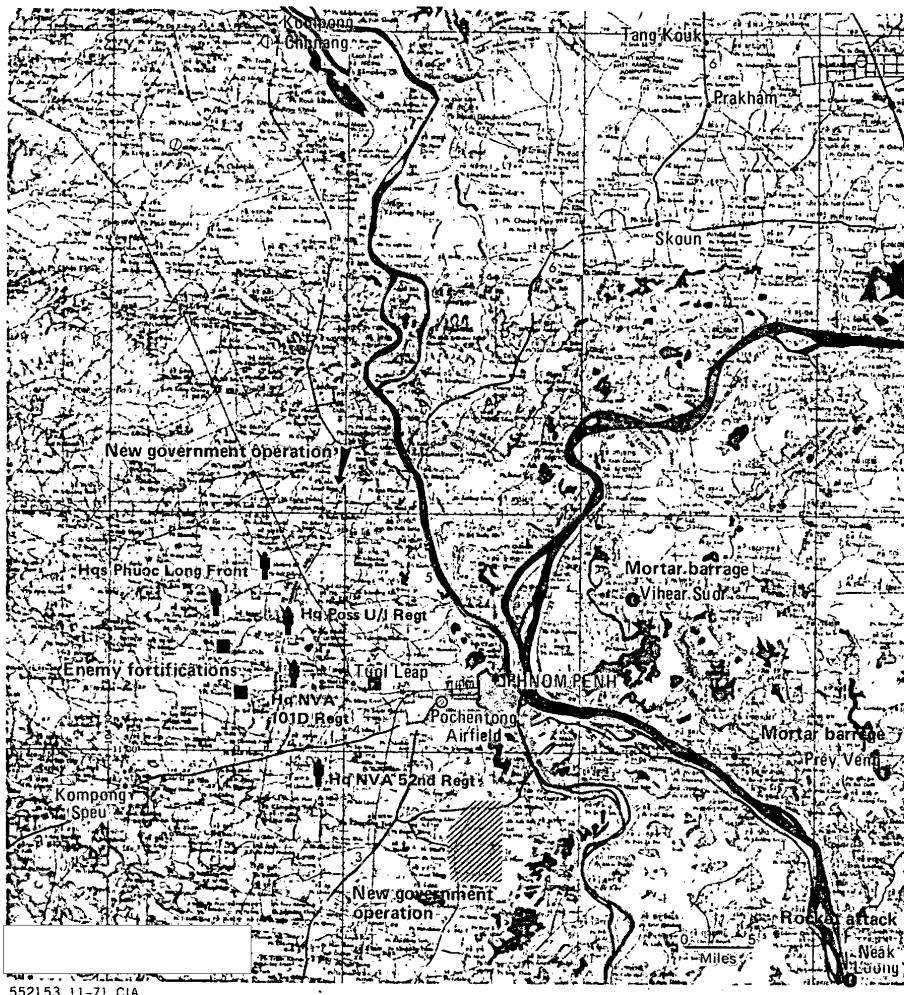
The French have told the US delegation in Paris that Le Duc Tho, the politburo-level "adviser" to the North Vietnamese delegation at the peace talks, was given a visa for France late last week. They have no information on the date of his departure, which they understand has been delayed by illness, but they believe he will be coming shortly.

Tho's appearance in Paris has often in the past coincided with new Communist moves in the negotiations. Most recently, he was on hand when the Viet Cong surfaced their seven-point proposal last July, but left for Hanoi when it became clear that the announcement of President Nixon's prospective visit to Peking had upstaged the Communist initiative.

The seven points, particularly as Tho himself enlarged on them in an interview during his Paris stay, left certain aspects vague and seemed generally designed to convey a conciliatory impression. In the last two months, however, Hanoi has used tougher language and made its demands more explicit. Most recently, Premier Pham Van Dong while in Peking on an official visit emphasized the inseparability of the first two of the seven points--on withdrawal of US troops and on ending aid to President Thieu. Dong was very explicit on the necessity that the US withdrawal be total. Thus, any new Communist move in Paris seems likely to continue the trend toward increased rigidity. The Communists might try to offset the generally adverse effect of this line with a more forthcoming attitude on the prisoner issue, particularly in the hope of influencing US public opinion.

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

CAMBODIA: Phnom Penh Area



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CAMBODIA

Government troops entered Tuol Leap village unopposed over the weekend, but are meeting sporadic enemy resistance elsewhere near Phnom Penh. These troops, elements of a twice-reorganized task force, were to remain at Tuol Leap and await further orders--expected today--to move against nearby Communist positions. New clearing operations are already under way north and south of the capital.

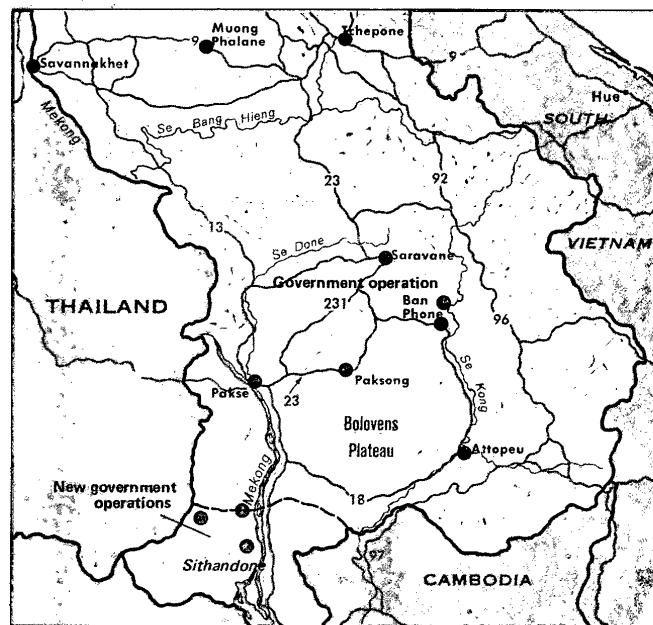
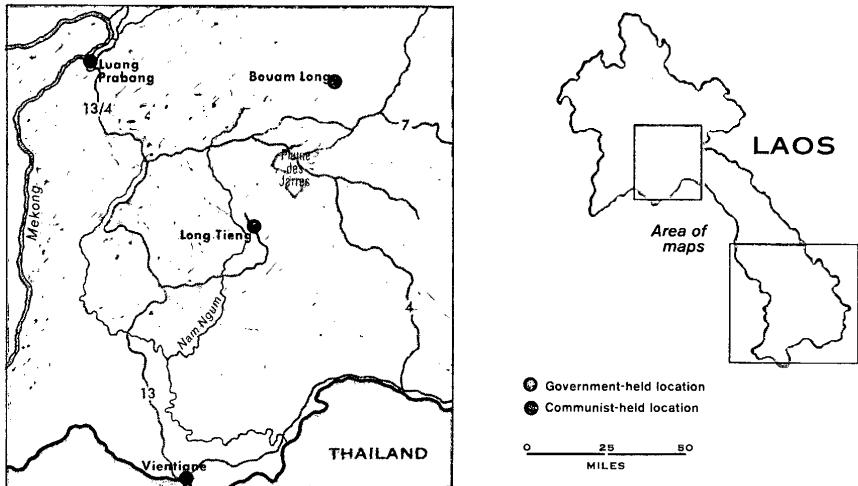
Elements of the Communists' Phuoc Long Front, however, are still located within about 15 miles of Phnom Penh, according to radio direction finding.

[redacted] extensive enemy bunkers and other installations in the area along with signs of substantial Communist troop movement.

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Enemy forces also are active east of the Mekong. Heavy mortar barrages have hit Vihear Suor and the town of Prey Veng during the past few days, and a few long-range 122-mm. rockets hit an allied logistics base at Neak Luong.

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY



FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

LAOS

The pace of military activity is quickening as both sides prepare for the North Vietnamese dry season offensive.

The North Vietnamese have recently increased their probes and shelling attacks on irregular positions and fire support bases along the northern and eastern edges of the Plaine des Jarres. They are also continuing to bring additional men and supplies into north Laos. New personnel groups have been detected entering the Route 7 infiltration corridor, and, although precise troop strengths are not available, some 5,000-6,000 troops have headed toward the Plaine in the last five weeks. Rear service logistic units are also moving supplies at a faster pace, and intercepted messages report steady vehicle activity delivering supplies to forward units near the Plaine.

In south Laos the government launched three operations over the weekend in an effort to keep Communist forces off balance and to disrupt their supply and troop concentrations. Four irregular battalions were airlifted into an area just north of Ban Phone, one of the major North Vietnamese logistic centers northeast of the Bolovens Plateau; one battalion cleared the town, and the group set up camp in the vicinity. The other two operations are aimed at clearing North Vietnamese and Pathet Lao forces from operating areas south of Pakse in Sihanoukeville Province. No enemy resistance has yet been encountered, but a strong Communist reaction is likely, particularly to the Ban Phone operation.

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EGYPT

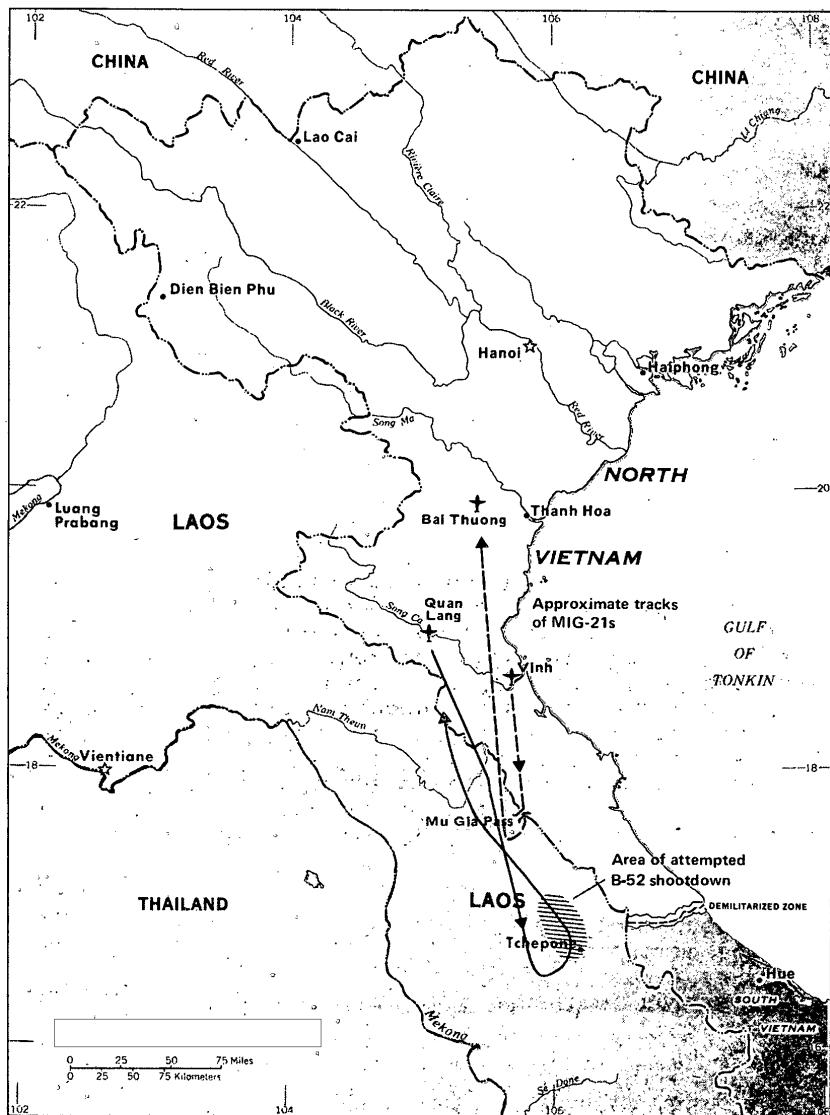
In remarks to Egyptian military units along the Suez Canal, President Sadat declared that "the time for the battle has come" because there was no longer any hope for a peaceful solution. He added that he had told the US representative in Cairo that there was "no more room for discussion" unless Israel were to respond positively to UN envoy Jarring's initiative of last February and would commit itself to complete withdrawal from the territory occupied during the June 1967 war.

Besides serving as a morale booster for the troops on the occasion of an important religious holiday, the speech was undoubtedly intended to create additional international pressures on Israel to move toward a settlement.

Also to this end Cairo is set to make a number of diplomatic contacts with other nations in advance of the debate on the Middle East question in the UN General Assembly some 10 days from now. At the UN, Egypt will seek a resolution that will call upon Israel to respond to Jarring's February initiative, although its first draft is likely to include language calling for sanctions and an arms embargo against Israel.

Despite Sadat's strong language to the troops, there is no indication that Arab military forces have been readying for imminent action.

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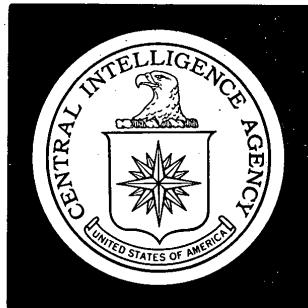
NOTES

North Vietnam: A MIG-21 has for the first time fired a missile at a US B-52 bomber over Laos. The MIGs entered Laos twice on 20 November, and at least one missile was fired at three B-52s over Tchepone. A near miss bounced one of the bombers around a bit but no damage occurred. As reported in The President's Daily Brief of 26 October, the North Vietnamese have been strengthening their air defenses in the southern part of the country, and more attempts such as the one on Saturday will certainly be made.

USSR: Part of the Soviet naval task group that has been visiting Cuba left Cienfuegos on Saturday. Three of the five ships in the group--an F-class diesel-powered attack submarine, a Kresta-class cruiser, and a Kashin-class frigate--put to sea after three weeks in Cuban ports and nearby waters; the visit may have been extended because of tropical storm Laura. The other two ships in the task group remain in Cuban waters--the tanker at Santiago and the second F-class submarine at Mariel, where we believe it is undergoing repairs.

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The President's Daily Brief

23 November 1971

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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

THE PRESIDENT'S DAILY BRIEF

23 November 1971

PRINCIPAL DEVELOPMENTS

President Yahya has declared a national state of emergency following reports of heavy fighting along the East Pakistani border. (Page 1)

In Cambodia, South Vietnamese forces are moving virtually unopposed along Route 7 in the initial phase of a campaign against Communist main force units. (Page 2)

West German [redacted]

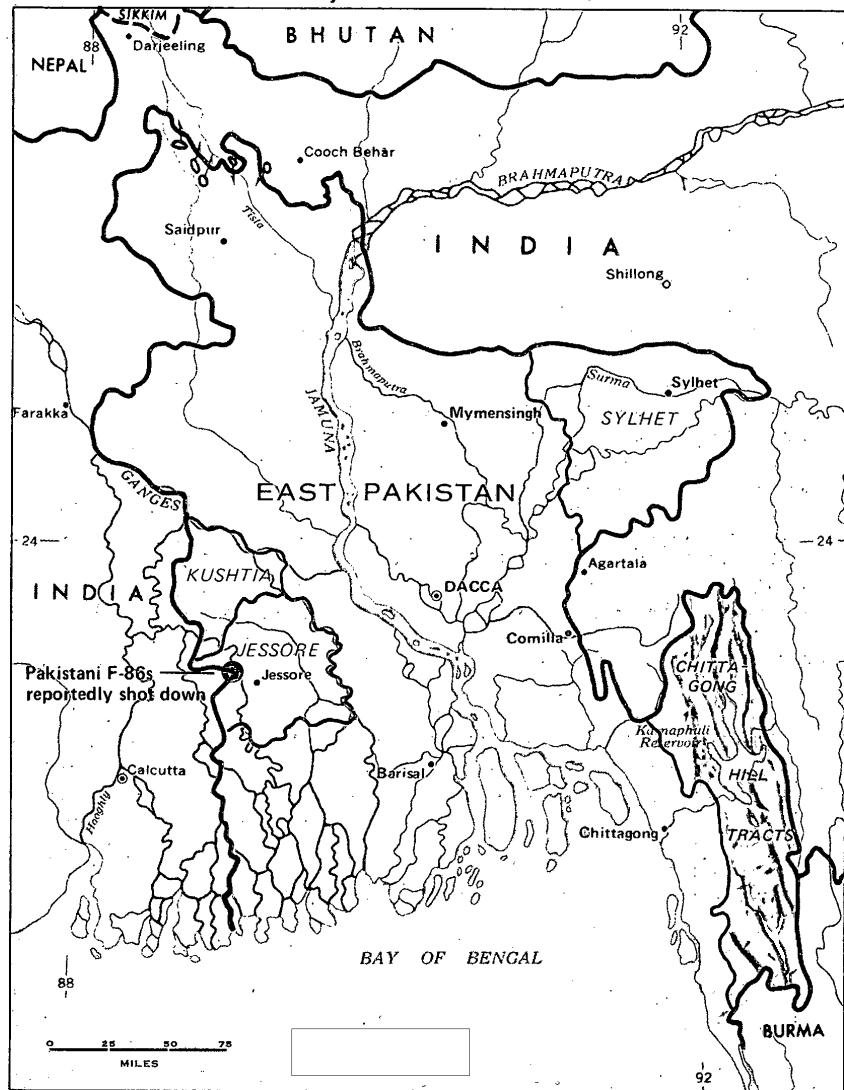
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(Page 3)

A report that Moscow will resume selling gold ties in with recent heavy purchases of food from Western countries. (Page 4)

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

INDIA - EAST PAKISTAN: Major Clashes in Border Areas



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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**INDIA-PAKISTAN**

President Yahya today declared a national state of emergency, stating that "foreign aggression" had been launched against Pakistan. This declaration followed a day in which the Pakistani press reported the Indians had mounted an offensive in the Jessore area with units of two infantry divisions supported by armor.

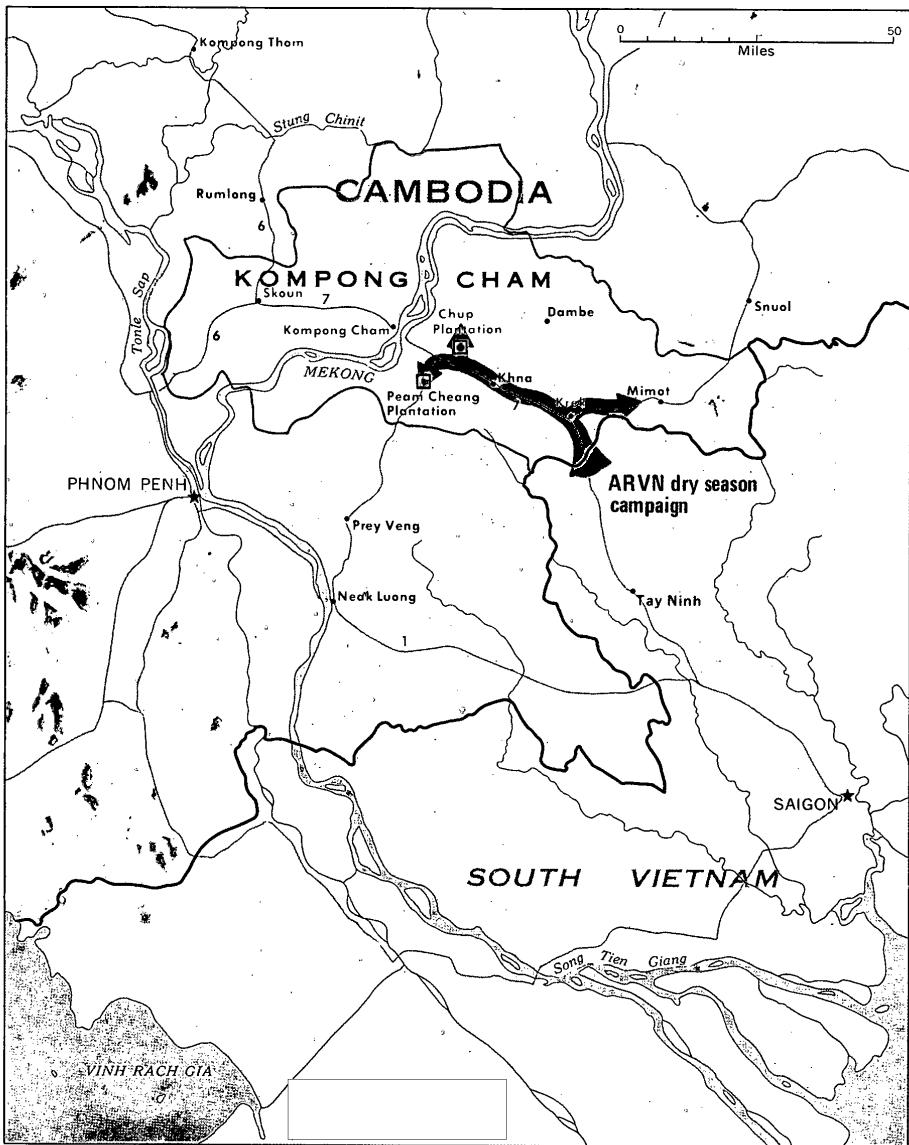
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[redacted] The press also reported attacks in the Sylhet district and in the Chittagong hills. Eighteen Pakistanis are said to have been killed--the highest figure yet admitted for any series of incidents.

The Indians, while offering their conventional denial of direct involvement, acknowledge that the Mukti Bahini have "liberated" 14 villages in the Kushtia and Jessore districts and captured a number of Pakistani posts elsewhere on the province's western and northern borders. The Indians also claim to have shot down and captured the pilots of three Pakistani F-86 aircraft over Indian territory near Jessore.

The state of national emergency adds little to the authority of the Yahya government, and seems more a measure of Yahya's intent to dramatize both at home and abroad how seriously he views the situation in the East. Although he does not want war with India because his troops are badly outnumbered, especially in the eastern wing, as Indian provocations increase he may be approaching a decision that he has no choice but to strike back.

The guerrillas are not capable of defeating the Pakistani Army by themselves, and to ensure their success the Indians have been increasingly willing to commit Indian regulars. The Indians appear to have moved up the fighting to a point where their own forces are regularly operating in East Pakistan's border areas.



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CAMBODIA - SOUTH VIETNAM

South Vietnamese forces are moving virtually unopposed along Route 7 in eastern Kompong Cham Province in the initial phase of a new dry season campaign against Communist main force units in Cambodia. Airborne and armor forces, along with troops from two South Vietnamese divisions, are scheduled to secure the road as far as the village of Khna, where they intend to establish a major logistics base to support planned operations into the Chup and Peam Cheang plantations. Troops from a third division are to mount diversionary attacks eastward along Route 7 toward Mimot.

The South Vietnamese are responding to a two-week-old Cambodian request prompted by concern over the Communist offensive around Phnom Penh and along Route 6. The South Vietnamese drive may well force the Communists to pull their 9th Division regiments from operations in the Chenla II area, but enemy units around the capital were not drawn from the areas where ARVN will be operating.

The Cambodians evidently intend to keep a close watch over the South Vietnamese troops.

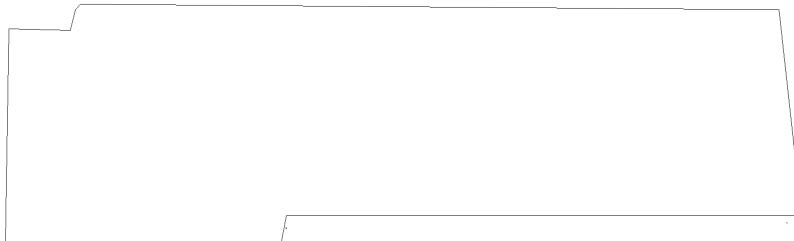
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Several minor but related Cambodian operations will be mounted along Route 1 in the southeast.

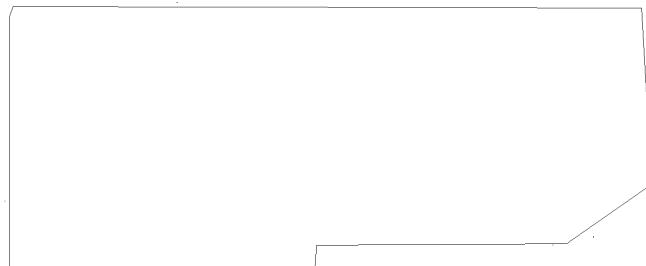
The South Vietnamese, for their part, intend to ensure that cross-border operations do not cut into defenses in South Vietnam. During the dry season last winter, this consideration caused President Thieu to fix limits on the duration and extent of involvement of his forces in Cambodia.

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

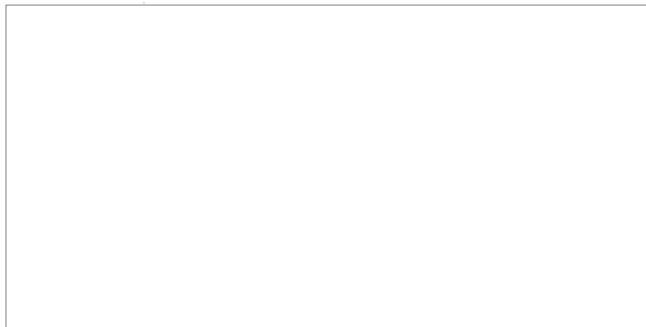
WEST GERMANY - USSR



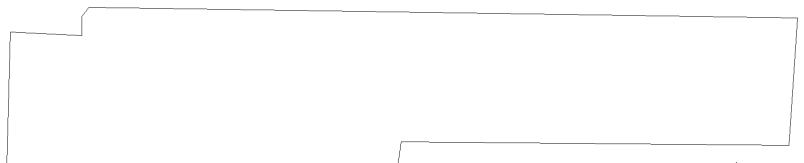
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USSR

[redacted] Moscow will
resume selling gold during the remainder of the
year.

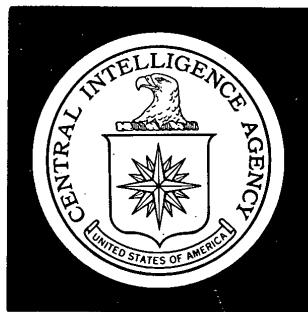
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A contract for the purchase of \$140 million worth of grain through two US companies, together with previous meat and grain contracts concluded with Canada and other Western countries, increases Soviet hard currency outlays for these items in fiscal 1972 to about \$600 million. The Soviets have not spent this much foreign exchange for food since 1963-65, when they financed large imports of wheat with gold sales. Since that time, the USSR has sold less than \$100 million worth of gold altogether, including about \$20 million this year.

The Soviets produce more than \$200 million in gold annually. They have built up their gold reserves from a low of about \$1 billion in 1965 to roughly \$2 billion at the present time. Soviet leaders may believe that reserves are high enough to permit annual sales up to the USSR's rate of gold production.

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The President's Daily Brief

24 November 1971

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THE PRESIDENT'S DAILY BRIEF

24 November 1971

PRINCIPAL DEVELOPMENTS

Developments in the Indian-Pakistani confrontation along the borders of East Pakistan are reported on *Page 1*.

On *Page 2* we comment on the Soviet party central committee's two-day session, including its minimal changes of the composition of top leadership bodies.

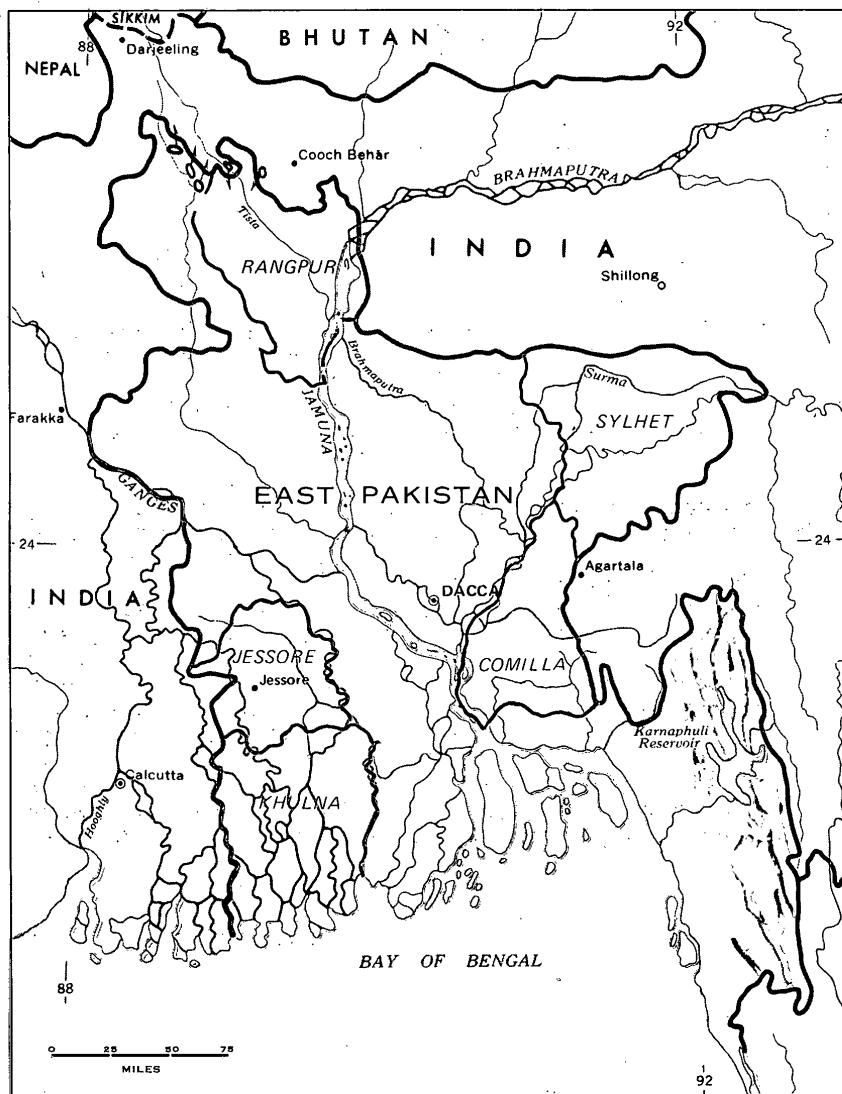
The latest satellite photography shows no additional silos of the new type at ICBM complexes, but provides some further details on silo construction. (*Page 3*)

Recent photography also shows the Chinese Communists have installed missile tubes in their G-class submarine. (*Page 4*)

The Communists' seasonal logistics push through the Laos panhandle is now under way. (*Page 5*)

At Annex, we present an appraisal of Communist intentions in Indochina during the coming winter months.

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY



FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

INDIA-PAKISTAN

Both Indian and Pakistani radio broadcasts are reporting continued fighting along the borders of East Pakistan in Jessor and Sylhet districts. Their claims are contradictory, however, and the degree of Indian Army participation remains unclear. The Pakistanis say that Indian troops are spearheading the drives and have launched a new offensive into Comilla District. The Indians insist that the Mukti Bahini alone are conducting the campaigns and are scoring new successes in Rangpur and Khulna districts. Indian leaders are still denying adamantly that Indian troops have crossed the border.

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In a meeting with Ambassador Farland yesterday, President Yahya Khan, while "visibly tense," indicated that he was not yet prepared to take the border issue before the UN Security Council and would not do so, in any event, for the next several days.

Yahya seems to be still casting about for a way out of his dilemma in East Pakistan. He has summoned both the Bengali governor of the East and leading West Pakistani politician Z. A. Bhutto for talks allegedly intended to speed up the formation of a civilian government. It is unlikely, however, that the guerrillas will settle for any 11th-hour solution short of immediate, full independence.

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

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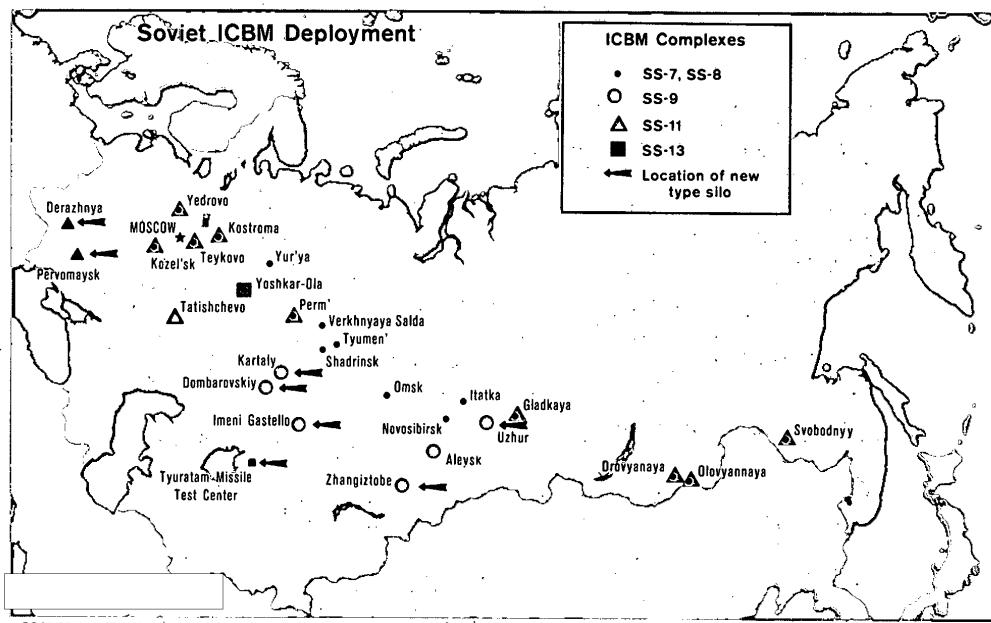
USSR

The party central committee, in its two-day session in Moscow, made minimal changes in the composition of the top ruling bodies. Mikhail Solomentsev, who replaced Gennady Voronov as premier of the Russian Republic last July, was elevated to candidate membership in the politburo and was, at the same time, released from his former job on the party secretariat. Voronov, however, was not removed from the politburo despite the fact that he now holds an insignificant post which does not warrant representation on the top policy-making body.

Voronov may owe his present reprieve at least partly to the efforts of his politburo colleagues to keep Brezhnev from completely dominating the decision-making process. Over the years, Brezhnev has been able to put his own supporters into the politburo and secretariat and to maneuver critics, such as Voronov and Aleksandr Shelepin, into positions of little power. Matters have stopped there, however, and no one has been removed from the politburo since Brezhnev became party chief in 1964.

The central committee approved the five-year plan, accepted last month by the politburo, and discussed a report by Brezhnev on recent conduct of foreign policy, but the terse announcements gave no details of either of these plenum activities. Some indication of the thrust of Brezhnev's remarks may be reflected in the Supreme Soviet session which opens today. The main business of the session will be the adoption of the five-year plan and next year's plan and budget.

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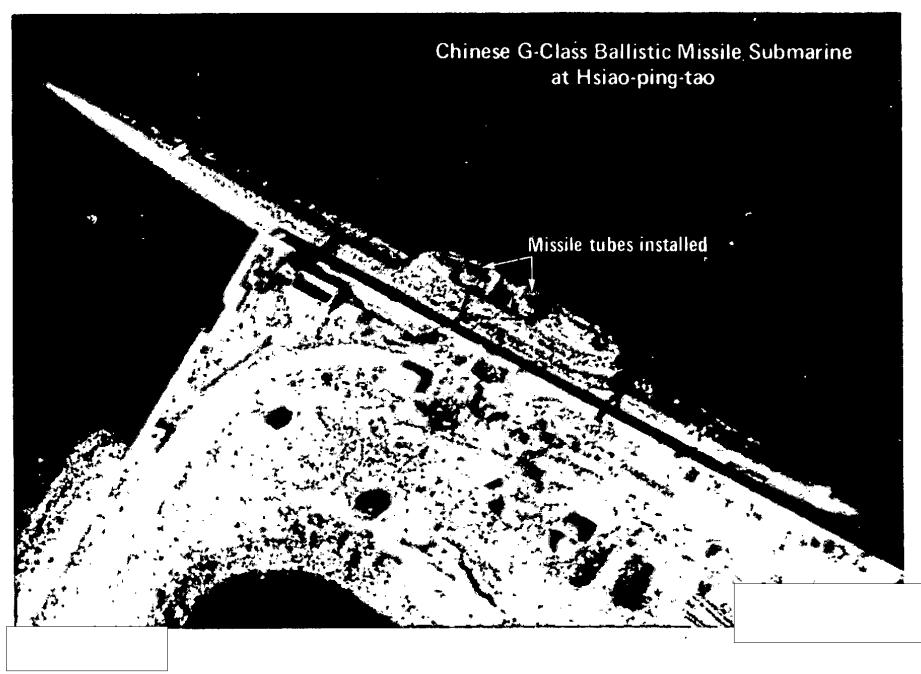
USSR

The latest satellite photography shows no additional new-type missile silos or test corings at ICBM complexes. The current total of new-type silos at SS-9 installations remains 25--five each at five complexes. There are still six groups, each with 11 new-type silos, under construction at Derazhnya and Pervomaysk where SS-11s are deployed (along with a few MRBMs and IRBMs). However, what appear to be extra large silo liner segments, seen earlier near one of the silos at Derazhnya, are now seen at one silo in each group of the new-type silos at both Derazhnya and Pervomaysk. In addition, extra large segments have been seen near three silos at the SS-9 complexes--two at one complex and one at another.

No new groups of ICBM silos are known to have been started since March 1971. The last silos filling out the groups begun earlier were started in July 1971.

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

Chinese G-Class Ballistic Missile Submarine
at Hsiao-ping-tao



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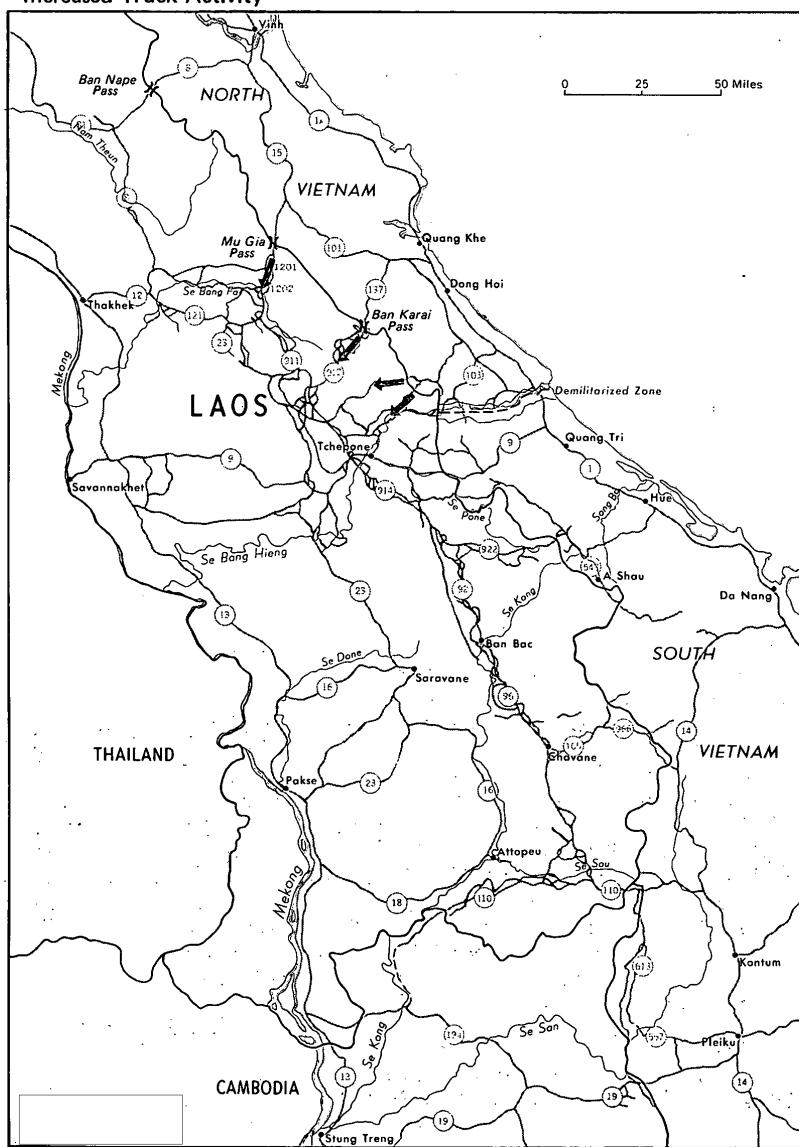
COMMUNIST CHINA

Recent photography of the Hsiao-ping-tao naval base in northeast China shows that new missile tubes have been installed in China's G-class ballistic missile submarine.

China assembled its only G-class submarine between 1962 and 1964 from components supplied by the USSR. No missiles for the submarine have ever been observed and the original missile tubes--presumably designed for Soviet missiles--were removed between late 1968 and early 1969. Observation of the G-class early this year suggested that additional modifications were under way. The installation of new missile tubes indicates that Peking is seeking to develop a submarine launched ballistic missile system, and suggests that the G-class submarine is intended to serve as a test platform for such a missile.

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Increased Truck Activity



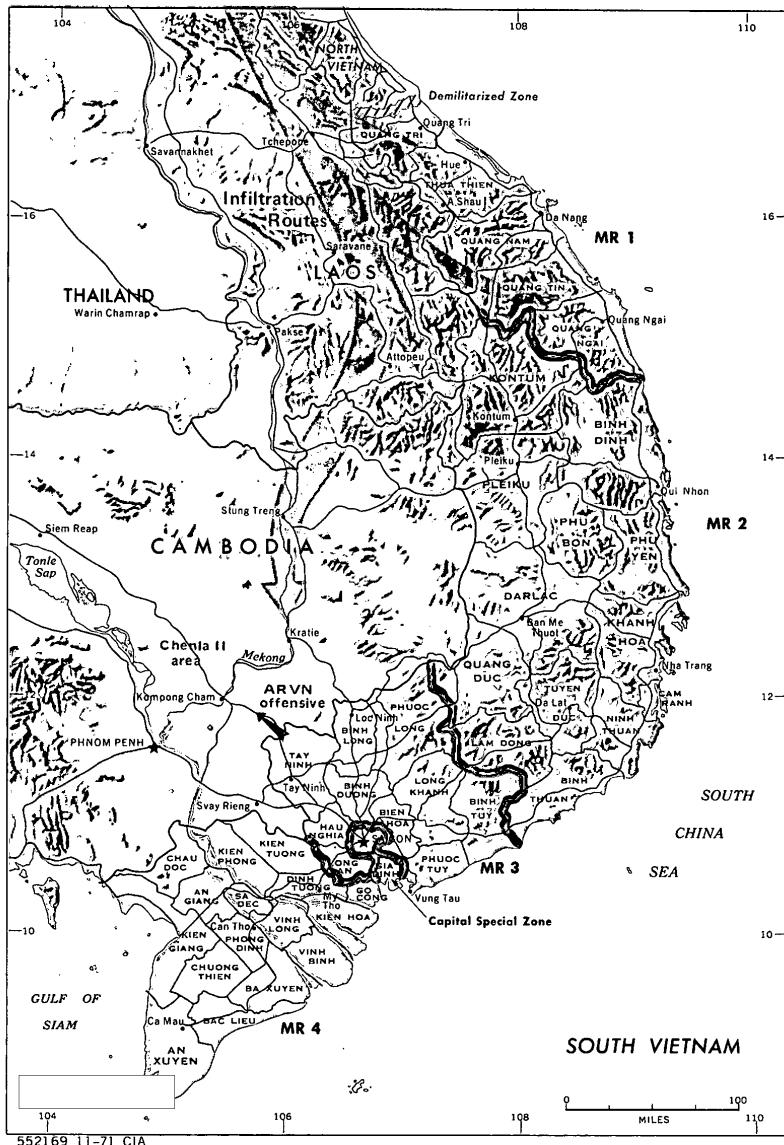
FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

NOTE

Indochina: The Communists have begun their annual logistics push in the Laotian panhandle. [redacted] of truck traffic doubled in the past week, reaching the highest level since the end of the last dry season. Most of the traffic currently is concentrated from the passes where the roads enter from North Vietnam south to Tchepone. With the panhandle roadnet generally in excellent condition, and with good weather continuing, we should expect to see truck activity increase and spread southward during the coming weeks. Last year the logistics "offensive" also began about this time.

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COMMUNIST INTENTIONS IN INDOCHINA (WINTER 1971-1972)

The beginning of the dry season finds the Indochinese Communists concerned about their declining ability to expand international support of their cause. They have lost the propaganda initiative to the US with President Nixon's announcement of planned visits to Peking and Moscow. They are now continually in need of reassurance of the loyalty of the USSR and China and edgy about the possibility of a great-power settlement of the Indochina war "behind their backs." The seven-point peace plan they offered last summer not only has so far failed to put the US on the defensive, but, to Hanoi, it appears that pressures on the US for an accommodation on Communist terms have actually declined. In the military sphere, the Communists have been unable to exploit the large-scale withdrawals of US troops from Vietnam.

The Communists are not without resources, however. Their building of a major military threat to Phnom Penh strengthens our belief that the Communists intend to try for some significant psychological gains during this dry season. They would hope to project an image of strength, capability, and determination to fight in Indochina, regardless of US air and material support for their enemies. They clearly would use the impact of any spectacular victory to press their cause for total US withdrawal from the area.

Cambodia: The First Thrust

Hanoi may believe Cambodia will yield the most lucrative psychological and military gains in the immediate weeks to come. The North Vietnamese seem to reason that a series of defeats inflicted on friendly forces in this theater, where operations are still relatively easy for the Communists and where world press coverage is plentiful, would impact hard against US policy not only on Cambodia but also on Vietnam.

Battlefield reports during the recent Communist attacks on the Chenla II forces north of Phnom Penh indicated that enemy troops were fighting with a ferocity inconsistent with the military objective of inhibiting future Cambodian advance toward Communist base areas and supply routes in northeastern Cambodia. The Communist troops may have been trying to administer a serious drubbing to their opponents in order to shatter the Cambodian Government's morale while simultaneously drawing a press reaction that would play up their continued strength and prowess.

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The subsequent movement of at least two--and possibly three--enemy main force regiments into a position directly threatening Phnom Penh smacks largely of a move designed for psychological effect. The Communists really have little to gain militarily from an assault on the city, but for public impact penetration of the capital or even an extended siege would almost certainly attract much attention from the world press. The chances of a successful Communist attack into Phnom Penh will decline the longer the Cambodians have to prepare defenses. Nonetheless, the Communists still appear to be in a good position to maintain for some time a credible threat to the capital, at a relatively cheap military cost. Aerial observers report the enemy is preparing fortified positions not far from the city.

In the immediate future at least, the offensive of South Vietnamese units in eastern Cambodia around Route 7 will not relieve the Communist pressure on Phnom Penh. Enemy units near the city were not drawn from areas of eastern Cambodia where the ARVN will be operating. It is possible, however, that the South Vietnamese attack will draw to the east the 9th North Vietnamese Division from its operations against Cambodian troops in the Chenla II area. Some Cambodian units could then be freed for use around Phnom Penh.

South Vietnam: A Harder Nut to Crack

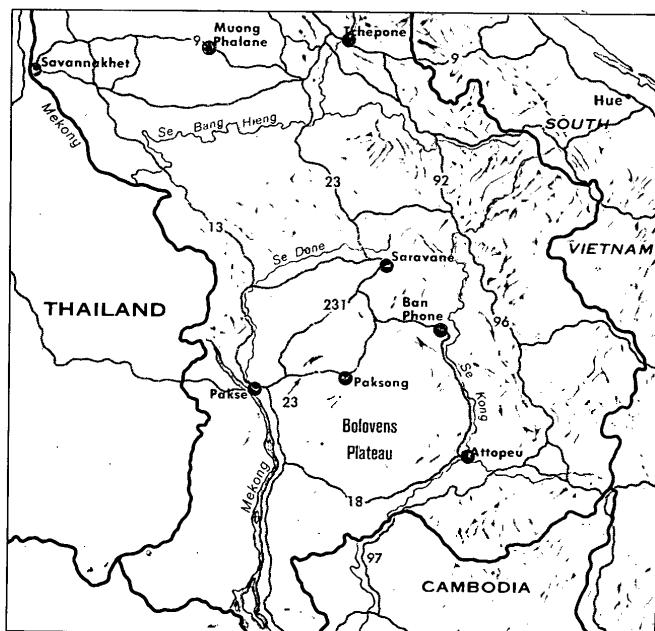
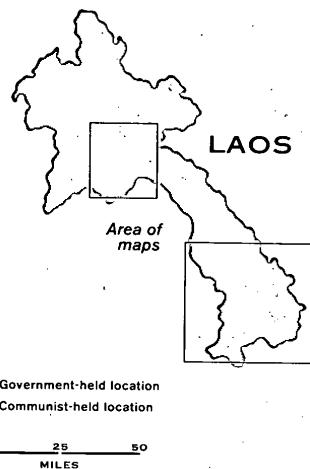
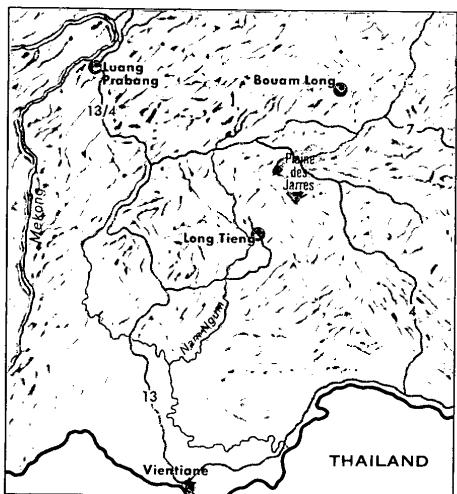
The Communists probably anticipated that the South Vietnamese would move into Cambodia to help take the pressure off friendly forces. There is some evidence [redacted] that the Communists believe this move will open opportunities for them to attack in the Military Region 3 area around Saigon. Such opportunities are restricted, however, to the border areas of Military Regions 1, 2, and 3. Communist elements, moving mostly from border sanctuaries, can still concentrate in multiregimental strength and enjoy the advantage of short, relatively secure supply lines for limited operations. In the past, Communist operations in the border areas--primarily sieges of friendly military strongpoints--have often been depicted by much of the world press as reflecting continuing enemy strength and resoluteness, without regard for the fact that such operations have had little enduring impact on the security of South Vietnam. A Communist campaign in the border sectors should be expected again during the coming dry season, particularly in the early months of 1972 when the weather favors such military operations in Military Regions 1 and 2, and when supplies and replacements coming through the Lao panhandle will be in place.

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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

The allies received a foretaste of the border foray strategy last month when the enemy attacked with two divisions in the Krek - Tay Ninh Province border area. They hoped, according to a wide variety of sources, to score a victory over reacting South Vietnamese forces that would severely undercut claims of success for Vietnamization. Instead, the Communists took a notable beating and the South Vietnamese seem to have emerged from the fray with increased confidence. These two divisions must now hold off the new South Vietnamese venture into Cambodia.

Aside from military actions, a terrorist action of low cost but high psychological value against a target such as the US Embassy or MACV military headquarters cannot be ruled out at any point.

Laos

The North Vietnamese regard control of the Plaine des Jarres as the keystone of their strategy in north Laos, and they have expended considerable effort to prevent permanent erosion of their control. Since the Communists do not now hold the Plaine they will almost certainly attempt to recapture it. The Communists are now moving men and supplies toward this area. The build-up is considerably larger this year than last, probably because the government has more forces at its disposal in stronger positions and because in contrast to the last dry season the North Vietnamese must regain the Plaine before they can push toward Long Tieng.

The chances are better than even that the Communists will also hit hard in the next few months in the Bolovens area of south Laos. The government has made substantial gains there during the rainy season, retaking Saravane, Paksong, and now the logistics center at Ban Phone. The Communists will almost certainly try to get these towns back, both to forestall further government inroads into the infiltration corridor and to open an alternate supply route along the eastern edge of the Bolovens. In the eastern panhandle there is evidence that Hanoi fears another substantial ground incursion into the corridor this year by allied ground forces and is strengthening its forces in the area to meet such a challenge.

The Balance Sheet

However much Hanoi may be convinced that it must show Communist military muscle, its means for doing so are slimmer than in the past. Troop replacements for Communist forces in Cambodia and South

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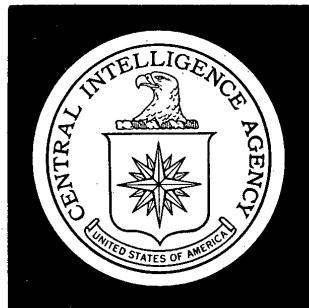
Vietnam have not fully kept pace with attrition during the past year. Overall, the enemy faces the coming dry season with troop strength perhaps five to ten percent below last year when its operations, by military standards, failed to make significant, lasting gains in South Vietnam. Communist forces are still feeling a severe supply pinch. US ground force strength is of course rapidly declining but by contrast, the supplies, manpower, morale, and combat readiness of friendly forces in Indochina, on the whole, are slightly improved over last year.

If Hanoi does achieve some sort of military victory, the North Vietnamese will want to exploit it in the political sphere. With Le Duc Tho heading back to Paris it seems certain that the North Vietnamese plan to try to refocus Western attention on their demands. We have noticed some hints that a new political formula might be forthcoming in Paris, but recent propaganda statements from Hanoi so far leave the regime committed to the seven points. In public, the North Vietnamese have recently been more explicit about their demands for a complete termination of every type of American military involvement in Indochina--a position that takes them back to some of their harder-line periods of the past. If they could pull off a few ostentatious military successes, there would be even more reason to expect them to continue to hold a hard negotiating position.

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THE PRESIDENT'S DAILY BRIEF

25 November 1971

PRINCIPAL DEVELOPMENTS

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

The Soviet defense budget will remain unchanged for the second year in a row but the defense-dominated science expenditures will rise by more than ten percent. (*Page 2*)

Fidel Castro is planning a stop-over in Peru and possibly Ecuador on his way home from Chile. (*Page 4*)

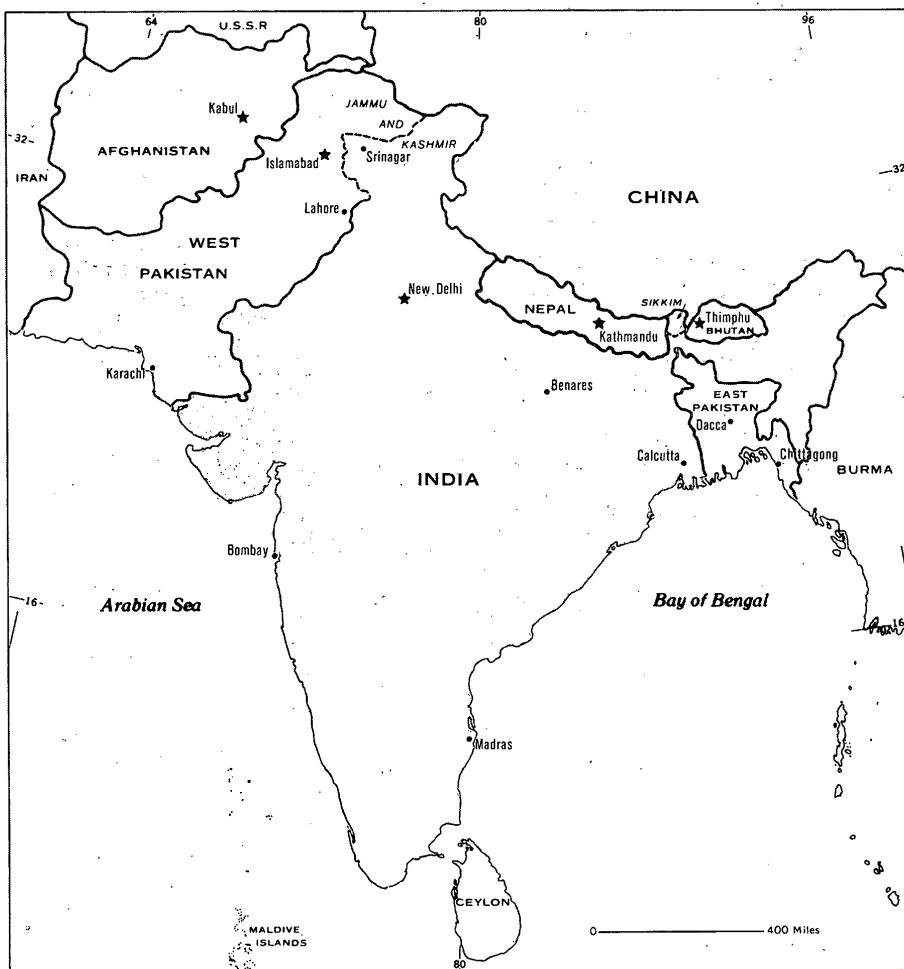
Soviet SA-6 tactical surface-to-air missile equipment has been observed in the Sino-Soviet border area for the first time. (*Page 5*)

The Arab Joint Defense Council meeting on Saturday will seek to inject a new sense of urgency to international consideration of the Middle East problem. (*Page 5*)

The first of two Soviet Mars probes launched last May is expected to reach the planet's vicinity on Sunday. (*Page 5*)

An agreement between Iran and Sharjah on the status of Abu Musa Island will be announced on 29 November. (*Page 6*)

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

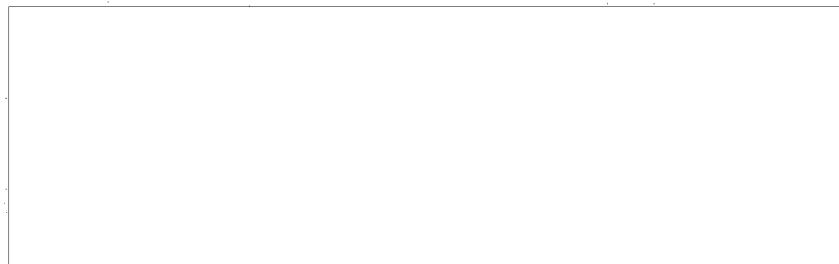


FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

INDIA-PAKISTAN

[redacted] Indian troops are being used in East Pakistan, but the extent of their employment is difficult to gauge from day to day. The Indians are now admitting publicly that their tanks entered East Pakistan last Sunday in "self-defense." Indian officials also say that any Indian troops have permission to cross the border in similar circumstances.

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The Pakistanis are probably exaggerating the current level of the clashes in the hope of getting early international action to halt the fighting.

India's political stance and military policy strongly suggest that Mrs. Gandhi is prepared to keep the pressure on. This leaves Yahya with the choice of making some substantial political concession, doggedly continuing an unpromising battle in the East, or taking on superior Indian forces in the West. He appears to be hoping for the great powers to save the situation.

Despite India's claim that the Pakistanis shelled across the cease-fire line in Kashmir, the western border remains fairly quiet. President Yahya's call-up of the Pakistani reserves is little more than an effort to dramatize the situation, since Pakistan has only a rudimentary reserve system.

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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

USSR

Finance Minister Garbuzov reported to Wednesday's Supreme Soviet session that the planned Soviet defense budget of 17.9 billion rubles will remain unchanged for the second year in a row.

The announcement of a stable defense budget is presumably dictated by Moscow's desire to project an image of moderation, both at home and abroad. The published figure, however, excludes most of the funds for military research and development and military space, which are the most rapidly growing elements in the Soviet defense effort. This is largely financed under the heading of science expenditures. Total science allocations are slated to increase from 13 billion rubles planned for 1971 to 14.8 billion rubles in 1972, a rise of over ten percent.

The trend of the announced figures is consistent with the trend of USIB intelligence estimates constructed from observation of Soviet military programs and forces. These estimates project a total increase of about three percent over 1971. Most of this increase is to go to expanded research and development as well as space programs. In cost terms, these estimates project total Soviet defense expenditures in 1972 (including R&D and military space) at about 23 billion rubles (the equivalent of about \$66 billion if measured in US costs).

Kosygin's presentation of the 1971-75 plan goals was only marginally different from the program presented to the 24th Party Congress last spring.

In line with the leadership's current policy of doing more for the consumer, the output of consumer goods is now planned to increase by 49 percent compared with the 44-48 percent projected in April.

In an uncharacteristic Khrushchevian moment, Kosygin claimed that by 1975 Soviet industrial and agricultural output will exceed present US industrial and agricultural output.

(continued)

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

USIB intelligence estimates indicate, however, that the Soviets will fall about 10-15 percent short of current US production in these sectors in 1975, even if five-year plan goals are achieved.

Kosygin also announced that the 1971 grain harvest would total about 180 million tons, short of last year's record of over 186 million tons.

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

CUBA-PERU-ECUADOR

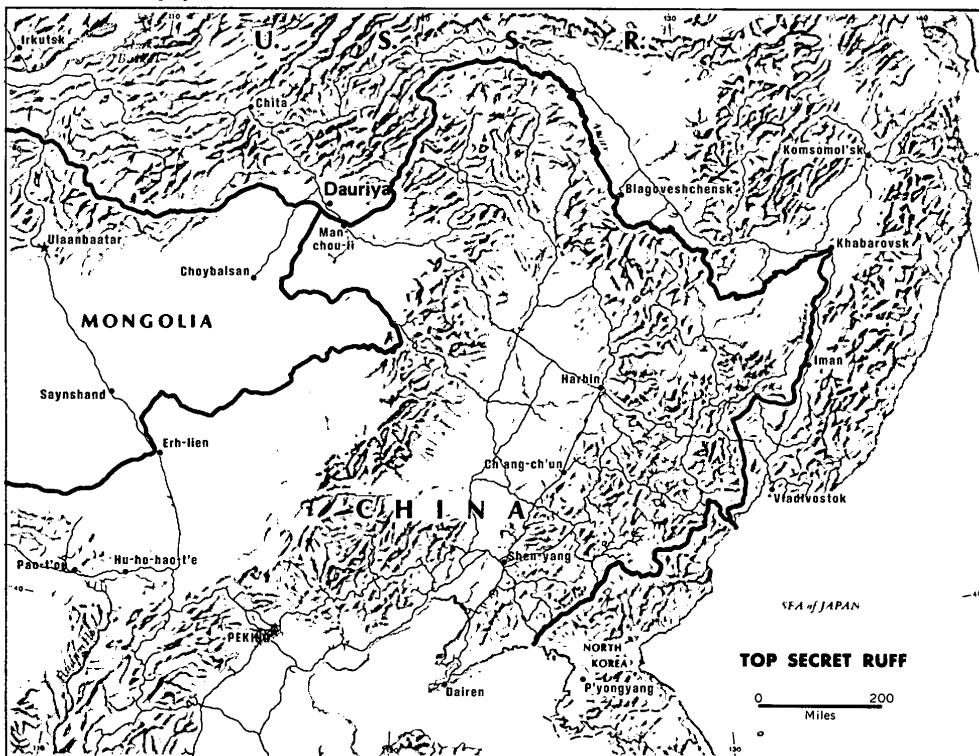
The Peruvian foreign minister announced on 22 November that Fidel Castro will stop in Lima on his way home and meet with President Velasco Alvarado. He also announced that Peru would soon propose an OAS resolution abolishing the sanctions imposed on diplomatic and commercial ties with Cuba.

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Castro's visit to Chile, followed by brief stops in Peru and Ecuador, will certainly enhance his international image. In practical terms, his journey could be a long step toward bringing about the abandonment of the 1964 OAS resolution that excluded Cuba from the hemispheric community and imposed economic sanctions.

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

Soviet SA-6 Equipment Seen Near Chinese Border



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IOC	1970
Range	10 - 15 nm
Altitude	300 - 40,000 ft
Warhead	140 lbs HE
Guidance	command (terminal homing)
Length	19 ft

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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

NOTES

USSR: Satellite photography shows equipment for the SA-6 tactical surface-to-air missile system at the Dauriya army barracks near the USSR-China-Mongolia border. This is the first known deployment of the SA-6 east of the Urals and in the Sino-Soviet border area. SA-6 equipment had earlier been identified at nine locations in the western USSR. The Soviets have also placed the SA-6 around the Aswan airfield in Egypt. First deployed in mid-1970, the SA-6 provides Soviet ground forces with a mobile low-altitude air defense system.

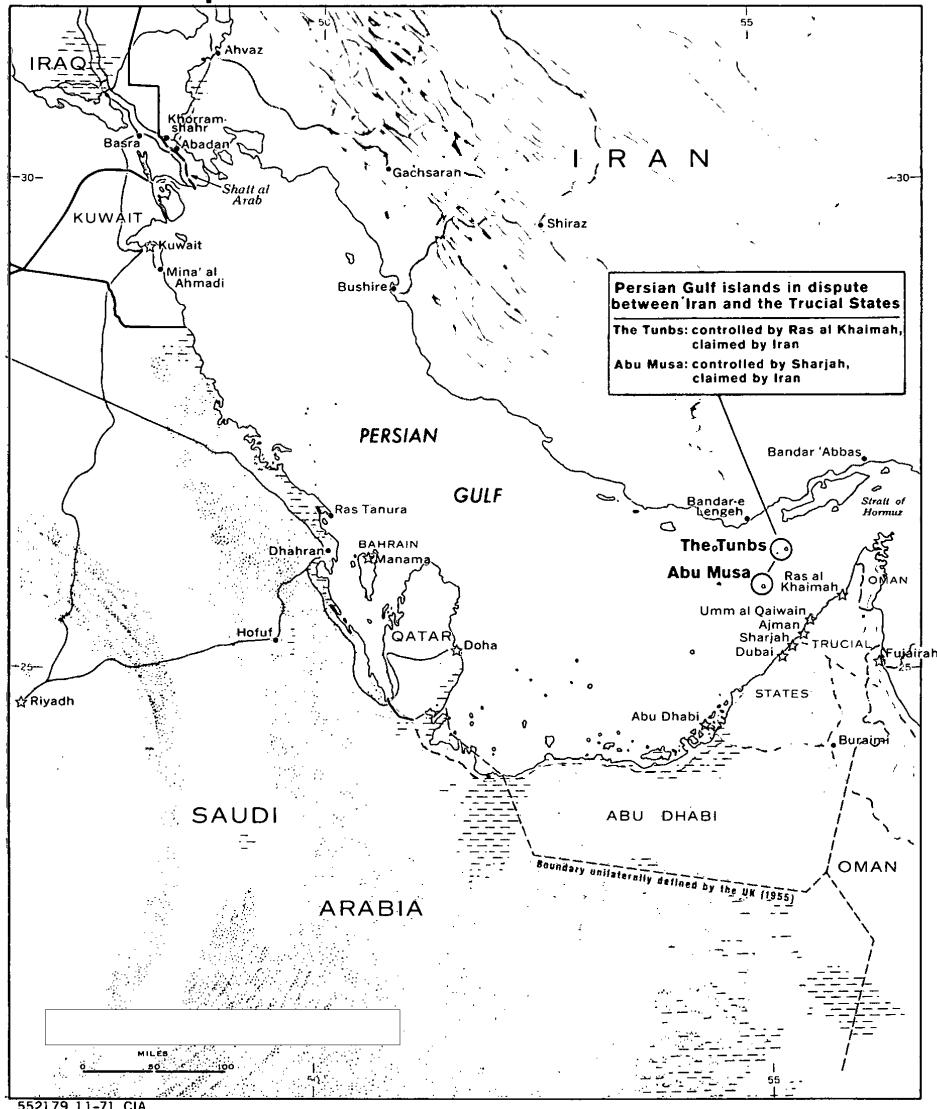
Arab States: Meeting in Cairo on Saturday, members of the Arab Joint Defense Council will seek to inject a new sense of urgency to international consideration of the Middle East problem, particularly the UN General Assembly debate which begins next week. Pointing up the propagandistic flavor of the conference, Egyptian chief of staff Shazili told a preparatory meeting on Wednesday that the failure of previous political initiatives left the Arabs with no recourse but military action. Aside from this, the meeting is the latest of a series hosted by President Sadat to try to coordinate political, economic, and military strategy against Israel. It remains doubtful, however, that the Arab defense ministers can agree on a plan of joint military action, even on a contingency basis.

USSR: The first of two Mars probes launched last May is expected to reach the vicinity of the planet on Sunday. The second is about five days behind. Although we have no evidence on the specific missions of these unmanned space vehicles, either one could orbit or land. Official Soviet statements have said only that the probes are intended to carry out "comprehensive research of Mars and the space near it." If their mission is accomplished, these will be the first successes in the 11-year history of the Soviet Mars program.

(continued)

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

Territorial Disputes in the Persian Gulf Area



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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

Iran - Persian Gulf: The British have told us that an agreement between Iran and Sharjah on the status of Abu Musa Island will be announced on 29 November. Iran is expected to occupy a part of Abu Musa as well as the two Tunbs the following day. The latter two islands have been disputed by Iran and Ras al Khaimah and are not included in the present agreement, but the Sheik of Ras al Khaimah has no way to resist and is not expected to protest seriously. As we reported in The President's Daily Brief of 19 November, we still expect reaction in the rest of the Arab world to be restricted to propaganda.

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

Top Secret



The President's Daily Brief

26 November 1971

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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

THE PRESIDENT'S DAILY BRIEF

26 November 1971

PRINCIPAL DEVELOPMENTS

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The Indians [redacted]
[redacted] fighting along the borders of East
Pakistan [redacted]
[redacted] (Page 1)

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The latest South Vietnamese operation into Cambodia
has met little resistance so far, and there is no
evidence that the Communists have reacted by pulling
forces out of operating areas deeper inside Cambodia.
(Page 3)

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Egypt [redacted]

[redacted] (Page 4)

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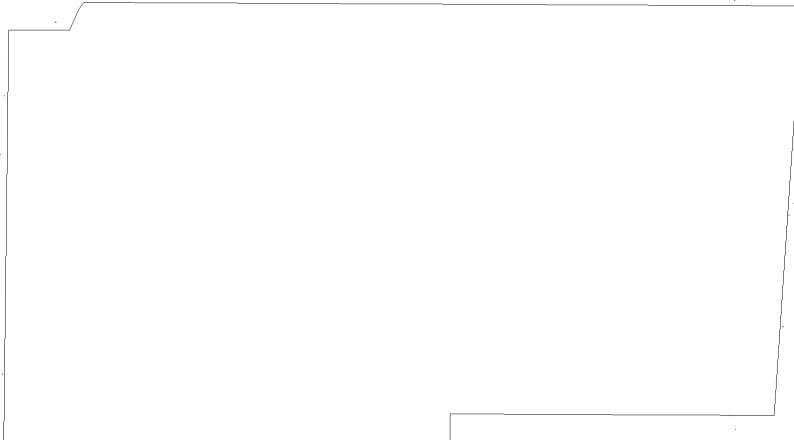
The Chinese are beginning to accumulate a sizable
backlog of MIG-19 jet fighters and F-9 jet fighter-
bombers at production facilities. (Page 5)

The Soviet cruiser and one submarine appear to be
headed back home from Cuban waters. (Page 6)

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

INDIA-PAKISTAN



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[Redacted] Am-
bassador Keating's lengthy, stormy session with the Indian Foreign Minister yesterday. The Indian reiterated the view that the US should force President Yahya to find a political solution and heatedly denied that Indian troops were inside East Pakistan for other than defense against Pakistani attacks.

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India's basic tactic in East Pakistan is for Indian troops to secure border areas and then withdraw, leaving the Mukti Bahini in control. This tactic has succeeded in forcing the Pakistanis to bring the bulk of their troops to the borders, thus leaving the interior relatively unguarded. Indeed the US Consul in Dacca reports that the Mukti Bahini have greatly increased their operations in the interior since 19 November, and some heavy scattered fighting is taking place. The Mukti Bahini also want very much to seize an important town in order to give some credence to their claim for recognition as an independent nation.

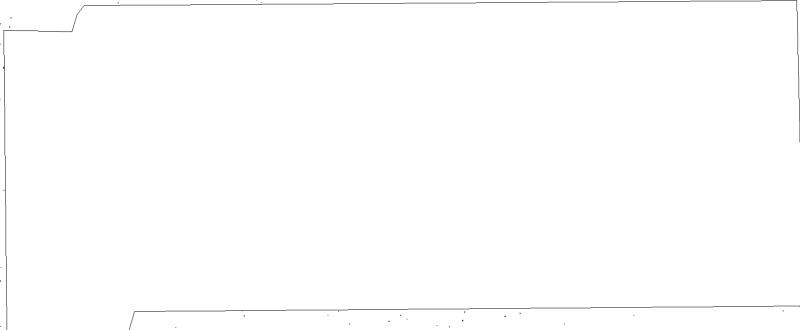
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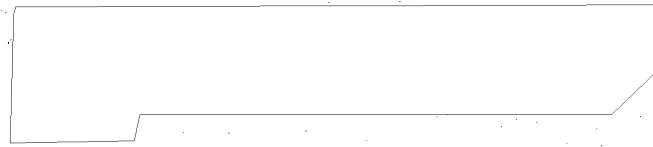
FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

Pakistan's Foreign Secretary has publicly affirmed that Pakistan is considering raising the question of "Indian aggression" in the UN Security Council. Ambassador Farland reports, however, that the Pakistanis appear to be hoping for a Security Council session initiated by someone other than themselves.

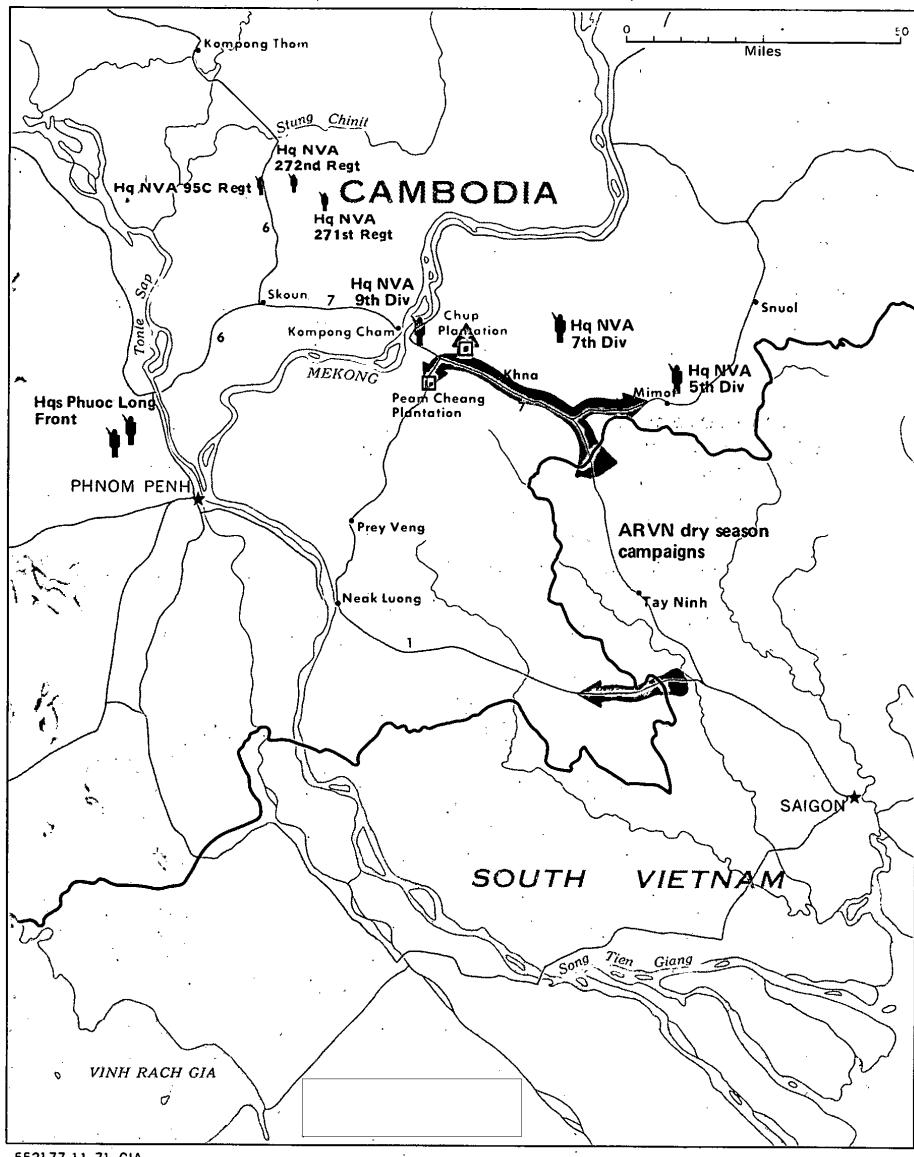


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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY



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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

CAMBODIA - SOUTH VIETNAM

Communist forces have not yet reacted to the South Vietnamese dry season campaign. South Vietnamese airborne troops with armor support are encountering little resistance in clearing the area that will serve as a support base for future forays north and south of Route 7. A move into the plantation areas will begin as soon as enough supplies and ground forces are assembled. Other South Vietnamese forces are scheduled to mount a diversionary attack along Route 7 toward Mimot, while similar spoiling operations by a smaller South Vietnamese task force are under way in the Parrot's Beak area along Route 1.

Radio direction finding of 24 November reveals that major elements of the Communists' 5th, 7th, and 9th divisions continue to be located in the areas they occupied before the start of the South Vietnamese operation. There has been little fighting along Route 6 since Cambodian forces abandoned a portion of the road two weeks ago.

In the Phnom Penh area, the government has made little headway in pushing major elements of the Communist Phuoc Long Front from positions close to the capital. The presence of Communist units has had some effect on morale in the city, and there is a widespread fear that a terrorist campaign may begin soon. The distribution of antigovernment leaflets in recent days and a terrorist attack on a police station yesterday is the only evidence of unusual activity. Government security in the city and its environs is poor, and the Communists probably can mount additional terrorist actions in Phnom Penh.

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[redacted] claimed
the Communists have no intention of occupying Phnom Penh because they could not hold it.

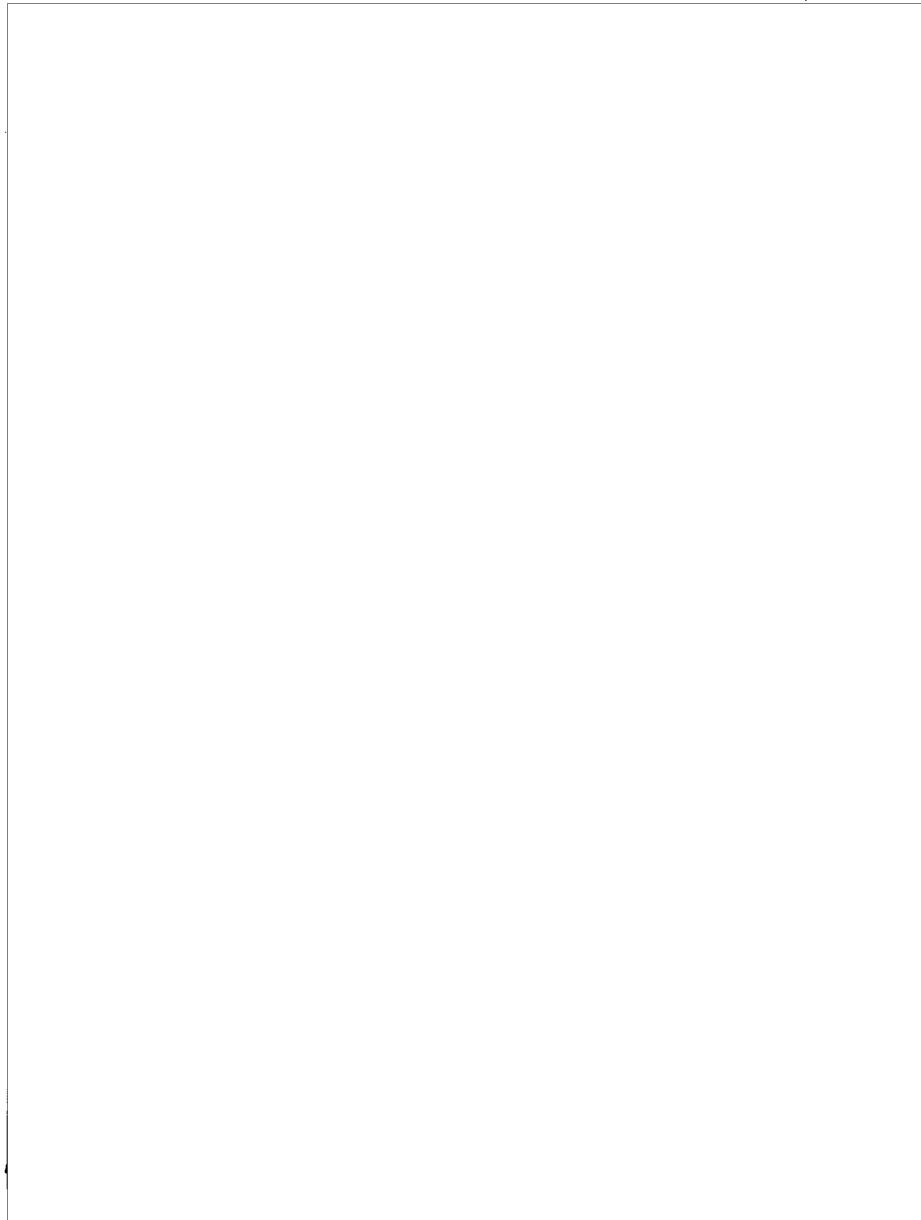
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[redacted] the Communists hope to undermine Lon Nol internationally by demonstrating the feebleness of the Cambodian forces and by putting a strain on Vietnamization by drawing Saigon's forces into Cambodia.

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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

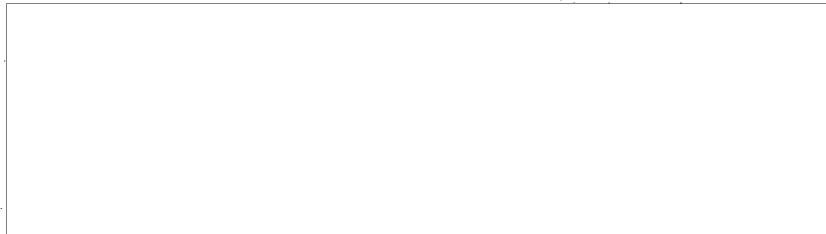
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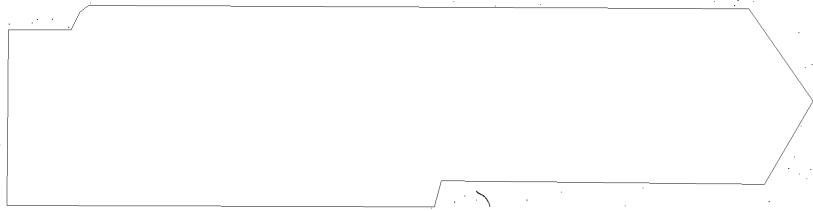
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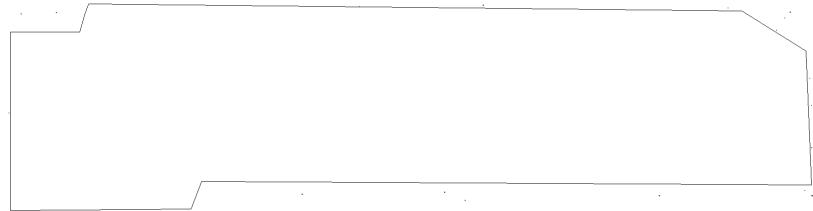
EGYPT



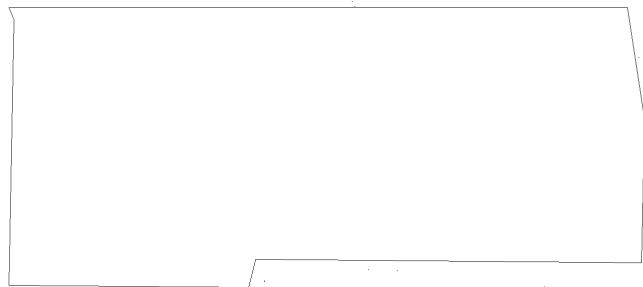
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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

COMMUNIST CHINA

Recent satellite photography shows about 620 MIG-19 jet fighters at three airfields associated with the Shen-yang production facility in northeast China and almost 100 new F-9 jet fighter-bombers at the Nan-chang facility in eastern China.

Both of these totals are the highest yet observed. Accumulations at the production facilities first became apparent early this year and have continued to increase as deliveries of the new aircraft to tactical units have been relatively low. The military aircraft standdown since mid-September undoubtedly has further contributed to the backlog. Apart from this fairly recent circumstance, we see no ready explanation for the Chinese Air Force's apparent difficulty in absorbing the new aircraft.

China has been producing MIG-19s for about seven years and F-9s since at least 1970. Some 1,200 MIG-19s and about 60 F-9s have been assigned to tactical units since production began.

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

NOTE

USSR-Cuba: Two TU-95 naval reconnaissance aircraft flew to Cuba from the USSR yesterday--the second pair to fly there in the last month and the sixth pair since TU flights began in 1970. The aircraft normally remain in Cuba about a week before returning. The Kresta-class cruiser and F-class submarine, now some 200 miles north of the Dominican Republic, evidently are headed back to the USSR. The other F-class submarine, which apparently sustained mechanical problems during its recent operations, and the Kashin-class destroyer remain in port at Mariel.

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

Top Secret



The President's Daily Brief

27 November 1971

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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

THE PRESIDENT'S DAILY BRIEF

27 November 1971

PRINCIPAL DEVELOPMENTS

Fighting along the East Pakistani border seems to have eased somewhat as both Indian and Pakistani officials acknowledge how excessive some claims have been. The Pakistanis have failed so far to obtain a firm public statement of support from Peking. (Page 1)

Premier Pham Van Dong's visit to Peking apparently has eased Sino - North Vietnamese tensions. (Page 3)

On Page 4 we review the Laotian military situation.

We have additional evidence that the Communists in South Vietnam are having difficulty in countering Saigon's pacification program. (Page 5)

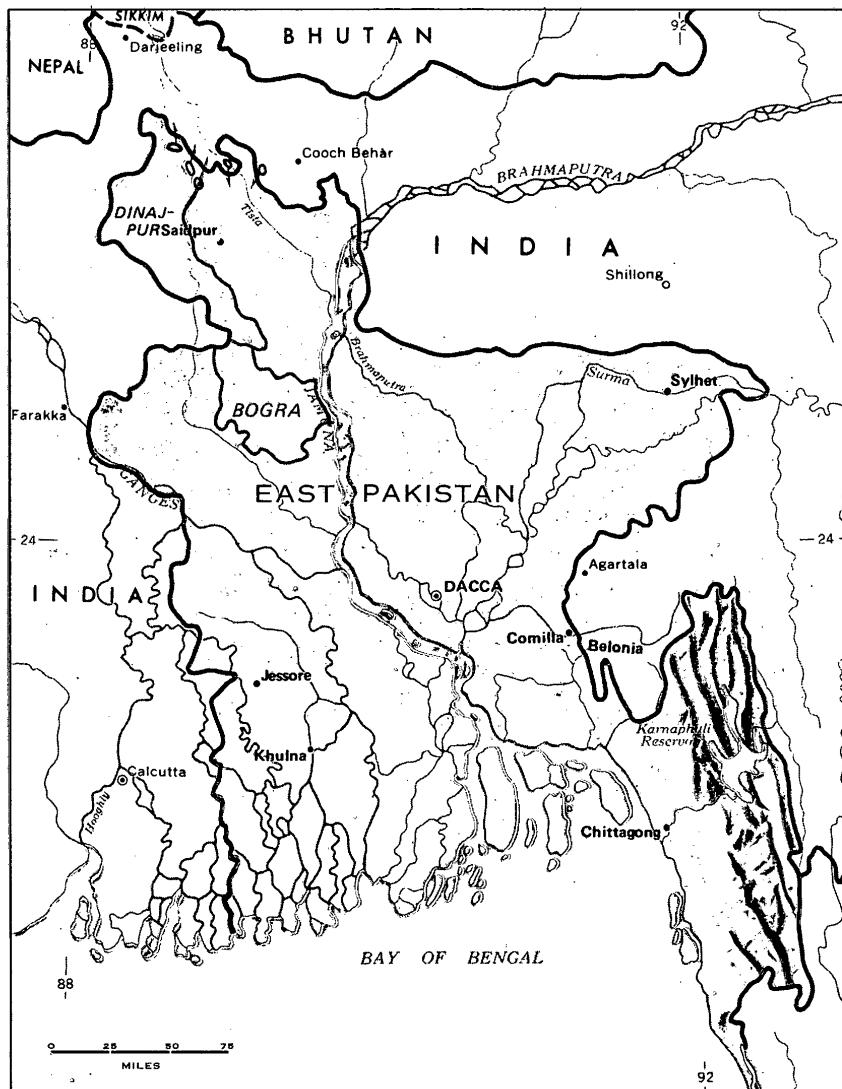
On Page 6 we discuss the implications of the agreement between Britain and Rhodesia.

Ecuador

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(Page 7)

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY



552182 11-71

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

INDIA - PAKISTAN - COMMUNIST CHINA

Fighting continues at a somewhat slower pace along the East Pakistani border, with clashes again reported near Jessore and in the Belonia salient. Indian troops apparently made a new strike into the northwestern part of the province just above the Bogra-Dinajpur district line.

Representatives of both sides privately acknowledge the excessiveness of their public claims. The military adviser to the governor of East Pakistan yesterday told US officials in Dacca that none of the cross-border attacks had been in greater than two-battalion strength and that he believed that regular Indian troops remained inside East Pakistan only near Jessore. He admitted that the Mukti Bahini controls five small enclaves near the border and stated that the guerrillas are growing stronger throughout the interior, including near Dacca. In Calcutta, Indian Army and Bangla Desh spokesmen have told US officials that the Mukti Bahini controls no more than 1,100 square miles along the border, out of East Pakistan's total land area of 59,000 square miles, although they state that guerrilla units deep inside the province may control an additional 10,000 square miles.

On the diplomatic front, President Yahya yesterday responded enthusiastically to Ambassador Farland's suggestion that Pakistan request the UN to station observers on the Pakistani side of the borders with India, and said he would instruct his ambassador at the UN to make the request "immediately." He believed this would either prove to the world that the Indians are involved in the attacks or give New Delhi pause before engaging in new "aggression."

Japanese and Belgian UN delegations are taking soundings on separate draft resolutions calling for a cessation of hostilities but lacking any demand for withdrawal of troops. While finding most Security Council members neutral, friendly or sympathetic, the Belgians report a negative response from the Chinese as well as the Soviets and Poles. The Chinese delegate claimed to have no position at the moment, but termed the matter an internal Pakistani matter in which other states and the UN should not interfere.

(continued)

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

The Chinese are currently showing a marked restraint toward Islamabad, in contrast to Moscow's support for New Delhi.

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Yesterday NCNA carried a speech by the head of a Chinese economic delegation visiting Pakistan that contained an innocuous and undefined promise of Chinese support "if" Pakistan should be threatened with foreign aggression. Peking media also all but ignore reports of fighting in East Pakistan.

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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

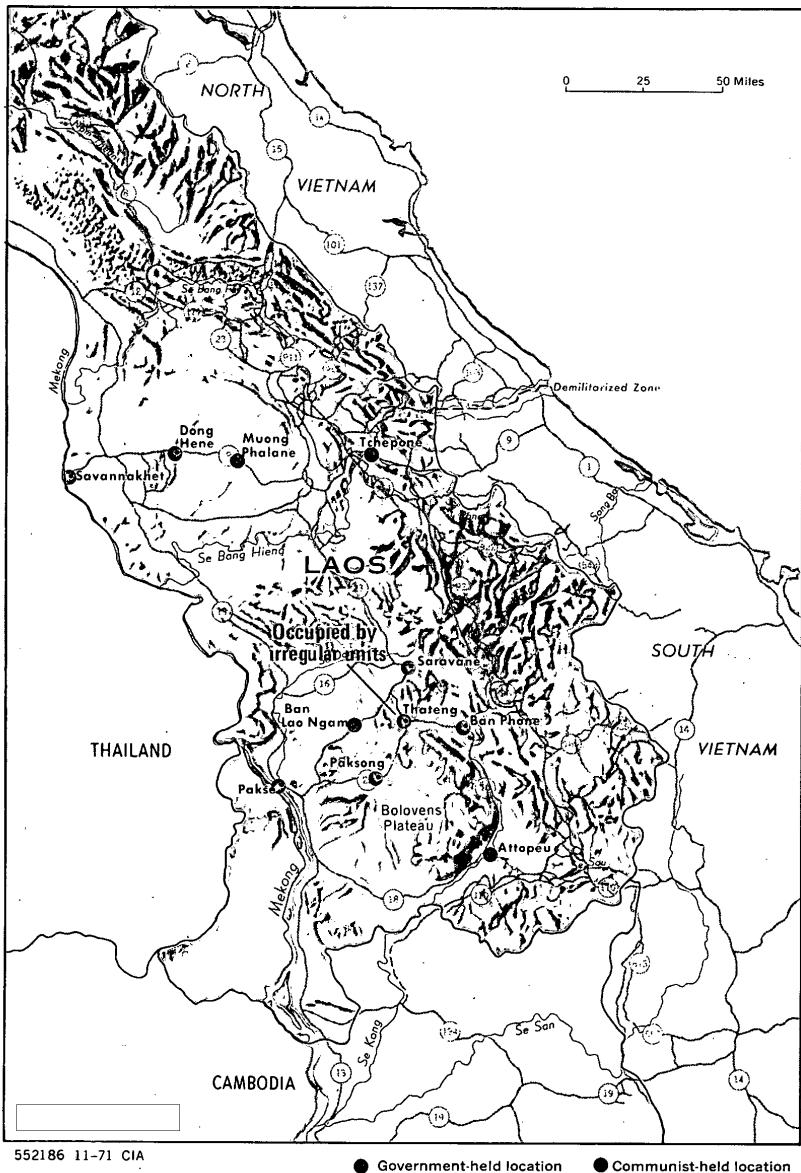
FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

NORTH VIETNAM - COMMUNIST CHINA

Premier Pham Van Dong's just concluded five-day visit to Peking apparently has eased Sino - North Vietnamese tensions. There were no hints of Hanoi's distrust of Peking's intentions, evident since the announcement of President Nixon's visit to China, in North Vietnamese speeches during the visit and in the final communiqué. Instead, the visitors expressed effusive gratitude for Chinese aid. The Chinese, for their part, made it clear that Peking does not intend to sell out Hanoi. "You and you alone," said Premier Chou En-lai in a speech on 23 November, "are entitled to decide the affairs" of Vietnam.

The Chinese left no doubt that they are solidly behind Hanoi's seven-point negotiating proposal. The tougher and more comprehensive presentation of Hanoi's demands in the communiqué continues a recent trend. The communiqué's version of the first of the "two basic points," for instance, now involves cessation of all US military and military-related activity in both parts of Vietnam. The formulation of the second point, which calls for an end to US support for the Thieu government, now suggests that a cessation of US economic as well as military aid to Saigon is one of Hanoi's preconditions.

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY



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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**LAOS**

A task force of government irregulars on Thursday occupied Thateng, which had become an important logistic center north of the Bolovens since it fell to the Communists in April 1969. Another irregular force, operating in the Ban Phone region to the east, has so far encountered little resistance, which is surprising because Ban Phone lies astride a potentially important logistic route to Cambodia.

The government has now regained a sizable portion of the territory lost to the Communists in this area of Laos over the past two or three years. We doubt that it hopes to hold all of it during the dry season, however. The area is important to the Communists as a buffer to the infiltration corridor. The North Vietnamese may be expected to counterattack in the coming months with forces already available, and they may well bring in reinforcements.

The Communists are faring better in the central panhandle, where they have pushed government units well to the west of Muong Phalane. Troop commanders report that substantial North Vietnamese reinforcements have moved into the area, [redacted] what may be new, possibly battalion-sized, units. [redacted] the North Vietnamese intend to go at least as far west on Route 9 as Dong Hene, which they captured during the last dry season.

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In north Laos, infiltration groups are continuing to move toward the Plaine des Jarres. At least 6,500 troops are now involved.

The Communists also appear to be setting the political stage for their dry season offensive. Lao Communist leader Souphanouvong on 20 November sent a harsh letter to Prime Minister Souvanna reiterating that a total bombing halt must precede any talks and castigating Souvanna for "conspiring" with the US to increase the level of fighting. In addition, a North Vietnamese Embassy official in Vientiane recently cold-shouldered a US Embassy officer who tried to sound him out on the subject of possible Lao peace talks.

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

SOUTH VIETNAM

We have additional evidence that the Communists are having difficulty in countering Saigon's pacification program.

--A recent COSVN directive warned that counter-pacification methods must be adjusted to the "realities of the situation." The document expressed particular concern that cadres were underestimating the government's ability to deny the Viet Cong access to the people. To help meet the problem, COSVN stressed the need for rebuilding the local cadre network.

--Viet Cong in a province in the Mekong delta were told recently to adopt a "cold war" strategy, evade large government operations, and rebuild the political network.

--Communist documents from other parts of the delta, believed to originate with COSVN, state that "political activities" currently are the most important part of the revolution. Cadre are instructed to get back in touch with the people and to build up their local organizations.

--A recent series of articles in the North Vietnamese army journal suggested the need for a better coordinated anti-pacification effort, possibly to be combined with a bigger military effort.

Despite the hint of increased anti-pacification measures, the Communists apparently intend in the short term to continue to rely primarily on low-keyed activities such as exhorting the cadre. This applies especially to the southern half of the country, where Communist military capabilities are weakest.

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

UK-RHODESIA-UN

The agreement between Foreign Secretary Douglas-Home and Rhodesian Prime Minister Smith offers a theoretical possibility of bringing eventual rule by Rhodesia's African majority, but no prospect for reducing the contentiousness of the issue in the UN.

As outlined to the two parliaments and the UN Security Council on Thursday, the agreement calls for improvements for the Africans on several fronts, including immediately increased representation in the Rhodesian parliament once both governments ratify the accord. By a complicated formula, the African seats would eventually reach parity with those of the whites, but the addition of seats that might tip the balance in the Africans' favor would require a two-thirds vote of the parliament in Salisbury and hence be subject to an effective white veto.

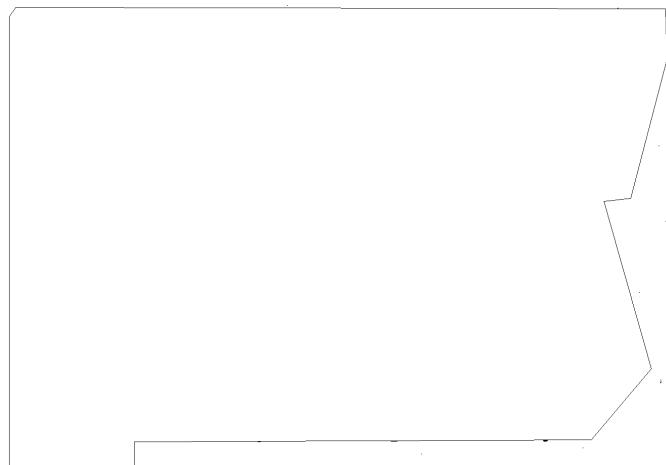
We expect that opposition will center on this ultimate veto and on the prolonged period for building African representation up to parity. Although the new provisions are to be entrenched in Rhodesia's constitution so that they cannot legally be removed without African, as well as white, approval, African opinion is generally skeptical of the value of such safeguards without outside enforcement. Hence, most African states are almost certain to oppose any British effort to remove UN sanctions, and the Communist permanent members of the Security Council can be expected to veto any formal move to end them.

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

CUBA-ECUADOR



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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

NOTES

East Germany: Yesterday's re-election of Ulbricht as chairman of the Council of State implies that party chief Honecker believes he will need the older man in this ceremonial position to preserve an image of stability in a time of great change. Honecker may also believe that Ulbricht's voice can make an impact on Soviet leaders, who have been pressing for an early agreement with West Germany. Honecker is still clearly in command, however, and he used the elections to move himself and his deputy into places on the Council of State that were formerly held by Ulbricht's proteges.

Uruguay: President Pacheco's backing of Agriculture Minister Bordaberry has made him the favorite in tomorrow's general elections, even though Bordaberry has little personal political following. The traditional opposition Blanco party poses the only serious country-wide challenge to the incumbent Colorados, but in Montevideo the Communist-led Frente Amplio has concentrated a massive publicity campaign and could win in the mayoralty contest.

[redacted] are concerned that the Tupamaros may be planning another major jail break to embarrass Pacheco, who has been stressing the law-and-order theme.

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Sunday Cable
(with update)

28 NOV 71

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TO THE WHITE HOUSE

ZEM

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HW PDB FOR 28 NOVEMBER:

INDIA-PAKISTAN

SKIRMISHES AND ARTILLERY EXCHANGES ARE CONTINUING AT WIDELY
SCATTERED POINTS ALONG THE INDIA-EAST PAKISTANI BORDER.

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THE INDIANS ADMIT TO HAVING CROSSED THE BORDER INTO
DINAJPUR ON 26 NOVEMBER. AT THE SAME TIME,

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THE MUKTI BAHINI, ASSISTED BY THE INDIAN
ARMY, MANAGED TO STRAIGHTEN ITS MILITARY LINES BY OCCUPYING TWO
GEOGRAPHIC SALIENTS AT THE NORTHWESTERN TIP OF EAST PAKISTAN,
AS WELL AS A SMALL PORTION OF RAJSHAHI DISTRICT SOUTH OF THE WEST
BENGALI TOWN OF ENGLISH BAZAR. THE PRESS REPORTS CONTINUED CROSS-
BORDER SHELLING IN THE VICINITY OF BALURGHAT IN THE WEST DINAJPUR
DISTRICT OF WEST BENGAL, THE AREA WHERE THE INDIANS ADMIT LAUNCHING
ANOTHER "DEFENSIVE" STRIKE ON THURSDAY. FIGHTING ALSO CONTINUES
AROUND JESSORE, AND REPORTS INDICATE BOTH SIDES WILL CONTINUE TO
STRUGGLE FOR CONTROL OF THIS STRATEGIC CENTER. IN THE SOUTHEAST
CORNER OF EAST PAKISTAN, CLASHES PERSIST IN THE BELONIA SALIENT
AND NEAR THE ARMY STRONGHOLD OF FENI.

2
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THE US CONSULATE IN DACCA REPORTS THAT TENSION HAS RISEN NOTICEABLY IN THE CITY AS A RESULT OF THE RECENT BORDER CLASHES. TWO SURPRISE CURFEWS IN SEVEN DAYS--AIMED AT KEEPING THE MUKTI BAHINI OFF BALANCE--AND REPEATED NIGHTLY BOMBINGS BY THE GUERRILLAS HAVE REINFORCED UNCERTAINTY AMONG THE POPULACE. THERE ARE FEWER PEOPLE AND VEHICLES ON THE STREETS AND THERE IS EVIDENCE OF HOARDING.

ON THE DIPLOMATIC FRONT, AMBASSADOR KEATING AND SENATOR CHURCH MET WITH INDIAN FOREIGN MINISTER SWARAN SINGH IN NEW DELHI ON FRIDAY. SINGH VOICED OPTIMISM THAT THE PRESENT SITUATION WOULD NOT EVOLVE INTO FULL-SCALE WAR. HE STRESSED, HOWEVER, THAT PRESIDENT YAHYA MUST MOVE TOWARD A GENUINE SETTLEMENT WITH THE BENGALIS IN ORDER TO DEFUSE THE CRISIS. HE INFERRED THAT YAHYA HAD NOT BEEN PRESSED WITH SUFFICIENT EARNESTNESS BY FOREIGN POWERS.

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THE LATEST PRESS RELEASE FROM NEW DELHI. ON 28 NOVEMBER, AN OFFICIAL INDIAN SPOKESMAN DISCLOSED THAT MRS. GANDHI HAS SENT AN ORAL MESSAGE TO YAHYA, VIA ATAL, CALLING FOR THE IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF THE IMPRISONED BENGALI LEADER, MUJIBUR RAHMAN, AND DEMANDING THAT YAHYA ALSO TAKE IMMEDIATE "STEPS" TOWARD A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT OF THE EAST PAKISTAN PROBLEM. MRS. GANDHI CONTINUES TO INSIST THAT IT IS UP TO ISLAMABAD TO ^{Scaltdown" oops!"} DE-ESCALATE THE CRISIS.

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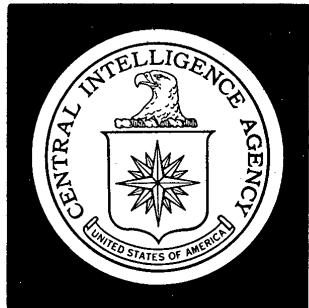
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The President's Daily Brief

29 November 1971

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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

THE PRESIDENT'S DAILY BRIEF

29 November 1971

PRINCIPAL DEVELOPMENTS

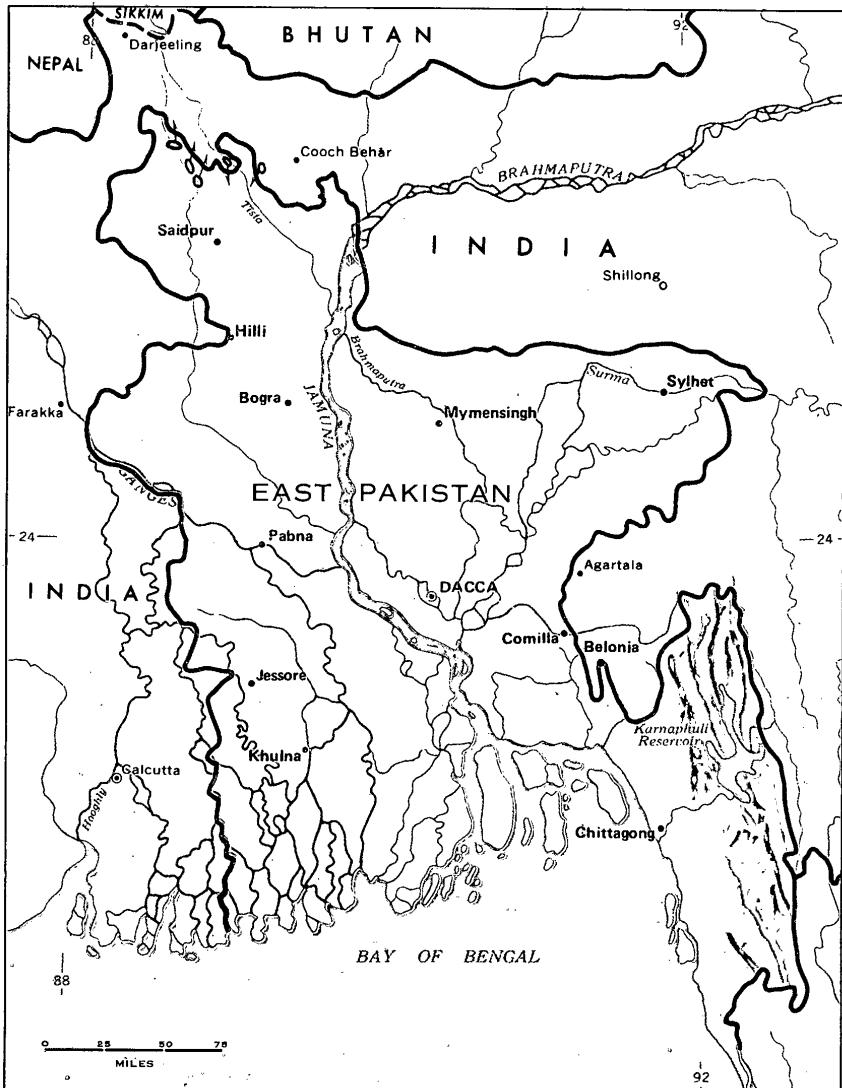
The latest military and diplomatic moves in the Indo-Pakistani situation are discussed on *Page 1*.

The assassination of Jordanian Premier Wasfi Tal adds new strains to already troubled inter-Arab relationships, especially between Amman and Cairo. (*Page 3*)

The Association of Southeast Asian Nations gingerly endorses neutralization as a long-term regional goal. (*Page 4*)

Four more Soviet TU-16 Badger aircraft have arrived at Aswan in Egypt for a total of 13. (*Page 5*)

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY



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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

INDIA-PAKISTAN

Firing continues along most of the East Pakistani border and there is fighting in several areas. A Pakistani claim to have repulsed five attacks in battalion strength at various points along the border is countered by the Indian assertion of Mukti Bahini success in most of these areas.

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Neither side appears to have scored decisive military gains.

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[redacted] the Pakistani Army has had to remain on the defensive in the east because of a shortage of supplies and equipment. The army expects to be able to defend East Pakistan for a month or more and to limit Indian penetration to ten to 15 miles if the Indians do not use air power. If, however, a large area is lost during a major Indian offensive, the Pakistani Eastern Command reportedly believes that an attack on India would immediately be launched from West Pakistan.

Radio Pakistan claimed that yesterday India began a "large-scale new offensive" using two divisions, tanks, artillery, and in one instance air power, attacking into widely separated areas on East Pakistan's northern, northeastern, and western borders. New Delhi, however, has acknowledged only three "defensive" cross-border raids. While the Indians have helped the Mukti Bahini establish footholds inside East Pakistan, New Delhi appears to be carefully orchestrating the level of hostilities in order to force Pakistani President Yahya Khan toward a political settlement of the crisis with the Bengalis.

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During a conversation in Islamabad with US Ambassador Farland on 27 November, Atal said that New Delhi did not consider Mujib to be the one and only key to the crisis and that India did not want the partition of Pakistan. Rather, he said, New Delhi envisioned a "loose confederation" of the two wings as an acceptable solution. To effect this, Atal

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said that he thought that Mrs. Gandhi, although previously unenthusiastic, would now "look with favor" on a meeting between Islamabad and Bangla Desh representatives.

Atal and the Indian Foreign Ministry have had divergent views on the crisis in the past and a press release from New Delhi on 28 November, stating that Mrs. Gandhi had again called for the immediate release of Mujib, would seem to indicate little softening of the Indian line.

Yahya, meanwhile, is continuing his attempts to internationalize the crisis despite negative attitudes in New Delhi and Moscow. Pakistani Foreign Secretary Sultan Khan told Ambassador Farland yesterday that he had sent a message to UN Secretary General U Thant asking that UN observers be stationed on the East Pakistani border as soon as possible.

New Delhi is opposed to posting UN observers on the Indian side of the border and Yahya's move appears to be designed to thwart Indian cross-border operations as well as to demonstrate Pakistan's "peaceful" intentions.

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JORDAN - ARAB STATES

The immediate effect of the assassination of Jordanian Premier Wasfi Tal yesterday in Cairo will be to stifle any lingering sentiment for accommodation with the fedayeen. Although the group affiliation of Tal's assailants is unknown, the Jordanians doubtless attribute the act to the fedayeen. An intensified campaign to identify and dispose of militant Palestinians is likely, and retaliatory assassination attempts against fedayeen leaders outside the country are possible.

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Tal, who had been opposed by Palestinian groups ever since his appointment in October 1970, was one of the executors of King Husayn's mopping-up campaign against the fedayeen. Tal was in Cairo for meetings of the Arab Defense Council where he presumably presented the Jordanian side in discussions of the problems of the fedayeen. Mediation efforts sponsored by the Saudis and Egyptians had broken down on Friday.

Although Egypt probably was not involved in the slaying, Cairo may be criticized by Amman because of its well-known coolness to Tal, dating from his outspoken opposition to Nasir in the early 1950s. In any case, the incident will further hinder Egyptian efforts to form a united Arab stand against Israel. President Sadat had been using the recent series of Arab ministerial meetings to try to forge a common Arab position in the pending UN General Assembly debate on the Middle East question.

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SOUTHEAST ASIA

The key issue of the recently concluded foreign ministers' meeting of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) concerned the suitability of neutralization as a way of guaranteeing the region's long-term security. As anticipated, Malaysia, the leading exponent of neutralization, was not able to win the support of ASEAN's other members--Singapore, Indonesia, Thailand, and the Philippines--for more than a broadly worded communique citing neutralization as a desirable future objective. The misgivings of the Philippines and Thailand, anxious to protect bilateral agreements with the US, and Indonesia, which desires to keep the US involved in the region, were instrumental in blocking Kuala Lumpur's efforts to get a more far-reaching declaration. A committee was appointed to explore the practical problems of neutrality, particularly the selling of the idea to Southeast Asian nations which are not members of ASEAN. Malaysia will push for more concrete steps at an ASEAN "summit" meeting scheduled for Manila next March.

The meeting represents ASEAN's first concrete attempt in its four-year existence to come to grips with a problem of fundamental importance to the region. Despite members' skepticism about implementation, the organization is now on record in favor of the neutralization concept. How it develops will depend largely on the attitudes of the US and other major powers in Asia. Perhaps the most important effect will be to breathe life into ASEAN and encourage the countries in the area to think about the future.

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USSR-EGYPT

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Four more Soviet TU-16 Badger aircraft arrived at Aswan on 24, 25, and 27 November. [redacted]

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Of the ten TU-16s that have flown to Aswan since 5 November, five have been positively identified as "G" variants that can carry two AS-5 Kelt air-to-surface missiles. Three others have been identified as missile carriers, and the two that were not seen are probably also missile carriers.

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Total TU-16 strength at Aswan now stands at 13--eight missile carriers, two probable missile carriers, one electronic counter-measures type, and two whose particular mission is unknown. The basing of TU-16 missile aircraft in Egypt gives the Soviet Mediterranean Squadron an additional strike capability.

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THE PRESIDENT'S DAILY BRIEF

30 November 1971

PRINCIPAL DEVELOPMENTS

We cover the latest military activity in the India-Pakistan crisis on *Page 1*. In addition, Ambassador Keating yesterday found Mrs. Gandhi in a grim mood.

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(*Page 3*)

Iran today occupied three small islands in the Persian Gulf, and a new Persian Gulf state formed from six sheikdoms will declare its independence on Thursday. (*Page 4*)

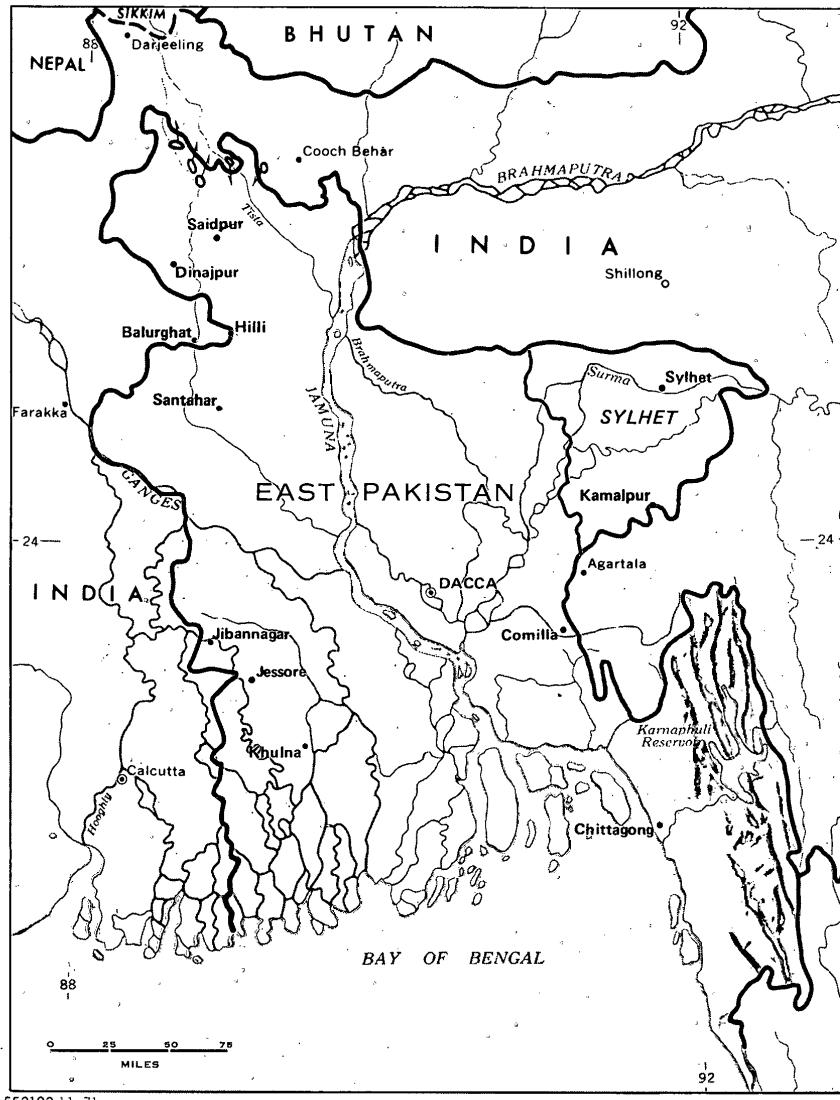
China's military air standdown is over,

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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

INDIA-PAKISTAN

The Indians continue to insist that most of the fighting is being carried on by the Mukti Bahini guerrillas, but New Delhi did acknowledge yesterday that its troops have been operating in East Pakistan near Hilli--an area from which India claims Pakistan has been shelling Indian territory. The Pakistanis claim that Indian troops, supported by armor and artillery, attacked in the Jessore area and have captured the town of Jibannagar, which controls a 165-square-mile triangle of land jutting into Indian West Bengal.

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Indian and guerrilla forces have also been making gains in Sylhet District, with Pakistani troops suffering heavy casualties.

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There is strong evidence that Pakistan's 7th Division moved out of its Peshawar cantonment on 25 November, possibly toward the Indian border. The move of Pakistan's last remaining division up to the border might indicate plans to initiate action on the western frontier, or at least a Pakistani belief that the likelihood of hostilities in the west has increased.

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Pakistan also called up its air force reserves yesterday, but this does not involve a large number of men and is probably intended largely for propaganda purposes.

* * *

Ambassador Keating called on Prime Minister Gandhi yesterday in another effort to defuse the crisis. Mrs. Gandhi refused to consider withdrawing her troops from the border because, as she said,

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India was "not in a position to make things easier" for President Yahya, nor was India going to allow his "misdeeds" to stand. She criticized Western efforts to exert pressure on Yahya, contending that these have yielded "nothing, except that Yahya has his back to the wall" and wants to be bailed out. When Ambassador Keating brought up Indian attacks into East Pakistan, she cut him off with, "We can't afford to listen to advice which weakens us." Mrs. Gandhi did say she did not want war, but stressed that her patience had worn thin and that she didn't know how long she could tell India it must continue to wait.

Ambassador Keating observed that Prime Minister Gandhi's mood throughout was grim. She dismissed President Nixon's proposals by noting they had been covered during her Washington visit. We agree with Ambassador Keating's conclusion that in the absence of some major political development, India will do all it can to assure Mukti Bahini efforts to liberate East Pakistan.

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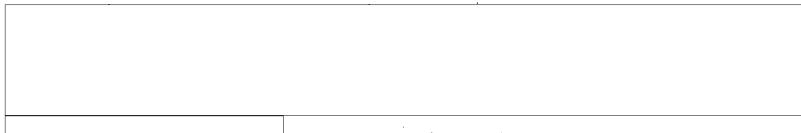
JORDAN



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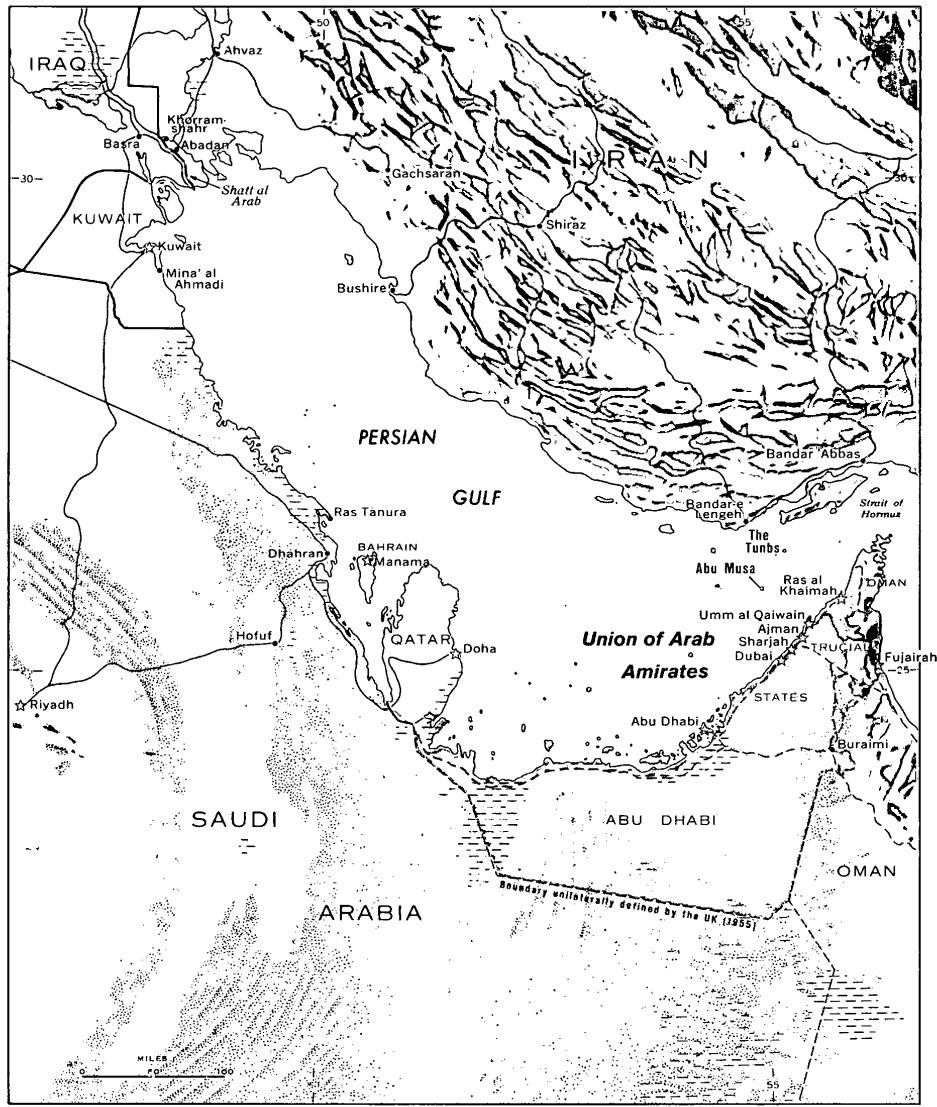
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IRAN - PERSIAN GULF

Iran today announced the occupation of the islands of Abu Musa and the two Tunbs. The sheikdom of Sharjah yesterday announced that Iran had agreed to pay an annual stipend to Sharjah in return for permission to occupy part of Abu Musa.

Sharjah and five other Persian Gulf sheikdoms will proclaim on Thursday the independence of the Union of Arab Emirates, while the former protecting state, the United Kingdom, will terminate its treaty arrangements with these states tomorrow. One tiny sheikdom, Ras al Khaimah, has refused to enter the union, and has also refused to give up its claim to the Tunbs and come to terms with Iran.

Iran's action in taking possession of these islands will add to its ability to control access to the Persian Gulf. As we noted in The President's Daily Brief of 25 November, the reaction from Iraq and other Arab states is likely to be restricted to propaganda.

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NOTES

Communist China: Peking evidently is beginning to restore the proficiency of the air force after more than two months of inactivity. Military transports now are flying about one third of the number of flights that took place before the start of the air standdown in mid-September. Bomber activity is also increasing after being restricted primarily to one unit in eastern China for the past month. Jet fighters now are flying in all air districts of eastern and southern China at near pre-standdown levels.

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Communist China: Recent satellite photography shows equipment for at least two different surface-to-surface missile systems at a military installation near I-tu in Shantung Province, where previously we had only tenuous indications of a missile installation.

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West Germany - Czechoslovakia:

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