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# **THE PRESIDENT'S INTELLIGENCE CHECKLIST**

1 DEC. 1961  
~~TOP SECRET~~

1. Dominican Republic

General Rodriguez, fed up with the continuing inability of Balaguer and the opposition to form a coalition, has imposed his own solution, under which the armed forces would dominate a two-year provisional government under Balaguer, with Rodriguez himself next 50X1 in line of succession. Balaguer has agreed. Fiallo and the National Civic Union regard the military ultimatum as "the dawn of a new dictatorship." In a reversal of an earlier decision, they have now decided to continue the general strike, and today could be a bloody one. [redacted]

2. South Vietnam

A. The press campaign against the US has gradually abated. [redacted]

50X1

B. An official in Diem's office claims that the educated class in Saigon believes these articles to be "true and justified."

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[redacted] 50X1 [redacted]

50X1

3. Indonesian military build-up

Djakarta

50X1

[redacted] to limit buying to  
those war materials urgently needed

50X1

"

50X1

50X1

4. Soviet Party Congress brings Bulgarian party upheaval

Vulko Chervenkov, leader of the strong Stalinist faction, has been ousted from the Politburo by party boss Zhivkov. The latter for several years has managed to hold his own between Chervenkov's group and a pro-Yugoslav faction only with Soviet help. His problems are not over, however, as the Stalinist group is still powerful and competent.

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50X1

5. Soviet submarine activities in the North Atlantic extended

Since late July they have conducted continuous patrols in areas well south of a line running from Greenland through Iceland to the UK. Soviet submarines have maintained a virtually continuous defensive patrol in the southern Norwegian Sea and northeast Atlantic since July 1958.

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6. Estimate of Chinese grain crop

We put it at about 175 million tons for 1961. Last year's was about 180 million, making this the third successive year in which grain production has fallen.

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LATE ITEM

Congo

Tshombé left Elizabethville secretly this morning on an aircraft routed Brazzaville-Rome-Brussels. His ultimate destination is rumored to be Brazil, but this seems improbable.

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50X1

NOTES

- A. The Belgians and Dutch, still concerned/prejudicing British participation in the Common Market, have succeeded in obtaining a postponement of a meeting scheduled for Wednesday over on the French draft treaty of confederation. They have asked instead for a foreign ministers' meeting of the Six, which will probably be squeezed in on 10 December.
- B. Spaak has expressed his "great appreciation" of the agreements reached by the President with Adenauer.
- C. There are a number of rumors in Moscow that Voroshilov has committed suicide as a result of his humiliation at the Party Congress.
- D. Communist China has used the anniversary of last year's Communist Conference in Moscow (which dealt with Sino-Soviet issues) to make a statement implying that the dispute over Albania should be settled the same way. While not vituperative, the Chinese made it clear they do not accept Khrushchev's thesis that this question had to be treated publicly.
- E. Nehru, by increasing psychological pressures against the Portuguese in Goa, is providing himself with a useful issue in the February elections. The Portuguese are afraid of a military attack, but Nehru has indicated he does not intend to go that far.
- F. A new French-Tunisian spat may be provoked by French reinforcement of the Bizerte base this week. The force of 3-400 paratroopers was apparently sent to restore the morale of French civilians who felt unprotected.
- G. In Tehran, the National Front intends to defy police orders and demonstrate on 5 December against continued operation of the government without a parliament.

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OPERATIONAL IMMEDIATE [REDACTED]

2 DEC 61 50X1

CIA/OCI/SHELDON

WHITE HOUSE

EYES ONLY GENERAL CLIFTON FOR THE PRESIDENT.

COPY EYES ONLY TO GENERAL TAYLOR.

PRESIDENT'S INTELLIGENCE CHECKLIST.

1. FURTHER MOVES TO FORESTALL EL SALVADOR COUP. THERE WAS AN ADDITIONAL SHAKE-UP IN KEY POSITIONS IN THE ARMED FORCES AND POLICE ON THURSDAY DESIGNED TO NEUTRALIZE OFFICERS SUSPECTED OF SYMPATHY WITH ELEMENTS CONSPIRING AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT.
2. DOMINICAN REPUBLIC. A) XXXXXXXXXXXXXXX AS OF 0800 THIS MORNING THERE WAS NOT ENOUGH INFORMATION TO GAUGE THE LIKELY EXTENT OF TODAYS' STREET DEMONSTRATIONS. B) THERE WERE, HOWEVER, SOME INDICATIONS XXX THAT THE GENERAL STRIKE ITSELF WAS LOSING SOME MOMENTUM BECAUSE OF THE DWINDLING OF THE NATIONAL CIVIC UNIONS' SUPPORTING FUNDS. C) THE OPPOSITION'S LENGTHY DISCUSSIONS YESTERDAY FAILED TO HEAL THE BREACH BETWEEN THOSE WHO WANT TO RESUME NEGOTIATIONS AND THE INTRANSIGENTS.

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50X1

[redacted] 2 DEC 61 50X1

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-2-

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50X1

3. CONGO.

[redacted] THE LEOPOLDVILLE GOVERNMENT HAS RESUMED DIPLOMATIC 50X1

RELATIONS WITH THE USSR, POLAND AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA. MOSCOW HAS 50X1

50X1

ALSO ANNOUNCED THAT IT IS MAKING A RELIEF SHIPMENT OF DRUGS AND  
FOOD TO THE CONGO.

SOVIET INVOLVEMENT

[redacted] IN KINSHASA, THE UN'S 50X1

CIVILIAN OFFICIALS ARE TRYING TO RESTRAIN INDIAN FORCES WHICH HAVE  
BEEN INFURIATED BY THE MURDER OF ONE OF THEIR SOLDIERS AND THE  
KIDNAPPING OF ANOTHER AND ARE ALL FOR ATTACKING THE KATANGANS.

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4. MOSCOW REACTS TO SUGGESTION FOR INTERNATIONALIZATION OF THE  
AUTOBahn. IZVESTIYA'S THURSDAY EDITION TERMED THE PROPOSAL

[Redacted]

2 DRC 61

50X1

-3-

"UTOPIAN." ATTRIBUTING THE SUGGESTION TO THE AMERICAN PRESS  
WITHOUT MENTIONING THE PRESIDENT, THE NEWSPAPER CONTENDS THAT IT  
COULD BE EASILY PROPOSED ONLY BY THOSE REFUSING TO FACE FACTS  
AND OPPOSED TO A SOLUTION OF THE KREMLIN BERLIN ISSUE.

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[Large Redacted Area]

[REDACTED] 2 DEC 61 50X1

-2X -4-

NOTES

50X1

**B. THE CHINESE COMMUNISTS**

50X1  
50X1

HAVE RECENTLY INCREASED SHARPLY THEIR PURCHASES OF SOUTH VIETNAMESE CURRENCY. IT IS LIKELY THAT THE MONEY IS TO BE USED TO FINANCE INCREASED COMMUNIST OPERATIONS IN SOUTH VIETNAM.

**C. A VENEZUELAN GOVERNMENT CRACK-DOWN ON THE VENEZUELAN COMMUNIST PARTY HAS BEEN EFFECTIVE IN NIPPING IN THE BUD A CAMPAIGN OF SABOTAGE LAUNCHED WEDNESDAY IN AN ATTEMPT TO TOUCH OFF WIDESPREAD VIOLENCE.**

**D. THE SUDANESE GOVERNMENT, WHICH SEEKS TO TAKE IT FOR GRANTED THAT THE EGYPTIAN PRESIDENT IS GOING TO VISIT THE SUDAN IN JANUARY OR FEBRUARY, IS SEEKING CONFIRMATION OF THE DATES FROM OUR**

**EGYPTIAN** 4 6

[redacted] 2 DEC 62 (50X1)

~~24~~ -5-**EMBASSY.**

E. THE AMERICAN BROADCASTING COMPANY HAS RECEIVED AN ENCOURAGING RESPONSE TO A PROPOSAL FOR AN INTERVIEW WITH KHRUSHCHEV. JAMES HAGGERTY WOULD BE ONE OF THE INTERVIEWERS.

F. THE SYRIAN GOVERNMENT IS ATTEMPTING TO WORK OUT A NEW ARMS DEAL WITH THE CZECHS, WHO, LIKE THE SOVIETS, CUT OFF SHIPMENTS SCHEDULED FOR SYRIA UNDER CONTRACTS WITH THE UAR AT THE TIME OF THE REVOLT.

[redacted] 50X1

G. CAIRO HAS ANNOUNCED IT INTENDS TO PUT THE FRENCH NATIONALS ~~IN~~ ARRESTED IN THE CURRENT SPY EXPOSE ON TRIAL IN OPEN COURT NEXT WEEK.

[redacted] 50X1

[redacted] 50X1

H. THE MILITARY EXERCISE ACTIVITIES WHICH VARIOUS ~~IN~~ WARSAW PACT ELEMENTS HAVE BEEN ENGAGED IN DURING THE PAST TWO MONTHS HAVE NOW ENDED.

[redacted] 50X1

[redacted] 2 DEC 61 50X1

-5X -6-

50X1

[redacted]

- J. BRAZIL HAS NAMED ITS FORMER AMBASSADOR TO CUBA ITS FIRST AMBASSADOR TO MOSCOW AND THE LATTER HAS ACCEPTED HIM.
- K. EMBASSY NEW DELHI REPORTS THAT BURMA-SHELL AND STANVAC RECEIVED IDENTICAL OFFER ON 30 NOVEMBER FROM INDIAN OIL COMPANY EXPRESSING WILLINGNESS TO SELL POL PRODUCTS AT SUBSTANTIAL DISCOUNTS OFF PERSIAN GULF PRICES. EMBASSY COMMENTS IT IS OBVIOUS THESE PRODUCTS OF SOVIET BLOC ORIGIN.

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# **THE PRESIDENT'S INTELLIGENCE CHECKLIST**

**4 DEC. 1961**  
~~TOP SECRET~~

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1. Berlin

Construction activity at intersector crossing points continued under flood-lights throughout last night. There has been no interruption of traffic. However, the East Germans last night began intensive tailing and harassment of US military mission sedans patrolling in East Berlin.

2. Dominican stalemate still unbroken

a) The army has reinforced its patrols in Santo Domingo, but the capital was reported as relatively quiet yesterday.

50X6

c) The rift within the National Civic Union between those for and against resumption of negotiations seems to be widening.

d) Several of the air force officers who resigned on Saturday with a blast against the dictatorial tendencies of military chief Rodriguez have now reneged. The prospect for an imminent split within the military has probably lessened but they too have not solved their intramural problems.

3. Congo

a) Tshombé left Brazzaville yesterday for Paris. [redacted] apparently [redacted]

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50X1

[redacted] President Youlou's serving as a go-between with Leopoldville but no indication that Tshombé was in direct touch with any Adoula emissaries.

b) Both Adoula and Kasavubu say they are in no mood to treat with Tshombé, either in the Congo or on neutral territory. Kasavubu has indicated that he was considerably miffed at the suggestion for bringing Tshombé to Leopoldville on Senator Dodd's plane.

c) In Elizabethville, the security situation is grave following a series of shooting incidents between UN and Katangan forces. The Katanga government has rejected a UN demand that it get its troops off the streets.

d) Our consul in Elizabethville reports that Senator Dodd--despite the restraint he showed--is regarded even more than before as the "great white hope" who will reverse US policy toward Katanga. Senator Dodd used every argument to get Tshombé to talk with Adoula; Tshombé said he was willing but not in Leopoldville.

4. Laotian situation

- a) Souvanna, at the urging of the ICC, has again said he would go to Vientiane for a three princes meeting, but there will be more haggling over security arrangements.
- b) Phoumi has given our Ambassador the impression that he is digging his heels in harder against the idea of a Souvanna-led coalition.
- c) Attempts by military units on both sides to improve their positions in the field through small-scale actions continue to strain the cease-fire.

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5. Moscow revising its civil defense structure

Measures now being carried out will have the effect of integrating civil defense fairly closely with ground force defense, on both a regional and a national basis, under military control. The new structure is headed by a Soviet Marshal who has been and may still be commander in chief of the ground forces.

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6. Turkish government given precarious lease on life

Eighteen months of martial law ended on Saturday when the Inonu government won a narrow vote of confidence from parliament. The coalition regime, essentially a shot-gun marriage imposed by the military, faces a fitful future.

7. Assessment of South Vietnamese stability

Our Embassy sums up:

- a) The anti-US press campaign gave a fillip to rumblings of discontent but civilian opposition groups are not believed to have the means to overthrow Diem on their own.
- b) Senior military officers are frustrated at the military situation and presidential meddling in military affairs but there is no solid evidence of concerted plotting among them.
- c) The big question mark is the attitude of field grade officers, particularly commanders of elite groups, who could force their superiors' hands if they tried to mount a coup.

NOTES

A.

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B. Syrian conservatives and right-of-center elements seem to have won a preponderance in Friday's elections to the constituent assembly.

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# THE PRESIDENT'S INTELLIGENCE CHECKLIST



5 DEC. 1961  
~~TOP SECRET~~

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## 1. Congo developments

A. The UN representative in Elizabethville made a public statement this morning that he was in possession of a Katangan "battle plan" for attack on UN forces at "all points," that Katangan troops were moving on the city's airfield, that fighting would begin "at any moment," and that he has handed the situation over to the UN military Command (This means to the Indians, who are spoiling for a fight).

B. The immediate background appears to be a UN decision to bring into Elizabethville by air the units which are scheduled to replace the Swedish and Irish troops now in Katanga. Katanga authorities responded by sending troops into the city, blockading the road to the airport, and threatening to shoot down any UN aircraft over the province.

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(cont'd)

C. We had learned prior to these events that Gizenga made a speech on 29 November defying the central government. Adoula describes it as "out-and-out secession" and claims it was ghosted by the Soviets. Adoula told our chargé he plans to demand of the bloc countries with which he has just established relations that they submit to the UN General Assembly the US amendment on "other secessionist action" which the USSR vetoed in the Security Council. If they refuse, Adoula will come to New York himself next week.

D. As of 0830 it appears from press reports that some fighting has begun in Elizabethville

2. Berlin: vehicle harassment continues

Further incidents in East Berlin yesterday were met by detention of Soviet vehicles in West Berlin. The Soviets protested these "unexplained" actions and warned of unspecified counter-measures. They avoided receiving General Watson's reply; he plans to try again today.

3. Laos

Kong Le's headquarters yesterday ordered its units to halt operations

[redacted]

[redacted]

the princes are still fencing over terms for a meeting. Brown describes Boun Oum's proposal to go to Xieng Khouang without bodyguards if Souvanna would agree to come to Vientiane equally unguarded as "gamesmanship." He is now convinced that Phoumi is "wholly unrealistic" and "using every device he can think of" to avoid a meeting.

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4.

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B. The Vietnamese military will not begin the defoliation program without written authority from the government, which thus far is holding back for fear of adverse political reactions.

NOTES

- A. A session of the USSR Supreme Soviet is scheduled to open tomorrow. The agenda has not been published yet: we think this is the routine session to approve the 1962 budget, but a major Khrushchev speech is not unlikely.
- B. Political negotiations in Santo Domingo are still going on, with another meeting scheduled this morning. There was some strong-arm activity yesterday by elements of the military in an attempt to break the general strike; we have no word on results.

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- D. In a speech to Parliament today, Nehru said Communist China has threatened to send troops from Tibet into Indian-claimed territory.

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OPERATION IMMEDIATE

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CIA/OCI [REDACTED]

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GENERAL CLIFTON EYES ONLY FOR THE PRESIDENT

COPY EYES ONLY TO GENERAL TAYLOR

PRESIDENTS INTELLIGENCE CHECKLIST

1. CONGO:

A) FIGHTING BETWEEN UN AND KATANGAN FORCES, WHICH CENTERED YESTERDAY MAINLY ON THE ROADS LEADING OUT OF ELIZABETHVILLE, HAS NOW MOVED INTO THE CITY ITSELF AND MAY SPREAD NEXT TO TOWNS IN NORTHERN KATANGA.

B) THE UN HAS REPORTEDLY ABANDONED SEVERAL STRONG POINTS IN ELIZABETHVILLE BUT STILL CONTROLS THE AIRPORT WHICH WILL BE USED TO BRING IN REINFORCEMENTS. SIX US GLOBEMASTERS HAVE ALREADY LEFT LEOPOLDVILLE WITH MEN AND EQUIPMENT AND SOME 350 ADDITIONAL REINFORCEMENTS ARE SCHEDULED TO BE FLOWN IN LATER TODAY.

C) THE UN HAS ALSO PUT ITS JETS INTO THE AIR OVER KATANGA.

D) IN PARIS, TSOMBE HAS ANNOUNCED THAT HE WILL RETURN TO ELIZABETHVILLE IMMEDIATELY.

E) THE KATANGANS SHOW NO SIGNS OF BEING WILLING TO NEGOTIATE OR GIVE UP. EVEN IF UN FORCES WIN THE BATTLE FOR ELIZABETHVILLE, KATANGAN SOLDIERS AND MERCENARIES MAY TAKE TO THE BRUSH TO CONTINUE THE STRUGGLE. THERE IS ALSO A DANGER THAT TSHOMBE'S FORCES WILL DESTROY KEY MINING AND INDUSTRIAL FACILITIES RATHER THAN HAVE THEM FALL INTO UN HANDS.

2. DOMINICAN REPUBLIC:

[redacted] A GLIMMER OF

50X1

HOPE IN YESTERDAY'S DEVELOPMENTS. TENTATIVE ACCORD, WHICH  
SEEMS TO HAVE A FAIRLY GOOD CHANCE OF FINAL APPROVAL BY BOTH  
SIDES, WAS REACHED ALONG THE FOLLOWING LINES:

A) BALAGUER WILL RETIRE FOR REASONS OF HEALTH AFTER  
SETTING UP A COUNCIL OF STATE, (B) THE COUNCIL, MADE UP OF  
DISTINGUISHED CITIZENS, WILL ELECT A NEW HEAD, WHO WILL  
PRESIDE UNTIL ELECTIONS ARE HELD IN MAY, (C) THE MILITARY  
MUST APPROVE THE COUNCIL PRESIDENT AND WILL BE SUBJECT TO  
HIS AUTHORITY, NOT THE COUNCIL'S AS A WHOLE.

3. PHOUMI HEDGING AGAINST FAILURE OF NEGOTIATIONS:

HE IS MAKING A NUMBER OF CONTINGENCY PREPARATIONS,  
INCLUDING REDEPLOYMENT OF MAJOR MILITARY UNITS, WHICH  
WOULD PUT HIM IN A BETTER POSITION TO BRING ABOUT A DE  
FACTO PARTITION IF NEGOTIATIONS FAIL. AS THE RESULT OF  
RECENT MOVEMENTS FROM THE NORTH, PHOUMI NOW HAS SIX OF

NINE OF HIS MOBILE GROUPS--EACH CONSISTING OF SEVERAL INFANTRY BATTALIONS--IN THE SOUTHERN HALF OF THE COUNTRY.

4. INDIA TIGHTENING PRESSURE ON GOA:

NEW DELHI, WITH THE UPCOMING ELECTION IN MIND, IS CONTINUING ITS MILITARY BUILDUP NEAR THE ENCLAVE. THE ATTENDANT PUBLICITY IS SUBJECTING THE PORTUGUESE TO A CONSIDERABLE WAR OF NERVES. INDIAN PLANS ARE TO MOVE UP TO 30,000 TROOPS WITH NAVAL AND AIR SUPPORT INTO THE VICINITY WITHIN THE NEXT FEW DAYS--PORTUGUESE FORCES IN THE ENCLAVE ARE BELIEVED TO NUMBER FROM 4,000 TO 6,000 MEN. WE DOUBT, HOWEVER, THAT NEHRU INTENDS AT THIS JUNCTURE TO GIVE THE SIGNAL FOR AN ATTACK.

5. SUKARNO BEING URGED TO APPEAL TO US ON VIETNAM:

ONE OF THE OBJECTIVES OF THE DELEGATION FROM NORTH VIETNAM, [REDACTED] 50X1 IS TO GET SUKARNO TO WRITE PRESIDENT KENNEDY INDICATING CONCERN OVER THE US ROLE IN SOUTH VIETNAM. THE NORTH

**VIETNAMESE ARE OBVIOUSLY PLAYING ON SUKARNO'S RELISH FOR  
THE ROLE OF INTERNATIONAL PEACEMAKER, AND THE LATTER HAS  
EXPRESSED "HIS UNDERSTANDING" OF THE NORTH VIETNAMESE  
APPEAL.** [redacted]

50X1

6. LANGE'S TALKS WITH SOVIET OFFICIALS--IN HIS TALKS WITH MIKOYAN, GROMYKO AND KHRUSHCHEV, THE NORWEGIAN FOREIGN MINISTER MADE A "POLITE AND FIRM" DEFENSE OF NORWEGIAN POLICY, PARTICULARLY REGARDING NATO. KHRUSHCHEV'S REMARKS ON BERLIN WERE ALONG USUAL LINES, BUT HE (A) CATEGORICALLY REJECTED PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S SUGGESTION FOR INTERNATIONALIZING THE AUTOBAHN; (B) AGAIN INSISTED THAT SOVIET TROOPS HAD A RIGHT TO BE IN BERLIN IF WESTERN TROOPS REMAINED AND SAID WE "ARE IN FOR HARD TRIALS" UNLESS THE WEST AGREES; AND (C) SAID THAT AFTER THE PEACE TREATY IS SIGNED WESTERN TROOPS WOULD HAVE TO LEAVE OR THEIR ACCESS WOULD BE CUT OFF. THE SOVIET PREMIER SPOKE WELL OF PRESIDENT KENNEDY AND EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT RELATIONS WOULD IMPROVE TO THE POINT WHERE THE PRESIDENT COULD VISIT THE SOVIET UNION.

**NOTES:**

**A. EARLY PRESS REPORTS FROM MOSCOW SAY THAT THE SOVIET BUDGET FOR 1962, PRESENTED TO THE SUPREME SOVIET WHICH OPENED TODAY, CALLS FOR A SIZEABLE INCREASE IN MILITARY SPENDING. WE DO NOT EXPECT TO HAVE DETAILS ENOUGH FOR A CLOSE ANALYSIS BEFORE TOMORROW.**

**B. QASIM HAS ISSUED AN AMNESTY FOR POLITICAL PRISONERS WHICH WILL HAVE THE EFFECT OF FREEING A GOOD NUMBER OF COMMUNISTS. THIS COULD BE PART OF THE PRICE HE PAID FOR THE SOVIET VETO OF KUWAIT'S UN MEMBERSHIP.**

50X1

D. OUR EMBASSY IN KABUL REPORTS THAT SOVIET TRAINING OF THE AFGHAN ARMED FORCES IS INCREASING STEADILY. IT FEARS THAT THE US MILITARY TRAINING PROGRAM IS FINISHED. THE EMBASSY ESTIMATES THAT THERE ARE NOW BETWEEN 5 AND 8 THOUSAND SOVIET NATIONALS IN AFGHANISTAN FOR ALL PURPOSE, AND REPORTS THAT THE USSR IS PROVIDING MORE THAN ENOUGH ASSISTANCE TO COMPENSATE FOR THE CLOSURE OF ECONOMIC OUTLETS THROUGH PAKISTAN.

PRESIDENT'S INTELLIGENCE CHECKLIST

7 Dec 61

1. CONGO:

A. UN AIRCRAFT APPARENTLY SUCCEEDED IN KNOCKING OUT TSHOMBE'S AIR FORCE YESTERDAY. WITH AIR SUPERIORITY AND A FIRM HOLD ON ELIZABETHVILLE AIRFIELD, THE UN HAS BEEN ABLE TO REINFORCE ITS TROOPS HEAVILY AND PLANS TO "DENUDE" THE REST OF THE CONGO OF UN FORCES FOR A FURTHER BUILD-UP IN KATANGA. UN CHIEF LINNER HAS ORDERED HIS REPRESENTATIVES IN ELIZABETHVILLE "TO END THE SITUATION THERE AS SWIFTLY AND EFFECTIVELY AS POSSIBLE" AND KATANGAN LEADERS ARE ALSO TALKING OF A "FIGHT-TO-THE-FINISH."

B. INITIAL REPORTS THIS MORNING SHOW THAT UN FORCES ARE HAVING SOME SUCCESS IN CLEARING ELIZABETHVILLE IN BITTER HOUSE-TO-HOUSE FIGHTING.

C. US TRANSPORT AIRCRAFT WERE TEMPORARILY WITHDRAWN FROM THE AIRLIFT AFTER ONE WAS SLIGHTLY DAMAGED BY GROUND FIRE. ARRANGEMENTS FOR RESUMPTION ARE UNDER WAY.

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50X1

D. THE LAST REPORT FROM CONSUL HOFFACKER WAS SENT AT 1730 YESTERDAY CONGO TIME; HE WAS THEN STILL UNDER HOUSE ARREST BUT NO FURTHER ACTION HAD BEEN TAKEN AGAINST HIM.

E. TSHOMBE, AFTER BACKING AND FILLING YESTERDAY, FINALLY FLEW TO BRAZZAVILLE, WHERE OUR EMBASSY HAS BEEN INSTRUCTED TO PRESS HIM FOR HOFFACKER'S RELEASE. TSHOMBE PLANS TO GO ON TO ELIZABETHVILLE, BUT HOW IS UNCLEAR.

**2. VENEZUELAN COMMUNIST PARTY PLANS FOR PRESIDENT'S VISIT:**

[redacted] BUILDUP OF

50X1

DISRUPTIVE ACTION, TO INCLUDE ATTACKS ON AMERICAN BUSINESS FIRMS,  
SABOTAGE OF COMMUNICATIONS, AND STREET DEMONSTRATIONS. HOWEVER,

[redacted] PROHIBITED ANY ATTEMPT ON THE PRESIDENT'S LIFE. PREPARATIONS

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FOR THESE ACTIVITIES ARE GOING FORWARD.

50X1

[redacted]

50X1

**3. FURTHER INFORMATION ON KHRUSHCHEV-LANGE TALKS:**

A. KHRUSHCHEV SAID THAT IF AN AGREEMENT WAS REACHED ON BERLIN THE USSR AND EAST GERMANY WOULD PLACE ORDERS FOR GOODS THERE, SUSTAINING THE CITY'S LIFE; IF THERE WAS NO AGREEMENT THE CITY WOULD DIE AND ITS PEOPLE LEAVE.

B. HE WOULD AGREE TO HAVING UN HEADQUARTERS IN THE CITY, BUT NOT JUST UN AGENCIES.

C. HE SAID THE QUESTION OF EVENTUAL REUNIFICATION COULD BE COVERED IN A PROTOCOL "WHICH EACH SIDE COULD INTERPRET AS IT LIKED."

**4. DOMINICAN REPUBLIC:**

ALTHOUGH GENERAL RODRIGUEZ HAS NOT YET ACCEPTED THE TENTATIVE AGREEMENT REACHED TUESDAY AND THE EXTREME LEFT STILL HAS RESERVATIONS, SWEETNESS AND LIGHT PREVAILS FOR THE MOMENT IN SANTO DOMINGO. A BANDWAGON ATMOSPHERE APPEARS TO BE DEVELOPING.

**5. FRENCH SUBMIT REVISED TREATY FOR POLITICAL CONFEDERATION OF SIX:**

THE MOST IMPORTANT CHANGES APPEAR TO BE:

- A. A COMMON DEFENSE POLICY WOULD BE WORKED OUT WITH NATO.
- B. THERE WOULD BE A SECRETARY-GENERAL WITH SOME "AUTONOMOUS" POWERS.
- C. THE ROLE OF THE EEC ASSEMBLY WOULD BE STRENGTHENED.

**6. SOVIET BUDGET AND ECONOMIC PLAN FOR 1962:**

THE BUDGET ALLOTS 13.4 BILLION RUBLES FOR MILITARY PURPOSES.

LAST YEAR'S FIGURE WAS ORIGINALLY 9.25, RAISED TO 12.35 BY KHRUSHCHEV IN JULY. SOME OF THE INCREASE IS REQUIRED TO MAINTAIN SOVIET FORCES AT THEIR PRESENT LEVEL, HIGHER THAN THAT PLANNED LAST YEAR, AND A SUBSTANTIAL STEP-UP IN PROCUREMENT OF ADVANCED WEAPONS MAY BE CALLED

FOR, BUT WE THINK AT LEAST PART OF IT RESULTS FROM JUGGLING OF THE BOOKS FOR POLITICAL EFFECT--TRANSFERRING CATEGORIES OF EXPENDITURE NOT PREVIOUSLY ADMITTED TO BE MILITARY FROM OTHER PARTS OF THE BUDGET INTO THE EXPLICIT MILITARY ACCOUNT. THE PLAN CALLS FOR INDUSTRIAL INVESTMENT AND OUTPUT TO GROW AT RATES SOMEWHAT BELOW THOSE OF PREVIOUS YEARS BUT STILL AT RATES CONSISTENT WITH THE SEVEN AND TWENTY YEAR PLANS.

7. NOTES

A. SOUVANNA AND SOUPHANNOUVONG HAVE ACCEPTED BOUN OUM'S OFFER TO COME TO XIENG KHOUANG AND SAY THEY WILL BE AVAILABLE FRIDAY. THEY INDICATE, HOWEVER, THAT THEY WILL STICK TO THEIR PREVIOUS CONDITIONS ON SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS, SHOULD THEY COME TO VIENTIANE LATER. WE HAVE SOME INDICATION OF INCREASED MILITARY ACTIVITY NORTH OF VIENTIANE.

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B. THE INDIAN MILITARY CONCENTRATION AGAINST GOA CONTINUES AMID A FLURRY OF CHARGES AND COUNTER-CHARGES. REPORTS OF FURTHER PORTUGUESE REINFORCEMENT APPEAR TO BE AN INDIAN CONTRIBUTION TO THE WAR OF NERVES.

C. A LONG CHINESE COMMUNIST STATEMENT YESTERDAY REPLIES TO INDIAN CHARGES OF AGGRESSION WITH MORE OF THE SAME. THE CHINESE APPEAR WILLING TO DEFEND THEIR TERRITORIAL CLAIMS BY FORCE.

D. IN A LONG CABLE LAST NIGHT DISCUSSING MEXICO'S VOTE IN THE OAS, AMBASSADOR MANN RAISES THE QUESTION WHETHER THE PRESIDENT'S VISIT TO MEXICO NEXT MONTH SHOULD STILL BE MADE.

E. THE SAUDI'S ARE PRESSING FOR AN INFORMAL MEETING BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT AND KING SAUD BEFORE HE LEAVES THE COUNTRY.

50X1

H. HUNGARY HAS FOLLOWED UP ITS OFFER TO DISCUSS A SOLUTION OF THE CARDINAL MINDZENTY PROBLEM WITH AN INVITATION TO U THANT TO VISIT THE COUNTRY. BUDAPEST IS APPARENTLY MANEUVERING TO AVOID ANOTHER UN DEBATE.

I. THERE ARE RUMORS THAT BRAZIL IS ABOUT TO RECOGNIZE COMMUNIST CHINA. WE HAVE NO CONFIRMATION, BUT DO NOT RULE IT OUT COMPLETELY.

K. LATE ITEM

FIRST ELEMENTS OF THE BATTLE GROUP MOVING FROM WEST GERMANY TO WEST BERLIN TODAY HAVE REACHED THE CITY WITH NO INTERFERENCE YET REPORTED.

**8. WATCH COMMITTEE CONCLUSIONS--6 DECEMBER 1961**

**NO SINO-SOVIET BLOC COUNTRY INTENDS DELIBERATELY TO INITIATE  
DIRECT MILITARY ACTION IN THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE.**

**BERLIN: THE CONSTRUCTION AT BABELSBERG ON THE BERLIN AUTOBAHN  
AND AT THE SECTOR CHECKPOINTS BETWEEN EAST AND WEST BERLIN HAS  
INCREASED THE CAPABILITY OF THE COMMUNISTS TO HARASS ALLIED  
ACCESS. THE COMMUNISTS MAY USE THE ROTATION OF US TROOPS INTO  
WEST BERLIN AS THE PRETEXT FOR SOME FURTHER MOVE AGAINST ALLIED  
RIGHTS.**

**SOUTH VIETNAM: THE HIGH RATE OF VIET CONG SUBVERSIVE AND  
MILITARY ACTIVITY CONTINUES, WITH NO MARKEDLY SUCCESSFUL COUNTER-  
ACTIONS BY GOVERNMENT FORCES.**

# THE PRESIDENT'S INTELLIGENCE CHECKLIST



50X1



50X1

8 DEC. 1961  
~~TOP SECRET~~

1. Congo

a) Tshombé returned to Katanga yesterday

50X1

b) US Globemasters have resumed their airlift into Elizabethville without further incident. The UN's dominance of the air remains uncontested. Yesterday, UN jets carried out raids against several key points in Katanga province. In the fighting in and near Elizabethville, however, neither side has gained a clear edge. Katangan resistance shows no signs of crumbling.

c) Communications were restored yesterday with Consul Hoffacker; he is apparently still under house arrest, but "in no immediate danger."

2. Dominican factions  
still short of  
agreement

Armed forces chief Rodriguez balked yesterday at the terms of the preliminary accord between the opposition and the government. The chief stumbling block now is Rodriguez' belief that the settlement does not give the military adequate guarantees of "self-administration." Our representatives in Santo Domingo think the problem is more one of faulty communications between the parties concerned than of substance.

3. North-South Vietnam

- a) The Chinese Communists and North Vietnamese have scheduled joint military discussions on the South Vietnamese situation. They will take place in Hanoi in "the near future."
- b) There is evidence that the North Vietnamese are now operating a radio station on Cambodian territory in support of infiltration operations against South Vietnam.

50X1

4. Albania

All remaining Soviet personnel--some 50 odd--are being pulled out of Albania.

50X1

This could be a preventive against retaliation for the anticipated expulsion of the Albanians from the Warsaw Pact. A Pact meeting is rumored to be imminent.

5. Laos

a) Kong Le headquarters on Monday had ordered a suspension of military operations in anticipation of an early meeting of the three princes. Yesterday, the order was revoked

50X1

b) Soviet Ambassador Abramov, after an hour's talk with the King, said the King might soon urge publicly that the three princes reach agreement quickly.

50X1

NOTES

- A. There were more acrimonious words over Goa yesterday in New Delhi, but both Nehru and Krishna Menon denied that India plans to "liberate" the enclave. The Portuguese have asked for diplomatic help from both the US and Britain.
- B. The Venezuelan government is continuing its security vigil in anticipation of the President's visit. Riot police yesterday broke up leftist street demonstrations protesting the visit. The police, who have closed down Communist party headquarters, are carrying out a roundup of potential trouble-makers.
- C. Moscow and Cairo are near agreement on enlarging the existing Soviet aid program.

50X1

- D. The Danish parliament yesterday approved the Baltic Command by a sizeable margin.
- E. Our UN delegation believes that Indonesia's Sastroamidjojo, from whom we can expect no favors, will have a clear field toward the presidency of the next General Assembly unless the US comes up with an alternative soon.

50X1

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PRESIDENT'S INTELLIGENCE CHECKLIST - 9 DECEMBER 1961

1. CONGO:

A. AFTER "GOING SLOWLY" YESTERDAY WHILE FURTHER REINFORCEMENTS ARRIVED, UN TROOPS RESUMED THEIR ATTACKS ON TSHOMBE'S STRONG POINTS IN ELIZABETHVILLE THIS MORNING. THERE HAS APPARENTLY BEEN NO SOFTENING OF KATANGAN RESISTANCE, AND THE UN IS APPARENTLY BEHIND THE SCHEDULE IT SET ITSELF FOR CLEARING THE CITY. WITH THE FORCE NOW AVAILABLE, HOWEVER, WE THINK THE UN CAN PROBABLY TAKE ELIZABETHVILLE, BUT WHETHER IT CAN GO ON TO ESTABLISH CONTROL OVER THE WHOLE PROVINCE SEEMS DOUBTFUL UNLESS TSHOMBE'S GOVERNMENT COLLAPSES.

B. TSHOMBE HAS ASKED "ALL" CONSULS IN ELIZABETHVILLE TO MEET HIM THIS MORNING. HOFFACKER REPORTS THEY WILL NOT COMPLY IF HE IS NOT RECEIVED BY TSHOMBE. HOFFACKER HAS SUCCESSFULLY EVACUATED CONSULATE DEPENDENTS AND A GROUP OF MISSIONARIES TO RHODESIA.

2. LAOS:

[Redacted] 50X1

[Redacted] 50X1

KONG LÈ HIMSELF FLEW 50X1

TO HANOI WEDNESDAY. [Redacted]

50X1

~~TOP SECRET~~

**TOP SECRET**

3. INDONESIAN PUSH FOR WEST NEW GUINEA:

NO IMPORTANT DEVELOPMENTS HAVE BEEN REPORTED

50X1

[REDACTED] THE INDONESIAN AIR FORCE, WHICH IS MORE PRO-SUKARNO AND MORE DEEPLY ENTANGLED WITH THE SOVIETS THAN THE OTHER SERVICES, APPEARS TO BE GETTING IN POSITION FOR AN ATTACK ON WEST NEW GUINEA, AND THERE IS SOME DANGER THAT IT MIGHT EVEN MOVE UNILATERALLY IF THE OTHER SERVICES DON'T.

50X1

4. DOMINICAN NEGOTIATORS GOING FORWARD, ALBEIT SLOWLY:

50X1

**TOP SECRET**

**TOP SECRET**

5. BERLIN:

A. IN AN INTERVIEW ON WEDNESDAY, TAPE BY CBS FOR SHOWING ON TELEVISION HERE IN JANUARY, ULRICHT SAID THAT CONDITIONS FOR ENTRY INTO EAST BERLIN WOULD "SOON" BE "NORMALIZED" TO REQUIRE PASSPORTS WITH VISAS AT THE SECTOR BORDER, WHICH HE CALLED EAST GERMANY'S "STATE FRONTIER." HE WAS EVASIVE, HOWEVER, ON THE SUBJECT OF ALLIED MILITARY ENTRY TO EAST BERLIN.

B. EARLY THIS MONTH

50X1

KHRUSHCHEV DELAYED SIGNING A GERMAN PEACE TREATY BECAUSE THERE WERE POSSIBILITIES OF NEGOTIATING OTHER PROBLEMS CONCERNING CENTRAL EUROPE AND SUCCESSFULLY EXPLOITING DISAGREEMENTS WITHIN THE CAPITALIST CAMP.

50X1

**TOP SECRET**

**TOP SECRET**

**6. PARTY CONGRESS AFTERMATH:**

THOMPSON CONCLUDES THAT KHRUSHCHEV'S ANTI-STALIN REVELATIONS HAVE FURTHER ERODED PUBLIC FAITH IN THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND THAT WIDE PUBLIC DISCUSSION IS RAISING PROBLEMS FOR THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP. AS WITH EARLIER "RELAXATION" STEPS IN THE SOVIET UNION, THOMPSON THINKS KHRUSHCHEV PROBABLY WILL FIND IT NECESSARY TO DEFINE ACCEPTABLE LIMITS OF POPULAR CRITICISM.

**7. UNREST IN DEPRESSED BRAZILIAN NORTHEAST:**

A BILL BEFORE PARLIAMENT WOULD CRIPPLE THE \$ 900 MILLION PLAN FOR REHABILITATION OF THE AREA. PROTESTS AGAINST THE BILL HAVE BEEN GENERAL AND ACCCOMPANIED BY SOME VIOLENCE, WITH THE EXTREME LEFT MAKING POLITICAL HAY.

**8. GOA:**

THE INDIAN CAMPAIGN TO BUILD TENSION HAS ACQUIRED A GOOD DEAL OF MOMENTUM, AND AMBASSADOR GALBRAITH NOTES THAT NEHRU IS UNDER STRONG OFFICIAL AND POPULAR PRESSURE TO TAKE MILITARY ACTION, NOTABLY FROM KRISHNA MENON. THE LATEST PRONOUNCEMENTS BY BOTH SIDES, HOWEVER, APPEAR DESIGNED TO COOL THINGS OFF A LITTLE.

**TOP SECRET**

**TOP SECRET**

## 9. NOTES:

- A. THERE WERE FURTHER DISORDERS IN CARACAS YESTERDAY, BUT WE HAVE NO IMPORTANT DEVELOPMENTS TO REPORT.
- B. THE CHINESE COMMUNISTS HAVE PRINTED THE FULL TEXT OF THE PRESIDENT'S INTERVIEW WITH ADZHUBEI, ALONG WITH A BITTER ATTACK ON THE PRESIDENT'S VIEWS. OUR CONSULATE IN HONG KONG SUGGESTS THE CHINESE ARE AFRAID THE INTERVIEW MIGHT SIGNIFY A SOFTER SOVIET POLICY TOWARD THE US.
- C. AFTER A LONG SILENCE, THE CHINESE PRESS AND RADIO HAVE FOR THE LAST FEW DAYS BEEN ATTACKING INDIA ON THE BORDER QUESTION IN THE MOST VITRIOLIC TERMS. THE CHINESE HAVE FOR THE FIRST TIME AIMED AT NEHRU PERSONALLY, AND ALSO FOR THE FIRST TIME HAVE DENOUNCED THE INDIAN COMMUNIST PARTY FOR SUPPORTING HIS STAND.
- D. PLOTTING [REDACTED] TO OVERTHROW THE SALVADORAN GOVERNMENT BEFORE THE ELECTIONS ON 17 DECEMBER. 50X1
- E. SERIOUS RIOTING IN SOUTHERN RHODESIA THIS WEEK BY AFRICANS PROTESTING THE NEW CONSTITUTION IS UNDER CONTROL FOR THE MOMENT.
- F. THE POLITICAL DISMISSALS OF LIBYAN ARMY OFFICERS LAST WEEK HAVE STRENGTHENED EGYPTIAN INFLUENCE ON THE KING AND WEAKENED HIS TRIBAL SUPPORT.

**TOP SECRET**

**TOP SECRET**

50X1

50X1

I. IN THE WAKE OF THE KEKKONEN-KHRUSHCHEV AFFAIR FINNISH INDUSTRIALISTS ARE SUBSIDIZING AN EFFORT TO INCREASE THE VOTE OF THE CENTER AND RIGHT IN THE PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS.

LATE ITEMS

1. KHRUSHCHEV SPEECH TO WFTU--

A. IN A CONFIDENT, SABER-RATTLING MOOD, KHRUSHCHEV TOLD THE WFTU CONGRESS THAT THE USSR HAS BOMBS STRONGER THAN 100 MEGATONS WHICH WILL HANG OVER THE HEADS OF THE IMPERIALISTS LIKE THE SWORD OF DAMOCLES AND THAT "WE WOULD BE SLOBBERING IDIOTS" NOT TO HAVE RESUMED NUCLEAR TESTING. IN ALLUDING TO AN INTERNATIONAL CORRIDOR TO WEST BERLIN, KHRUSHCHEV COMMENTED: "STRANGE PEOPLE! THEY STILL THINK OF THE SOVIET UNION AS IT USED TO BE. THEY DON'T REALIZE WE HAVE CHANGED OUR SHORTS FOR LONG PANTS."

**TOP SECRET**

**~~TOP SECRET~~**

50X2

2. BROWN REPORTS PHOUMI HAS FINALLY STATED HIS WILLINGNESS TO  
ACCEPT SOUVANNA'S TERMS FOR A MEETING IN VIENTIANE.

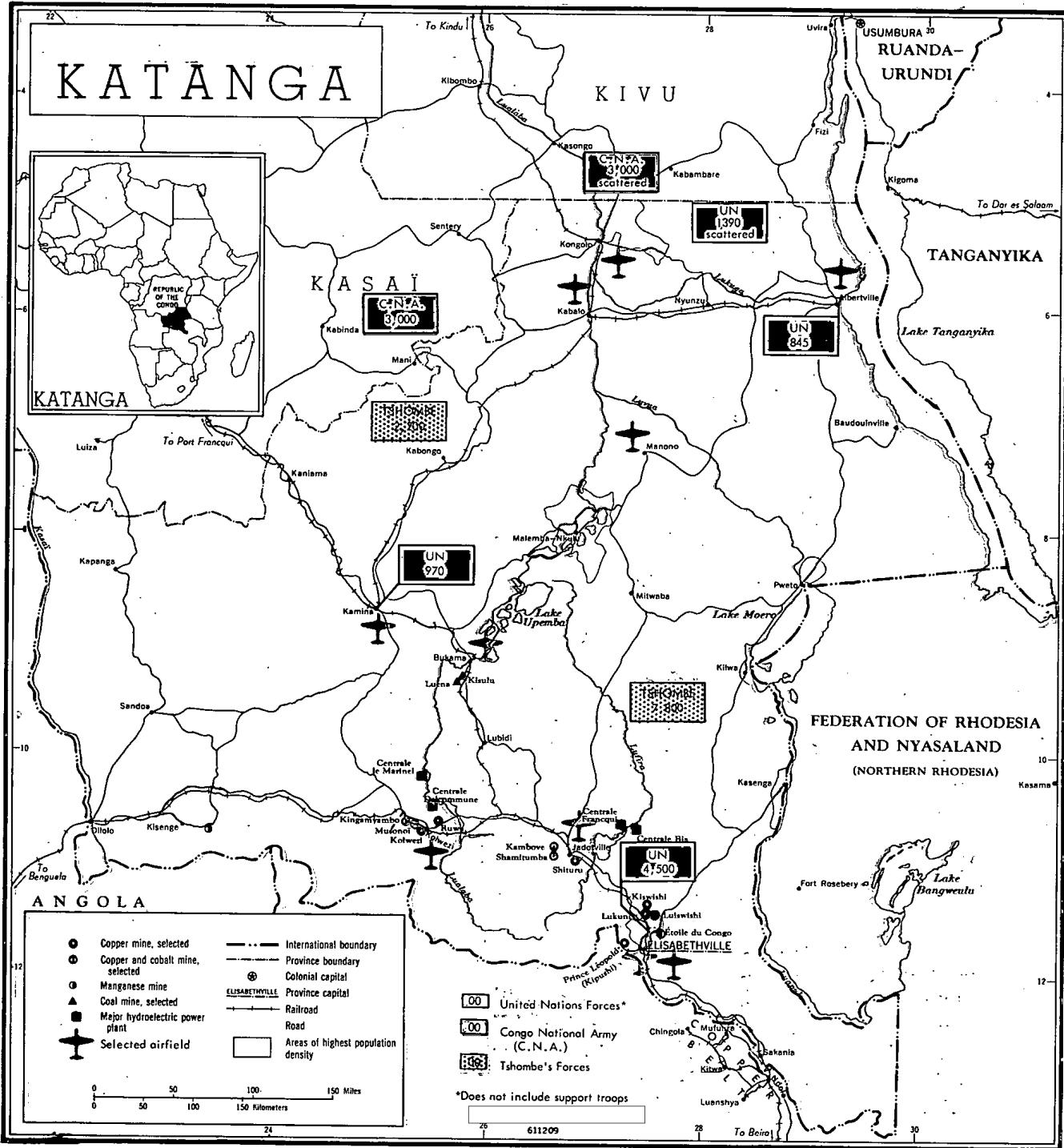
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# **THE PRESIDENT'S INTELLIGENCE CHECKLIST**

11 DEC. 1961  
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1. Congo

A. The UN operation in Elizabethville has again bogged down. A line seems to be developing across the city, with the UN holding the airport and the suburbs nearest it and the Katangans holding the rest. The UN continues to bring in reinforcements, and is trying to isolate the city by air strikes on communications. Its garrison at Manono is also under attack.

B. The stalemate is strengthening extremists on both sides. Tshombé seems to have lost some of his power to Interior Minister Munongo, and may no longer be able to control his troops.

C. [redacted] all-out UN 50X1 military action may come as soon as reinforcements are in place, possibly within the next two days. [redacted] 50X1 UN commanders persist in under-estimating Katangan capacity and will to resist.

D. [redacted] some property 50X1 damage but no personnel hurt in yesterday's demonstration. Katangan opinion is now strongly anti-American.

**2. Dominican Republic**

Negotiations have foundered on General Rodriguez' refusal to accept the draft agreement worked out by Balaguer and the opposition. Hill believes Rodriguez simply does not believe he can trust any successor to Balaguer. The latter says he will step out if any candidate is put forward acceptable to both sides. Each side is publicly accusing the other of betrayal. The general strike will probably be resumed, and an attempt to settle the issue in the streets is quite possible.

**3. Soviet diplomatic break with Albania**

Moscow's move, likely to be imitated by the East European Satellites, puts the fence-sitting leaders of North Korea and North Vietnam on the spot. Khrushchev, considering Soviet power and prestige deeply involved, has now clearly warned the Chinese and other Communists of his willingness to use extreme measures to reassert Soviet leadership of the bloc. We have, however, no evidence of Soviet preparations for direct military intervention. So far there has been no reaction from Peking.

4. Indonesian push for  
New Guinea

Jones reports that the President's message was warmly received by Sukarno, who said he "would hold off a while longer, although he did not know how long he could restrain his people."

5. Berlin

The Soviet Commandant has asked for a meeting with General Watson today, we suspect to protest troop movements on the autobahn. The Communist press has worked itself up to a high pitch with charges that these troops are under NATO command and therefore not guaranteed free passage.

6. Communist plans in Venezuela

[redacted] the party's 50X1  
plans for sabotage of US and other foreign installations on 13-15 December, and for violent demonstrations on the 16th. The party's ability to carry out these plans has already been considerably reduced by police work in the last two weeks. As of yesterday afternoon the government had not yet arrested any extremist leaders [redacted]

[redacted]  
[redacted]  
[redacted] No major developments reported from Bogota, where extensive security preparations are also going forward.

50X1

50X1

50X1

50X1

7. Goa

The situation is no worse. Indian statements, however, are sounding a slightly more ominous note. While denying India would initiate military action, Nehru and Menon stress the possibility of retaliation for Portuguese measures against activities by Goan nationalists. [redacted]

50X1

50X1

NOTES

A. Khrushchev made another speech to the WFTU yesterday; the Soviets have not yet made the text available.

50X1

C. Eric Williams of Trinidad has, as expected, denounced the West Indies Federation, and has called the US-UK-West Indies defense agreement "dead." We believe he will be willing for the US to keep the Chaguaramas base, however, in return for more aid.

D. French-Tunisia talks in Rome are hung up on French refusal to discuss a date for final evacuation of the Bizerte base until the "world crisis has abated."

LATE ITEM

The Soviets launched what appears to have been a space vehicle, possibly an earth satellite, from Tyura Tam

We don't know if it contained a man.

50X1

THE DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE

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# **THE PRESIDENT'S INTELLIGENCE CHECKLIST**

**12 DEC. 1961**  
**~~TOP SECRET~~**

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1. Goan situation becomes more ominous

50X1

[redacted]  
we believe that the Indians now have more than 30,000 troops in the area, vs. fewer than 5,000 Portuguese.

2. Venezuelan fears for Betancourt's safety

50X1

[redacted] leftists will try to assassinate Betancourt before President Kennedy's arrival. Betancourt is being given special security protection. [redacted]

50X1

50X1

3. Indonesia-New Guinea

- a) Ambassador Jones is satisfied that the President's letter has brought Sukarno back to reality for the time being. At their meeting yesterday Sukarno said: "Please tell President Kennedy, first, I thank him for his letter; second, that I welcome your approaching the Dutch; third, that we do not have much time."
- b) While apparently hoping that early talks can take place with the Dutch, Sukarno is not in a mood to concede very much. He is still against self-determination and is thinking in terms of Indonesian administration after a year of UN supervision.
- c) Following Sukarno's meeting with his military chiefs and other top aides later in the day, it was announced that he will issue some kind of "command" on the New Guinea question next Tuesday. Foreign Minister Subandrio is scheduled to make a declaration on the subject to parliament today.
- d) Jones reports that Sukarno was obviously pleased when he learned of the scheduling of the Attorney General's visit.

4. Congo

a) There was little change in the military situation in Katanga yesterday. Sporadic fighting continued in and around Elizabethville.

b) India's top diplomat in the Congo is in Elizabethville trying to persuade the UN military to launch all-out war.

50X1  
50X1  
50X1  
50X1

c) Adoula is keeping a watchful eye on the Gizenga problem. He has had an indictment of Gizenga drawn up, but is probably looking for a boost from developments in Katanga before presenting it to parliament.

d) Ambassador MacArthur predicts that we are in for a "very, very rough time" in our relations with the Belgians because of Katanga.

5. Laos

a) As of yesterday, the three princes meeting was on again, with Souvanna

to come to Vientiane if his security terms are met and Phoumi saying he now agrees to them. No date has been set, however, and difficulties could still develop.  50X1

b) The rebel forces, meanwhile, appear to be adding considerably to their hardware. An American pilot reports sighting two columns of tanks--he counted 35--accompanied by numbers of weapons carriers and trucks, crossing into Laos from North Vietnam on Sunday and Monday.

6. Chinese representa-  
tion vote

The outlook for a favorable vote on the "important question" resolution--likely to come up on Thursday or Friday--is good, with the Latin Americans strongly behind it and the bulk of the Brazzaville group ready to go along. Our UN delegation thinks that the Soviet resolution, as it now stands, would not win a simple majority. However, it still fears moves by countries favoring the "two-Chinas" idea to amend the Soviet resolution in such a way that the General Assembly will be put on record as favoring admission of Peiping without excluding Taipei.

NOTES

50X1

A.

50X1

C. There has been no further progress in the Dominican negotiations.

50X1

E. Soviet and European satellite delegations are assembling in Warsaw for a meeting of the Council of Economic Mutual Assistance which will probably drum Albania out of its ranks.

F. The Burmese are asking Moscow to resume its economic aid program, which has been pretty much dormant ever since a previous Burmese government held out for grants instead of credits. However, the U Nu government recently accepted an \$84,000,000 credit from Peiping and Moscow will probably try to re-enter the picture with another offer of long-term credits.

G. The East Germans are getting ready to cut off imports of foundry coke from West Germany and to increase imports of hard coal from the USSR. There appear to be related moves to provide insurance against a possible suspension of trade with West Germany.

H. The Menzies government is maintaining a small lead in election returns but the outcome will be uncertain until the count is complete.

50X1

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50X1

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ND/C

# THE PRESIDENT'S INTELLIGENCE CHECKLIST

~~13 DEC. 1961  
TOP SECRET~~

50X1

50X1

## 1. Congo

The UN Command plans to launch its offensive against Tshombé's main base in Elizabethville tomorrow following today's scheduled US airlift of Ethiopian reinforcements and materiel. Time for the operation is limited, however for the UN air force must stand down for maintenance early next week. US officials in Katanga suspect that the UN military are not completely under civilian control and intend to go beyond the limited objectives assigned them (establishing freedom of movement and removing the mercenaries) in "revenge" for the September fiasco. Our people believe, moreover, that the UN military leaders have made a "hopelessly unrealistic" assessment of Katangan strength, based on "incestuous exchange of their own views."

2. Adenauer's position  
on Berlin negotiations

The Chancellor may find it more and more difficult to make good on his promise in Washington last month to support East-West negotiations limited to Berlin in the face of general opposition to this concept in Germany.

50X1

3. Venezuela

Betancourt will specify today topics for discussion with the President. Embassy Caracas is certain these will include:

- A. faster action on loans;
- B. military aid and more generous credit terms;
- C. commercial aviation problems.

4. Sukarno on West  
New Guinea

Jones anticipates Sukarno will not issue an attack order in his speech scheduled for next Tuesday but will set the stage for an ultimate take over should "peaceful" pressures fail. Meanwhile muscle flexing continues: yesterday Sukarno announced formation of a 15-member mobilization council with himself as head; a naval amphibious exercise is scheduled between 12-23 December.

50X1

5. Goa: Nehru has  
still not given  
go-ahead signal

now expects military action unless Portuguese concessions are immediately forthcoming. The Portuguese, receiving reliable intelligence on Indian troop dispositions from the Pakistanis, are evacuating women and children and trying to draw world attention to the Indian threat. Spain is actively seeking to line up support for Latin American mediation of the dispute.

50X1

NOTES

- A. Ambassador Bruce believes MacMillan's major topics in the Bermuda talks will be Berlin, the Congo and nuclear testing.
- B. The Dominican situation remains on dead center.
- C. Paraguayan exile groups may be building up to some new action against the Stroessner regime. Although plotting is perennial and a number of small scale rebel invasions over the last couple of years have been turned back easily, the government is more nervous than usual about its security, particularly the possibility of renewed Communist controlled guerrilla attacks on police installations in the interior.

50X1

50X1

- E. Brown reports Phoumi may now be trying to undercut Souvanna by reviving the old idea of persuading the King himself to accept the Prime Ministership.

50X1

50X1

Meanwhile, the Princes are dickering over a meeting date.

- F. Under the October economic agreement with the USSR, the Afghans will get a 50-year, interest-free credit of \$115 million on which repayment need not begin until 25 years after the money is spent; and a two-percent \$81 million credit repayable in 30 years.

- G. The latest returns from Australia's complex electoral system show that Menzie's coalition government suffered a decisive setback in Saturday's elections which turned almost entirely on domestic economic issues. To develop an effective working majority Menzies, as in 1949, may have to try again with a new general election early next year.

H. Garcia has formally protested the Philippine election results, and is now trying to find ways of making his protest effective. Macapagal, meanwhile, is gaining support among the military. The latter's likely to prove the decisive factor.

LATE ITEM

Further on Indonesia. Jones saw Foreign Minister Subandrio today but we have not yet received his report. After the meeting, however, Subandrio told the press that West New Guinea "has become a problem between Indonesia and the United States and this has been stated in a letter from President Kennedy to President Sukarno-- Indonesia wants to know now for certain whether there is any change in the America attitude. Indonesia still hopes for some improvement in this attitude."

50X1

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# **THE PRESIDENT'S INTELLIGENCE CHECKLIST**

14 DEC. 1961  
~~TOP SECRET~~

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50X1

1. Goa

Some Portuguese [redacted], a minority 50X1 think that New Delhi would like to ease off, if it can do so without losing face.

c) A Portuguese note on the issue, described as "very confidential," was delivered in New Delhi yesterday, according to press dispatches. We have no word yet of its contents.

2. Laos

a) Phoumi came close to torpedoing the three princes meeting on Tuesday when, in replying to Souvanna's latest offer to come to Vientiane, he reneged on granting Souvanna's security terms. Yesterday, after some stern words from Ambassador Brown, he reversed himself again and publicly announced acceptance of the terms.

50X1

3. Congo

a) The UN is scheduled to launch a major offensive in Elizabethville today, following yesterday's buildup of troops and supplies, but there has been no word yet that the action has begun.

b) Gizenga's whereabouts are again unknown. He may be somewhere in the area of the Northern Katanga border looking for opportunities to batten on the situation there. However, the Egyptians, who have been a major prop for him, are apparently pulling their mission out of Stanleyville and transferring it to Leopoldville.

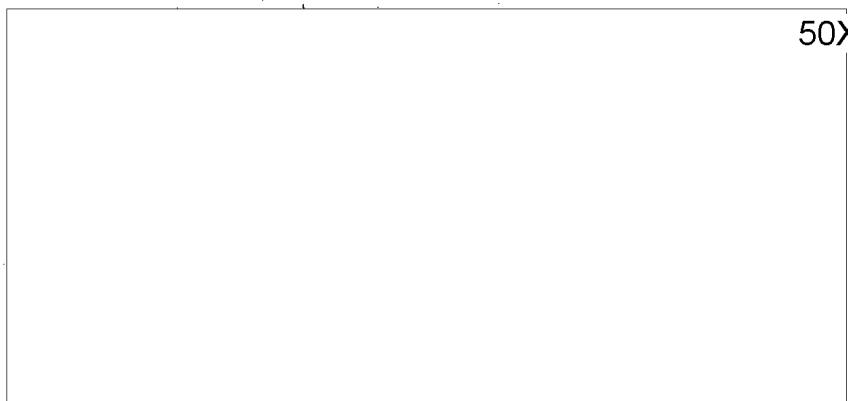
50X1

50X1

50X1



50X1



5. Moscow adopts patient air on timetable for negotiations

The Soviets, Ambassador Thompson believes, are avoiding any show of impatience or pessimism over the outlook for successful negotiations. He notes that both the press and official contacts are registering awareness of the timetable for further four-power consultations designed to achieve agreement on the timing and substance of Berlin negotiations.

NOTES

- A. No significant disturbances occurred in Venezuela yesterday.
- B. Its fumbling behavior in the Dominican crisis is beginning to cost the National Civic Union some of its support. The lost following seems, however, to be gravitating as much toward other moderate groups as toward the extremists.
- C. One Soviet arms shipment reached Alexandria last week and others are believed to be enroute now under the sizeable Soviet-Egyptian arms deal [redacted] 50X1  
[redacted] 50X1
- D. The Austrians say that the first Soviet reaction to their announcement that they are seeking Common Market ties was "mild." They still expect to be treated to heavy pressure.
- E. Latest returns from Australian election shows Menzies may have only 61 out of 122 seats. A third cabinet minister has been defeated.
- F. The Chinese Nationalists are threatening a Security Council veto of Tanganyika's admission to the UN because of Tanganyika's avowed support for Peiping. President Nyerere has turned down a formula under which Taipei would not veto Tanganyika if the latter would not vote against the Nationalists for 2 years.

**WATCH COMMITTEE CONCLUSIONS--13 December 1961**

No Sino-Soviet bloc country intends deliberately to initiate direct military action in the immediate future.

BERLIN: There are indications the Communists will continue their pressure on the Western position in Berlin, including measures designed to harass and restrict Western access and to gain acceptance of the Berlin wall as an international border. However, their present military activity does not suggest that they expect these measures will significantly raise the risk of an early serious military confrontation.

LAOS: An early political solution is not likely. In the event that negotiations are not held or fail ultimately to reach an agreement, an increase in military operations appears likely.

50X1

SOUTH VIETNAM: Viet Cong subversive and military activity continues at a high rate with no markedly successful counter-actions by government forces.

INDONESIA: Disappointed by the UN's failure to recommend a "satisfactory" solution to the West New Guinea problem, Sukarno appears to be taking an increasingly belligerent attitude; has stated that his own time for action is running out; and has made a highly advertised promise to issue some command regarding West New Guinea on 19 December. On the other hand, Indonesian tactics have long been to threaten military action for purposes of exerting diplomatic pressures, meanwhile continuing the military buildup.

50X1

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# **THE PRESIDENT'S INTELLIGENCE CHECKLIST**

15 DEC. 1961  
~~TOP SECRET~~

1. Goa: no action yet

A. Nehru maintains his position that Portuguese agreement to withdraw is the sole basis for a peaceful solution.

50X1

B. Salazar in a pessimistic talk with Senator Dodd yesterday anticipated an Indian attack today and instructed his troops to "die defending Goa."  
C. We have no information that fighting has broken out and Nehru may still anticipate some move from Lisbon providing him with a basis for compromise.

2. Congo

UN forces in Elizabethville began their offensive last night. Reports conflict on the progress of fighting but we are not optimistic over a quick UN victory. We have no information on how Adoula or Tshombé are reacting to the latest efforts to bring them together.

3. Subandrio says Indonesia continues ready for bilateral negotiations with the Dutch

He told Ambassador Jones that Sukarno's long-awaited pronouncement next Tuesday would be along the lines "I order the Indonesian people to be ready at any time to meet force with force" and would not order precipitate action against West New Guinea.

He went much farther than Sukarno has on self-determination, expressing willingness to hold a plebiscite after a period of years. While we have noted no abatement in Indonesian military preparations for eventual armed action, Jones reports a continuing calm atmosphere in Djakarta - "no excitement, no build-up, no attacks on the US or the West."

4. Repercussions of Soviet-Albanian break

A. Albania's Vice Premier and Foreign Trade Minister are scheduled to transit Italy this week enroute to Rangoon and almost certainly on to Peiping to ask urgent economic support. The Chinese will then have to choose between directly defying the USSR and losing face by abandoning Albania. While they have published the Moscow-Tirana exchange of notes, the Chinese have not so far taken a public stand on the question.

B. Indonesia Foreign Minister Subandrio told our Ambassador that Khrushchev's attack on Albania has "opened eyes" in Asia and Africa. If he could treat a Communist nation this way, Subandrio said, what could a non-Communist one expect?

5. Berlin

- A. An East German Party official has stated that no West German laws will be acceptable for West Berlin under "Free City" status and declares the present Federal offices and employees in the city are "illegal."
- B. Prospects are improving for establishment of an International Red Cross permit office in West Berlin to issue permits for West Berliners to visit the eastern sector of the city; the initial reaction all around is one of conditional approval.

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NOTES

- A. No major new developments in Caracas or Bogota have been reported.
- B. Soviet aircraft are searching northeast Siberia for remnants of Monday's unsuccessful space shot. They are hampered by bad weather and short daylight hours, and so far have had no luck.  
[redacted]
- C. The Soviets have begun test-firing their 2,000-mile ballistic missile to a range of 2,500 nautical miles. A missile of this range would allow launcher deployment deeper inside the USSR and bring all the Eurasian land mass plus much of North Africa within range of MRBM sites in the USSR.  
[redacted] 50X1
- D. We believe the Chinese Communist military delegation to North Vietnam arrived in Hanoi ahead of schedule on Wednesday.  
[redacted] The delegation is roughly equivalent in rank and responsibilities to the Taylor mission; its leader was concerned with Chinese military support for Ho Chi Minh during the Indochina war. 50X1
- E. Nehru stated to Ho Chi Minh's personal envoy his strong conviction that President Kennedy desired peace in Southeast Asia and that this purpose would best be served if Hanoi stopped encouraging the "guerrillas."
- F. The Swedes have told us that they, the Swiss and the Austrians will apply separately today for association with the Common Market.
- G. Boun Oum's talks yesterday with Souvanna and Souphanouvong at the rebel capitol resulted in tentative agreement for a "conclusive" Princes' meeting in Vientiane on 26 December.

H. Balaguer has requested Consul Hill to tell the President in San Juan that there would be no obstacle to an agreement "if the opposition was not intransigent." Rodriguez and the opposition do appear to be inching closer to one another. Hill dismisses incidents of the last few days at our visa section as "informer-chasing" sport by youthful Dominican gangs and notes neither government nor opposition associates itself with these carrying-on's.

I. Ambassador Gavin reports mushrooming Paris rumors of John Birch society financial aid to the extremist Secret Army Organization in Algeria.

J. Philippine constitutional processes finally prevailed Wednesday evening when the Congress in special joint session officially proclaimed Macapagal President and Garcia formally acknowledged his victory.

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L. Prospects for an Okinawan leftist victory in Sunday's Naha mayoralty election are improving. Their success would strengthen elements favoring immediate reversion to Japan, stimulate new Japanese overtures for participation in Okinawan affairs and promote agitation against US military bases.

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16 UC 6/50X1

## 1. CONGO:

A. PRESS REPORTING ON THE CONGO HAS TENDED TO BE OVERBLOWN. OUR BEST INFORMATION ON THE SITUATION AS OF THIS MORNING IS THAT THE UN YESTERDAY NEARLY COMPLETED THE ENCIRCLEMENT OF ELIZABETHVILLE AND HAD CONTROL OF THE NORTHERN AND NORTHWESTERN SECTIONS BUT THE KATANGANS WERE STILL HOLDING THE CENTRAL AREAS AND THERE WERE NO SIGNS OF A SLACKENING OF RESISTANCE.

B. UN HEADQUARTERS IN NEW YORK HAS ANNOUNCED THAT A NEW UN ATTACK AGAINST KATANGAN POSITIONS IN ELIZABETHVILLE WAS LAUNCHED THIS MORNING. A LATE PRESS DISPATCH FROM ELIZABETHVILLE SAYS THAT TSHOMBE HAS FLED THE CAPITAL TOWARD THE RHODESIAN BORDER. WE ARE TREATING THE REPORT WITH RESERVE.

C. TSHOMBE HAS APPARENTLY BEEN GETTING RESUPPLIES OF ARMS BY WAY OF RHODESIA. THERE ARE ALSO SOME INDICATIONS THAT MORE FOUGA JETS--POSSIBLY AS MANY AS SIX--ARE IN THE BRAZZAVILLE CONGO AWAITING DELIVERY TO THE KATANGANS.

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50X1

[Redacted] 50X1

D. EFFORTS TO ARRANGE AN ADOULA-TSHOMBE MEETING ARE CONTINUING WITH NO IMMEDIATE SUCCESS IN SIGHT. ADOULA LEFT LEOPOLDVILLE FOR KIVU PROVINCE YESTERDAY AND IS NOT SCHEDULED TO RETURN UNTIL SUNDAY. TSHOMBE'S LAST WORD IS THAT HE IS READY FOR TALKS BUT ONLY ON NEUTRAL GROUND AND ON THE BASIS OF MILITARY POSITIONS PRESENTLY HELD BY THE UN AND KATANGA. TSHOMBE'S AIM NOW APPEARS TO BE TO SQUEEZE AS MUCH ADVANTAGE AS POSSIBLE OUT OF THE INTERNATIONAL PRESSURES FOR A CEASE-FIRE.

E. NARASIMHAN, INDIAN DEPUTY TO U THANT, HAS ASSURED OUR UN DELEGATION THAT ORDERS HAVE BEEN SENT TO THE UN MILITARY COMMANDERS IN KATANGA TO STAY WITHIN THE LIMITS OF UN POLICY. HE ALSO SAID THAT THE PROBLEM OF THE INDIAN DIPLOMAT RAHMAN IN ELIZABETHVILLE HAD BEEN "TAKEN CARE OF."

[Redacted] 50X1

[Redacted] 50X1



50X1

2. GOA:

50X1 50X1

A. NEHRU HAS ONCE AGAIN PUT OFF A DECISION TO ATTACK.



B. THE PORTUGUESE ARE CONTINUING THEIR EVACUATION OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN FROM GOA, MEANWHILE WORKING FEVERISHLY TO BRING INTERNATIONAL PRESSURE TO BEAR ON NEW DELHI. THEIR NEXT MOVE MAY BE RE COURSE TO THE UN.

50X1

3. SOVIET FIGHTER DEPLOYMENT:

MOSCOW IS CARRYING OUT A RATHER SIZEABLE WESTWARD DEPLOYMENT OF FIGHTER AIRCRAFT. THE MOVEMENT, WHICH BEGAN ON 8 DECEMBER AND WAS CONTINUING THROUGH YES TERDAY,

50X1

WE ARE NOT SERIOUS 50X1

CONCERNED AT PRESENT--THERE ARE NO OTHER SIGNIFICANT INDICATIONS THAT BLOC FORCES ARE BEING READIED FOR MILITARY ACTION. NEVERTHELESS, THE MOVEMENT HAS MANY UNUSUAL FEATURES FOR WHICH WE HAVE NO EXPLANATION NOW. AN IMPORTANT KEY TO THE PURPOSE OF THE MOVE WILL BE WHETHER THE PLANES REMAIN IN SOVIET HANDS OR ARE TURNED OVER TO SATELLITE FORCES.



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4. NOTES:

A. GENERAL NASUTION HINTED BROADLY TO AMBASSADOR JONES YESTERDAY THAT THE TEMPERATURE IN DJAKARTA MIGHT RUN VERY HIGH ON THE NEW GUINEA ISSUE BUT THAT THE BOILING POINT WOULD NOT BE REACHED IN THE NEAR FUTURE.

B. BANGKOK IS RUSHING REINFORCEMENTS TO NORTHEAST THAILAND WHERE FIGHTING HAS BROKEN OUT BETWEEN POLICE FORCES, WHO WERE CONDUCTING A SECURITY ROUNDUP, AND LOCAL DISSIDENTS. SEPARATIST SENTIMENT IN THIS DEPRESSED AREA HAS BECOME HEAVILY TINGED BY COMMUNIST INFLUENCE SPREADING ACROSS THE BORDER WITH LAOS.

C. THERE IS FURTHER EVIDENCE THAT BRAZIL'S ATTITUDE TOWARD CUBA IS HARDENING. A TOP FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIAL HAS TOLD AMBASSADOR GORDON THAT BRAZIL HAS "DEFINITELY ABANDONED" ITS PREVIOUS POSITION.

D. THE EAST GERMANS YES TERDAY PROTESTED TO THE US--THROUGH THE CZECHS IN PRAGUE--AGAINST THE "UNLAWFUL PROVOCATIVE TROOP MOVEMENTS OF AMERICAN NATO UNITS IN THE TERRITORY OF THE GDR." THE NOTE ALLEGED THE RECENT AUTOBAHN MOVEMENTS CONFIRM "THERE ARE NO LEGAL FOUNDATIONS ANY LONGER FOR THE PRESENCE OF US TROOPS IN WEST BERLIN."

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**TOP SECRET**

**TOP SECRET**

**THE WHITE HOUSE**

OUTGOING MESSAGE

**OPERATION IMMEDIATE**  
PRECEDENCE

50X1

17 DEC 61  
DATE

FROM: CIA/OCI/SHELDON

TO: GEN MCHUGH EYES ONLY

INFO:

CITE: \_\_\_\_\_

**PRESIDENT'S INTELLIGENCE CHECKLIST**

## 1. CONGO:

A) THE UN ESTABLISHED VIRTUALLY COMPLETE CONTROL OF ELIZABETHVILLE IN YESTERDAY'S FIGHTING. THERE IS STILL SCATTERED SKIRMISHING.

KATANGAN FORCES IN THE CITY APPEAR TO BE BROKEN UP AND SEALED OFF FROM THE OUTSIDE. THE UN NOW PLANS TO ~~XXXXXX~~ BEGIN THE NEXT PHASE OF

OPERATIONS: A MOP-UP OF THE REMAINING POCKETS OF RESISTANCE ~~XXXXXX~~ IS ~~XX~~ EXPECTED TO TAKE A MAXIMUM OF FIVE DAYS. THERE IS NO RELIABLE INFORMATION ON THE CASUALTIES ON EITHER SIDE.

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**THE WHITE HOUSE**

OUTGOING MESSAGE

**OPERATION IMMEDIATE**  
PRECEDENCE**17 DEC 61** 50X1  
DATE

FROM:

TO:

INFO:

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CITE: \_\_\_\_\_

**3. THE LAOS:**

THE OFT-DELAYED THREE PRINCES' MEETING IS NOW SCHEDULED TO TAKE PLACE AT VIENTIANE ON 27 DECEMBER. BOUN OUM AND PHOUMI, HOWEVER, ARE STILL TRYING TO SCOTCH THE MEETING BY PERSUADING THE KING TO NAME NAME HIMSELF AS PRIME MINISTER. WE DOUBT THAT THE KING WILL DO THIS.

PAGE \_\_\_\_\_ OF \_\_\_\_\_

**THE WHITE HOUSE**

## OUTGOING MESSAGE



WHASA

OPERATION IMMEDIATE

PRECEDENCE

17 DEC 61 50X1

DATE

FROM:

TO:

INFO:

CITE: \_\_\_\_\_

## NOTES:

A. ULRICHT'S SPECIAL PLANE FLEW TO MOSCOW ON FRIDAY. ALTHOUGH NOT ABSOLUTELY SURE, WE THINK HE WAS IN IT. THIS VISIT, LIKE HIS LAST ONE IN LATE NOVEMBER, MAY BE TIED TO PURELY INTERNAL EAST GERMAN PROBLEMS, ~~WE~~ BUT WE DO NOT RULE OUT THE POSSIBILITY THAT HE WILL DISCUSS SOME FURTHER MOVE AGAINST WEST BERLIN.

50X1

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C. THERE ARE GOOD INDICATIONS THAT, IN AT LEAST SOME PARTS OF THE SOVIET UNION, THE ~~FORMER~~ POPULATION WAS VERY MUCH AWARE OF THE SOVIET ~~UNION~~ NUCLEAR TESTS AND APPREHENSIVE OVER THE FALL-OUT HAZARD. KNOWLEDGE OF THE TESTS WAS SPREAD BY WORD-OF-MOUTH AND WE THINK THE GOVERNMENT'S SUPPRESSION OF INFORMATION TENDED TO STIMULATE AN EXAGGERATED REACTION.

PAGE 1 OF 1

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LAW CHANGE TO WHITE HOUSE TO ITEMS LIBRARY.

PROGRESS IS BEING MADE TOWARD GETTING ADOULA AND TSHOME~~E~~  
AND OTHER TSHOME~~E~~ WHO IS APPARENTLY BACK IN ELIMBE DIVILLE,  
HAS ANSWERED THE PRESIDENTS MESSAGE, SAYING HE IS WILLING TO MEET WITH  
ADOULA AND BUNCHE UNDER GULLIONS PROTECTION AND ASKING FOR  
AN IMMEDIATE CEASE FIRE. MEANWHILE, GULLION HAS TALKED WITH  
ADOULA WHO HAS AGREED IN PRINCIPLE TO A MEETING. HIS FINAL DECISION  
WILL AWAIT A CABINET MEETING TODAY. THE X MAIN DANGER XX IS THAT  
ADOULA WILL IMPOSE CONDITIONS FOR A MEETING WHICH TSHOME~~E~~ CANNOT  
ACCEPT. THESE MIGHT INCLUDE NO CESSATION OF THE FIGHTING UNLESS  
TSHOME~~E~~ SURRENDERS UNCONDITIONALLY.

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# **THE PRESIDENT'S INTELLIGENCE CHECKLIST**

18 DEC. 1961  
TOP SECRET

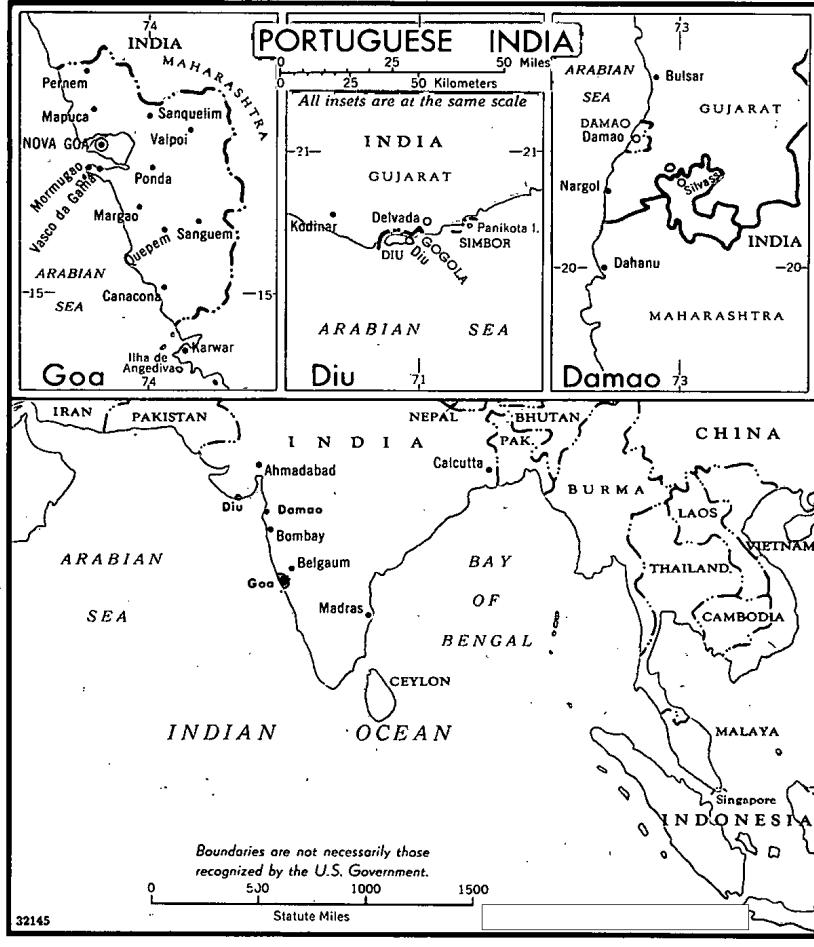
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1. Goa

A. The Indian attack, using upwards of 17,000 troops, armor and artillery, and supported by jet aircraft, will probably overrun Goa very quickly.

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So far, it appears that fighting is rather light; we think the Indian forces are trying to achieve their objectives with a minimum use of force. The smaller enclaves of Diu and Damao have been taken against only minor resistance.

B. At least through Thursday Nehru was holding back. We think that the momentum of military and psychological build-up coupled with pressure from Krishna Menon and no sign of give from Salazar, finally overcame his reluctance.

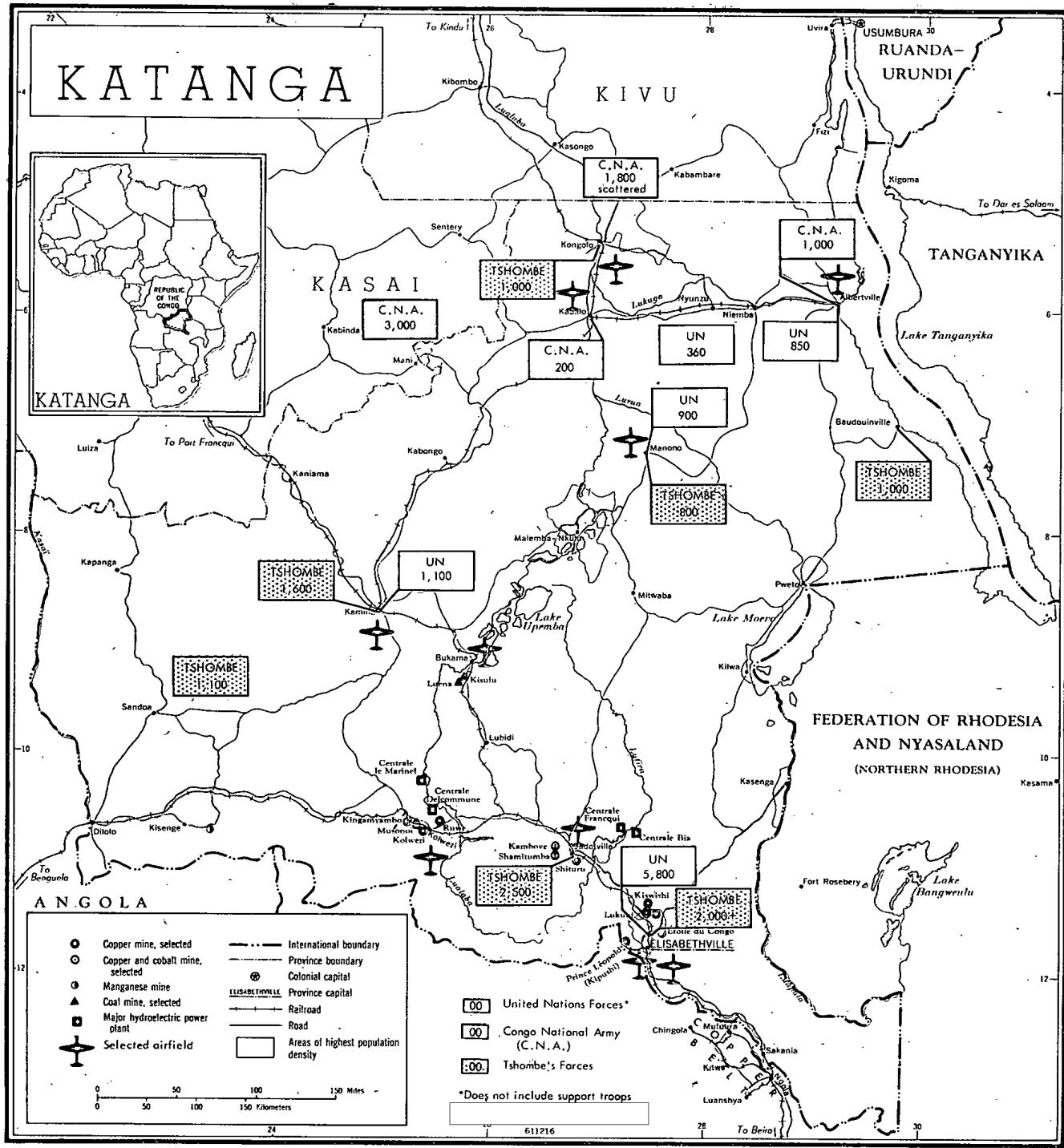
C. Portugal has asked for a meeting of the UN Security Council, and probably will seek a self-determination vote. The Portuguese believe, we think with some reason, that the Goan population does not want to be absorbed by India.

D. The Communist bloc has supported India, as have many of the Afro-Asian group. Elsewhere, reaction has been generally unfavorable.

2. Consequences of the Goan affair

Aside from the general encouragement given to those who want to solve international problems by force, we anticipate a number of specific results:

- A. In Portugal, after an initial "rallying to the flag," Salazar's opposition will be strengthened.
- B. In India, the Congress Party's election prospects will be improved, and in the longer run we would expect India Chauvinism to become a problem.
- C. Sukarno will feel new pressure to go for West New Guinea, and will almost certainly add Portuguese Timor to his list.
- D. The Chinese Communists may be tempted to take Macao.
- E. Afro-Asian support of dissident movements in Portuguese Africa will be stepped up.
- F. There may be a direct affect on the Katanga operation. In Portuguese eyes, the Indian troops there are destroying Tshombé's buffer state which would stand between Angola and the full force of African nationalism.



3. Congo

A. The mop-up of Elizabethville continues. The UN apparently has no intention of moving against other Katangan troop concentrations at present. However, UN Chief Linner has said that the ouster of the mercenaries would have to be part of any agreement with Tshombé or the UN would have to "seek them out."

B. Adoula and Tshombé have agreed to meet at the UN air base of Kitona, with Gullion planning to escort Tshombé there today.

C. That the two will meet is by no means certain, however, as Tshombé wants a formal cease-fire before he comes to Kitona; the UN is willing to cease-fire in fact, but not to announce it, because a formal cease-fire would make it impossible for Adoula to come.

D. Tshombé contends that the purpose of the meeting will be to end the fighting and gives no sign of willingness to discuss integration of Katanga into the Congo. There is also some doubt of his--and Adoula's--ability to enforce any agreement among his own followers.

4. Cambodian protest in UN against overflights reflects fear of involvement in Laos or South Vietnam.

Sihanouk has not specified whose aircraft they are, but implies they are involved in aerial reconnaissance on behalf of Diem. To dramatize his protest he has announced his intention to acquire anti-aircraft guns, and seems to have accepted some as a gift from the USSR.

5. Greek activities in Albania

The Greeks are taking advantage of the Soviet-Albanian feud to renew their longstanding campaign for Albanian-held portions of Epirus

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Italy and Yugoslavia would not favor any Greek ambitions.

6. More Soviet fighters move into Eastern Europe

The total has now reached 250-300, the reasons behind this move are still not clear; the aircraft are not first-line models and may have come out of storage. The Watch Committee mechanism has examined these moves, as well as the general Communist military posture, and finds no evidence of an intention to start a war. We think it more likely that the USSR is increasing its military capabilities in anticipation of further harassments of Western access to West Berlin or allied military access to East Berlin, or may simply be applying pressure looking toward the start of negotiations with the West.

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NOTES

A. Hill so far reports no major adverse reaction to Balaguer's announcement of a political agreement, but he expects the Fidelista to agitate against it.

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C. Contrary to our expectations, the bloc Council for Mutual Economic Assistance ended its meeting in Warsaw without expelling Albania.

D. Latest returns from yesterday's Okinawan elections show the leftist candidate for Mayor of Naha trailing by a narrow margin.

E. In the Salvadoran election--described by our Embassy as one of the most honest ever held there--the Party of National Conciliation, which supports reform, has an overwhelming lead.

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G. Cheddi Jagan of British Guiana has begun preparations to get economic aid from the bloc.

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**THE DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE**

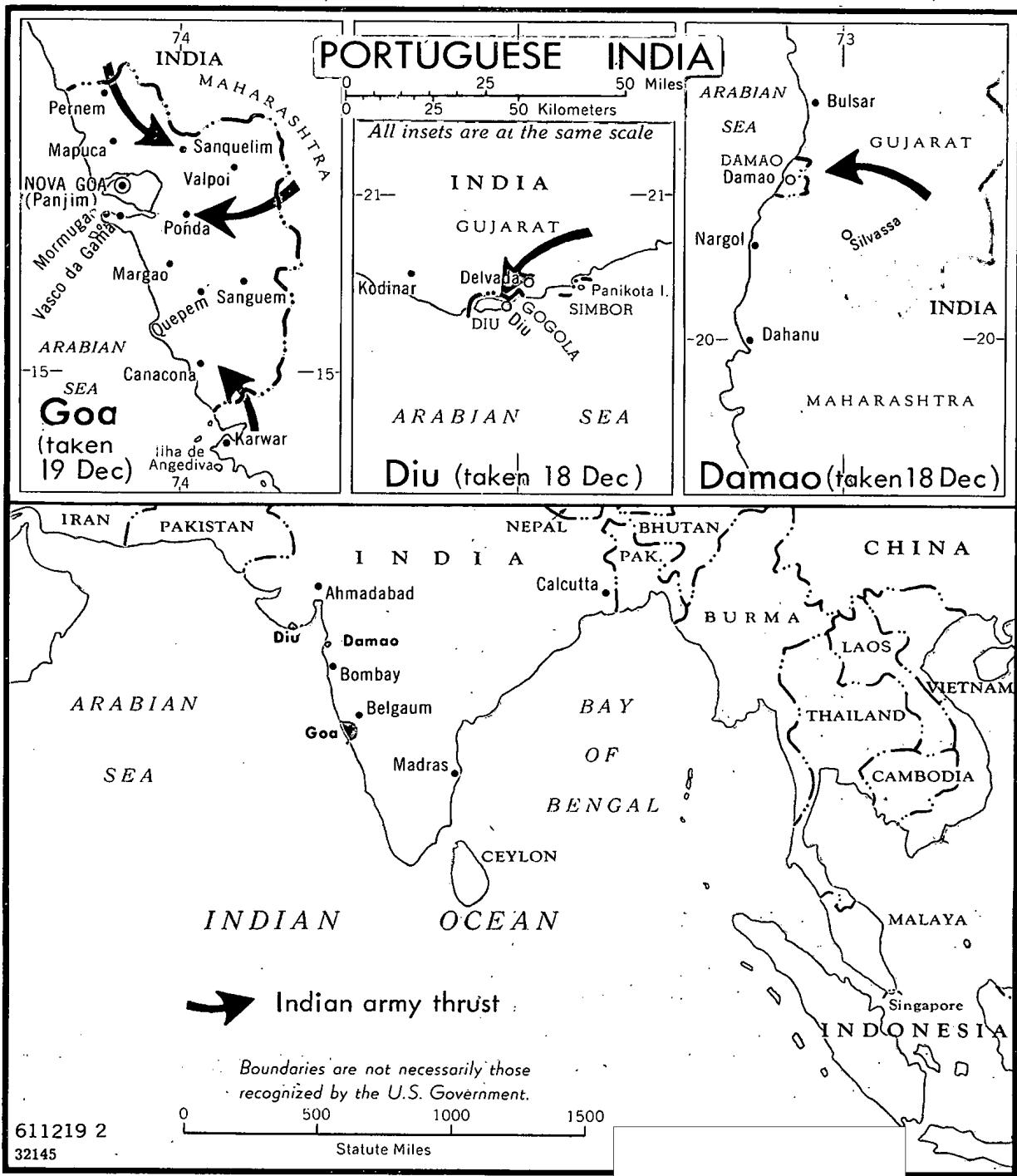
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# **THE PRESIDENT'S INTELLIGENCE CHECKLIST**

19 DEC. 1961

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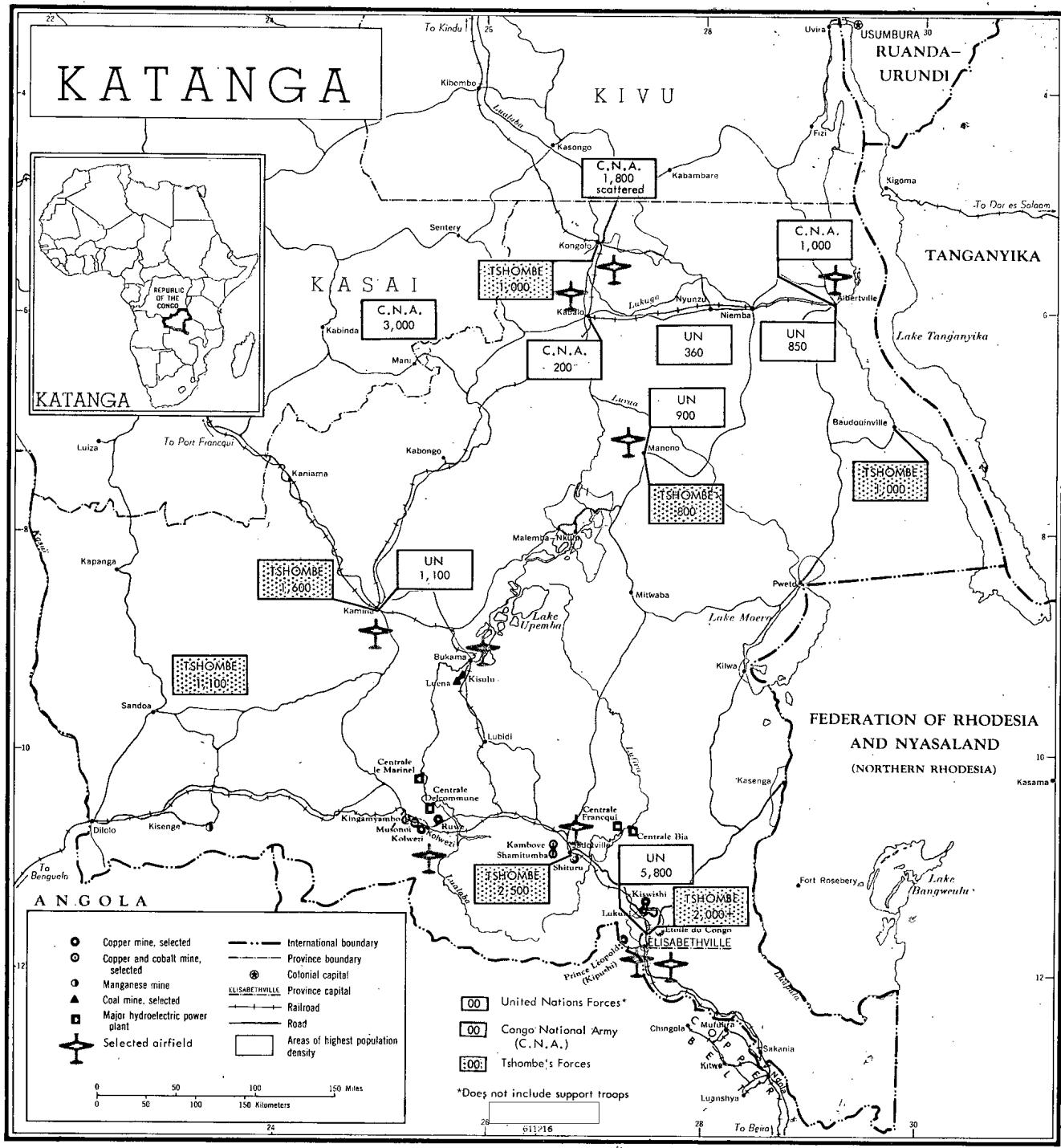


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1. Indian army completes seizure of Goa on schedule

- 1) India announced Portuguese capitulation in all three enclaves this morning following the army's thrust cutting Goa in two and breaking the back of Portugal's outmanned and outgunned resistance. A military governor has been appointed and mopping-up continues.
- 2) Last night's Soviet veto of a Security Council resolution calling for a cease-fire and Indian withdrawal has stalled UN action. Krishna Menon is due in New York tomorrow morning.
- 3) In their frustration, the Portuguese consider themselves let down by their NATO partners. The Foreign Minister warned Rusk on Friday to expect "the possibility of a fundamental change in foreign policy" should Goa be lost.

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2. Congo

- 1) Tshombé and Ambassador Gullion departed Ndola this morning to meet Adoula at Kitona and a de-facto cease-fire is in effect in Elizabethville. We continue pessimistic for an early accommodation, however.
- 2) Regardless of the outcome of the talks, Adoula is facing serious dissension and a possible cabinet crisis in his own government. Leftist Interior Minister Gbenye reportedly has broken with Adoula over internal security control and, fearing arrest, contemplates joining Gizenga in Stanleyville.
- 3) UN forces in Elizabethville control most of the city although pockets of Katangan resistance continue. Tshombé's forces appear disorganized and probably number no more than 1,600 in the city proper.
- 4) Formal UN approval is expected today of Adoula's request for limited entry of Congo Army troops into Katanga under UN auspices.

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3. Sukarno issues "peoples command" on West New Guinea

1) His speech this morning-in effect an ultimatum-formally puts the Dutch and the world at large on notice of his intent to gain control of the disputed territory by military adventure if necessary. As expected, he set no specific date for "liberation." 2) Continued preparations for possible armed action are reflected in the Indonesian Air Ministers concurrent announcement of Air Force command for the Molucca and West New Guinea districts and his order that all air space over the area be closed "in the shortest possible time."

4. Meanwhile, economic problems continue to plague Indonesia

1) Finance Minister Djuanda last week reaffirmed the serious state of the economy and imminent exhaustion of foreign exchange reserves, now at lowest levels since independence-(less than \$19 million against which \$22 million letters of credit are outstanding.)

2) Reaping the fruits of poor planning and Sukarno's policies, the government faces prospects of (1) suspending major development projects, (2) seeking emergency foreign loans, (3) pay-as-you-go financing of essential imports.

3) Further, repayment obligations on

██████████ Communist arms 50X1  
██████████ purchases and future drawings against  
██████████ aid credits will 50X1  
require direction of a much larger proportion of trade to the Bloc.

5. East German popular unrest and resentment reach proportions not seen since early 1953

1) Disaffection among all classes has resulted from Ulbricht's uncompromising program of grim economic austerity and hard-line Communism, pushed vigorously since closure of the Berlin "escape-hatch."

2) Khrushchev's unexpected Stalin attack and waiver of the peace treaty deadline has seriously aggravated this mood and spread confusion in party echelons.

[redacted] confusion and vacillation at lower party levels is continuing.

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50X1

50X1

3) While Soviet military power remains a strong deterrent, we believe the popular mood is such that local and sporadic violent outbreaks, particularly in industrial centers, could develop into a large-scale uprising if the internal situation deteriorates further and the regime evidences any weakness in handling public discontent.

6. Soviet Ambassador to Guinea implicated in anti-Toure activities

1) Following-up Toure's speech last week charging an "eastern embassy" with subversive activities, the government publicly ostracized Solod at diplomatic functions and requested he leave the country. He and his wife departed Conakry Saturday.

2) We believe this episode, risking the displeasure of Guinea's main Bloc aid supplier, reflects Toure's determination to remove any influence, whether from East or West, threatening his tight control.

NOTES

- A. North Vietnam is arranging to send a symbolic 2,000 tons of rice to Albania, thus joining Communist China in demonstrating economic support for Albania in the face of Soviet moves to impose economic sanctions against Hoxha.
- B. The Istanbul governor informs our people of a possible second Turkish revolution--orderly and non-violent--to be led by senior military officers who oppose pending legislative proposals and favor strong centralized government a la De Gaulle.
- C. Jubilance reigns in Taipei following the favorable UN vote on Chinese Communist representation. Foreign Minister Yeh indicates President Chiang will express his gratitude in writing to President Kennedy.
- D. East Germany has rejected West Berlin efforts to arrange a permit system under Red Cross auspices for holiday visits to East Berlin. The West Berlin press and Mayor Brandt have reacted sharply.
- E. The conservative victory in Sunday's Naha mayoralty election, while close, continued conduct of the reversion movement within moderate bounds and reduces Japanese leftist potential to exploit the issue against Ikeda.

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# **THE PRESIDENT'S INTELLIGENCE CHECKLIST**

20 DEC. 1961

~~TOP SECRET~~

1. Congo

- A. As of 1110 this morning we had no word on progress of the talks at Kitona.
- B. Adoula is under strong pressure to take a hard line with Tshombe. He has disassociated himself from the cease-fire in Elisabethville and continues to press the UN to use Congolese troops in Katanga.
- C. There was some firing in Elisabethville last night. Each side blames the other for breaking the cease-fire but the action does not seem to have been particularly serious.

2. Aftermath of Goa affair

A. The Portuguese government is in an ugly mood and is hinting at sweeping changes in foreign policy; these could extend to withdrawal from the UN and NATO.

B. Portuguese security officials

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[redacted] are getting worried over the possibility of trouble in Portugal itself.

C. Krishna Menon, holding a press conference in Cairo on his way to New York, achieved a remarkable level of sophistry in saying "Indian forces did not fire one bullet within the Goa area--India did not violate the UN charter--we did not use force, we only expressed the opinion of the people of Goa--."

D. The Chinese Communists appear somewhat embarrassed that the "bourgeois" Nehru has taken direct action against colonialism while they have confined themselves to militant talk and have had a tolerable working relationship with Macao. Their line is to support India's action but condemn Nehru's motives.

E. Jones believes the action against Goa has reinforced Sukarno's determination to use force if he cannot obtain New Guinea otherwise, but he thinks Sukarno may wait to see if there are any serious consequences for India before moving. He adds that for the time being Sukarno "is banking on President Kennedy."

3. Brazilian political situation deteriorates

With executive power all but paralyzed by division of authority among the President, the Council of Ministers, and Congress, the chances of takeover by the left or by the military are on the rise. Quadros, due back in February, may also profit.

4. New Chinese Communist grain purchases from the West

They agreed to buy a million tons from Canada and are about to close a deal for another million from France. Terms granted by Canada (25 percent down and the rest in nine months) are the same as those in previous deals, considerably less liberal than the three-year credits the Chinese wanted. These purchases are only the first of a series, as Peiping will probably buy at least as much in 1962 as this year's 5.7 million tons. [redacted]

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5. Adenauer's reaction to  
Paris meeting

He told Dowling that in light of his agreement with De Gaulle, it was impossible that the French could have been completely negative. When Dowling insisted, he said Couve de Murville must have been at fault. Dowling believes Adenauer finds it impossible to visualize a split between himself and De Gaulle and is trying to rationalize the latter's performance.

NOTES

- A. A Soviet protest to Lebanon against a Lebanese - West German technical assistance agreement (because it contains a standard clause making it applicable to Berlin) may be the first gun in a new Soviet diplomatic campaign to break the connection between West Germany and Berlin in the eyes of other nations.
- B. Pope's appeal for clemency is on Sukarno's desk, but we have no word on when the latter may act on it.
- C. Albania, while expanding trade with the West, is not interested in obtaining credit, apparently because Communist China is supplying sufficient foreign exchange.
- D. Balaguer has asked Hill to transmit his thanks for the President's message and for proposed US actions.
- E. A UAR diplomat claims that Iraq will be encouraged by the Goan action to attack Kuwait soon. We would expect to get some preliminary warning of such a move and have not yet done so.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
21 December 1961 OPIM

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WHITE HOUSE

CIA/  
~~EE~~ Amory

PLEASE PASS TO GEN. CLIFTON EYES ONLY FOR THE PRESIDENT.  
COPY EYES ONLY GENERAL TAYLOR

PRESIDENT'S INTELLIGENCE CHECKLIST

A. CONGO

ADOULA AND TSHOMBE ARE ON THE WAY BACK TO THEIR CAPITALS. A JOINT STATEMENT ON THEIR TENTATIVE ACCORD IS DUE TODAY. ITS CONTENTS HAD NOT REACHED US AS OF 6:30 THIS MORNING NOR HAVE WE YET RECEIVED A DETAILED REPORT FROM GULLION, WHO HAD A HAND IN THE LAST STAGES OF THE DISCUSSIONS. HOWEVER, BOTH HE AND BUNCHE HAVE INDICATED GUARDED OPTIMISM AT THE RESULTS. IN GENERAL, WHAT SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN ACHIEVED <sup>S</sup> IN AN AGREEMENT BETWEEN ADOULA AND TSHOMBE THAT THE PRESENTLY OPERATIVE FUNDAMENTAL LAW SHOULD PROVIDE THE BASIS FOR FOLLOW-UP NEGOTIATIONS; THAT THERE SHOULD BE A MEETING OF THE ENTIRE CONGOLESE PARLIAMENT, INCLUDING THE KATANGANS, AT WHICH THE QUESTION OF THE DEGREE OF KATANGA AUTONOMY WITHIN AN UNIFIED CONGO WOULD BE HANDED OUT.

B. SCATTERED SHOOTING CONTINUES IN ELIZABETHVILLE, BUT THE CEASE-FIRE HAS NOT BEEN RUPTURED.

LATE INFORMATION

TSHOMBE'S AGREEMENT HAS NOW BEEN MADE PUBLIC. IT STATES THAT HE:

1. ACCEPTS THE APPLICATION OF THE FUNDAMENTAL LAW OF MAY 19, 1960.
2. RECOGNIZES THE INDIVISIBLE UNITY OF THE REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO.
3. RECOGNIZES PRESIDENT KASAVUBU AS CHIEF OF STATE.
4. RECOGNIZES THE AUTHORITY OF THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT OVER ALL PARTS OF THE REPUBLIC.
5. AGREES TO THE PARTICIPATION OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PROVINCE OF KATANGA IN A GOVERNMENT COMMISSION TO PREPARE A NEW CONSTITUTION.
6. AGREES TO TAKE ALL MEASURES TO PERMIT SENATORS AND DEPUTIES OF KATANGA PROVINCE TO EXERCISE THE NATIONAL FUNCTIONS.
7. AGREES THAT THE GENDARMERIE OF KATANGA SHALL BE PLACED UNDER THE AUTHORITY OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC.
8. AGREES TO SEE THAT THE RESOLUTIONS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL AND GENERAL ASSEMBLY ARE RESPECTED AND TO FACILITATE THEIR EXECUTION.

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**THE PRESIDENT'S INTELLIGENCE CHECKLIST--22 DECEMBER 1961****1. CONGO:**

A. GULLION, IN A "FIRST-TAKE" EVALUATION, BELIEVES THE HARD-WON TSHOMBE-ADOULA ACCORD, WHILE ADMITTEDLY PRECARIOUS, REPRESENTS A MILESTONE IN OUR CONGO POLICY. HE FEELS TSHOMBE WILL FIND IT HARD TO GET OUT FROM UNDER AND STILL RETAIN CREDENCE WITH HIS WESTERN SUPPORTERS.

B. TSHOMBE'S REMARKS ON HIS RETURN TO ELISABETHVILLE WERE FAR FROM ENCOURAGING. HE DEPRECATED THE TALKS AND INDICATED HE CONSIDERED THE AGREEMENT EFFECTIVE ONLY AFTER "RATIFICATION" BY HIS GOVERNMENT WHICH "CANNOT BE DONE FOR AT LEAST TEN DAYS."

C. DESPITE EFFORTS BY BOTH UN AND KATANGAN LEADERS TO MAINTAIN A DE FACTO CEASE-FIRE IN ELISABETHVILLE, THE SECURITY SITUATION THERE REMAINS PRECARIOUS.

D. THIS MORNING'S PRESS REPORTS INDICATE THE KATANGA GOVERNMENT MAY ALREADY BE LAYING THE GROUNDWORK FOR REJECTING THE KITONA ACCORD. TSHOMBE'S CABINET IS BALKY AND A KATANGA COMMUNIQUE STATES "NO DOCUMENT BINDING KATANGA WAS SIGNED AT KITONA" SINCE TSHOMBE HAD NO PARLIAMENTARY MANDATE.

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**2. LAOS:**

PREPARATIONS FOR NEXT WEDNESDAY'S THREE PRINCE'S MEETING AT VIENTIANE ARE STALLED OVER SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS AND CONSIDERATION IS BEING GIVEN TO THEIR MEETING IN GENEVA.

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**3. GOA AFTERMATH:**

A. AMBASSADOR ELBRICK EXPECTS PORTUGAL TO ANNOUNCE IMPORTANT CHANGES IN FOREIGN POLICY WITHIN THE NEXT FEW DAYS.

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B. PAKISTAN AND THAILAND HAVE REACTED SHARPLY. THE PAKISTAN PRESS IS CONCERNED OVER A SIMILAR FATE FOR KASHMIR AND QUESTIONS THE VALUE OF MILITARY ALLIANCES. ROUNTREE FEELS THE INDIAN ACTION WILL FEED EXTREMIST VOICES, ESPECIALLY ON KASHMIR.

IN BANGKOK, SARIT SEEMS PARTICULARLY UPSET OVER GOA AND BITTERLY CRITICAL OF NEHRU.

C. EXTENSIVE CHINESE COMMUNIST PRESS COVERAGE ON GOA FAILS TO MENTION EITHER HONG KONG OR MACAU. THE CONSUL GENERAL SEES IN THIS AN ABSENCE OF CHINESE INTENT TO MOVE AGAINST THEM OR TO MANUFACTURE A PRETEXT TO DO SO.

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4. INDONESIA-WEST NEW GUINEA:

A. THE DISPUTANTS REMAIN FAR APART ON THEIR TERMS FOR NEGOTIATION. THE DUTCH INSIST ON A THIRD-PARTY "WITNESS" FOR ANY DISCUSSIONS WHILE THE INDONESIANS DEMAND BILATERAL TALKS. BOTH SIDES HOLD TO THEIR PREVIOUS POSITIONS ON NATIVE SELF-DETERMINATION.

B. THE INDIAN AMBASSADOR HAS INFORMED JONES THAT HIS CHINESE COMMUNIST AND SOVIET COLLEAGUES <sup>G</sup> SEPARATELY TOLD HIM THEIR COUNTRIES WOULD IMMEDIATELY SUPPLY ARMS IF INDONESIA ATTACKS WEST NEW GUINEA.

C. DJUANDA AGAIN APPEALS TO JONES FOR HELP TO BRING ABOUT PROGRESS TOWARDS A PEACEFUL SOLUTION.

## 5. NOTES:

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B. THE ELECTION OF MODERATE-CONSERVATE QUDSI AS SYRIAN PRESIDENT IS NOW COUNTERBALANCED BY HIS NAMING MARUF AL-DAWALIBI, AN EXTREME ANTI-WESTERN ARAB NATIONALIST AND ADVOCATE OF CLOSE BLOC RELATIONS, AS PREMIER-DESIGNATE.

C. AMBASSADOR RUSSELL BELIEVES THE DRAFT OF NKRUMAH'S VOLTA PROJECT SPEECH FALLS SHORT OF PROMISED ASSURANCES AND AS IT STANDS MAY BE REGARDED BY OUR PRESS AS A GESTURE OF INGRATITUDE AND ILL-WILL.

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D. WATCH COMMITTEE CONCLUSION ON BERLIN IS THAT CONTINUED COMMUNIST HARASSMENTS MAY BE EXPECTED. THESE MAY EVEN EXTEND TO TEMPORARY DISRUPTION OF AUTOBAHN TRAFFIC ON ONE OR ANOTHER PRETEXT. THE RECENT AUGMENTATION OF FIGHTER AIRCRAFT IN EAST GERMANY--AND IN HUNGARY AND BULGARIA--WILL IMPROVE THE COMMUNIST MILITARY POSITION IN EASTERN EUROPE. PRESENT COMMUNIST MILITARY ACTIVITY, HOWEVER, DOES NOT SUGGEST THAT THE COMMUNISTS EXPECT TO RISK SERIOUS MILITARY CONFRONTATION IN THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE.

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## PRESIDENT'S INTELLIGENCE CHECKLIST--23 December 1961

## 1. CONGO:

A. TSHOMBE'S POSITION HAS HARDENED FURTHER SINCE HE RETURNED SAFELY TO ELISABETHVILLE. HE CLAIMS THAT HE AND ADOULA HAD ACCEPTED THE "LOI FONDAMENTALE" DRAFTED BY THE BELGIANS, WHICH MAKES KATANGA A PROVINCE OF THE CONGO, WHEN AMBASSADOR GULLION--CAST AS VILLAIN--PRODUCED A NEW SET OF DEMANDS AND "BRUTALLY WARNED TSHOMBE HE HAD A CHOICE TO ACCEPT THIS PROTOCOL OR ELSE THE US WOULD GIVE THE UN EVERY POSSIBLE MEANS TO CRUSH KATANGA." HE SAYS HE NEVER HAD AUTHORITY FROM HIS CABINET TO ACCEPT SUCH AN AGREEMENT. (GULLION REPORTS THAT MIDWAY IN THE KITONA MEETING WHEN THINGS WERE GOING WELL TSHOMBE SUDDENLY ANNOUNCED HE HAD NO POWER TO NEGOTIATE. FROM THIS POINT THE TALKS BECAME EXTREMELY BITTER, AND WERE FINALLY SAVED FROM BREAKDOWN WHEN TSHOMBE WAS ALLOWED TO INCLUDE IN A LETTER TO THE UN TRANSMITTING THE AGREEMENT A REFERENCE TO CONSULTATION WITH THE KATANGA GOVERNMENT.)

B. TSHOMBE'S CABINET NOW SAYS IT HAS NO AUTHORITY EITHER, AND MUST REFER TO THE KATANGAN NATIONAL ASSEMBLY. THE ASSEMBLY, IT CLAIMS, HAS BEEN SCATTERED BY THE FIGHTING IN ELISABETHVILLE AND IT WILL TAKE A WEEK OR TEN DAYS TO RECONVENE IT. TSHOMBE'S DIE-HARD MINISTERS HAVE ASKED THAT THE UN CONTINUE THE CEASE FIRE WHILE THIS TAKES PLACE, GUARANTEE SAFE TRAVEL TO ELISABETHVILLE FOR ASSEMBLY DEPUTIES, AND GUARANTEE

SECURITY OF THE ASSEMBLY WHILE IT MEETS. NO RESPONSE TO THESE DEMANDS HAS BEEN REPORTED YET. WE SUSPECT THE UN WILL BALK AT ASSISTING TSHOMBE IN WHAT IS OBVIOUSLY ANOTHER EVASIVE MANEUVER. IN ANY CASE, WE DOUBT THAT THE SITUATION IN ELISABETHVILLE CAN BE FROZEN FOR MORE THAN A FEW DAYS LONGER.

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C. THERE ARE A FEW POSITIVE DEVELOPMENTS TO NOTE, HOWEVER. TSHOMBE HAS FOR THE MOMENT ACCEPTED KATANGA'S PROVINCIAL STATUS UNDER THE "LOI FONDAMENTALE" AND HAS NOT PERSONALLY GONE BEYOND HIS ACCUSATIONS OF DURESS TO REPUDIATE FINALLY THE KITONA AGREEMENT. FURTHERMORE, [REDACTED] THE KATANGAN GOVERNMENT HAS SPLIT OVER THE AGREEMENT, WITH A SIZABLE FACTION URGING ACCEPTANCE OF CENTRAL GOVERNMENT AUTHORITY "FOR SEVERAL MONTHS AT LEAST."

50X1

D. INITIAL SOVIET REACTION TO KITONA WAS CAUTIOUS, BUT ZORIN IN NEW YORK YESTERDAY ACCUSED GULLION OF "SAVING" TSHOMBE.

50X1

2. PRESENT LINE-UP FOR OAS MEETING NEXT MONTH: IT APPEARS TO US THAT:

A. NINE (COLOMBIA, COSTA RICA, EL SALVADOR, GUATEMALA, HONDURAS, NICARAGUA, PANAMA, PARAGUAY, PERU) WOULD LIKE TO STIFFEN THE ORIGINAL COLOMBIAN PLAN TO "INVITE" CUBA TO BREAK ITS TIES WITH THE BLOC.

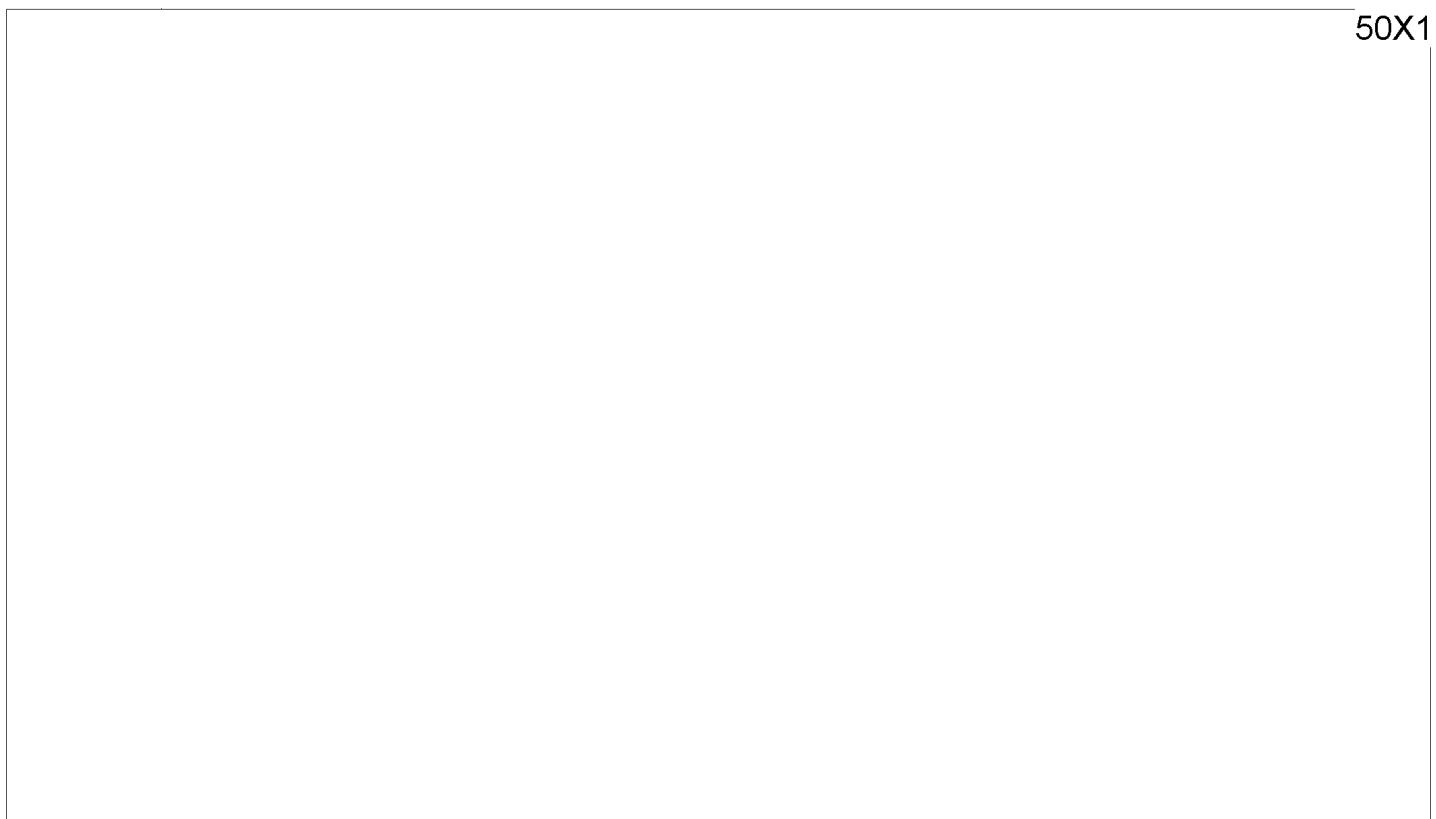
B. THREE (HAITI, DOMINICAN REPUBLIC, VENEZUELA) HAVE NOT COMMITTED THEMSELVES BUT WILL PROBABLY ALSO AGREE TO STRENGTHENING THE PROPOSAL.

C. SIX (ARGENTINA, BOLIVIA, BRAZIL, CHILE, ECUADOR, URUGUAY)--ALSO UNCOMMITTED--ARE LIKELY TO OPPOSE STRENGTHENING, BUT SOME ARE PROBABLY NOW WILLING TO GO ALONG WITH THE ORIGINAL PLAN. FRONDIZI IN PARTICULAR IS UNDER HEAVY PRESSURE FROM HIS MILITARY TO TAKE A STRONGER LINE AGAINST CUBA.

D. TWO (CUBA, MEXICO) WILL BE OPPOSED. A SPECIAL CUBAN DIPLOMATIC MISSION IS OUT VISITING VARIOUS CAPITALS IN AN ATTEMPT TO STIFFEN RESISTENCE TO OAS ACTION.

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4. INDEPENDENT AFRICAN STATES TO MEET IN NIGERIA ON  
22 JANUARY: THE CONFERENCE IS A FOLLOW-UP ON THE MONROVIA  
CONFERENCE LAST MAY, AND WILL DEAL WITH BROAD PROPOSALS FOR INTER-  
AFRICAN COOPERATION. THE FIVE "CASABLANCA" RADICAL STATES, UNEASY  
OVER THEIR ISOLATION FROM THE 20 "MONROVIA" MODERATE STATES, NOW  
PLAN TO ATTEND. THEY APPARENTLY WANT TO TURN IT INTO A "PREPARA-  
TORY MEETING" FOR THE PAN-AFRICAN CONFERENCE SCHEDULED FOR TUNIS  
IN APRIL. WHICH THEY HAVE MORE HOPE OF DOMINATING.

50X1

50X1

~~TOP SECRET DINAR~~

5. VIETNAM:

A. NORTH VIETNAM IS SHOWING SIGNS OF CONCERN OVER GUERRILLA ACTIVITIES--SUPPORTED BY SOUTH VIETNAM--AMONG ETHNIC MINORITIES ALONG ITS WESTERN BORDER.

B. A JOINT US-SOUTH VIETNAMESE RADIO DIRECTION-FINDING TEAM WAS AMBUSHED BY THE VIET CONG YESTERDAY. THE TEAM CONTAINED ONE US SERGEANT, WHO WAS KILLED.

C. SOUTH VIETNAM IS DISCUSSING WITH SOUTH KOREA THE POSSIBILITIES FOR SOME FORM OF MILITARY ASSISTANCE, APPARENTLY IN THE TRAINING FIELD.

50X1

~~TOP SECRET DINAR~~

6. INDONESIA-NETHERLANDS: SUKARNO'S WAR OF NERVES ON WEST  
NEW GUINEA CONTINUES TO BUILD UP. AS WITH THE INDIAN CAMPAIGN  
AGAINST GOA, IT APPEARS TO BE ACQUIRING A LOGIC OF ITS OWN.

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50X1

THE

DUTCH PARLIAMENT IS TO DEBATE NEW GUINEA POLICY ON 2 JANUARY,  
AFTER WHICH THE HAGUE WILL PROBABLY LOOK FOR A WAY TO ENTER  
BILATERAL TALKS. WE THINK THIS PACE MAY BE A BIT SLOW FOR SUKARNO.

50X1

**7. DEVELOPMENTS IN SINO-SOVIET DISPUTE:**

**A. THE CHINESE COMMUNISTS AND SOVIETS COLLIDED HEAD-ON AT THE WORLD PEACE COUNCIL MEETING IN STOCKHOLM LAST WEEK, WITH THE FORMER DEMANDING IN BITTER POLEMICS THAT "REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE" NOT BE SUBORDINATED TO DISARMAMENT NEGOTIATIONS.**

**B. THOMPSON REPORTS PRAVDA USING THE WORD "NEGATIVE" TO DESCRIBE THE CHINESE--THE STRONGEST LANGUAGE EVER USED IN PUBLIC BY THE SOVIETS AGAINST PEIPING.**

**C. HE ALSO REPORTS HIS IMPRESSION THAT SOVIET SUPPORT FOR CHINESE ADMISSION TO THE UN WAS LESS ENTHUSIASTIC IN DECEMBER THAN IT HAD BEEN WHEN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY CONVENED.**

8. NOTES:

A. NKRUMAH HAS MADE HIS SPEECH ON THE VOLTA RIVER PROJECT. A SUMMARY BROADCAST BY ACCRA RADIO APPEARS MORE FAVORABLE TO THE US THAN THE PRELIMINARY TEXT FURNISHED TO OUR EMBASSY.

B. WE HAVE A NUMBER OF INDICATIONS THAT AT LEAST SOME 50X1 OF THE SOVIET CONSCRIPTS RETAINED BEYOND THEIR NORMAL TERM OF SERVICE WILL BE RELEASED SOON. 50X1

**TOP SECRET**

**TOP SECRET**

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[REDACTED] FOR REVIEW BEFORE PASSING GENERAL

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CLIFTON FOR THE PRESIDENT

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COPY EYES ONLY GENERAL TAYLOR

1. CONGO:

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A. TSHOMBE WILL SEND A PARLIAMENTARY DELEGATION TO LEO-POLDIVILLE TO DISCUSS CHANGES IN THE "LOI FONDAMENTALE." HOFFACKER BELIEVES IT MAY ARRIVE AS EARLY AS WEDNESDAY, THE DEADLINE SET IN ADOULA

50X1

RATHER, HE SEEMS TO BE FIGHTING FOR TIME TO BUILD UP WORLD OPINION AGAINST THE US AND UN. HE HAS TOLD THE RHODESIANS HE HAD BEEN COERCED BY ADOULA AND GULLION, AND THAT HE PERSONALLY BELIEVED THE KATANGAN ASSEMBLY WOULD NOT RATIFY THE KITONA AGREEMENT. TSHOMBE'S VERSION OF GULLION'S ROLE AT KITONA IS BEING WIDELY DISSEMINATED AND EMBROIDERED WITH THE HELP OF THE BELGIAN PRESS.

C. WE THINK, HOWEVER, THAT TSHOMBE, HAVING TAKEN THE FIRST STEP TOWARD COMPLIANCE, MAY FIND HIMSELF UNABLE TO AVOID TAKING OTHERS UNDER THE PRESSURES WHICH WILL BE BROUGHT AGAINST HIM. BOTH NORTHERN RHODESIA AND BELGIUM HAVE AGREED TO THROW THEIR WEIGHT IN FAVOR OF THE KITONA AGREEMENT.

D. U THANT HAS ORDERED UN TROOPS TO MAINTAIN THE CEASE-FIRE. HE PLANS TO GIVE TSHOMBE 10-14 DAYS TO PUT INTO EFFECT THOSE PORTIONS OF THE AGREEMENT DEALING WITH THE UN. IF THERE IS NO ACTION, HE WILL ISSUE A WARNING, THEN ALLOW ANOTHER 10-14 DAYS BEFORE TAKING ACTION.

E. THE UN HAS NOW ANNOUNCED ITS INTENTION TO USE A BATTALION OF ADOULA'S TROOPS IN KATANGA UNDER ITS OWN COMMAND. THE UNIT IS PRESENTLY ASSEMBLED AT LULUABOURG. ALTHOUGH THIS GESTURE WILL STRENGTHEN ADOULA'S HAND AGAINST GIZENGA, IT WILL NOT HELP WITH TSHOMBE.

F. HOFFACKER DESCRIBES THE STATUS OF THE CEASE FIRE AS "FRAGILE," BUT NO MAJOR MILITARY DEVELOPMENTS HAVE BEEN REPORTED.

2. SOVIET AIRCRAFT DEPLOYMENT IN EASTERN EUROPE STILL GOING ON: THEY HAVE MOVED AT LEAST 340 FIGHTERS AND 15-20 BOMBERS SO FAR. THE AIRCRAFT--NOT THE LATEST MODELS--ARE APPARENTLY BEING TRANSFERRED TO THE EAST GERMAN AND BULGARIAN NATIONAL AIR FORCES, AND TO SOVIET FORCES IN HUNGARY. EAST GERMAN FIGHTER STRENGTH HAS ABOUT DOUBLED, AND TOTAL, BLOC FIGHTER STRENGTH IN EASTERN EUROPE IS UP ABOUT TEN PERCENT. WE STILL HAVE NO INFORMATION ON THE PURPOSE OF THESE MOVEMENTS, BUT STILL HAVE SEEN NO SIGN THAT THEY ARE PART OF A GENERAL MILITARY ALERT. THE TRANSFERS TO EAST GERMANY ARE EXPLAINABLE IN TERMS OF THE BERLIN SITUATION, AND THE FLIGHTS TO HUNGARY COULD BE INTENDED TO REPLACE AIRCRAFT MOVED BACK TO THE USSR EARLIER IN THE YEAR; WE CANNOT FIND ANY READY EXPLANATION FOR THE TRANSFERS TO BULGARIA.

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50X1  
50X1

50X1

## 5. NOTES:

A. SOVIET AGENTS ARE PLANTING REPORTS THAT THE USSR  
WILL DROP ULRICHT AND LIBERALIZE THE EAST GERMAN REGIME IF THE WEST  
GERMANS WILL ACCEPT THE SOVIET PROGRAM FOR BERLIN AND GERMANY.  
WE SUSPECT THEY ARE FISHING FOR SOME OF THE MORE SUSCEPTIBLE WEST  
GERMAN SOCIALIST LEADERS. [REDACTED]

50X1

B. ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE PRINCES' MEETING ARE STILL UP IN  
THE AIR, BUT PHOUMI IS FOR THE MOMENT BEING COOPERATIVE, AND OUR  
EMBASSY BELIEVES THAT "IN THEIR OWN LAO WAY" THE TWO SIDES WILL WORK  
THE DETAILS OUT AND MEET ON SCHEDULE. [REDACTED]

50X1

C. AMBASSADOR THOMPSON SPECULATES THAT THE CHINESE COMMU-  
NISTS WOULD SEE AN ADVANTAGE TO BE GAINED IN THEIR ARGUMENT WITH  
THE USSR BY ACHIEVING SOME OBJECTIVE BY THE USE OF FORCE. THE  
MOST LOGICAL CANDIDATE, HE BELIEVES, WOULD BE MACAO. [REDACTED]

50X1

D. WE EXPECT A WAVE OF STRIKES AND DISORDERS IN SINGAPORE  
EARLY NEXT MONTH, AS THE EXTREME LEFT ATTEMPTS TO BLOCK FORMATION OF  
THE GREATER MALAYSIA FEDERATION. [REDACTED]

50X1

E. PAKISTAN PLANS TO BRING THE KASHMIR ISSUE BEFORE THE  
UN SECURITY COUNCIL SOON, PROBABLY NEXT MONTH. [REDACTED]

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**THE PRESIDENT'S INTELLIGENCE CHECKLIST--26 DECEMBER 1961****1. CONGO:**

A. KATANGA'S REPRESENTATIVES TO THE NATIONAL PARLIAMENT ARE SCHEDULED TO REACH LEOPOLDVILLE TOMORROW. TSHOMBE HAS ALSO ANNOUNCED THAT THE KATANGAN PARLIAMENT WILL MEET ON 3 JANUARY TO VOTE ON ACCEPTANCE OF THE KITONA AGREEMENT. KIMBA, HIS FIRE-EATING FOREIGN MINISTER, HAS APPEARED IN PARIS "TO GIVE A COMPLETE AND OBJECTIVE REPORT" ON THE KITONA MEETING.

B. THERE IS NO INDICATION THAT TSHOMBE PLANS TO COMPLY WITH THOSE PORTIONS OF THE AGREEMENT DEALING WITH UN SECURITY COUNCIL DIRECTIVES, I.E. GET RID OF HIS MERCENARIES. MOST OF THE LATTER ARE SAID TO BE IN KOLWEZI AND JADOTVILLE, WHERE MOST OF TSHOMBE'S INTACT FORCES ARE CONCENTRATED. WE THINK TSHOMBE'S FORCES AROUND ELIZABETHVILLE ARE BEING STRENGTHENED AND REINFORCED.

C. HOFFACKER REPORTS, HOWEVER, THAT THERE IS NOW SOME UN COORDINATION WITH KATANGAN AUTHORITIES ON POLICING THE CITY, AND HE SEES SOME HOPE FOR LAW AND ORDER. HE IS STILL WORRIED ABOUT BEHAVIOR OF THE ETHIOPIAN TROOPS TOWARD EUROPEANS.

D. THE FIRST LEOPOLDVILLE TROOPS WILL BE MOVED TO KATANGA TOMORROW. THEY WILL BE MADE PART OF THE UN FORCE DEFENDING THE KAMINA BASE.

E. PREMIER WELENSKY OF NORTHERN RHODESIA IS CALLING HIS CABINET TOMORROW TO CONSIDER "ALTERING" RHODESIAN POLICY TOWARD KATANGA. THE DIRECTION OF CHANGE WAS UNSPECIFIED, BUT THE ANNOUNCEMENT CONTAINED A NUMBER OF ACCUSATIONS AGAINST THE UN.

50X1

3. WEST NEW GUINEA:

INDONESIAN FOREIGN MINISTER SUBANDRIO DISCUSSED THE QUESTION OF NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE DUTCH YESTERDAY IN TERMS WHICH SUGGEST THAT THE TWO SIDES CAN AT LEAST BE BROUGHT TO THE TABLE, BUT SAID JONES SHOULD GET A DEFINITIVE ANSWER FROM SUKARNO TODAY. WE DO NOT YET HAVE JONES' REPORT, NOR ANY WORD ON RESULTS OF THE APPROACH HE WAS INSTRUCTED TO MAKE IN REGARD TO POPE.

50X1

**4. NEW SYRIAN CABINET UNIMPRESSIVE:**

SYRIA APPEARS TO HAVE REVERTED TO THE POLITICAL INSTABILITY CHARACTERISTIC OF ITS PRE-UAR PERIOD. COOPERATION AMONG THE MOST POWERFUL CONSERVATIVE GROUPS HAS ALREADY BROKEN DOWN, AND WE DOUBT THAT PREMIER DAWALIBI CAN GET PARLIAMENT TO APPROVE HIS CABINET.

**5. NOTES:**

A. THERE ARE PRELIMINARY INDICATIONS THAT THE SOVIETS ARE  
GETTING READY FOR ANOTHER SPACE SHOT. [REDACTED]

50X1

50X1

B. THE USSR HAS MADE [REDACTED]  
HARSH PROTEST OVER "PLACEMENT OF ATOMIC WEAPONS IN GREECE."

C. THE CHINESE COMMUNISTS BOMBARDED QUEMOY LAST NIGHT (53  
ROUNDS) FOR THE FIRST TIME SINCE EARLY SEPTEMBER.

D. SOME OF SOUVANNA'S BODYGUARDS HAVE ARRIVED IN VIENTIANE,  
AND THE MEETING APPEARS DEFINITELY ON.

E. THE PORTUGUESE EXPECT A FLARE-UP OF REBEL ACTIVITY IN  
ANGOLA DURING THE NEXT MONTH OR SO.

F. THE FRENCH HAVE APPARENTLY GIVEN A LITTLE ON A DATE FOR  
EVACUATION OF BIZERTE.

50X1

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## THE PRESIDENT'S INTELLIGENCE CHECKLIST--27 DECEMBER 1961

1. [REDACTED] GERMAN TREATY RESCHEDULED: 50X1

A. [REDACTED] 50X1  
[REDACTED] 50X1

KHRUSHCHEV REMAINS DETERMINED TO SIGN A TREATY IRRESPECTIVE OF NEGOTIATION RESULTS BUT WILL DELAY UNTIL FEBRUARY OR MARCH TO COMPLETE BEHIND-SCHEDULE MOBILIZATION MEASURES AND TO CARRY OUT ADDITIONAL MILITARY PREPARATIONS NECESSITATED BY THE WEST'S UNEXPECTED STRENGTHENING OF NATO CAPABILITIES. [REDACTED] SOVIET LEADERS WERE

BANKING MEANWHILE ON HIGH-LEVEL BERLIN TALKS TO "GAIN TIME" AND JUSTIFY THE PREVIOUS DEADLINE POSTPONEMENT.

B. [REDACTED] 50X1  
[REDACTED] 50X1

[REDACTED] WE THINK KHRUSHCHEV WANTS TO RETAIN SOME FREEDOM OF ACTION, BUT WE DOUBT THAT MILITARY PLANNERS COULD OR WOULD TAKE THIS INTO ACCOUNT.

2. KUWAIT:

[REDACTED]  
50X1

50X1

3. CONGO:

A. OUR CONSULATE REPORTS THE REDEPLOYMENT OF UN FORCES IN ELIZABETHVILLE CONTINUES, WITH "UNDISCIPLINED" ETHIOPIANS ASSIGNED TO THE MAIN RESIDENTIAL SECTION, AND SPECULATES THE UN MAY PLAN FURTHER ATTACKS AGAINST KATANGAN BASES IF THE KITONA AGREEMENT IS REJECTED.

B. HOFFACKER REPORTS THE FLOW OF EUROPEAN REFUGEES FROM ELIZABETHVILLE CONTINUES, WITH "EVERY DEPARTING CONVEYANCE FILLED TO CAPACITY."

C. AS OF 0800 WE HAVE NO WORD ON THE KATANGA DEPUTIES MISSION TO LEOPOLDVILLE. THE POSSIBILITY OF DELAY, HOWEVER, IS RAISED BY TSCHOMBE'S REQUEST YESTERDAY EVENING FOR ADDITIONAL UN ASSURANCES.

D. [REDACTED] THE CONGO ARMY "PRESENCE" AT KAMINA AS LARGE SYMBOLIC IS NOT SHARED BY MOBUTU WHO REPORTEDLY CONSIDERS KAMINA AN ESSENTIAL BASE FOR EVENTUAL DIRECT CONGOLESE OPERATIONS AGAINST KATANGAN STRONG POINTS.

E. THE UN IS SO FAR UNSUCCESSFUL IN FINDING AN AFRICAN REPLACEMENT FOR GENERAL MACEOIN, WHO HAS AGREED TO REMAIN UNTIL 31 MARCH.

F. GULLION, REPORTING ON CONTINUED FRICTION BETWEEN "LEFTIST" AND "MODERATES" IN THE ADOULA CABINET, IS HOPEFUL FOR SOME RESOLUTION OF THE "MESS" BUT DOES NOT RULE OUT A BLOW-UP REQUIRING US TO EXERT OUR INFLUENCE.

50X1

50X1

4. USSR AGREES TO IRANIAN FRIENDSHIP NEGOTIATIONS:

A. IN A SUDDEN REVERSAL OF FIELD THE RUSSIANS HAVE ACCEPTED THE SHAH'S TWO-YEAR OLD STANDING OFFER OF A MISSILE-BASE BAN AS THE BASIS FOR TALKS, NAMED GROMYKO AS THEIR SENIOR NEGOTIATOR, AND PROMISED AN END TO SOVIET BROADCASTS ATTACKING THE SHAH WHEN DISCUSSIONS BEGIN.

B. THE FOREIGN MINISTER ASSURED CHARGE ROCKWELL YESTERDAY THAT IRAN WOULD CONSULT WITH US AND OTHER ALLIES BEFORE TAKING ANY SUBSTANTIVE POSITION IN THE TALKS.

5. LAOS:

A. IN THEIR VIENTIANE ARRIVAL SPEECHES THIS MORNING SOUVANNA PHOUma SPOKE IN A CONCILIATORY VEIN WHILE SOUPHANNOUVONG BLASTED "AMERICAN WARMONGERS" AND PRINCE BOUN OUM.

B. OUR EMBASSY IS INVESTIGATING CONFLICTING REPORTS ON THE ORIGIN OF THE ANTI-AMERICAN AND ANTI-GOVERNMENT LEAFLETS DISTRIBUTED YESTERDAY, ALLEGEDLY BY SOUVANNA'S ESCORTS.

6. ALBANIA:

A. HER NEIGHBORS CONTINUE TO VOICE CONCERN OVER SOVIET OR EACH OTHER'S INTENT TO EXPLOIT THE CURRENT POWER VACUUM BY ARMED ACTION. SO FAR, WE HAVE NO GOOD EVIDENCE TO SUPPORT ANYBODY'S ALLEGATIONS.

B. MEANWHILE, SINO-ALBANIAN RELATIONS PERK MERRILY ALONG. YESTERDAY PEIPING ANNOUNCED FORMATION OF A JOINT SHIPPING COMPANY WITH ALBANIA TO FACILITATE ECONOMIC TIES AND TIRANA PREDICTED 1962 PLAN FULFILLMENT WITH CHINESE AID DESPITE SOVIET CANCELLATION OF CREDITS.

C.

HIGH SOVIET 50X1

PUBLIC INTEREST IN THE DISPUTE.

7. NOTES:

A. THE USSR DELIVERED 8 TU-16 JET MEDIUM BOMBERS TO EGYPT YESTERDAY. MORE TU-16S, MODERN JET FIGHTERS, AND A VARIETY OF SHORT-RANGE GUIDED MISSILES, NAVAL VESSELS, AND LAND ARMAMENTS ARE ALSO DUE UNDER LAST JUNE'S AGREEMENT.

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B. WEST BERLIN OFFICIALS, APPREHENSIVE OF POSSIBLE POPULAR ACTION AGAINST THE "WALL" DURING THE HOLIDAYS, ARE MONITORING ACTIVITIES OF LIKELY INSTIGATORS.

C. PRESIDENT YDIGORAS HAS NOW PUBLICLY STATED GUATEMALA'S INTENT TO BREAK DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH BRITAIN OVER BELIZE.

D. SIHANOUK'S POLICY SPEECH YESTERDAY WAS COMPARATIVELY MILD, AND MADE NO REFERENCE TO THE US.

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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY  
OFFICE OF CURRENT INTELLIGENCE  
27 December 1961

OCI No. 3964/61

Copy No.

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CURRENT INTELLIGENCE MEMORANDUM

SUBJECT: Katangan Overtures to the Soviet Bloc  
for Assistance

1. Katangan Interior Minister Godefroid Munongo, with at least the tacit approval of Tshombé, made a public overture on 20 July 1961 to the Soviet Bloc for assistance to Katanga and indicated that a Katangan delegation was about to go to Stanleyville for a reconciliation with Gizenga.

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2. The consulate in Elisabethville reported its belief that Munongo was "not bluffing"; that it was a "solution of desperation...which he does not wish to apply but which he is prepared to carry out." The consul reported on 26 July he believed that "Tshombé is in agreement on this with Munongo."

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3. Following a strong Soviet rebuff, the Katangan leaders dropped the idea, and there is no evidence of any Katangan contact with the Soviet

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bloc or with Stanleyville. The Soviets in an Izvestia article 1 August called Munongo a "degenerate" and "out of his mind," and stated that the Soviet Union did not intend to have any dealings with the Katangan "clique of puppets." Munongo's appeal was described as a "stratagem for blackmailing the West and designed to undermine the unity of the Congo."

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EYES ONLY BROOKLEY SIMITH FOR REVIEW BEFORE PASSING GENERAL  
CLIFTON FOR THE PRESIDENT

THE PRESIDENT'S INTELLIGENCE CHECKLIST--28 DECEMBER 1961

I. LAOS:

A. YESTERDAY BOUN OUM, IRRITATED AT SOUPHANUVONG'S HARSH SPEECH ON HIS ARRIVAL IN VIENTIANE, PUT INTO EFFECT THE TACTICS HE AND PHOUMI HAD EARLIER COOKED UP. HE TOLD SOUVANNA THAT THERE WAS NO POINT IN A THREE PRINCE'S MEETING AS SUCH, THAT SOUVANNA HAD ALL THE FACILITIES NECESSARY TO FORM A GOVERNMENT, AND THAT IT WAS UP TO HIM TO DO SO. SOUVANNA'S CABINET SHOULD CONSIST OF FOUR OF BOUN OUM'S SUPPORTERS, EIGHT NEUTRALS, AND FOUR PATHET LAO. FURTHERMORE, OF THE EIGHT NEUTRALS, FOUR SHOULD BE "VIENTIANE NEUTRALS" AND BOUN OUM'S GROUP SHOULD HAVE DEFENSE AND INTERIOR. IN PHOUML'S MIND, THE PURPOSE OF THIS PLOY IS "TO ALLOW SOUVANNA TO HANG HIMSELF," SINCE HE WILL BE UNABLE TO FORM A GOVERNMENT, AFTER WHICH THE KING WILL BE INDUCED TO STEP IN AS PREMIER HIMSELF.

B. AFTER A HEATED EXCHANGE,

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BUT REASONABLE. HE WAS WILLING TO SUBSTITUTE INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS FOR A FORMAL PRINCES' MEETING, AND WAS CONSIDERING FORMULAE FOR ENLARGING THE "NEUTRAL" GROUP TO INCLUDE SOME FROM VIENTIANE.

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D. THE THRUST OF BROWN'S REPORTING IS THAT THE US HAS LOST GROUND WITH BOUN OUM BUT GAINED SOME WITH SOUVANNA, WHILE SOUTPHANOUVONG HAS BEHAVED AS AS EXPECTED.

E. TODAY THERE HAS BEEN A ROUND OF MEETINGS WITH THE KING, THE PRINCES, BROWN AND THE BRITISH AND SOVIET AMBASSADORS IN VARIOUS COMBINATIONS. WE HAVE NO WORD YET ON WHAT WAS SAID, BUT NO ONE HAS LEFT VIENTIANE AND SOUVANNA'S "INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS" SEEM TO BE TAKING PLACE.

2. CONGO:

A. KATANGAN FOREIGN MINISTER KIMBA CONTACTED OUR EMBASSY IN PARIS TUESDAY IN AN OBVIOUS ATTEMPT TO BY-PASS OUR REPRESENTATIVES IN THE CONGO WITH TSHOMBE'S VERSION OF WHAT WENT ON AT KITOMA. IT WAS APPARENT, HOWEVER, THAT KIMBA WAS FINDING LITTLE SUPPORT IN EUROPE, BUT STILL HAD HOPES OF THE BELGIAN FINANCIERS. EMBASSY BRUSSELS SAYS THE UNION MINIERE WILL ADVISE HIM TO ACCEPT THE KITOMA AGREEMENT.)

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AROUND ELIZABETHVILLE, THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY THERE HAS APPARENTLY PANICKED AND LARGE NUMBERS ARE TRYING TO GET OUT, INCLUDING SOME OF THE MERCENARIES. FURTHERMORE, MANY KATANGAN ARMY OFFICERS ARE DESERTING WITH THEIR ARMS TO JOIN THEIR TRIBES.

3. FALLING MORAL IN BERLIN:

OUR MISSION COMMENTS THAT FOR THE FIRST TIME SINCE 1945 BERLINERS ARE BECOMING SOMEWHAT VULNERABLE TO COMMUNIST SCARE PROPAGANDA, WHICH IS BEING USED ON A MASSIVE SCALE. THERE HAS ALSO BEEN SOME DROP IN ECONOMIC INDICES THIS FALL, COUPLED WITH A GENERAL FEELING THAT WEST GERMAN GOVERNMENT IS NOT DOING ENOUGH TO HELP BERLIN'S ECONOMY.

4. COMMON MARKET DEADLOCK:

THE MINISTERS WILL MEET AGAIN FRIDAY ON A COMMON AGRICULTURAL POLICY. AGREEMENT MUST BE ACHIEVED BY MONDAY IF TRANSITION TO THE SECOND OF THE THREE TRANSITIONAL FOUR-YEAR STAGES IS NOT TO BE POSTPONED AT LEAST A YEAR. WE BELIEVE THE SIX ARE ACUTELY CONSCIOUS OF THE LOSS OF MOMENTUM WHICH WOULD RESULT FROM FAILURE, AND SOME AGREEMENT WILL PROBABLY BE HAMMERED OUT.

5. WEST NEW GUINEA MANEUVERING:

BOTH SIDES ARE NOW WILLING TO HAVE BILATERAL TALKS, WITH A THIRD PARTY, PERHAPS U THANT, PRESENT. WHILE BOTH HAVE SAID THEY WILL DROP PRECONDITIONS, SUKARNO TOLD JONES THERE SHOULD BE "ADVANCE UNDERSTANDING" THAT THE PURPOSE OF NEGOTIATIONS WOULD BE TO CARRY OUT THE TRANSFER OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF WEST NEW GUINEA TO INDONESIA. THIS GOES WELL BEYOND ANYTHING THE DUTCH HAVE SO FAR BEEN WILLING TO BUY.

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IN PAKISTAN SINCE SEPTEMBER:

THERE IS NO SIGN THAT AFGHANISTAN IS CHANGING ITS POLICY TOWARD PAKISTAN, BUT IT HAS EVIDENTLY CONCLUDED THAT BLOCKING OUR AID SHIPMENTS HAS NOT PRODUCED THE KING OF AMERICAN PRESSURE ON PAKISTAN THAT THE AFGHANS WANTED. WE ALSO SEE IN THE MOVE EVIDENCE THAT THE AFGHANS STILL FEEL A NEED FOR A US AID PROGRAM TO BALANCE THAT OF THE SOVIETS.

8. WATCH COMMITTEE PRELIMINARY CONCLUSIONS--27 DECEMBER 1961

NO SINO-SOVIET BLOC COUNTRY INTENDS DELIBERATELY TO INITIATE DIRECT MILITARY ACTION IN THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE.

A. BERLIN: FURTHER COMMUNIST HARASSMENTS ARE TO BE EXPECTED.

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B. LAOS: THE BREAKDOWN OF PRINCELY NEGOTIATIONS IN VIENTIANE APPEARS IMMINENT. UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, THE PROSPECTS HAVE SHARPLY INCREASED FOR A RENEWAL OF MILITARY OPERATIONS IN LAOS. THERE ARE INDICATIONS THAT THE PATHET LAO AND KONG LE FORCES ARE INCREASING PREPARATIONS FOR SUCH A CONTINGENCY.

C. SOUTH VIETNAM: VIET CONG SUBVERSIVE AND SMALL-SCALE MILITARY ACTIVITY CONTINUES AT A HIGH RATE, DESPITE WIDESPREAD COUNTER-ACTIONS BY GOVERNMENT FORCES. A RENEWAL OF MAJOR FIGHTING IN LAOS IS LIKELY TO LEAD TO INCREASED COMMUNIST OPERATIONS IN SOUTH VIETNAM. THE VIET CONG HAS THE CAPABILITY OF CONDUCTING LARGE-SCALE ATTACKS ON PRESELECTED TARGETS IN SOME AREAS OF THE COUNTRY AT ANY

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D. IRAQ-KUWAIT: BRITISH FORCES BEARING ON THE AREA HAVE  
BEEN ALERTED. IRAQI STATEMENTS MENACING THE FUTURE OF KUWAIT CON-  
TINUE, BUT WE HAVE SEEN NO CONVINCING EVIDENCE OF IRAQI PREPARATIONS  
FOR AN ATTACK.

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B. MIKOYAN IS TO VIST GUINEA NEXT MONTH, PRESUMABLY IN AN  
EFFORT TO REPAIR THE DAMAGE DONE TO SOVIET-GUINEAN RELATIONS WHEN  
THE SOVIET AMBASSADOR WAS OUSTED ON GROUNDS HE HAD CONSPIRED TO  
OVERTHROW TOURE.

C. EGYPT'S DISSOLUTION OF THE "UNITED ARAB STATES," ITS INSUB-  
STANTIAL UNION WITH YEMEN, RESULTS FROM NASIR'S REASSESSMENT OF HIS  
CONCEPT OF "ARAB UNITY" FOLLOWING THE SYRIAN DEBACLE. HE APPARENTLY  
FINDS IT DIFFICULT TO SEE THE IMAM AS A CO-WORKER IN THE CAUSE OF  
RADICAL ARAB NATIONALISM.

D. RELATIONS BETWEEN THE GREEK AND TURKISH COMMUNITIES IN  
CYPRUS ARE WORSENING.

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**THE PRESIDENT'S INTELLIGENCE CHECKLIST--29 DECEMBER 1961****1. LAOS:**

A. FOLLOWING YESTERDAY'S DEVELOPMENTS, WHICH PRODUCED AN INFORMAL MEETING BETWEEN THE THREE PRINCES, SOUPHANOUVONG HAS ANNOUNCED THAT HE IS RETURNING TO THE PLAINE DES JARRES. HOWEVER, SOUVANNA, WHO CONFERRED EARLIER YESTERDAY WITH A NUMBER OF LAOTIAN POLITICAL FIGURES, IS TAKING A CONCILIATORY STANCE AND HAS GIVEN NO INDICATION THAT HE PLANS TO PULL OUT IMMEDIATELY. BLOC DIPLOMATS IN VIENTIANE, MEANWHILE, ARE FLOATING SUGGESTIONS THAT THE FORMAL MEETING OF THE THREE PRINCES BE RESCHEDULED, WITH A SHIFT OF VENUE TO GENEVA.

B. WHILE THIS IS GOING ON, HOWEVER, SOUVANNA HAS SOME REASON FOR CONCERN OVER THE COHESION OF THE MILITARY FORCES BACKING HIM. WE CONTINUE TO RECEIVE EVIDENCE, OF WHICH SOUVANNA HIMSELF IS AWARE, OF INCREASING FRICTION BETWEEN KONG LE AND PATHET LAO UNITS. BESIDES SOME FAIRLY TRIVIAL ISSUES BETWEEN THEM, THERE ARE DIFFERENCES OVER WHICH GROUP SHOULD HOLD WHICH AREAS.

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2. CONGO:

A. THERE WAS A SMALL-SCALE CLASH BETWEEN UN AND KATANGA FORCES IN ELIZABETHVILLE YESTERDAY.

B. THERE ARE SOME SIGNS THAT THE UNION MINIERE HAS COME AROUND TO THE VIEW THAT THE KATANGANS SHOULD RELAX THEIR INTRANSIGENCE. KATANGAN FOREIGN MINISTER KIMBA CONCEDED IN BRUSSELS YESTERDAY THAT THE KATANGANS AND THE UNION DO NOT SEE THINGS ENTIRELY EYE TO EYE.

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D. RHODESIA'S WELENSKY IS BEGINNING TO SHOW SOME SENSITIVITY TO INTERNATIONAL CHARGES THAT HIS COUNTRY HAS BEEN ABETTING THE KATANGANS. HE HAS ANNOUNCED THAT STEPS ARE BEING TAKEN TO TIGHTEN BORDER CONTROLS.

E. THE UN HAS NOT YET CARRIED OUT PLANS TO BRING THE 900-MAN CONTINGENT OF CENTRAL GOVERNMENT TROOPS INTO NORTHERN KATANGA BUT ASCRIBES THE DELAY TO TECHNICAL PROBLEMS.

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4. NOTES:

A. THE SOUNDS HANOI HAS BEEN MAKING LATELY LEAD US TO BELIEVE THAT THE NORTH VIETNAMESE MAY BE GETTING READY FOR MORE EXTENSIVE AND MORE OPEN ASSISTANCE TO THE VIET CONG.

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B. WE HAVE RELATIVELY GOOD INFORMATION THAT THE POLES ARE RELEASING THE CONSCRIPTS HELD OVER IN SERVICE LAST FALL, WHICH COMPLEMENTS INDICATIONS THAT MOSCOW IS PLANNING SIMILAR ACTION.

C. THERE HAS BEEN NO FURTHER DEPLOYMENT OF SOVIET AIRCRAFT INTO EASTERN EUROPE SINCE THE 26TH. WE CANNOT TELL YET WHETHER THE MOVEMENT HAS BEEN COMPLETED OR WE ARE SEEING ONLY A TEMPORARY RESPITE.

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D. [REDACTED] TROUBLE TO BREAK OUT IN THE URUNDI PART OF THE RUANDA-URUNDI TRUSTEESHIP WHEN LOCAL AUTONOMY IS GRANTED ON THE FIRST OF THE YEAR.

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[REDACTED] TRIBAL ANIMOSITIES AND WAXING

ANTI-WHITE SENTIMENT.

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PASS GENERAL CLIFTON FOR THE

PRESIDENT

THE PRESIDENT'S INTELLIGENCE CHECKLIST--30 DECEMBER 1961

1. DE GAULLE REMAINS DETERMINED TO ACCELERATE DISENGAGEMENT IN ALGERIA:

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A. WHILE HIS SPEECH WILL PROBABLY FACILITATE PROGRESS IN THE FRENCH-ALGERIAN TALKS NOW UNDER WAY, HE IS IN EFFECT ONCE AGAIN GAMBLING ON MILITARY LOYALTY TO HIS REGIME. EVEN HIS WITHDRAWAL OF ONLY TWO DIVISIONS FROM ALGERIA A FEW MONTHS AGO WAS OPPOSED BY HIS KEY MILITARY ADVISERS.

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C. SECURITY PRECAUTIONS CONTINUE AGAINST EXPECTED LAST-DITCH EXTREMIST EFFORTS TO BLOCK AN ALGERIAN ACCORD.

2. CONGO:

A. ADDOULA, STILL KEEPING HIS EYE ON THE MAIN TARGET-T MRE, IS ALSO MOVING AGAINST OTHER SEPARATIST LEADERS. THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY HAS DIVESTED SOUTH KASAI'S "KING" KALONJI OF HIS DEPUTY IMMUNITY AND VOTED CENSURE OF GIZENGA, WHO WILL PROBABLY BE DROPPED

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**4. VIETNAM**

A. IN ANOTHER MOVE IN ITS CAMPAIGN TO STIR UP INTERNATIONAL CONCERN OVER OUR AID TO SAIGON HANOI HAS ASKED THE UK AND USSR AS CO-CHAIRMEN OF THE 1954 GENEVA CONFERENCE TO RECOMMEND WITHDRAWAL OF US PERSONNEL AND SUPPLIES FROM SOUTH VIETNAM. THEY LABEL OUR PROGRAM "DIRECT AGGRESSION." IN THE PAST, MOSCOW HAS GIVEN ONLY PERFUNCTORY DIPLOMATIC ATTENTION TO SUCH PROTESTS FROM HANOI.

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B. INCIDENTS INITIATED BY THE VIET CONG IN SOUTH VIETNAM DURING THE PERIOD 19-25 DECEMBER TOTALED 455, THE HIGHEST FIGURE SINCE THE SECOND WEEK IN NOVEMBER. THE FIELD COMMENTS THAT THE INCREASE "IS NOT CONSIDERED TO BE MORE THAN NORMAL FLUCTUATION."

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**5. NOTES:**

A. SOUVANNA HAS ALSO RETURNED TO XIENG KHOUANG FROM VIETNAM. HE AND HIS BROTHER STILL SAY THEY WILL TALK IF BOUN OUM IS WILLING.

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B. CHILE'S CURRENT FOREIGN EXCHANGE CRISIS THREATENS AN IMMINENT DEVALUATION AND POSSIBLE COLLAPSE OF PRESIDENT ALLESSANDRI'S ECONOMIC PROGRAM.

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GROUP OF MILITARY OFFICERS

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*GP* ENGAGED IN COUP PLANNING--IS HOLDING FREQUENT MEETINGS APPARENTLY  
CONCERNED WITH COUP PREPARATIONS, INCLUDING THE DRAFTING OF  
A NEW CONSTITUTION FOR THE COUNTRY.

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EYES ONLY BROMLEY SMITH. PASS GENERAL CLIFTON FOR THE PRESIDENT.

COPY EYES ONLY FOR GENERAL TAYLOR.

THE PRESIDENT'S INTELLIGENCE CHECKLIST--31 DECEMBER 1961

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2. CONGO:

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TSHOMBE IS NOW CONCENTRATING THE BULK OF HIS MILITARY FORCES AND GOVERNMENT OFFICES AT KIPUSHI, NEAR THE NORTHERN RHODESIAN BORDER, AND IN THE JADOTVILLE-KILEGGEZI AREA TO THE NORTH OF ELIZABETHVILLE, LEAVING ONLY A SKELETON FORCE BEHIND IN ELIZABETHVILLE. THE MOVE IS INTENDED TO ENABLE HIM TO REACT IF, AS HE FEARS, THE UN REOPENS HOSTILITIES.

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LAST NIGHT ATTEMPTED A COUP IN BEIRUT. THE BULK OF THE ARMED FORCES

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REMAINS LOYAL, HOWEVER, AND THE EFFORT SEEMS TO HAVE FALLEN FLAT.

THE CITY IS NOW RELATIVELY CALM.

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LEBANESE SECURITY MEASURES ARE STILL IN EFFECT.

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4. NOTES:

A. FRONDIZI GIVES NO SIGN OF LEANING TOWARD A TOUGHER STAND

AGAINST CUBA, DESPITE WHAT APPEARS TO BE GROWING SENTIMENT WITHIN 50X1

ARGENTINA IN THAT DIRECTION. HE RECENTLY SENT A PERSONAL ENVOY 50X1

TO MONTIVIDEO

B. THE RUSSIANS REPLIED YESTERDAY TO OUR PROTEST OVER THE WATSON  
INCIDENT, COUPLING THEIR DENIAL OF BLAME WITH A NEW JAB: THE NOTE  
WAS ADDRESSED TO "COMMANDANT, AMERICAN SECTOR OF WEST BERLIN".

2

C. THE AUSTRALIANS YESTERDAY ~~REGAINED DEEPLY AT~~ <sup>admired</sup> DJAKARTA OVER  
THE WEST NEW GUINEA ISSUE, HINTING RATHER BROADLY THAT THEY MIGHT  
NOT STAY ON THE SIDELINES IF INDONESIA INVADES.

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E. VIOLENCE IS CONTINUING IN ALGERIA IN THE WAKE OF DE GAULLE'S  
SPEECH, WITH ORAN THE MAIN TROUBLESPOT.

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