

## *The President's Daily Brief*

1 May 1972

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**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

**THE PRESIDENT'S DAILY BRIEF**

1 May 1972

**PRINCIPAL DEVELOPMENTS**

In South Vietnam, the situation at Quang Tri City is critical, and Communist pressure is increasing in the central highlands and in areas north of Saigon. (Page 1)

Chinese news media have denounced the President's speech of 26 April, but still appear relatively unalarmed over the Indochina situation. (Page 2)



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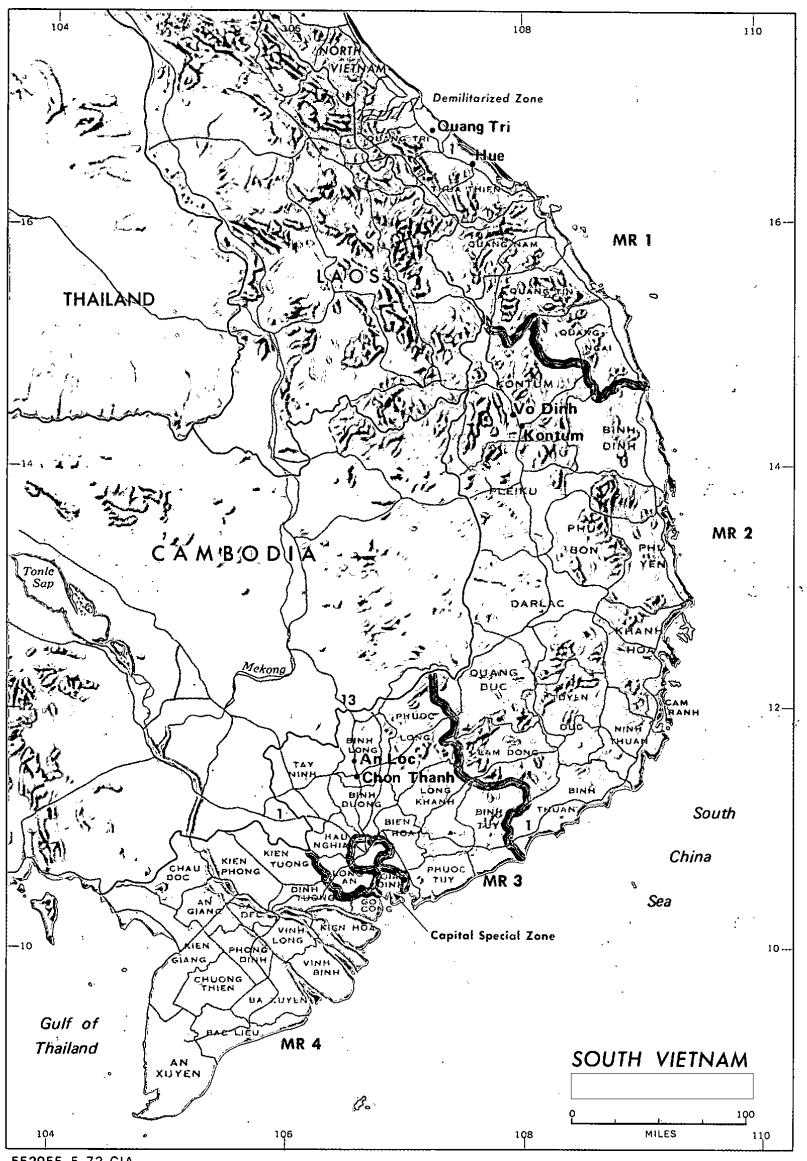
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Photography confirms the arrival of a Soviet G-class ballistic missile submarine in Cuba on Saturday. (Page 4)

The joint communiqué following Egyptian President Sadat's trip to Moscow reflects Arab frustrations over the impasse with Israel. (Page 5)

The preliminary Indo-Pakistani talks apparently made at least some progress toward resolving issues arising from the December war. (Page 6)

**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**



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**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY****SOUTH VIETNAM**

The situation at Quang Tri City worsened over the weekend, and reports this morning indicate that government defenses are collapsing. A North Vietnamese force of up to eight regiments, supported by artillery and armor, surrounds the provincial capital and the city has been under artillery and rocket fire. Shelling has destroyed a large government ammunition depot inside the town, and a truck convoy attempting to bring in ammunition over Route 1 from the south was ambushed. Flying weather remains good, but intense Communist groundfire has made it difficult to resupply the city's defenders by air.

At least some of the North Vietnamese forces in Quang Tri Province appear to be bypassing the provincial capital and heading south toward Hue. A headquarters element of the 304th Division has been detected in a recent movement into Thua Thien Province.

*At least some combat units of the 304th presumably will follow the headquarters element. It is not likely, however, that the Communists will make a major shift in their forces without first capturing Quang Tri City.*

In the central highlands, at least two regiments of the North Vietnamese 320th Division have skirted the government's new defense line near Vo Dinh and are now within easy striking distance of Kontum City. Apparently as a result, the South Vietnamese are abandoning this line and pulling back closer to Kontum City. The airfield on the city's outskirts has come under shelling and a strong assault on the provincial capital is expected soon.

To the north of Saigon, Communist forces continue to shell An Loc and to hamper the South Vietnamese relief column pushing north from Chon Thanh, but fighting in the area is declining. Taking advantage of the fact that government troops are still pinned down around An Loc, enemy units are increasing their activity in adjacent areas. They conducted several ground probes during the weekend in Tay Ninh Province. Elements of the Communist [redacted] divisions have been detected moving from Binh Long into Binh Duong and Phuoc Long provinces, and enemy infantry units and tank columns have been observed crossing the border from Cambodia on Route 13 and Route 1.

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**CHINA-US**

On Saturday, the New China News Agency carried an account of President Nixon's speech of 26 April, and yesterday People's Daily ran a "commentator" article on the subject. Although relatively moderate in tone, the two items nevertheless contain the most extensive direct attacks on the President since the current North Vietnamese offensive began. Both accuse the President of "blatantly" claiming that the fighting in South Vietnam is the result of a massive North Vietnamese invasion. Nevertheless, People's Daily, while declaring that such claims are "slander," and that continued bombing of the North indicates Washington has "broken its promise" to end the war, carefully attributes these particular sins to the "US Government" rather than the President himself.

*Unless the Chinese wished to ignore the President's speech entirely, they could hardly refer to it without such attacks on it. The lack of extreme vituperation in both articles, as well as the delay in commenting on the speech at all, suggest that Peking has taken pains to couch its criticism in relatively noninflammatory terms. In other respects the two items contain standard Chinese rhetoric on the war, reiterating their support for the Vietnamese people and familiar Communist formulations for ending the war.*

**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

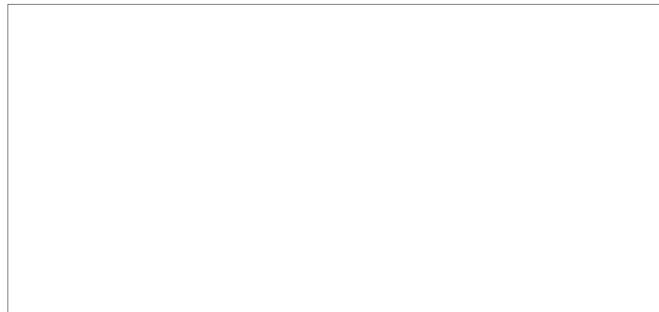
*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

WEST GERMANY



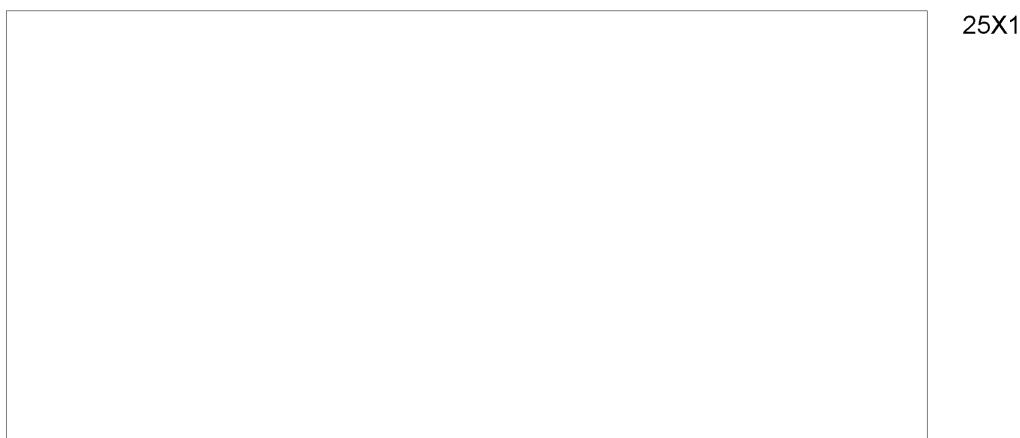
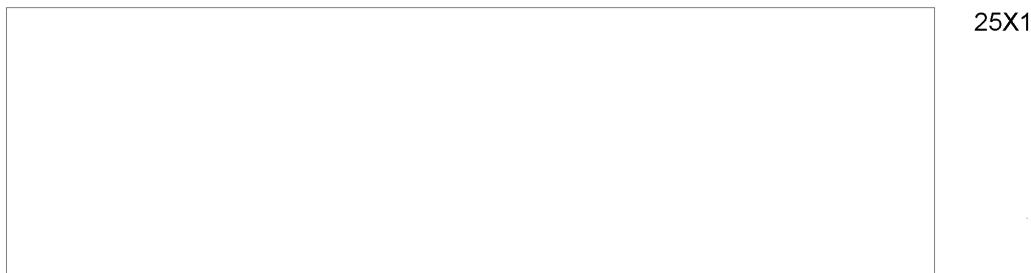
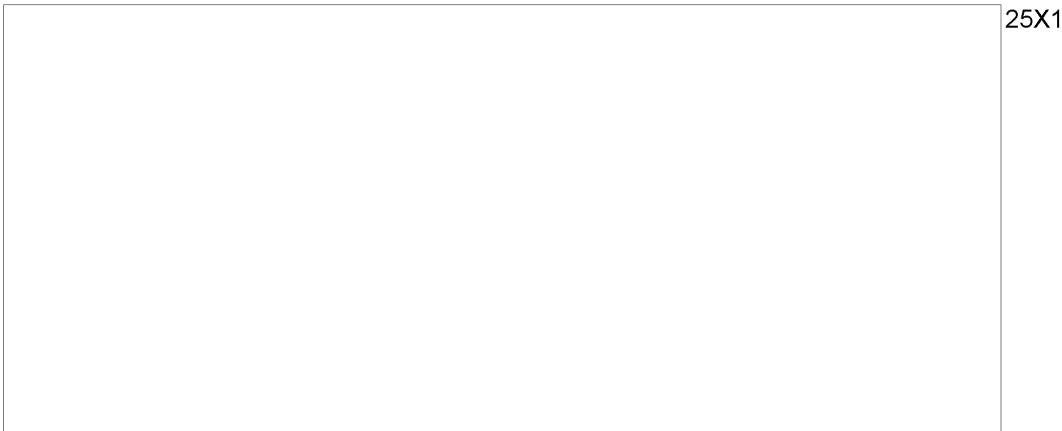
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**USSR-CUBA**

A Soviet diesel-powered ballistic missile submarine arrived in Cuba's Nipe Bay shortly after daylight on 29 April. Photography [redacted] confirms that the submarine [redacted] is a G-II class, which can carry three 700-nm SS-N-5 missiles. This marks the first visit by a Soviet ballistic missile submarine to a port outside the USSR.

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The G-II was escorted into Nipe Bay by the Kotlin-class destroyer that has been in Cuban waters since 5 March along with an F-class diesel-powered torpedo attack submarine that is currently in the port of Mariel. The G-II and the Kotlin joined the Ugra-class submarine tender that arrived in Nipe Bay on 28 April after a direct transit from the Black Sea.

*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

## EGYPT-USSR

The joint communiqué issued after President Sadat ended a two-day visit to Moscow clearly reflects Egyptian frustration over the lack of progress toward resolving the Arab-Israeli dispute. It reiterates the support of the two parties for the UN resolution of 1967 on the Middle East, and asserts further that, if a political solution continues to be thwarted, the Arab states "have every reason to use other means" to regain the occupied territory. Unlike the communiqué issued after Sadat's visit to Moscow last February, this one does not bring up the jarring mission.

The joint statement does not specify any new Soviet military commitments to Egypt, reporting merely that there were discussions aimed at "further increasing" Egypt's military potential and "strengthening the military cooperation" between the two. The defensive nature of the military aid provided by Moscow is not stressed as it was in the previous communiqué.

Even without specific new commitments, Sadat's visit may help to reassure Egyptians that the gravity of the Middle East situation will be fully recognized during the coming US-Soviet discussions. For those Egyptians who regard political efforts as futile, the communiqué also holds out the prospect that eventual resort to a military solution is not being entirely ruled out.

**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

**INDIA-PAKISTAN**

The four-day preliminary discussions between Indian and Pakistani representatives that were concluded on Saturday apparently made some progress toward resolving the issues arising from the December war. Their joint statement, released after the talks, announced plans for a meeting in New Delhi between Prime Minister Gandhi and President Bhutto in late May or early June. The representatives agreed on an agenda for the summit which

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[redacted] includes the issues of troop disengagement and prisoner exchanges.

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Pakistani Foreign Office spokesmen have stated publicly that Islamabad would not object if Prime Minister Mujibur Rahman joined the summit talks.

*The Pakistanis may hope that a constructive atmosphere at the conference will encourage Dacca to drop its plans to try Pakistani prisoners as war criminals in Bangladesh. Dacca has yet to show any willingness to back down on this issue and has insisted that Pakistani recognition must precede a Bengali-Pakistani summit.*

Before leaving Pakistan, India's principal negotiator, D. P. Dhar, held a private session with Bhutto. Bhutto later described the encounter to Ambassador Farland as "frank and open" and, although complaining about India's "patronizing attitude," said he was hopeful that negotiations would be fruitful. Bhutto is under few illusions about his power position vis-a-vis the Indians, "who hold all the cards" and who, he charged, were conducting "subversive activities" in the troubled Pakistani provinces of Baluchistan and the Northwest Frontier. Nevertheless, he hopes that he can delay consideration of Kashmir--"the major bilateral problem"--until such issues as the restoration of diplomatic relations have been resolved.

**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

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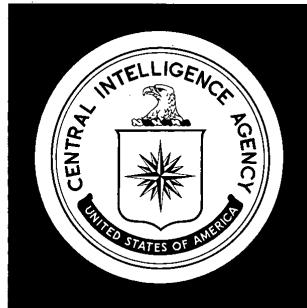
**NOTES**

Laos: Government forces regained control of Skyline Ridge overlooking Long Tieng on 29 April. About 100 irregulars with air support cleared the two positions that had remained in enemy hands at the center of the ridge. North Vietnamese opposition was relatively light, strengthening indications in recent intercepts that the Communists are withdrawing some of their forces from the area in preparation for the coming rainy season. The situation elsewhere in Laos remains relatively quiet.

Turkey: Prime minister - designate Suat Hayri Urgupulu appears confident that he can put together an acceptable government within a day or two. A political independent who served as prime minister for nine months in 1965, Urgupulu plans an "above parties" cabinet chosen from the four principal parties represented in parliament. Although Urgupulu complained in 1970 of US pressure on Turkey to restrict opium poppy cultivation, he has since been silent on this issue and has been generally friendly toward the US.

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## *The President's Daily Brief*

2 May 1972

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**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

**THE PRESIDENT'S DAILY BRIEF**

2 May 1972

**PRINCIPAL DEVELOPMENTS**

In the Vietnam fighting, the Communists are maintaining pressure on government forces in the northern provinces following the capture of their first provincial capital yesterday. Hanoi's propagandists have begun to play on the theme that the US has run out of options in Vietnam. (Page 1)

South Vietnamese President Thieu is deeply concerned over the political and psychological consequences of the fall of Quang Tri and is skeptical about the chances of organizing an effective defense line north of Hue. (Page 3)

The Chinese, in addition to canceling the traditional May Day fireworks display, failed to publish their customary May Day editorial or to issue any slogans for the occasion. (Page 4)

Soviet President Podgorny's May Day speech was brief and routine and lacked significant new statements on foreign or domestic policy. (Page 5)

The Brandt government and the opposition Christian Democrats have agreed to postpone the ratification debate in their effort to reach a common position on Bonn's Eastern treaties. (Page 6)

Israel (Page 7) 2525X1

There are fresh indications that General Torrijos may be planning to take a softer line in the Panama Canal treaty negotiations. (Page 8)

**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**



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**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

**VIETNAM**

The Communists are maintaining pressure on government forces in the northern provinces following the capture of their first provincial capital yesterday.

About 5,000 South Vietnamese are believed to have been in Quang Tri City when it fell. Some of them are attempting to withdraw southward and others are said to be completely disorganized. Intercepted Communist messages claim that 1,000 South Vietnamese troops were captured and another 500 killed during the fighting of the last two days, and there are unconfirmed reports that large numbers of government forces surrendered to the enemy.

There is evidence that the North Vietnamese already are shifting some of their forces southward into the Hue area in an effort to follow up and exploit their successes at Quang Tri City as rapidly as possible. While they may wait to consolidate their position before mounting a major assault on Hue, the Communists already have produced a state of confusion and near panic in the city as refugees and fleeing South Vietnamese troops push into it from the north. The number of refugees in the city has risen to nearly 150,000 and is expected to reach 200,000--a situation that local officials say they cannot handle.

The Communists are also planning further military and political action in the populated regions along the coast south of Hue. This action, which is to include ground and rocket attacks on Da Nang and possibly a major campaign against the provincial capital of Quang Tin, reportedly is scheduled to begin within the next few days.

In the central highlands, the North Vietnamese are continuing to prepare for an attack against Kon-tum City, and government forces there are trying to organize new defensive positions. South Vietnamese officials in the city fear that it cannot be held if the enemy strikes soon but believe that government units may be able to hold out if they have a few more days to organize and dig in. At Pleiku to the south, morale is bad, and there are rumors that Military Region 2 commander General Dzu is exhausted and will be replaced.

(continued)

**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

Sporadic fighting and shelling attacks continue around An Loc and west of Saigon, but there has been no fundamental change in the situation in this area in recent days. In southern Cambodia, heavy Communist pressure has forced the South Vietnamese to abandon their cross-border operations in the Kompong Trach area, opening still another enemy access route into South Vietnam.

\* \* \*

In North Vietnam, Hanoi's propagandists have begun to play on the theme that the US is now an impotent adversary that has run out of options in Vietnam. The line was featured in a commentary in the North Vietnamese military newspaper broadcast on 29 April, the day after Soviet leaders Katushev and Firyubin wound up their trip to Hanoi. According to the broadcast, the US bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong was a last-ditch ploy aimed primarily at "intimidating chicken-hearted people." Hanoi claimed the main result of the bombing would be to stir up anti-war sentiment in the US, thus further weakening Washington's ability to deal with the Vietnam situation. The commentary ruled out the chance that the US might reintroduce ground forces into Vietnam, claiming such a move was politically impossible.

*There is no evidence that the new propaganda line is directly related to the Soviet - North Vietnamese consultations of last week, but the theme could well reflect the position taken by the North Vietnamese in their talks with the Soviets. Hanoi may be arguing that there is little risk in a further prosecution of the Communist offensive, contending that the US can do little in the way of effective reaction and that there is thus little reason for political compromise at this point.*

**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

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**SOUTH VIETNAM**

President Thieu is deeply concerned over the political and psychological consequences of the fall of Quang Tri.

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[ ] He is also skeptical about the chances of organizing an effective defense line north of Hue.

Adding to the heightened concern in Saigon, local newspapers there are interpreting the reopening of the Paris peace talks and Dr. Kissinger's trip to Moscow as indicating that a big power settlement of the war is about to be arranged. Rumors of a cease-fire are being spread by followers of Big Minh [ ] Minh's camp is claiming that a coalition government, which should be headed by Minh, will soon be formed.

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Thieu has directed Deputy (ex-general) Tran Van Don to go to Paris this week to contact French Government officials and, hopefully, members of the North Vietnamese delegation [ ]

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Thieu apparently is himself becoming concerned that the South Vietnamese may be bypassed in the Paris negotiations and may be moving to take some initiative of his own. Don has good contacts in French Government circles and in the Vietnamese community in Paris.

**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

CHINA

The Chinese, in addition to canceling the traditional May Day fireworks display

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failed to publish their customary May Day editorial or to issue any slogans for the occasion.

These developments, especially the absence of a stocktaking editorial, point to political trouble of some kind in Peking. There are several important differences, however, between the current situation and that surrounding the Lin Piao affair last fall. There are no current reports of top-level leadership meetings in Peking, and all of the active politburo figures have appeared regularly in recent weeks. The only exception is Mao, who frequently remains out of public view for prolonged periods of time. Also, New China News Agency has reported that Mao's picture appeared on the front pages of Chinese papers on 1 May and that Chou En-lai and several other top leaders greeted passersby informally in Peking's parks yesterday. In a later account of May Day activities the news agency went out of its way to note that Mao's wife, Chiang Ching, had attended ceremonies in the south China city of Canton.

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some kind of major political difficulties have arisen in Peking, but so far it does not appear that an upheaval of the magnitude of the Lin affair is under way.

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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

**USSR**

President Podgorny's May Day speech in Moscow yesterday was brief and routine and, as is customary on this ceremonial occasion, lacked significant new statements on foreign or domestic policy. Podgorny reaffirmed solidarity with the "patriots" of Indochina and specifically noted that they were fighting against "US aggression."

*Although such references to Indochina are not unusual, party chief Brezhnev had avoided any mention of the US when he delivered the last three May Day speeches. The May Day parade, however, contained even fewer anti-American slogans than last year.*

*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

**WEST GERMANY**

The government and the Christian Democratic opposition have agreed to postpone the ratification debate in their effort to reach a common position on the Eastern treaties. The CDU parliamentary group is now considering a draft prepared by coalition leaders over the weekend of an all-party Bundestag declaration interpreting the treaties. Although the CDU did not participate in the drafting, its leaders provided material summarizing their position.

*A decision by the Christian Democrats is not likely before the next inter-party talks to be held tomorrow morning.*

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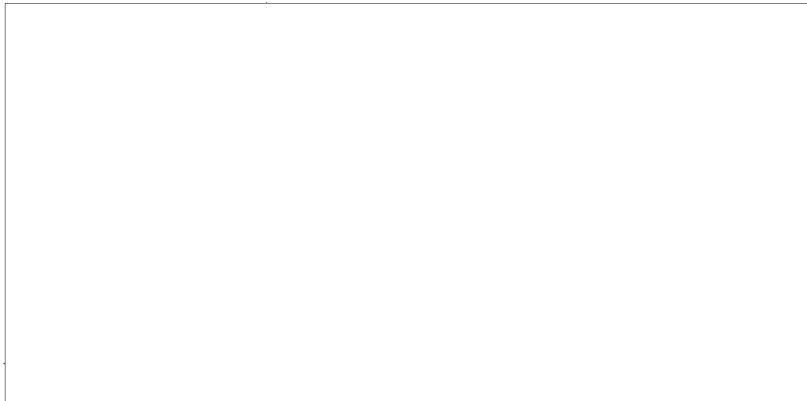
*Brandt and Barzel, in their joint announcement on the treaty debate postponement following a private meeting yesterday, did not specify when the debate would begin.*

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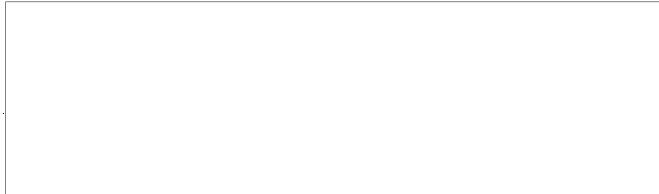
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ISRAEL



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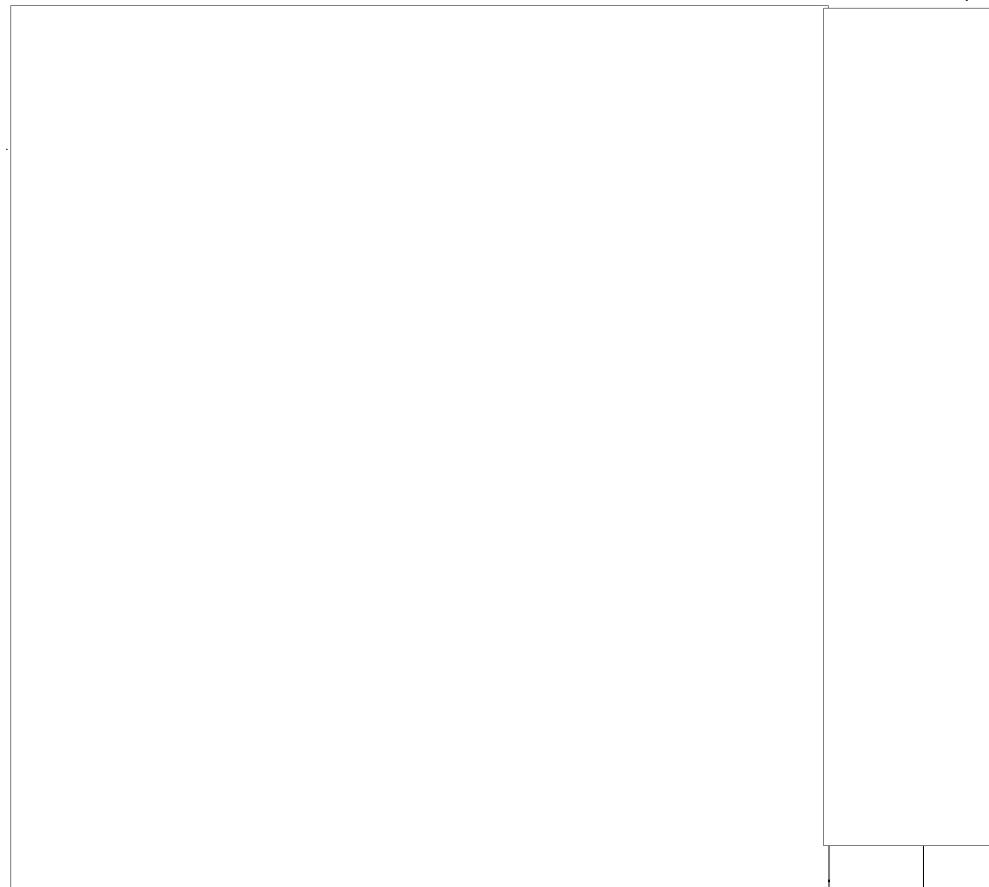
**PANAMA**

General Torrijos may be planning to take a softer line in canal treaty negotiations if he decides that pressing for better terms is unrealistic. In a long conversation last week with visitors from the US National War College, he floated the notion of giving a preliminary nod to the best of the US offers to date, but leaving the acceptance of the treaty up to a plebiscite.

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*Torrijos may hope to convince the public that the treaty positions already negotiated are an important step forward. In any case, a plebiscite would protect him in the event the public mood is hostile to a treaty on the present terms.*

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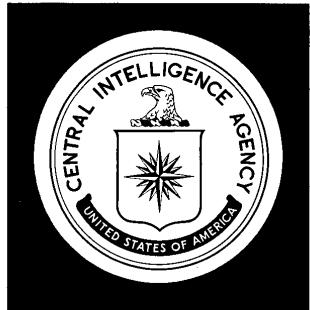
**NOTE**

**China:**

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## *The President's Daily Brief*

3 May 1972

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THE PRESIDENT'S DAILY BRIEF

3 May 1972

PRINCIPAL DEVELOPMENTS

The military situation in South Vietnam is discussed  
on *Page 1*.



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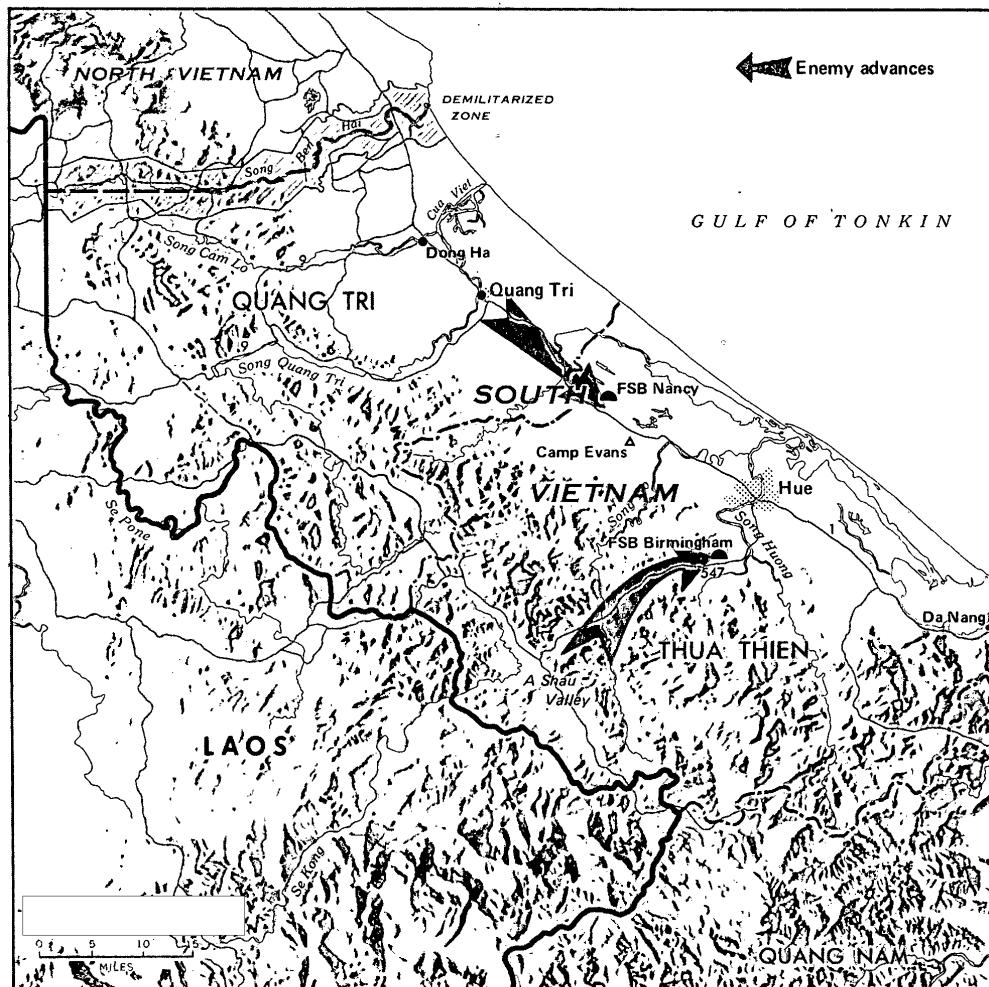
Indian Defense Minister Ram has said publicly that  
India will conduct underground nuclear tests when  
it develops the technology. (*Page 5*)



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**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

**VIETNAM**

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While the threat to Hue from the north continues to grow, aerial reconnaissance shows substantial numbers of men and armored vehicles moving east toward Hue from the A Shau Valley. In addition, an intercept indicates that enemy forces are deploying around Fire Base Birmingham and are ready to shell the base. Birmingham is the only remaining South Vietnamese position on Route 547, the key road west of Hue.

Within the city, the situation is reported to be chaotic. Three quarters of the city's civil servants are said to be fleeing, and refugees are jamming Route 1 to the south.

In the central provinces, Qui Nhon and Kontum cities were shelled yesterday. South Vietnamese forces abandoned another position along Route 14, leaving only one base north of Kontum in friendly hands.

*Government troops on the outskirts of the city are bracing for the attack which they expect at any time. These forces include regular army, airborne, ranger, and territorial forces; the government's ability to coordinate and control such diverse elements will be an important factor in defending the city.*

Communist forces are still making headway in the coastal areas of Binh Dinh Province. Landing Zone English, the last government position in the northern third of the province, came under heavy attack on 2 May, and government forces have begun withdrawing. About 400 South Vietnamese soldiers and some territorial forces had been concentrated there after having been driven from the province's three northern district capitals by the advancing

**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

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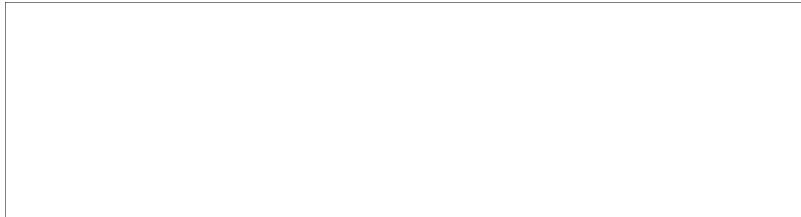
Communists.

[redacted] unless South Korean troops  
operating farther south in the province help out,  
the entire province could fall by mid-May.

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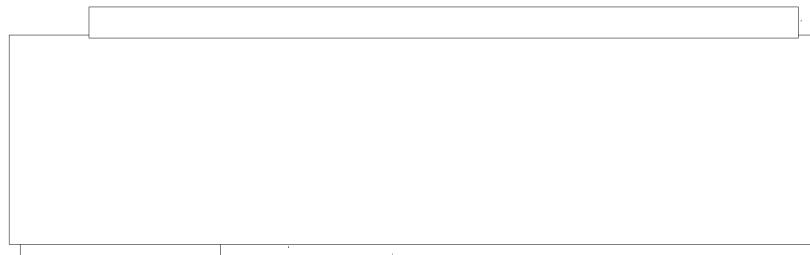


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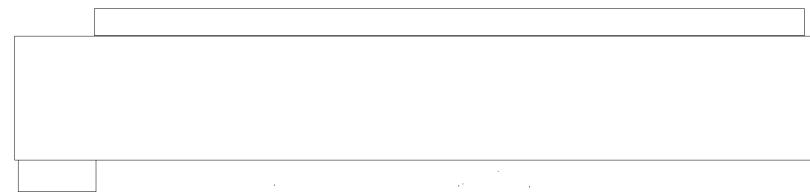
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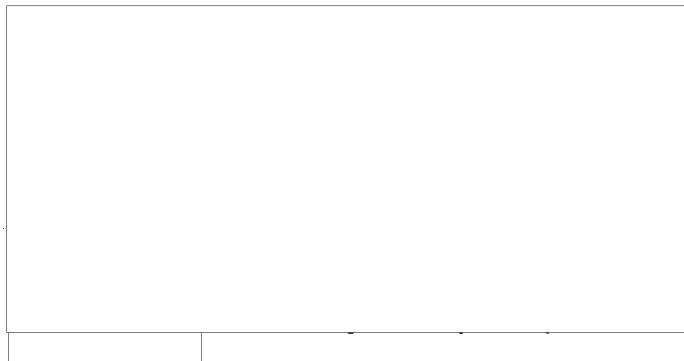
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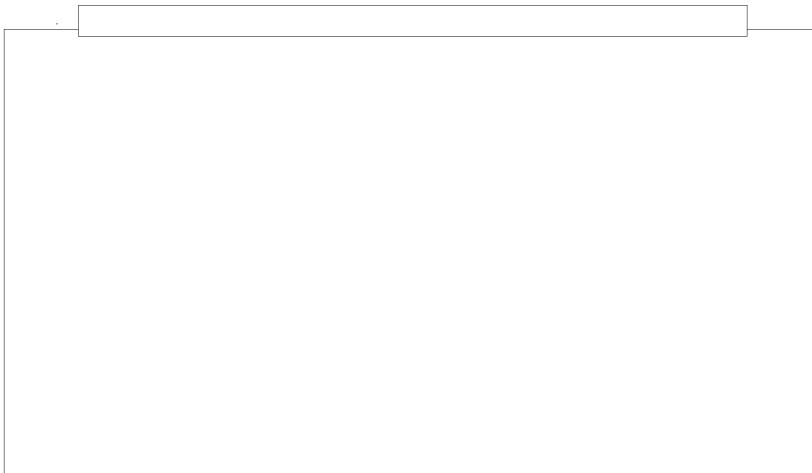
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JAPAN-CHINA



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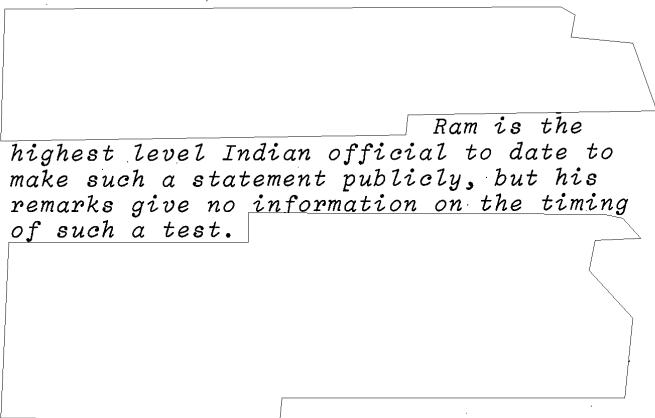
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*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

**INDIA**

Indian Defense Minister Ram told Parliament on 2 May that India will conduct underground nuclear tests when it develops the technology. He also said that developments in the international situation did not warrant a change in India's policy of utilizing nuclear energy only for peaceful purposes.



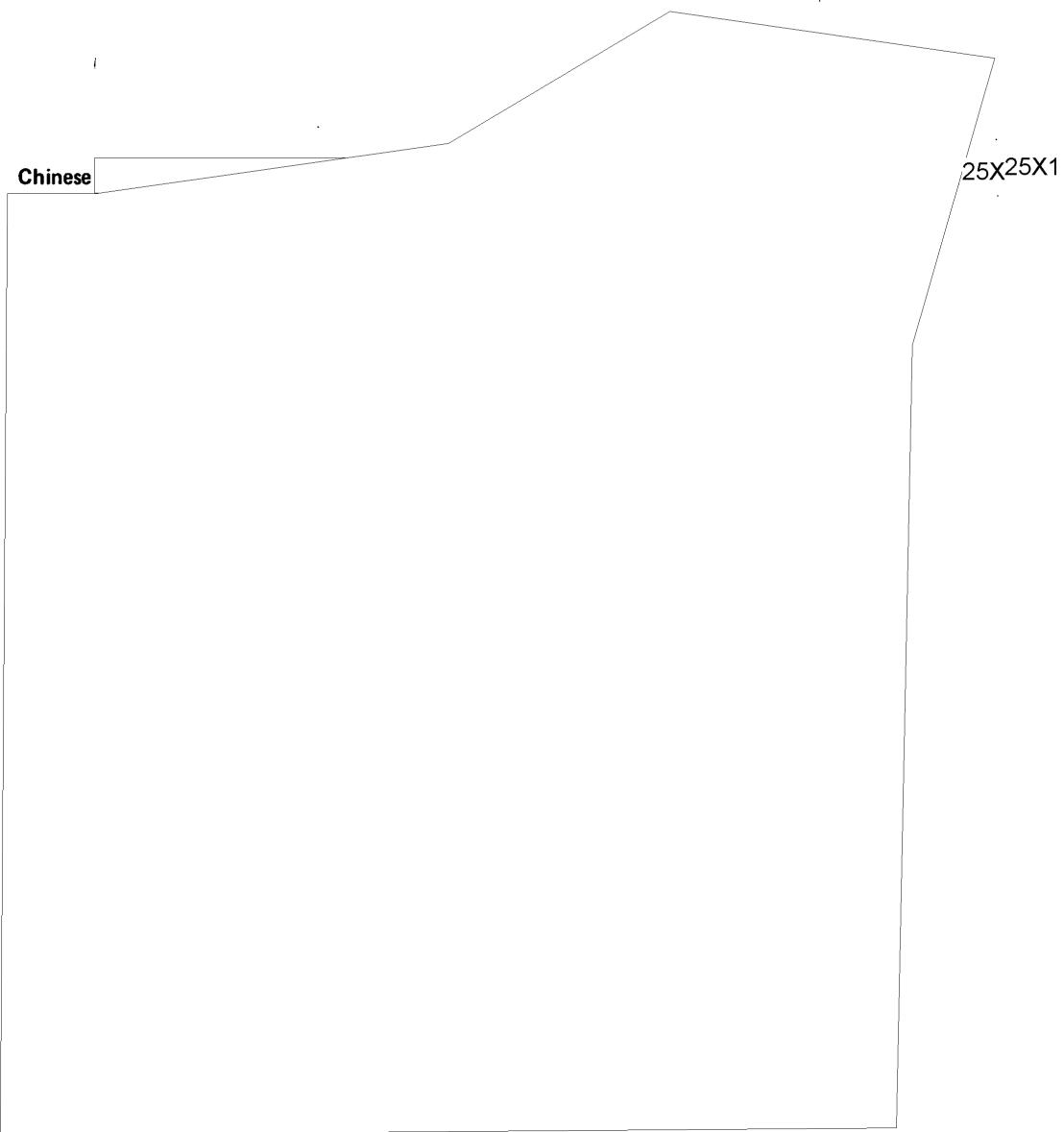
Ram is the highest level Indian official to date to make such a statement publicly, but his remarks give no information on the timing of such a test.

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There has been recent discussion in India about development of nuclear explosives for peaceful purposes. A test might be intended for such objectives and probably would be so labeled. If the Indians conduct a test, however, for whatever purpose, it would have a major political and psychological impact on India's neighbors and the world community, even though the military ramifications would remain minimal for some time to come.

**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**



*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

NOTES

China: [redacted]

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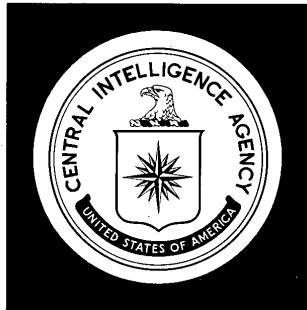
[redacted]  
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West Germany: The Brandt government and the Christian Democratic opposition are still trying this morning to reach an agreement permitting the opposition to acquiesce in the ratification of the Eastern treaties. Negotiators are attempting to draft a declaration expressing the CDU position that the treaties do not preclude Germany's right of self-determination or a final peace treaty. The Bundestag steering committee, also convened this morning, is awaiting the outcome of the talks before rescheduling the treaty debate.

Cuba: In his May Day speech Fidel Castro announced that this week he will begin a two-month tour to Guinea, Algeria, Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary, Poland, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, and, finally, the Soviet Union. He both praised Soviet support for Cuba and condemned US "international diplomacy"-- suggesting that the idea of a secret US-Soviet deal on Cuba still haunts him. Castro warned that any interference with Cuban warships operating against exile vessels on the high seas could bring reprisals against Guantanamo. A US-Cuban rapprochement is not possible under present circumstances, he concluded.

*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

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## *The President's Daily Brief*

*Sensitive*  
4 May 1972

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**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

**THE PRESIDENT'S DAILY BRIEF**

4 May 1972

**PRINCIPAL DEVELOPMENTS**

On *Page 1* we report on the latest military developments in South Vietnam.

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[redacted] President Thieu's efforts to provide more competent leadership for South Vietnamese military forces are discussed on *Page 2*.

The keynote speaker at Hanoi's May Day celebration indicated that the Vietnamese Communists remain deeply concerned about great power maneuvering on Vietnam. (*Page 4*)

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Chancellor Brandt and opposition leader Barzel are no closer to finding common ground on which the Eastern treaties could be ratified. (*Page 5*)

The Soviets have given the Japanese [redacted] hint that they will be flexible on the question of returning the southern Kuriles. (*Page 6*)

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In Chile, the most important leaders of the government coalition may be ready to agree on more radical policies. (*Page 9*)

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**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**



*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

**VIETNAM**

There has been little change in the military situation in South Vietnam. The Communists still are consolidating their gains in Quang Tri Province and preparing to push on toward Hue. In Hue, a fire that gutted the central market has aggravated the unsettled conditions there. In the highlands, the Communists are increasing their strength around Kontum City, but there are no indications when the attacks against the city will begin.

In MR 3, the situation at An Loc is unchanged, but there are further indications that North Vietnamese units are planning to move closer to Saigon.

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*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

SOUTH VIETNAM

President Thieu is trying to provide more competent and vigorous leadership for some of South Vietnam's forces. In the wake of the fall of Quang Tri City, Thieu has replaced the MR 1 commander, General Lam, with the more aggressive General Truong, until now commander of MR 4 and formerly commander of the respected 1st ARVN Division. Thieu has also removed General Giai from command of the marginally effective 3rd ARVN Division, which had manned the string of fire support bases along the DMZ and had been unable to hold Quang Tri City. The recently formed 3rd was outgunned along the DMZ and outnumbered at Quang Tri City, but there is some suspicion that Giai panicked, and his performance is to be investigated.

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*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

Generals Dzu and Minh, commanders of MR 2 and MR 3 respectively, are both close to Thieu, and this may help account for the fact that Thieu has not yet replaced them, despite the fact that both have come under heavy criticism for their occasionally timid handling of their forces. Pressures may now begin to mount for their removal.

The same kinds of criticism and dissension that have arisen within the military leadership also developed in the past following serious tactical reverses. [redacted]

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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

## NORTH VIETNAM

The keynote speaker at Hanoi's May Day celebration has indicated that the Vietnamese Communists remain deeply concerned about great power maneuvering on Vietnam. In his speech, labor leader Hoang Quoc Viet acknowledged Hanoi's gratitude for both Soviet and Chinese assistance, but he left no doubt that his praise was mainly for their material aid, not their political backing. Indeed, at no less than three different points he called on Hanoi's supporters abroad--particularly the socialist bloc--to "strengthen and broaden" their support for the war effort. He also sought to discount the effectiveness of any possible "cunning schemes by the US"--almost certainly an allusion to President Nixon's summit diplomacy as well as US maneuvering at the Paris talks.

In citing both the Chinese and the Soviets for their aid, Viet may well have been trying to emphasize that Hanoi's options are not tied exclusively to Soviet assistance, and that Moscow's aid does not confer any special influence over North Vietnamese policy. The only other open reference the North Vietnamese have made to Chinese assistance since the offensive began came in a communique issued during the visit last week of Soviet party secretary Katushev.

Much of Viet's speech seems designed to convince foreign as well as domestic listeners that there is no reason for any Communist to compromise on the war. He assessed Communist prospects in the South in much bolder terms than most other Hanoi spokesmen have done recently, claiming that Communist forces are nearing a "total victory" on the battlefield. He also argued that there is nothing the US can do to turn the tide.

Viet phrased Communist negotiating demands so as to suggest that the next move is up to the US. Rather than dwell on the political aspects of a settlement (President Thieu's resignation was not mentioned), he focused solely on Communist demands for a US troop withdrawal and cessation of all US support for the Thieu regime. In recent days, other Communist spokesmen have similarly emphasized the withdrawal question, suggesting that Hanoi may be ready to concentrate on this point in its diplomatic dealings with the US.

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

**WEST GERMANY**

After three meetings, Chancellor Brandt and opposition leader Barzel are no closer to finding common ground on which the Eastern treaties could be ratified. Barzel wants Brandt to get a commitment from the USSR and Poland that the treaties would not preclude eventual reunification or a German peace treaty.

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Brandt wants to settle the issue quickly in order to avoid casting a shadow over President Nixon's visits to the USSR and Poland.

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**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

USSR-JAPAN

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the question of the southern Kurile Islands, seized from Japan at the end of World War II, was being discussed

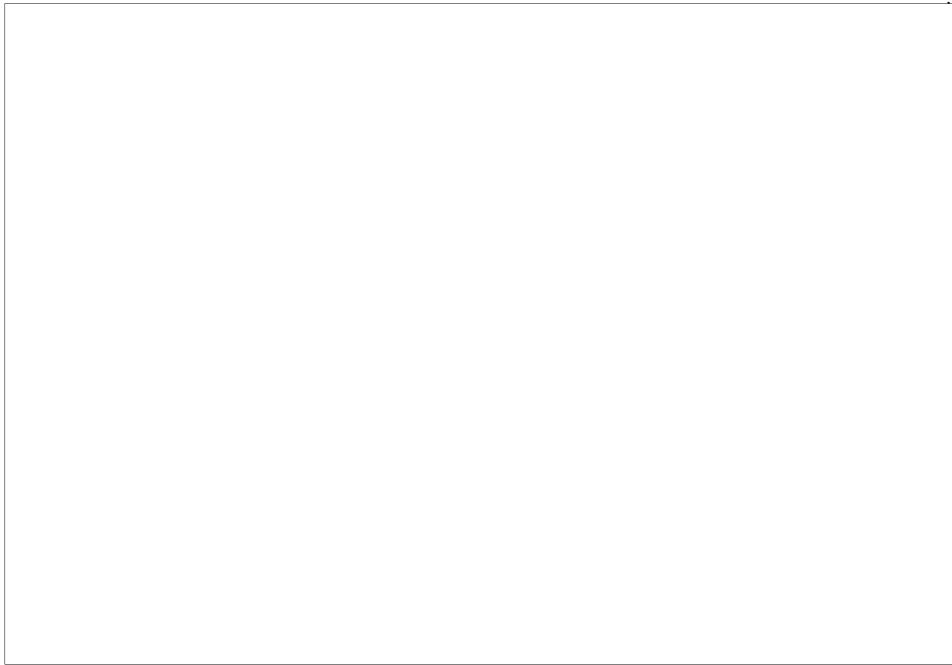
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Soviet hints of flexibility on the return of the islands, could ease the way for peace talks between the two governments. The Japanese have long held that they would not negotiate a peace treaty that did not include the return of the islands.

There are varying reports of what specific concessions Moscow might envision. Some Russians have hinted that Moscow might return two of the four disputed islands; others have talked of the return of all four. Soviet officials have also suggested that Japan might be satisfied with some formula by which Tokyo obtained de facto control while Moscow retained final sovereignty. Meanwhile, Moscow and Tokyo are exploring the nature of peace treaty talks, which seem likely to begin later this year.

Moscow may hope to get reciprocal concessions from the Japanese. Foreign Minister Fukuda, for example, recently suggested that Japan would consider demilitarization of the islands if they were returned. If Moscow decides to negotiate settlement of the territorial question, it might seek to include a provision such as Fukuda suggested or other concessions, such as a firm Japanese financial commitment to Siberian development.

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY



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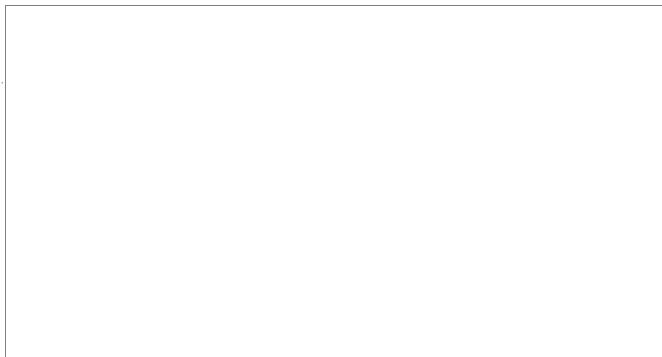
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*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

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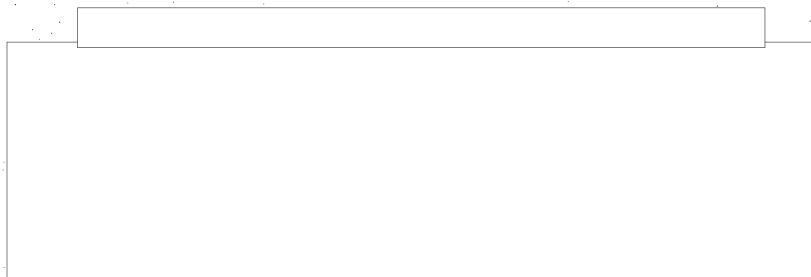


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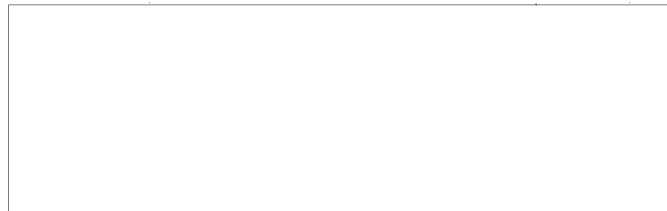
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ISRAEL



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**CHILE**

The most important leaders of the government coalition may be ready to adopt more radical policies

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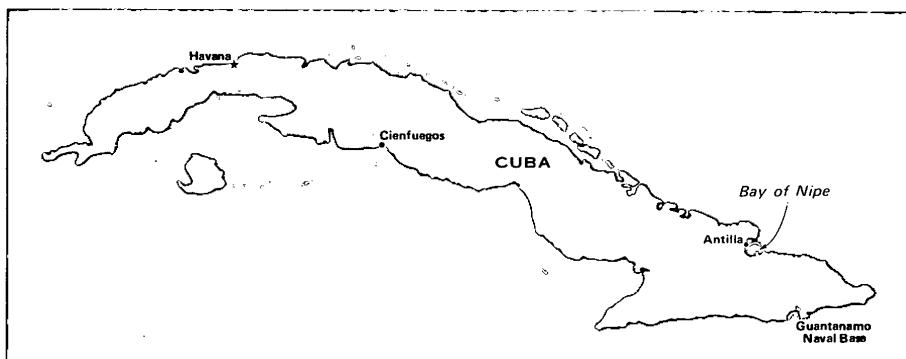
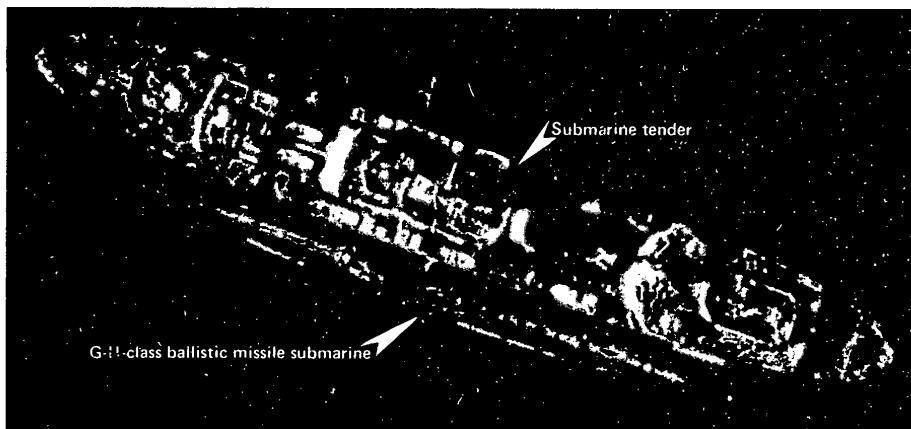
Both Communist and Socialist members of the coalition are increasingly concerned over the erosion of public support for the government. Their resentment over Allende's high-handed personal methods is beginning to override their own deep differences over how fast Chile should become a socialist state.

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The Communists are chiefly disturbed over the deep inroads into their sources of support being made by the extremist Movement of the Revolutionary Left, which is not in the coalition. Party leaders have decided to adopt a more radical position in an attempt to fight the MIR's growing influence among labor, youth, and the news media.

*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

Soviet Submarine Moored at Bay of Nipe



552984 5-72 CIA

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**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

**NOTES**

USSR-Cuba: U-2 photography of the Bay of Nipe on Tuesday showed the G-II class ballistic missile submarine that arrived in Cuba on 29 April tied alongside the submarine tender. The Kotlin-class destroyer and the Gagarin, a Soviet space support ship, were also in the bay.

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Cambodia: Students have ended their week-long antigovernment demonstration and may return to classes today. This should tend to ease tensions in Phnom Penh, but will not bring a return to the relatively calm situation that prevailed before blood was spilled on 27 April. The students are not likely to forgive President Lon Nol or his first minister, Son Ngoc Thanh, for the shootings, and they could renew overt opposition to the government if they found an issue which would gain wider popular support.

Bangladesh: Prime Minister Mujib is resuming a more active schedule after a period of reduced public activities in mid-April apparently caused by ill health.

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[redacted] on Monday the prime minister spoke over radio and television concerning his domestic program. He also has participated in party and cabinet meetings in the past week.

**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

*Top Secret*



## *The President's Daily Brief*

5 May 1972

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~~Top Secret~~

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**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

**THE PRESIDENT'S DAILY BRIEF**

5 May 1972

**PRINCIPAL DEVELOPMENTS**

The situation has been fairly quiet on all major South Vietnamese battlefronts, including the tense Hue area, as both sides prepare for new military action. (Page 1)

There is further evidence that some North Vietnamese forces that have been operating in Laos southwest of the Plaine des Jarres are withdrawing.

(Page 2)

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Italy's Christian Democrats are optimistic that they will be able to form either a center-right or center-left government following parliamentary elections next week. (Page 6)

**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

SOUTH VIETNAM

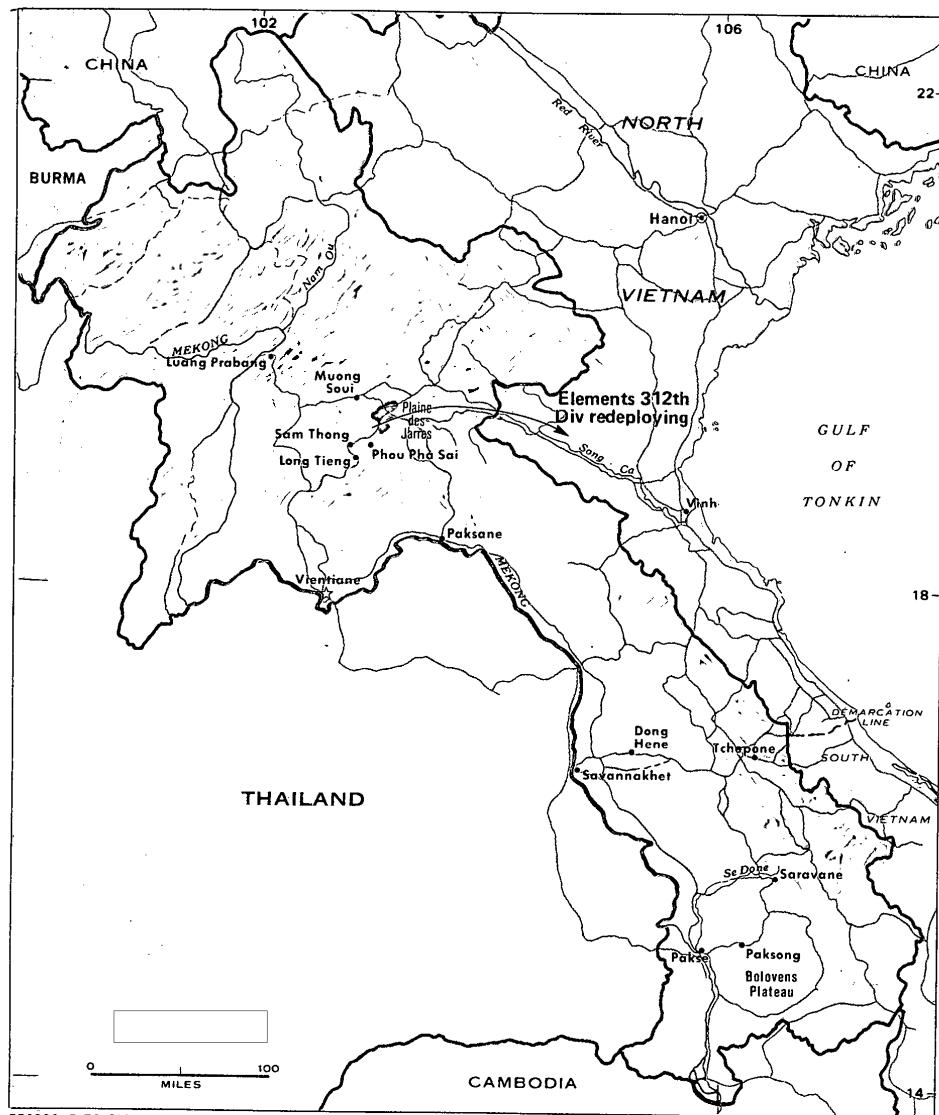
The three major battlefronts are fairly quiet as both sides prepare for further action. Hue was somewhat calmer yesterday following some 36 hours in which public order had largely collapsed in the downtown area of the city. The new commander in the northern provinces, General Truong, has told South Vietnamese soldiers to return to their units or be shot, and there are reports that he has sent armored personnel carriers and military police into the streets. President Thieu, after issuing a strong statement in which he called for harsh local action to deal with disorders in the cities, personally visited Hue to confer with military commanders and to help bolster morale.

US officials in Hue say that some press accounts of the looting in the city were exaggerated. These officials estimate that in recent days up to two thirds of the city's population left for the south. Vietnamese remaining in Hue are said to be extremely apprehensive about the situation there.

There are now some 250,000 refugees at Da Nang, and the number could soon reach a half million. Route 1 between Hue and Da Nang remains open and supports moderately heavy traffic.

*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

LAOS



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**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

**LAOS**

Radio direction-finding shows that the headquarters of the 312th Division, which entered Laos last November to participate in the offensive to recapture the Plaine, has returned to North Vietnam. It appears to be located between the Lao border and Vinh. There is some evidence that one of the division's regiments recently moved eastward from the Plaine. Another is still north of Sam Thong, and the third has not been located since it withdrew in March from Skyline Ridge.

*Last year only one regiment of the 312th remained in Laos throughout the rainy season.*

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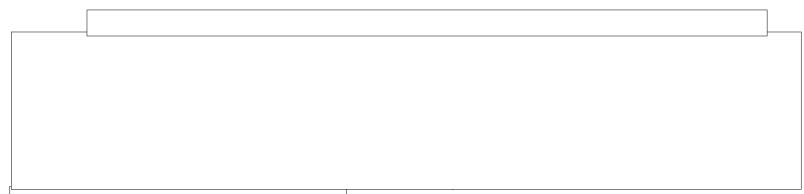
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KOREA



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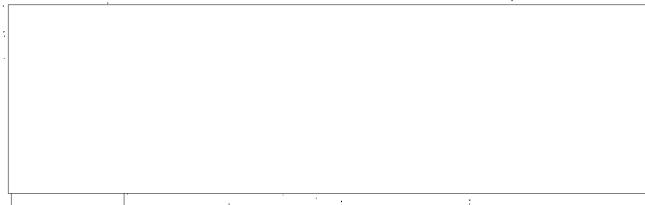


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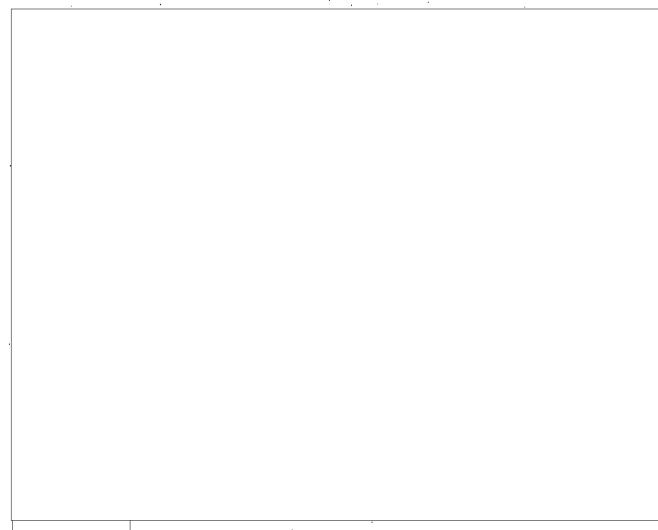
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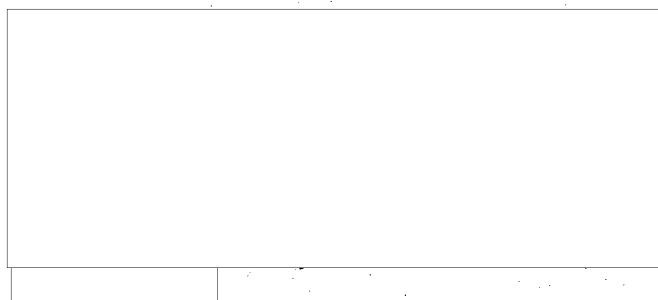
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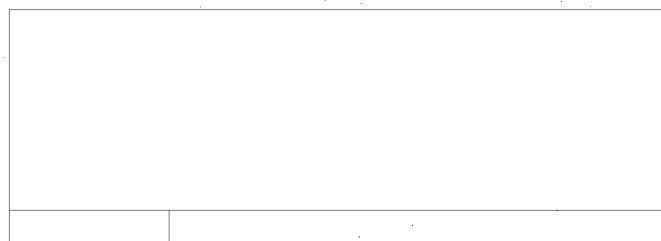
WEST GERMANY



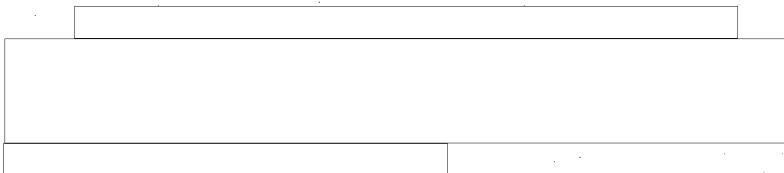
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*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

**ITALY**

The latest polls indicate that the Christian Democrats and the small center-right Liberal Party they have been cultivating will lose some seats-- although fewer than they had feared--to the far right in the parliamentary elections on 7 and 8 May. The center-left parties previously allied with the Christian Democrats seem likely to hold their own, as do the Communists. A large percentage of the electorate is still undecided, however.

*The Christian Democrats consider that they will be able to form and dominate the next government only by combining on the right with the Liberals or on the left with the Italian Socialist Party. At present they are optimistic that they will emerge with both options intact. Their proposed grouping with the Liberals and two smaller allies would have had only a paper majority in the just dissolved parliament, however, and any significant loss of seats to the far right would jeopardize one option. While the four parties of the previous center-left government probably will retain the combined strength to form a majority, the problems that have beset their alliance will not be overcome by the new election.*

**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

**NOTES**

Jordan-USSR: The Soviets have agreed to receive King Husayn in Moscow but have requested that he delay his trip for several months, according to a source of the US Embassy in Amman. Husayn had earlier hoped to obtain Soviet backing for his proposal to federate the Israeli-held West Bank with Jordan, and he probably hopes that a visit to Moscow will give him some protection from the recurrent attacks of other Arab states. The Soviets are clearly concerned that the Egyptians and the fedaveen would react badly to such a visit.

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[redacted] the USSR was concerned at the hasty and vitriolic Arab rejection of the King's West Bank proposal, and that this adverse reaction made it difficult for the USSR to support the plan.

Chile: President Allende's decision to submit to congress today his bill to expropriate ITT interests will have numerous political ramifications. By leaving it up to the legislature to determine how much, if any, compensation ITT should receive, Allende will be able to avoid taking direct responsibility himself. At the same time, he will put the Christian Democrats--who are the largest opposition bloc and are committed to expropriation--on the spot in view of allegations that ITT contacted members of their outgoing Frei administration and US officials in an effort to keep Allende from assuming the presidency. Extremists in the present government will undoubtedly seize on the bill to focus new attention on these allegations, which they believe Allende has so far treated too cautiously.

Turkey: Leftist terrorists are increasing their attacks in a last-ditch effort to gain the release of three of their leaders scheduled to be executed soon. Recent incidents include the hijacking of a Turkish airliner, an abortive attempt to kidnap the gendarmerie commander, and the bombing of the Turkish Airways office in Stockholm. Turkish troops have been put on alert and all military leaves have been canceled. Such distractions may further delay Prime Minister-designate Urguplu's efforts to form a government.

(continued)

**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

Ceylon: The military alert that began in mid-March when the government feared a massive outbreak of insurgency may be lifted early next week, [redacted]

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[redacted] No uprising appears likely in the near future, but the possibility of eventual strife cannot be ruled out. Ceylon's economic situation is difficult, and the government is unpopular. The authorities are freeing some 5,000 detainees thought to have been only marginally involved in last year's insurrection, and some will probably join the several hundred rebels currently at large.

*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

*Top Secret*



## *The President's Daily Brief*

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6 May 1972

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*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

THE PRESIDENT'S DAILY BRIEF

6 May 1972

PRINCIPAL DEVELOPMENTS

The lull in the Vietnam fighting continues as enemy regiments regroup and move closer to the cities of Hue and Kontum in preparation for the next assault.  
*(Page 1)*

South Vietnam

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*(Page 2)*

An important North Vietnamese military commentator has characterized the current offensive as only the beginning of a prolonged military initiative.  
*(Page 4)*

The Communists are maintaining a heavy flow of supplies to the battle areas in South Vietnam. *(Page 5)*

On Page 7

Indian  Pakistan

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The resignation of the Cypriot foreign minister and President Makarios' promise to reshuffle his government are apparently meant to placate Athens. *(Page 8)*

In Cambodia, the Communists have attacked several points in and around Phnom Penh. *(Page 9)*

USSR

Iraq. *(Page 9)*

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West German Chancellor Brandt and opposition leader Barzel failed yesterday to resolve their remaining differences over the Eastern treaties but will try again. *(Page 9)*

*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*



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**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

**VIETNAM**

The lull in the fighting continues as enemy regiments regroup and move closer to the cities of Hue and Kontum in preparation for the next assault. Fire Support Base Birmingham, ten miles west of Hue, was hit yesterday by heavy fire from North Vietnamese 130-mm. artillery. Casualties were light, but the increased use of artillery by the enemy near Hue suggests that other defensive positions around the city may soon come under heavy fire.

To the south, in Quang Tin Province, [redacted]	25X1
[redacted] the Communists hope	25X1
to follow up the recent capture of Hiep Duc town by	
attacking Tam Ky, the provincial capital. [redacted]	25X1
[redacted]	25X1
[redacted]	25X1

The Communists are continuing to shell An Loc daily; over 700 rounds were fired on 4 May. The government has flown in more supplies and replacements and has evacuated some wounded by helicopter. The South Vietnamese 21st Division remains bogged down on Route 13 south of An Loc. The division's apparent reticence to move toward the besieged town and its abandonment of an artillery base in the vicinity cast doubt on the determination of the South Vietnamese forces sent to relieve An Loc.

**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

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**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

**SOUTH VIETNAM**

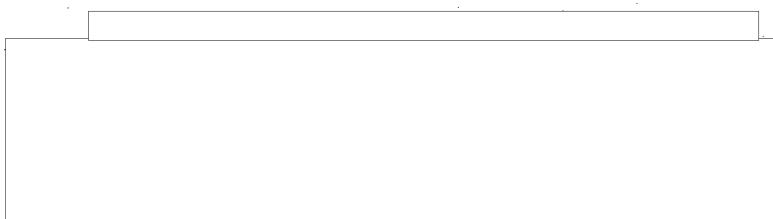


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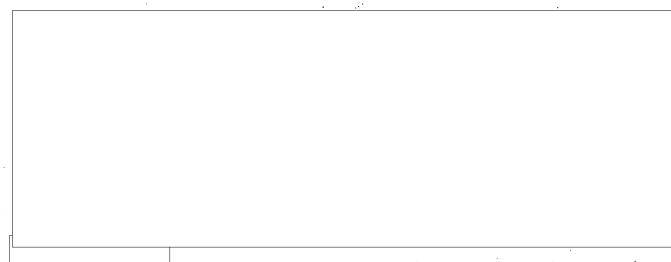
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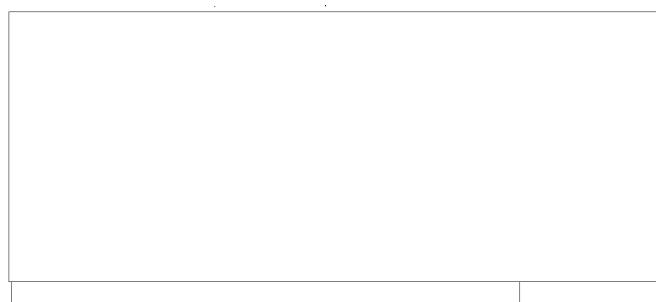
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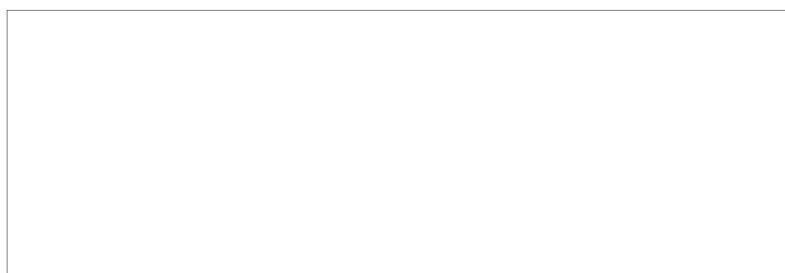
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**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

**NORTH VIETNAM**

An important North Vietnamese military commentator who is known as an advocate of main-force warfare has characterized the current offensive as only the first part of a prolonged military initiative. In an article on 3 May, the writer who uses the pseudonym "Chien Thang," claims that Communist successes in Laos and Cambodia last year prepared the way for the current effort and that the Communists now have sufficient "latent strength" in Vietnam to fight protractedly and on a large scale. Discussing the current action, he describes the "enlarged liberated areas" as "extended offensive springboards" and adds that the Communists have gained the initiative on all fronts.

*By linking the current offensive to larger military plans, "Chien Thang" seems to be signaling to the North Vietnamese people and armed forces, as well as to the US and Saigon, that North Vietnam does not intend to rest on its laurels and that Hanoi has not yet exhausted its military resources. The author's glowing assessment of North Vietnam's military prospects may also reflect rising expectations and hardened determination within the highest echelons of the leadership.*

*Over the past year, "Chien Thang" and other commentators have surfaced from time to time to argue the virtues of "big offensives" and conventional warfare, and may now feel vindicated. In his latest piece, "Chien Thang" in fact asserts that the Communists' "victories across the battlefield have most clearly proven that our guidance of the revolutionary war is very correct."*

*Such posturing is obviously to some extent for morale purposes, but it may also be an indication that after the first month of the offensive, the leadership is genuinely convinced it made the right decision. Indeed, there is a strong suggestion in the "Chien Thang" article that at least some North Vietnamese leaders are increasingly confident that continued military action will alter the course of the conflict decisively.*

**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

Heavy Logistic Activity



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**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

**INDOCHINA**

The intensity of the enemy's logistic operations is clearly reflected in sensor-detected supply deliveries to South Vietnam, which have reached a high for this dry season campaign. Aerial observers report extensive supply activity on roads through the DMZ to Military Region 1, and communications intelligence also reflects heavy resupply activity into this region via the A Shau Valley.

In the southern Lao panhandle, the Communists are moving 130-mm. field guns and vehicles with bridging equipment, as well as large amounts of ordnance. The 130-mm. field guns are en route to the B-3 Front or to the COSVN area, while the engineering equipment is earmarked for both areas and will be used for bridging swollen streams during the wet season. One unusual development is the dispatch beginning on 4 May of at least two transportation battalions, and over 100 vehicles carrying 600 tons of ordnance from southern Laos directly to the COSVN area.

*This exceptionally large convoy and its lengthy journey represent a radical departure from the normal pattern of short-haul transshipping. The change indicates an urgent need to increase the amount of ordnance available to forces in southern South Vietnam. In addition, the arrival of two transportation battalions--each carrying a month's supply of food and gasoline--will significantly improve the enemy's resupply capability in the COSVN area.*

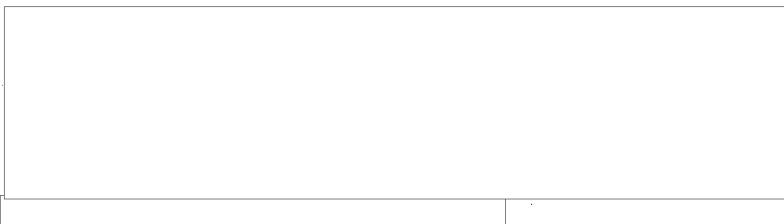
The Communists apparently intend to maintain the current logistics push into the wet season. A logistic authority in Laos is scheduled to ship 3,600 tons of supplies to Military Region 1 during the month of May. In support of this effort, messages have referred to the "rainy season mission" as well as to the graveling of roads and other plans to offset the effects of the rains. An intercept of 2 May indicated that another logistic authority in Laos in the vicinity of the Mu Gia Pass was to transfer cargo from its storage areas to points south and wait for a new assignment--suggesting that the enemy will reroute convoys through the drier North Vietnamese panhandle as the monsoons progress.

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**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

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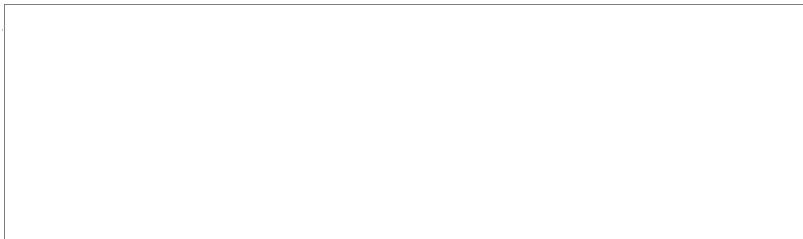
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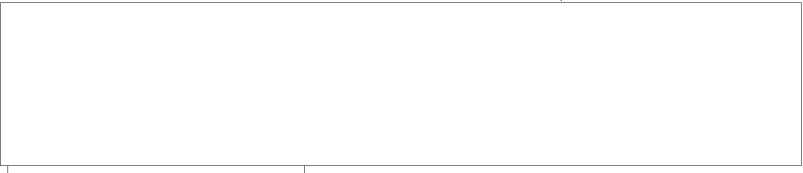
**INDIA-PAKISTAN**



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*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

**CYPRUS**

Foreign Minister Kyprianou has resigned. According to press reports, President Makarios told his cabinet on Thursday that this decision was taken in response to Greek pressure and added that, at the insistence of Athens, he will carry out a government reshuffle next month.

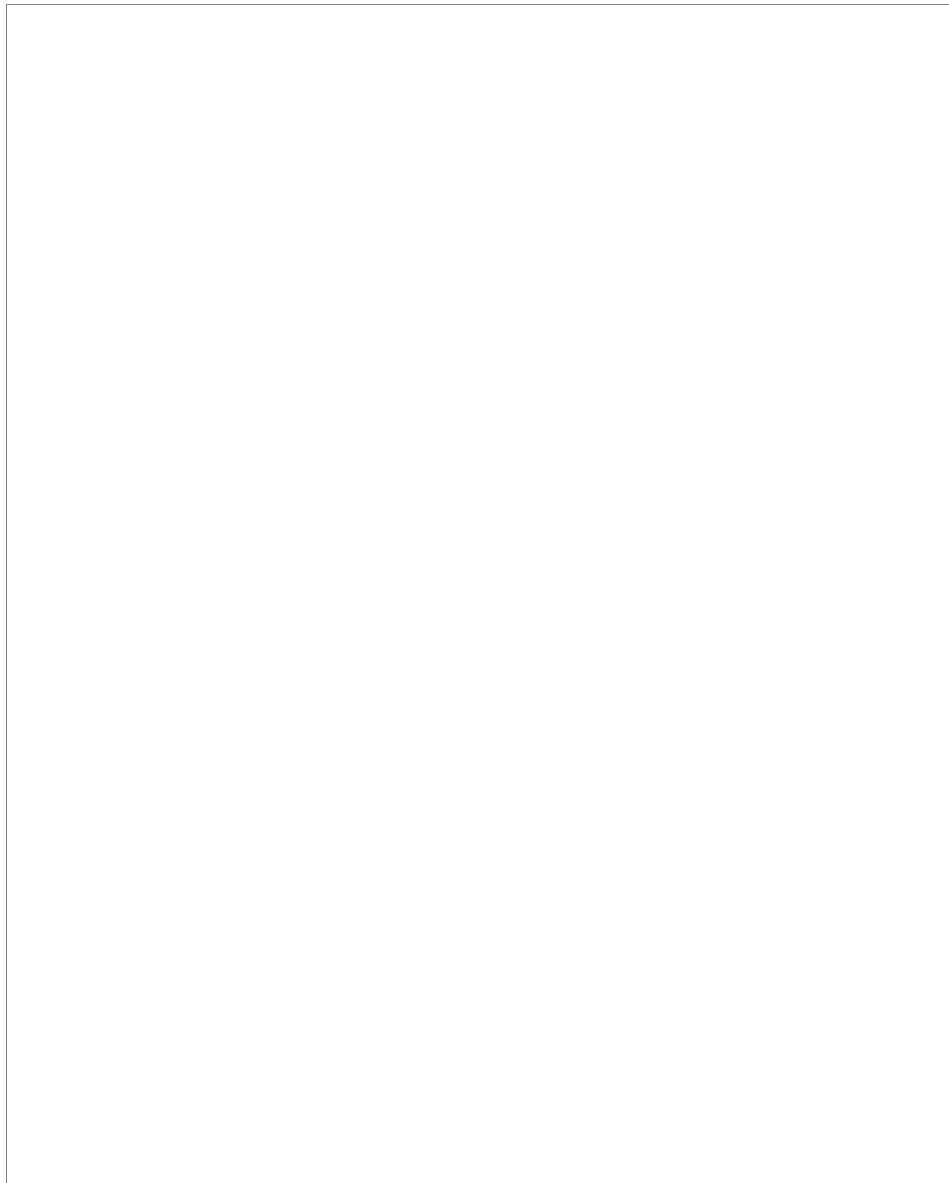
Makarios, having outmaneuvered Greek efforts to force his resignation and outsmarting them in the compromise reached over control of Czechoslovak arms on Cyprus, apparently now believes he can safely make a conciliatory gesture toward Athens. He apparently believes that the influence of pan-Hellenism among Greek Cypriots is too strong for him to ignore the Greek Government without, in the long run, causing serious popular dissatisfaction. Although he will probably remove a few cabinet members objectionable to Athens, he is also likely to use the opportunity to dismiss those who have been giving him trouble in recent months. We see no give on his part on the question of Cypriot sovereignty.

Greece's recent avoidance of any communication with Makarios is unnerving to the Turkish Government, which had been quietly backing Athens' efforts to bring Makarios to heel. The Turks want no crisis over Cyprus, but they are chafing because they have been poorly informed by Athens about the Greek Government's next steps. The Turks are suspicious that Greek silence may mean that efforts to control Makarios have been abandoned without guaranteeing the security of the Turkish minority.  

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**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**



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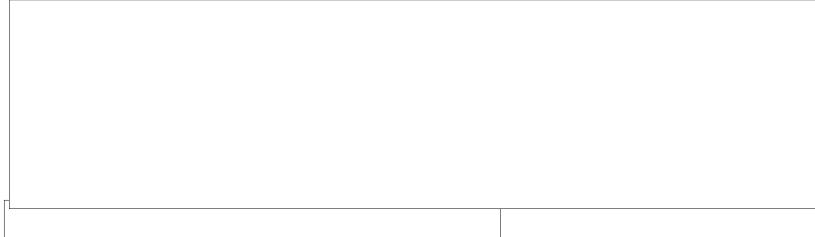
**NOTES**

Cambodia: The Communists launched a coordinated shelling and sapper attack on several areas of Phnom Penh early this morning but damage and casualties appear to have been light. The Pochehtong airfield and an area around the National Defense Ministry were hit by rockets, while a naval base, a major bridge and a power station in the southern part of the city were shelled. Cambodian forces repulsed a ground attack near the bridge. Today's attack is the most ambitious the Communists have conducted in the Phnom Penh area and is fresh evidence of the city's vulnerability to hit-and-run raids.

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Iraq-USSR: [redacted]

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West Germany: In their meeting yesterday, Chancellor Brandt and opposition leader Barzel again failed to resolve their remaining differences over the Eastern treaties. The last of the three inter-party drafting committees is still trying to find an acceptable formulation of the German view that the Eastern treaties do not preclude a German peace treaty or eventual reunification. This formula will comprise a crucial part of the proposed Bundestag resolution to be passed to the Soviets for acknowledgment. With the Bundestag debate and vote on the treaties slated for 9-10 May, the two leaders will try again at an unspecified date.

**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

*Top Secret*



# *The President's Daily Brief*

8 May 1972

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*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

THE PRESIDENT'S DAILY BRIEF

8 May 1972

PRINCIPAL DEVELOPMENTS

Communist ground forces in Vietnam carried out two heavy assaults in the central highlands over the weekend and otherwise kept up pressure mainly by shelling attacks. Communist propaganda continues highly optimistic over prospects in South Vietnam.

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(Page 1)

The Soviets apparently believe that Israeli obduracy precludes any progress on the Middle East in talks with the US at this time. (Page 3)

On the eve of the Bundestag debate, efforts continue to formulate a statement on the Eastern treaties and future options, while strains on party unity in both camps remain intense. (Page 4)

*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*



**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

**VIETNAM**

The Communists maintained military pressure over the weekend on the major battlefronts mainly by shelling attacks, although enemy ground forces carried out two heavy assaults in the central highlands. North Vietnamese sappers penetrated and heavily damaged one South Vietnamese strongpoint north of Pleiku. Northwest of Kontum City, South Vietnamese forces withstood another strong enemy assault at Polei Kleng. The enemy is continuing to move large numbers of troops and heavy equipment toward Hue.

There have been further reports of enemy plans to step up attacks against Da Nang and in southern Binh Dinh Province. The Da Nang airfield was shelled lightly during the weekend. Authorities in the city are concerned that the enemy may be mixing in with the thousands of refugees converging there. In Binh Dinh, [redacted] enemy forces have been infiltrating into Qui Nhon, the provincial capital, and there are signs that the enemy intends to renew pressure in the An Khe Pass to block Route 19--the main South Vietnamese supply route into the highlands.

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Farther south, the Communists have been hitting An Loc with more than 1,000 rounds of mortar and artillery fire a day. A prisoner taken over the weekend says that the commander of the Communist 9th Division has been reprimanded for his failure to seize An Loc and that the 5th Division now has been assigned the mission.

Propaganda from Vietnamese Communist outlets continues highly optimistic over the prospects in South Vietnam. Military action is now claimed to have opened up the possibility of "total victory," and is being compared to the battle of Dien Bien Phu, the anniversary of which the Communists celebrated yesterday.

*Although the propaganda is intended to prepare the Communist rank and file for further intensive military action, we believe that it also reflects a basically optimistic assessment of the progress of the military campaign after the first month.*

(continued)

**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

Communist propaganda is also devoting increased attention to exhorting the South Vietnamese populace to rise up in "insurrection" in support of the military offensive.

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According to the North Vietnamese military newspaper, political agitation and the organization of liberated areas has now become one of the "most important" tasks in the offensive.

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*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

**USSR - MIDDLE EAST**

Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Y. D. Pyrlin told a US Embassy officer in Moscow on Friday that the Soviets were not currently devising any new proposals on the Middle East and that he did not expect much in the way of results on this subject from the meetings with President Nixon. An influential Egyptian journalist, Mohamad Oda, came away from Moscow last week with the same impression after talking with Soviet journalists and academicians.

*From the remarks of both Pyrlin and Oda, it appears that the Soviets believe that Israeli obduracy precludes any progress on the Middle East at this time. They may nevertheless wish to come up with something to lend impetus to the negotiating process in the hope of reviving bilateral Middle East talks with the US and persuading the Arabs that Moscow is active in seeking a political settlement.*

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*Moscow may propose a reopening of the Suez Canal provided that Israel agrees to withdraw its forces from the east bank and does not insist on immediate canal transit rights.*

*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

**WEST GERMANY**

As efforts continue to formulate a statement of the German view that the Eastern treaties do not preclude a German peace treaty or eventual reunification, government and opposition leaders are concentrating their energies on maintaining party discipline for the debate and vote scheduled for tomorrow and Wednesday.

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[redacted] Barzel, in an effort to regroup his forces, may announce in today's CDU caucus that he will seek to postpone the debate even further. The fact that West Berlin deputies can vote on procedural matters, however, would net Brandt an additional two votes in countering any such stalling tactic.

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*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

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**NOTE**

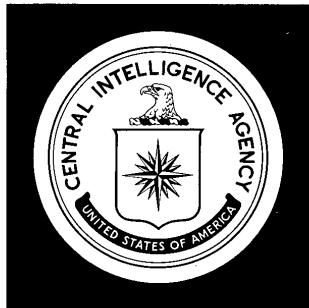
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*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

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## *The President's Daily Brief*

*Sensitive  
9 May 1972*

**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

**THE PRESIDENT'S DAILY BRIEF**

9 May 1972

**PRINCIPAL DEVELOPMENTS**

In South Vietnam, the Communists continue to move forces closer to both Hue and Kontum City, while in the North, at least one Soviet ship has reported taking casualties in the latest air attacks. (Page 1)

A COSVN assessment of the first two weeks of the current offensive in South Vietnam indicates satisfaction with successes so far, but cautions that hard fighting lies ahead. (Page 3)

South Korea's defense minister has publicly declared that Korean forces will not expand their current limited role in South Vietnam. (Page 4)

West German leaders are still trying to put final touches on an all-party Bundestag draft resolution, with debate on the Eastern treaties scheduled to open today. (Page 5)

**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**



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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

## VIETNAM

The North Vietnamese continue to emplace heavy caliber artillery north and west of Hue and have moved their 38th Artillery Regiment into position northwest of Camp Evans, the northernmost South Vietnamese strongpoint protecting the city. Camp Evans and other government defensive positions, including Fire Support Bases King and Birmingham, have come under increasingly intense shellings.

More than a week has passed since Quang Tri City fell, but the Communists may need additional time before they feel themselves ready to begin another major offensive in this area.

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the Communists apparently are not yet concentrating their troops in forward positions where they could be even more vulnerable to observation and air attack. They are likely to order their forces to close on the government's defensive positions only after subjecting these to sustained artillery barrages.

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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

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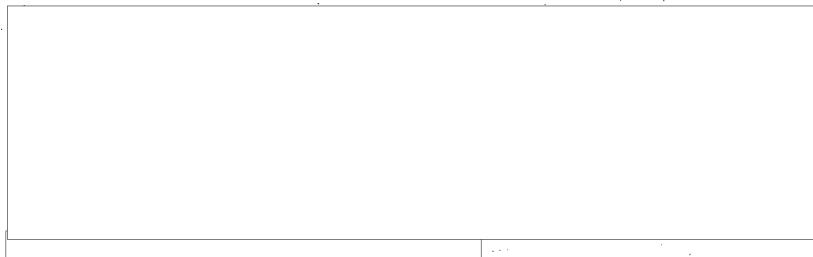
In the central highlands, regiments from the enemy [redacted] continue to move closer to Kontum City. Although they have let almost two weeks pass since they collapsed the government's defensive perimeters at Rocket Ridge and Vo Dinh, the Communists appear to be trying to clear their flanks of government outposts they have bypassed before making a direct assault on Kontum itself. Polei Keng, west of the city, fell this morning, and Ben Het to the northwest has received a number of enemy ground probes.

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Several Soviet ships in the Haiphong area have passed messages reporting on the air attacks and the dropping of mines over the port today. At least one ship, the tanker Pevek, reported that it has been fired on by aircraft and claimed that four crew members were wounded. [redacted]

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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

SOUTH VIETNAM

[redacted] COSVN in mid-April issued an assessment of the recent fighting that claimed great victories had been won over the South Vietnamese regular army, affording Viet Cong local forces an opportunity to make a resurgence in the populated countryside. COSVN asserted that Communist forces can ultimately win a total military victory.

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The COSVN assessment was not entirely optimistic, however. In particular, it took to task the Viet Cong forces in urban areas for not acting with enough vigor. While attacks against the government's pacification program [redacted] have made big gains in some areas, in others--such as the Mekong Delta--the offensive was not moving fast enough.

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One main theme of the COSVN report was that even though many South Vietnamese Army units have been driven out of their "outer defense rings," they have pulled back to in-depth defenses around major bases and cities; these will be difficult to penetrate. Another theme was that the Communists had not yet committed all of their available forces and that they could continue to fight throughout 1972, and beyond, if the allies should refuse to make political concessions.

*The assessment is in part intended to raise morale, but it is notable because COSVN does not routinely pass out much praise. In general, the assessment reinforces a considerable body of evidence that the Communists are relying heavily on regular units as the decisive force in the current phase of the war. While it calls on local forces, guerrillas, and cadre in the cities to exploit the openings created by the main forces, the directive leaves the strong impression that military victories over the regular South Vietnamese Army must come first. COSVN appears to believe that main force actions will create the kind of unsettled conditions in which guerrillas and political cadre can once again build up their strength and consolidate Communist gains.*

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

SOUTH KOREA - VIETNAM

South Korean Defense Minister Yu Chae-hung stated publicly on 6 May that the current mission of Korean troops in Vietnam would remain unchanged despite US and South Vietnamese efforts to widen it. He added that there had been no change in Seoul's decision eventually to withdraw its troops from Vietnam and termed the possibility of sending additional troops as "totally out of the question."

Yu's statements reflect the growing concern of South Korean leaders over the repercussions of a continued Korean military presence in Vietnam. They increasingly view this role as an international political liability. President Pak, moreover, is worried over the domestic impact of an increase in Korean casualty rates and wants to keep losses to a minimum.

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

WEST GERMANY

Chancellor Brandt and opposition leader Barzel were unable, in a four-hour meeting last night, to agree on the finishing touches of a draft all-party Bundestag resolution on the controversial Eastern treaties. They have scheduled further deliberations for this morning. Barring a last-minute delay to permit further negotiations, Bundestag debate on the treaties is scheduled to begin today, with the vote to come tomorrow.

Earlier yesterday, Barzel told the US Embassy that he was having great difficulties with the conservatives in his party, most of whom want to reject the resolution in keeping with the party's attitude toward the treaties over the past 30 months. Barzel said he favors accepting the resolution--with certain "improvements"--and, provided there is an acceptable Soviet response, permitting ratification of the treaties.

*The disagreement among opposition deputies in recent days over the utility of a resolution suggests that they may not adopt a unified approach toward the treaties. Regardless of whether their party adopts the resolution, it appears that at least four opposition deputies are now prepared to support the treaties. This may well be enough to offset defections from Brandt's coalition and to give the treaties a simple majority.*

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

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# *The President's Daily Brief*

*10 May 1972*

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*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

THE PRESIDENT'S DAILY BRIEF

10 May 1972

PRINCIPAL DEVELOPMENTS

On *Page 1* we report Soviet, Chinese and Vietnamese Communist reactions to President Nixon's 8 May speech.

In the Vietnam fighting, the enemy is maintaining pressure on government positions in the northern provinces. Meanwhile, the Communists are reported to be taking measures to consolidate political control over areas they have occupied. (*Page 2*)

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The resolution of last-minute difficulties has cleared the way for debate today of Bonn's Eastern treaties. (*Page 5*)

The national elections in Italy produced only marginal shifts in the parliamentary strengths of the leading parties and another center-left government appears likely. (*Page 6*)

*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

**VIETNAM**

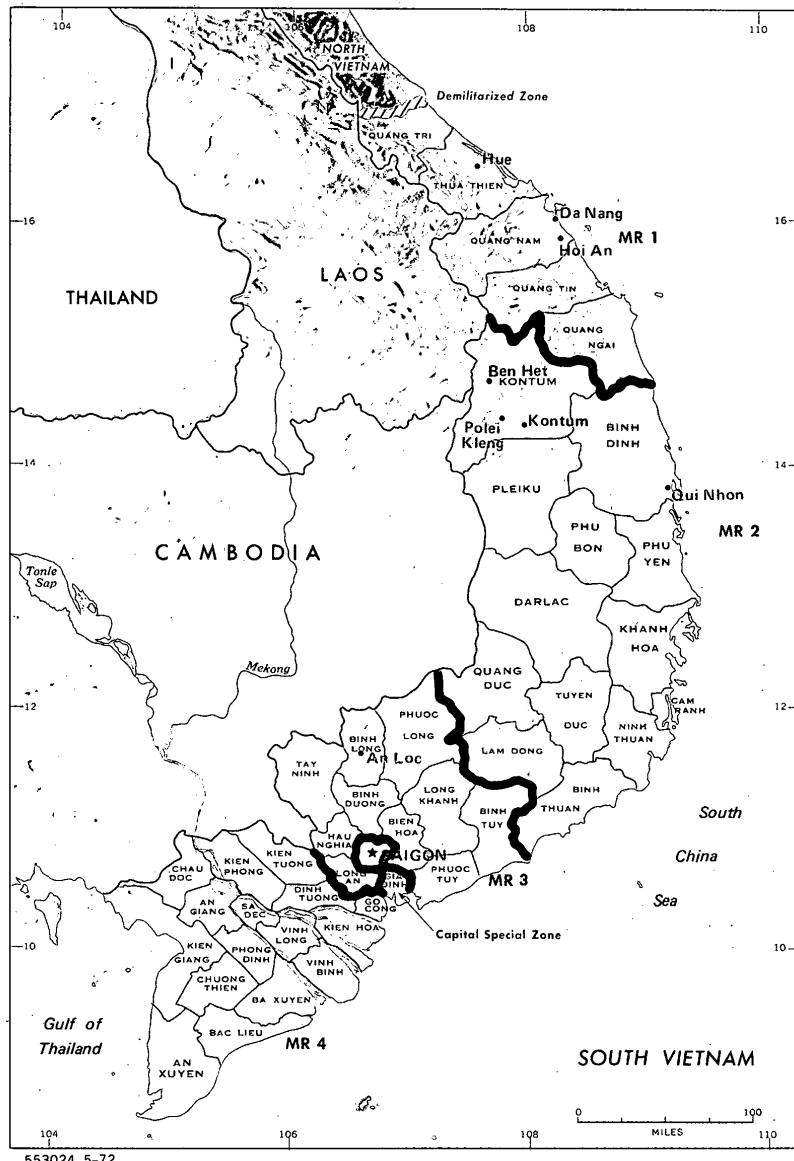
In the period immediately following President Nixon's announcement on 8 May, both Soviet and Chinese Communist military activities appear normal. The Yugoslav news agency's correspondent in Moscow has reported, however, that the Soviet Politburo has convened to discuss the President's statement.

The Soviets first took note of the President's address in a routine TASS account issued 11 hours after the speech was given. The statement, date-lined Washington, said the US actions were "open aggressive acts, signifying increased interference in Vietnam." TASS noted the President's remark that "these actions are not directed against any other country," but it did not report the part of the speech directed specifically at Moscow. TASS also reported the US offer to begin withdrawing as soon as the prisoners are released and a cease-fire is established. It concluded that, although the speech contains a number of reassurances that the US wants to end the war, US actions "speak of something quite different."

Peking has not yet commented on the President's speech, but the Foreign Ministry issued a statement yesterday protesting the attacks on Chinese merchant ships near Vinh over the weekend. The protest is brief and relatively mild. It asserts that the attacks constitute a "grave provocation against the Chinese people" and adds that Washington must bear "full responsibility" for "all the grave consequences" arising from such attacks if they are not stopped. All Vietnamese Communist statements from Hanoi and Paris insist that US actions will have no effect on Communist determination to carry on the war. Much of the Vietnamese Communist commentary on the speech is vituperative. In addition to bitter invective aimed at the President personally, the propaganda also contains long and emotional passages on the aggressive nature of US actions, the right of the Vietnamese people to defend themselves, the hopeless position of the US and its "puppets," and other staples of recent Hanoi statements.

Hanoi is giving heavy emphasis to international implications of the US action. A North Vietnamese statement in Paris claimed that the US is posing an "insolent challenge" to Hanoi and its Communist backers, and the Viet Cong added that Washington's action is a violation of international law and moral principle. According to French press reports from Hanoi, North Vietnamese spokesmen are claiming that the President's speech is an "ultimatum" aimed not just at the Vietnamese Communists but at the "entire socialist bloc and the world."

(continued)



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## FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

*These initial reactions suggest not only that Hanoi will maintain a very tough stand but also that it will take every opportunity to remind the Soviets and the Chinese of their obligations to support the Vietnamese Communists.*

\* \* \*

Communist military forces are maintaining pressure on government positions in the northern provinces. Enemy artillery and ground attacks continue in the Hue area, but the main thrust of Communist activity at the moment is toward completing logistical and other combat preparations. Intercepted North Vietnamese messages show that a major logistic authority has moved from the Laos panhandle to the Hue area, apparently to facilitate large-scale logistic support for the pending offensive against that city. Intercepts show that the Communists have already moved artillery and some infantry units into striking positions near Hue, but that some other units may not be ready for action until the middle of this month.

In the central highlands, the loss yesterday of Polei Kleng has opened Kontum City's western approaches to the enemy. In coastal Quang Nam Province, [redacted] the North Vietnamese [redacted] [redacted] apparently are increasing their activity against major towns in the area and are now within range of Da Nang and the provincial capital of Hoi An. [redacted]

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President Thieu is expected to sign an order today relieving General Dzu of command of Military Region 2 and replacing him with General Nguyen Van Toan, currently commander of South Vietnam's Armored Command.

Dzu seemed complacent about the unprecedented enemy buildup in the highlands last winter, but when the fighting began he proved to be an ineffectual commander. Thieu has apparently been considering Dzu's replacement since his forces abandoned their second line of defense at Vo Dinh in late April. Communist regiments and local forces have been moving almost at will through the countryside of northern Binh Dinh and Quang Ngai Provinces and, in effect, have cut South Vietnam in half.

(continued)

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

*Thieu clearly hopes that Toan will get a more vigorous, aggressive performance from Military Region 2 forces, save the situation at Kontum City, and protect Qui Nhon City from the enemy forces headed that way.*

The city of Da Nang is trying to cope with some 400,000 refugees that have streamed in from Quang Tri, Hue, and outlying regions in recent weeks. According to the US Consul General in Da Nang, just providing water--let alone food, medical care, and sanitary facilities--is proving to be a sizable task.

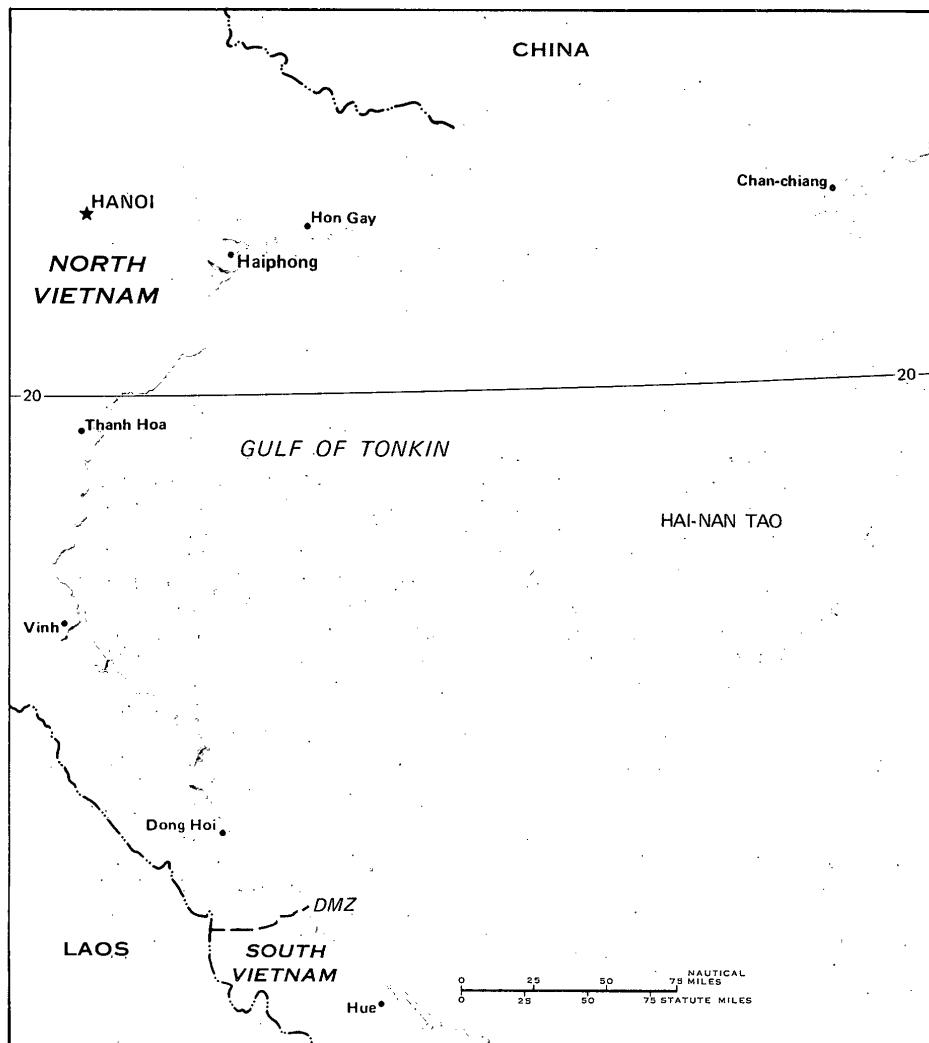
In addition to these problems, there is a growing fear that Da Nang may be attacked by the enemy. Communist artillery attacks against Da Nang or news of the fall of Hue or Hoi An might spark a panic in much of the city that would greatly complicate efforts to defend it. The situation may be eased somewhat if a plan to ship as many as 100,000 refugees from Military Region 1 to a new refugee center in Military Region 3 is successfully carried out.

\* \* \*

Refugees fleeing from Communist-occupied districts in northern Binh Dinh Province are bringing out stories about enemy moves to consolidate political control there. The Communists are said to be setting up "liberation governments" and executing some South Vietnamese officials. Journalists who have interviewed the refugees report that the North Vietnamese units that spearheaded the attacks in Binh Dinh immediately turned over civil authority to local Viet Cong officials, some of whom are government cadre who were recruited earlier as secret Viet Cong.

The new governments are said to be carrying out routine functions such as trying criminals, arbitrating land disputes, and supervising repair of war damages. They are also said to be screening all individuals who were connected in any way with the government. Some officials are being given the opportunity to cooperate with the Viet Cong, but others, particularly policemen, reportedly are being shot.

*The refugees' accounts are generally consistent with earlier reports of how the Communists proceeded after occupying other areas in South Vietnam, such as Loc Ninh District north of An Loc. The Communists evidently have well-thought-out procedures that are being implemented as a follow-up to their military operations. The enemy's measures are intended for the long term and indicate that the Communists clearly mean to stay in the areas they have seized.*

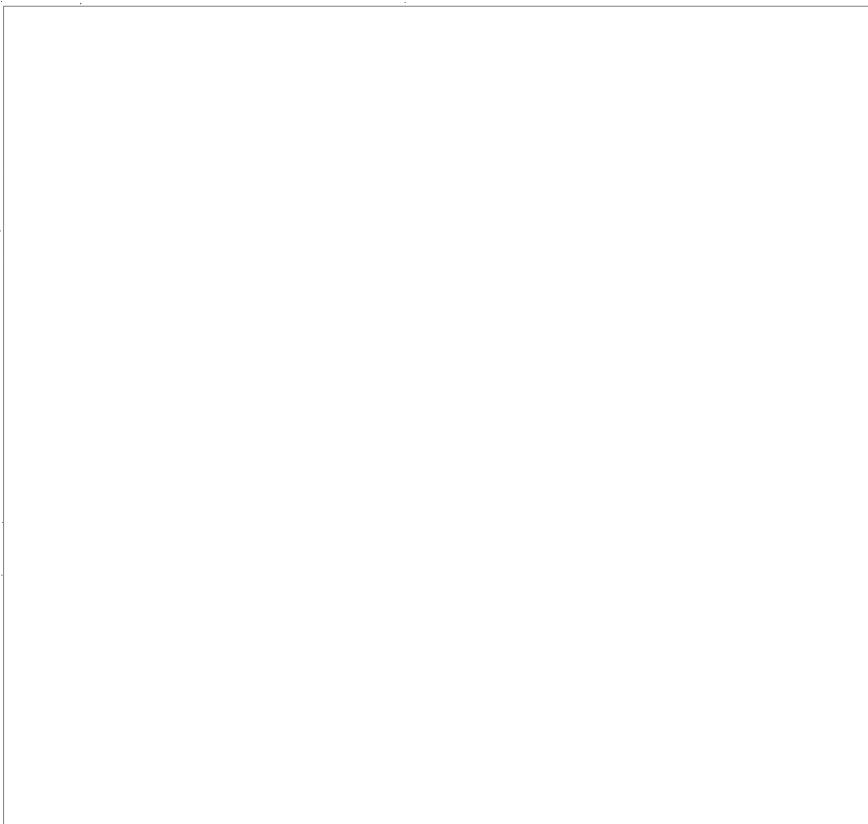


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*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

NORTH VIETNAM

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*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

**WEST GERMANY**

A government spokesman has announced that last-minute Soviet objections to parts of the draft Bundestag resolution have been resolved and that debate on the Eastern treaties will begin today.

Yesterday, the Soviet Foreign Ministry indicated that it could not accept the wording that the treaties are only a modus vivendi and do not create a legal basis for existing borders. Moscow also contended that another passage dealing with residual Four Power rights in Germany was repetitive and unnecessary. Later in the day, however, Soviet Ambassador Falin indicated that these points might be negotiable.

In announcing the agreement last night, the Bonn spokesman said the Soviets had only been seeking clarification of certain points and they had received "satisfactory answers." He added that the treaties could be voted on today, and predicted that they would pass with a broad majority.

**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

**ITALY**

The 7-8 May national elections produced only marginal shifts in the parliamentary strengths of the leading parties. The four parties of the center-left coalition that have governed Italy for most of the last decade gained six seats for a total of 371 in the 630-member Chamber of Deputies. Although the Communist Party won two additional seats, the extreme leftist parties did poorly, with the Proletarian Socialists losing all 23 of their seats and the militant Manifesto group failing to win any in its first electoral test.

The far right parties scored the most impressive gains. The neo-fascists, who joined forces in this campaign with the tiny Monarchist Party, won 56 seats, 26 more than their total in the outgoing parliament. The far rightists apparently drew strength from the center-right parties, especially from the Liberals, who lost ten seats.

*The Liberal Party's decline reduces the possibility of a centrist coalition as a viable alternative to the well-worn center-left alignment. The four parties that would have made such a center combination possible now have three seats fewer (331) than they had in the outgoing Chamber. This would constitute a majority, but one with a margin that is probably too thin for a viable government.*

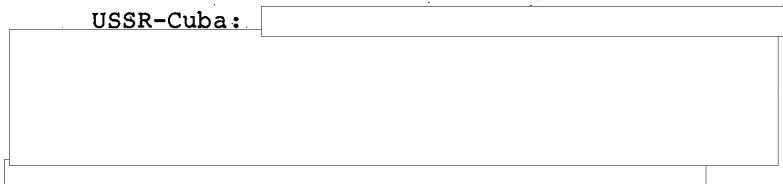
*Thus we expect an attempt to refurbish the center-left alliance, even though it would face the same problems that forced the early dissolution of the last parliament. Putting the new government together may not be completed until the major parties have had a chance to sort out their problems at party congresses this summer. In the interim, the Christian Democrats are likely to rule as a minority government.*

*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

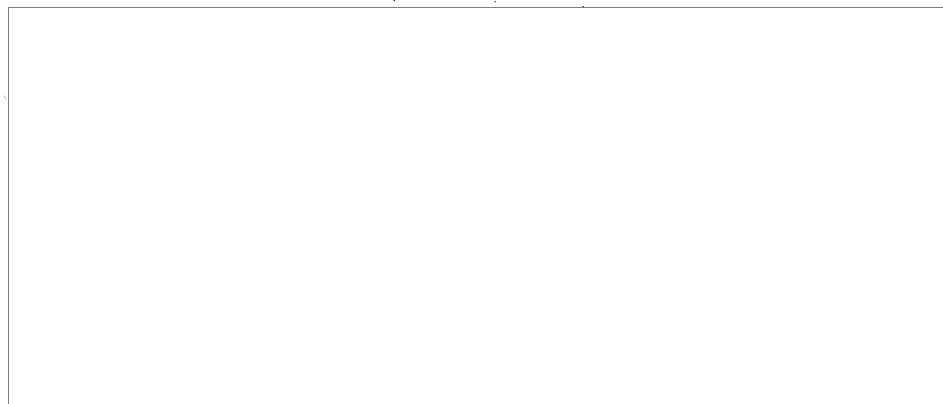
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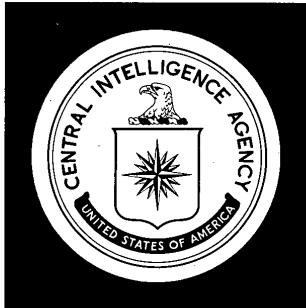
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## *The President's Daily Brief*

11 May 1972

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*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

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*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

THE PRESIDENT'S DAILY BRIEF

11 May 1972

PRINCIPAL DEVELOPMENTS

The Soviet leadership's attempt to formulate a response to President Nixon's speech is discussed on *Page 1*.

The USSR apparently has made no firm decision on the disposition of its ships in North Vietnamese ports. Peking's first authoritative comment on the US military measures is relatively low-keyed; Hanoi, meanwhile, is emphasizing the need for more support from its allies and stressing the threat to their ships and facilities. Communist forces continue to prepare for further offensive operations in South Vietnam. (*Page 2*)

In the past few days Communist forces have improved their position in southeastern Cambodia. (*Page 5*)

West German government and opposition leaders have agreed to postpone the debate and vote on the Eastern treaties until 17 May. (*Page 6*)

Soviet  Iran  Iraq. (*Page 7*)

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*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

**USSR**

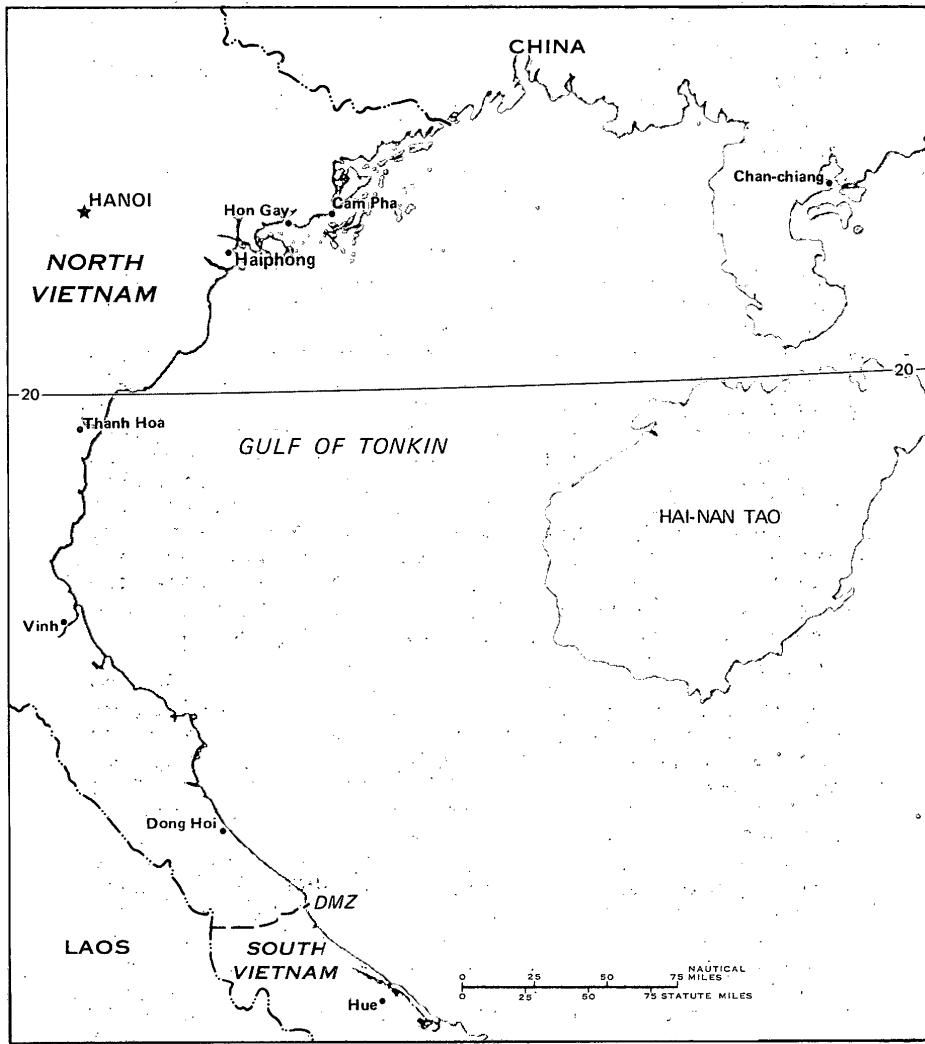
*There has so far been no authoritative public response by the Soviets to the President's speech of Monday night, but their reaction time in the past to important developments affecting their vital interests has been slow.*

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*In addition to developing a response to the President, the Soviet leaders must deal with another matter of great importance to them, the West German Bundestag debate on treaty ratification. Indeed, the contradictory positions reportedly taken by Soviet Ambassador Falin yesterday in Bonn suggest high-level debate and indecision in Moscow. Under the circumstances, we suspect that the problems of US relations and West German relations have become entangled in Soviet deliberations. If so, yesterday's delay of the ratification vote in Bonn can only have complicated the Politburo's problem.*

*Because of Brezhnev's role in both these issues it is altogether possible that his leadership has become linked with the policy questions at stake and, although there is no direct evidence to support the speculation, that a larger struggle for political power has been touched off.*

**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**



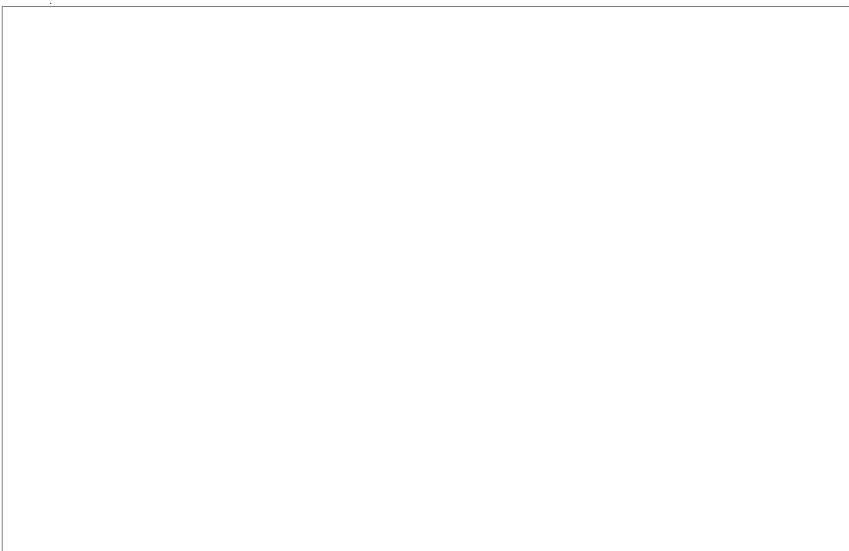
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*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

**VIETNAM**

Soviet and Chinese military activities in the Indochina area continue to appear normal.

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In their first authoritative comment on President Nixon's speech, the Chinese in an 11 May "Commentator" article in the People's Daily condemned the US military measures but refrained from portraying them as a threat or a "challenge" to China. The article describes the US actions in relatively low-keyed terms and neither called for their cessation nor committed Peking to any definite course of action. Moreover, the article did not contain any personal attacks on President Nixon, and attributed the US actions to the US Government instead. The commentary did not discuss the President's proposals for a cease-fire and subsequent withdrawal of US troops, although it contained the standard demand that the US pull out of Vietnam and cease supporting the South Vietnamese Government.

The North Vietnamese Government devoted almost as much of its first official pronouncement on President Nixon's speech to the need for continued support from its own allies as to the US action itself. The government communiqué, issued yesterday, includes two long passages exhorting fraternal socialist countries "to check in good time the bloody hands of the US aggressors" and expressing "confidence" that Hanoi's allies will not fail to measure up to their responsibilities. It also reiterated most of the caustic language Hanoi's propagandists have been using to condemn the US action, including allegations that the US is escalating the war and violating international law.

(continued)

*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

The statement is only the latest indication of North Vietnamese concern over the current level of Soviet and Chinese support. Less authoritative media have carried a similar line, heavily emphasizing the danger the US actions pose to Soviet lives and shipping. They have also publicized alleged damage to the Vietnam - Soviet Friendship Hospital and to the offices of the Chinese economic mission in Hanoi.

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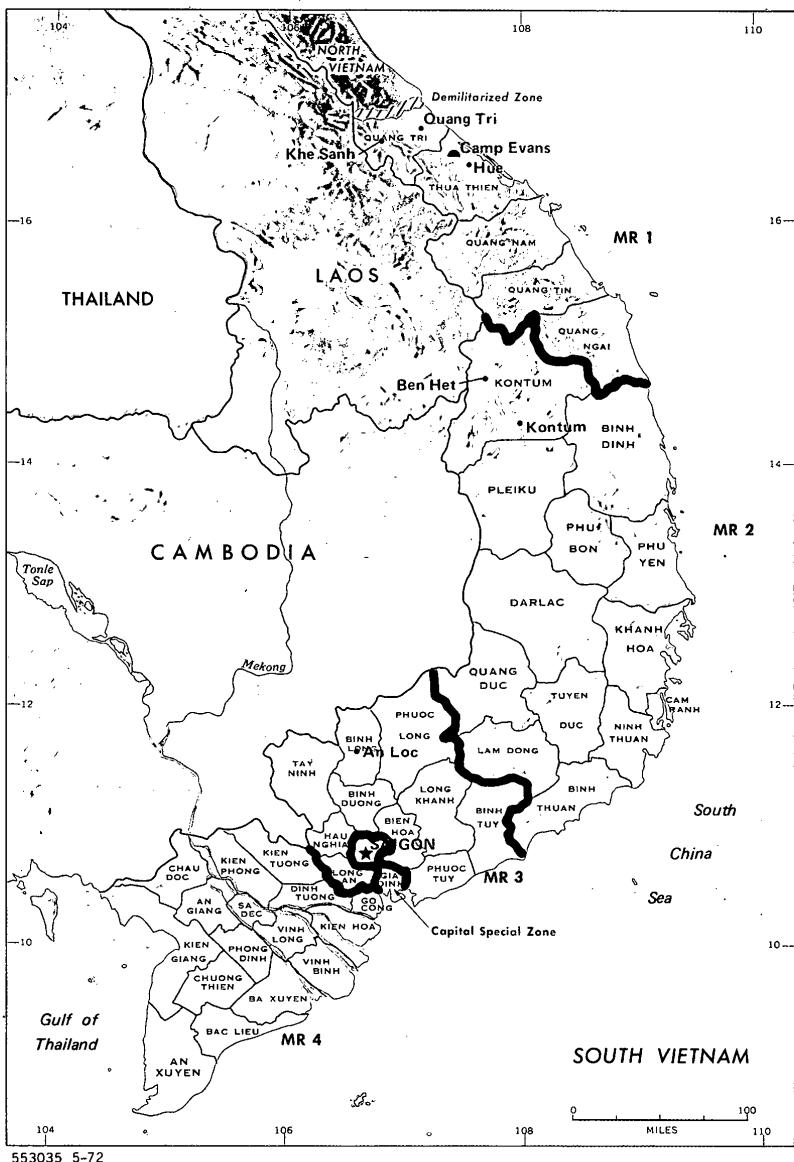
Hanoi's two top negotiators have reacted sharply to Dr. Kissinger's contention that the Communists offered nothing new in the latest round of secret talks. Chief negotiator Xuan Thuy, as he prepared to leave Paris for "consultations" at home, told newsmen at the airport that it was Washington and not Hanoi that had proved intransigent in the private discussions. He insisted that Dr. Kissinger had simply repeated the old US position of "aggression and colonialism" which the Communist side had consistently rejected. Politburo member Le Duc Tho, who saw off Thuy at the airport, maintained that Dr. Kissinger had also misled newsmen about the kind of government the Communists wanted in Saigon. Tho asserted that his side was pressing only for a genuine coalition government, not a Communist regime. He also accused the presidential adviser of having violated agreements between the two sides not to disclose the substance of the secret talks.

*The Communists clearly were stung by Dr. Kissinger's news briefing and may well feel that it has put them temporarily on the defensive. Once in Hanoi, Thuy probably will participate in formulating North Vietnam's position on future negotiations and the new developments in the war. Thuy will stop in Moscow and Peking en route home. He did not reveal how long his consultations in Hanoi will last. The Communists announced, however, that Tho plans to stay in Paris for the time being.*

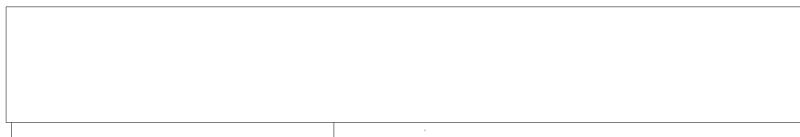
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Communist forces in South Vietnam continue preparations for further offensive operations. In northern South Vietnam, enemy supply movements have increased sharply in the Khe Sanh area. Intercepts reveal that elements of the Communists' 324B Division have been ordered to monitor closely South Vietnamese positions around Camp Evans, the northernmost government strongpoint.

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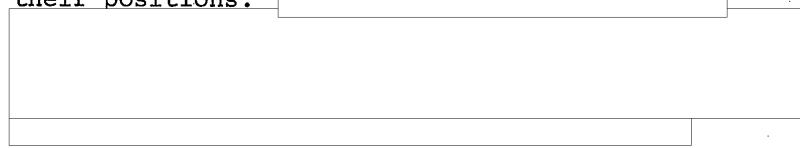
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In the central highlands, Communist attackers were pushed out of the Ben Het Ranger camp on 9 May after they had seized about one third of the base, and government forces there are thus far holding their positions.



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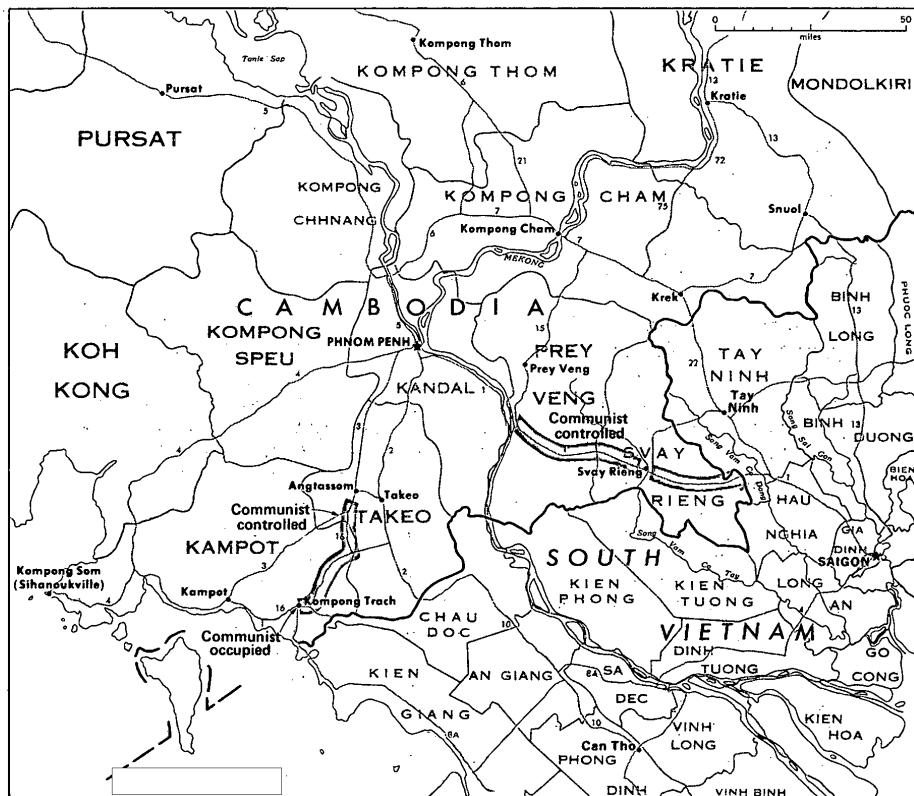
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In the southern half of the country, Communist forces early today launched heavy attacks on An Loc from all sides.



*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*



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**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

**CAMBODIA**

In the past few days Communist troops have gained control over a 35-mile length of Route 16 in Kampot Province north of Kompong Trach and are in a good position to put pressure on several key government positions in Takeo Province. Enemy elements are reported to be within striking distance of the lightly defended town of Angtassom, on Route 3, and there is also evidence of increasing Communist activity around the nearby city of Takeo.

*The Communist advances represent the most significant enemy activity in Kampot and Takeo provinces since the early days of the Cambodian war. The Communists' objective in this region probably is to eliminate any effective government presence between the cities of Kampot--which is already isolated--and Takeo, thereby facilitating the movement of troops and supplies into the delta area of South Vietnam.*

*The same objective lay behind the Communists' campaign in Svay Rieng and Prey Veng provinces last month, which has given them control of all of Route 1 east of the Mekong, with the exception of the now isolated city of Svay Rieng. Phnom Penh's efforts to reopen the highway have faltered, and there are no signs that the government has any serious plans to mount new operations to clear the highway.*  

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**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

**WEST GERMANY**

Government and opposition leaders decided in the midst of yesterday's Bundestag session to postpone the debate and vote on the Eastern treaties until 17 May. In the interval, a commission drawn from both government and opposition ranks will attempt to resolve the outstanding disagreement on the transmittal of the all-Bundestag resolution on the treaties to the Soviets. Further meetings between Chancellor Brandt and opposition leader Barzel are also likely.

Barzel had met with Soviet Ambassador Falin before the debate began, but the two were unable to resolve a disagreement about the modalities of the Soviet response to the joint resolution. As a result, Barzel threatened during the Bundestag session that the Christian Democrats would unanimously veto the treaties if the government insisted on further debate without granting more time to resolve the prevailing confusion. Brandt's desire to gain broad bipartisan support for the treaties was probably instrumental in his decision to yield for the time being.

*If the commission can reach agreement during the coming week, there is a good chance that Barzel can swing the bulk of the Christian Democratic Party behind the treaties. The resolution itself will present no problem for the commission, but the Christian Democrats' desire to raise the legal status of the Soviet response could cause problems and further test Moscow's patience.*

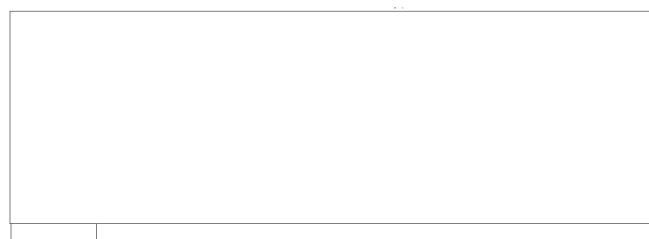
**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

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**USSR-IRAQ-IRAN**

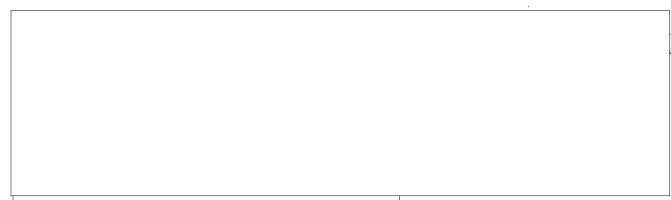


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**NOTES**

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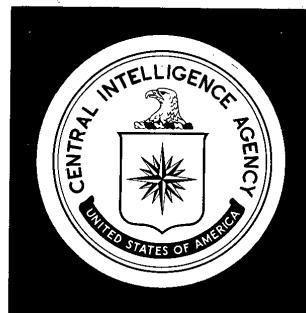
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Chile: The removal of two top officials this week reflects the continuing strains within the Allende government. The resignation of Labor Minister Oyarce, a Communist, probably resulted from recurrent labor unrest, including a costly strike of copper workers. The Communists will press Allende to replace Oyarce with another Communist in order to keep the former political balance. The president of the financially troubled national airline has been ousted, both from his job and from the Socialist Party. His prospective successor, Rodolfo Ortega, is President Allende's former private pilot and bodyguard.

*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

*Top Secret*



## *The President's Daily Brief*

*12 May 1972*

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**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

**THE PRESIDENT'S DAILY BRIEF**

12 May 1972

**PRINCIPAL DEVELOPMENTS**

On *Page 1* we comment on yesterday's statements by  
the Soviet and Chinese governments on US actions  
in Vietnam.

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In South Vietnam, the Communists are continuing in-  
tense artillery and ground attacks at An Loc.  
(*Page 3*)

Vang Pao's forces in northern Laos are moving to  
take advantage of the recent withdrawal of Commu-  
nist units from the hills southwest of the Plaine  
des Jarres. (*Page 5*)

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Egypt (*Page 6*)

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**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

**SOVIET UNION - CHINA - VIETNAM**

Yesterday's Soviet Government statement on US actions in Vietnam does not commit Moscow to any particular course of action and can be construed as a play for time. It depicts the US move more as an international crime than as a direct challenge to the USSR. It does not specifically criticize President Nixon. It makes no reference to the summit meeting, implying that no decision to cancel it has yet been taken. Its reiteration of support to North Vietnam is minimal.

In insisting that only negotiations can solve the Vietnamese problem, the Soviet statement repeats none of the specifics of the DRV's terms. Instead, it calls merely for the US to return to the negotiating table in Paris. Premier Kosygin met with Xuan Thuy yesterday [redacted]

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The stance in Moscow and around the world seems to be a business-as-usual approach [redacted]

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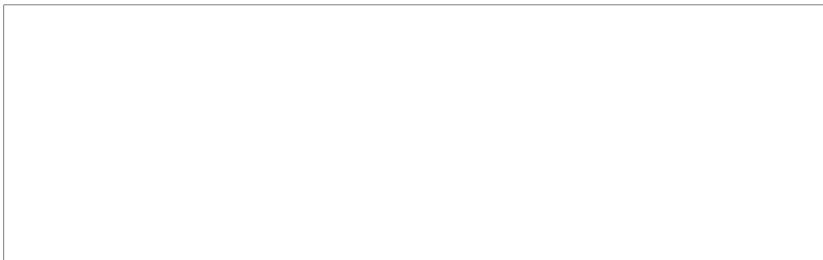
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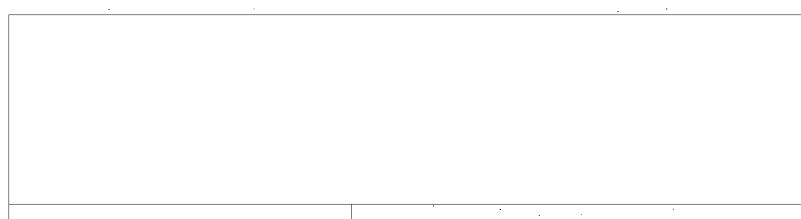
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*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

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The Soviet ship Grisha Akopyan, hit during an air raid at Cam Pha early this week, has been abandoned and towed out of the harbor. According to an intercept, one crewman has died of wounds.

\* \* \*

The statement the Chinese Government issued yesterday regarding Vietnam is generally consistent with Peking's restrained and moderate reaction so far to the new phase of the war. Although it condemned the latest US military measures as a "grave step," the statement does not characterize them as a threat, challenge, or provocation to China. The statement also does not attack President Nixon personally.

Nothing in the statement commits Peking to a course of action with respect to the mining of North Vietnamese ports [redacted]

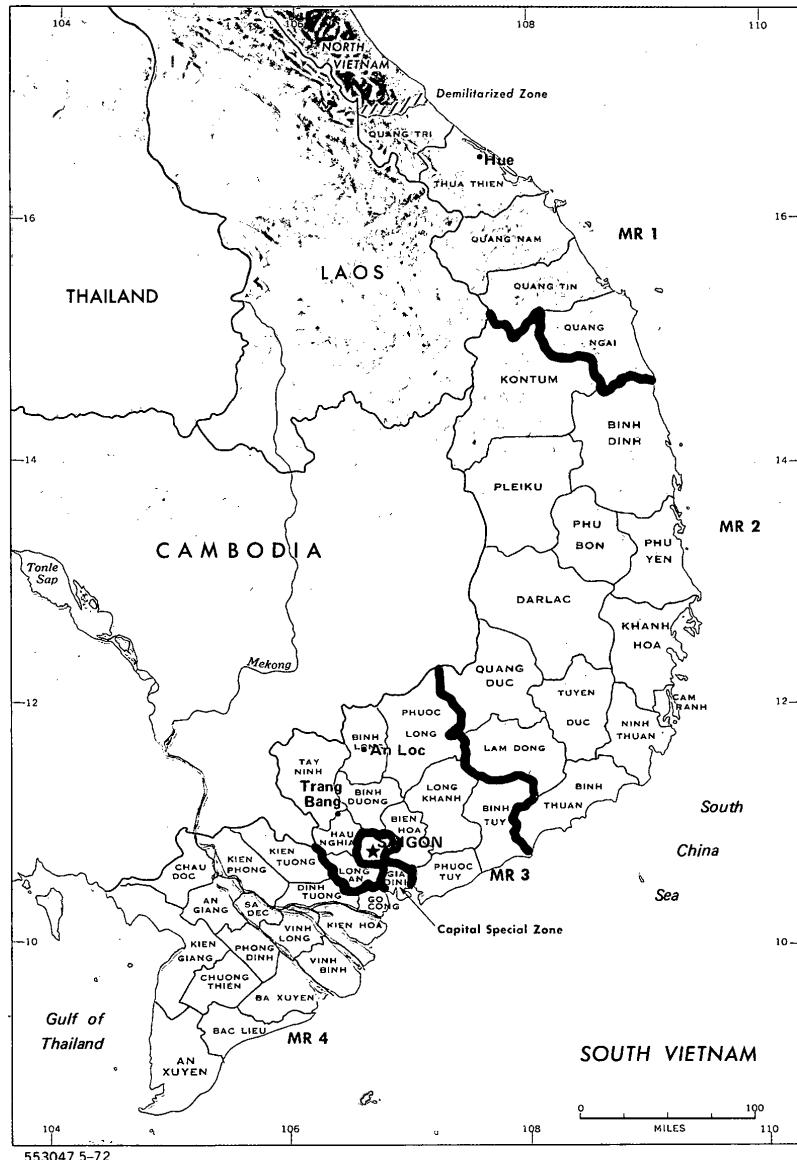
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Indeed, in speaking of US naval and air actions, Peking limits itself to saying that they are a provocation "against the people of Vietnam and the people of the whole world." This statement closely parallels the "Commentator" article which appeared earlier in yesterday's edition of People's Daily.

Peking media have been rerunning commentary originating in North Vietnam and North Korea on the President's actions. These articles are considerably stronger than those written by the Chinese themselves, but in reproducing them the Chinese have carefully edited out all unfavorable personal references to President Nixon and to the Nixon Doctrine.

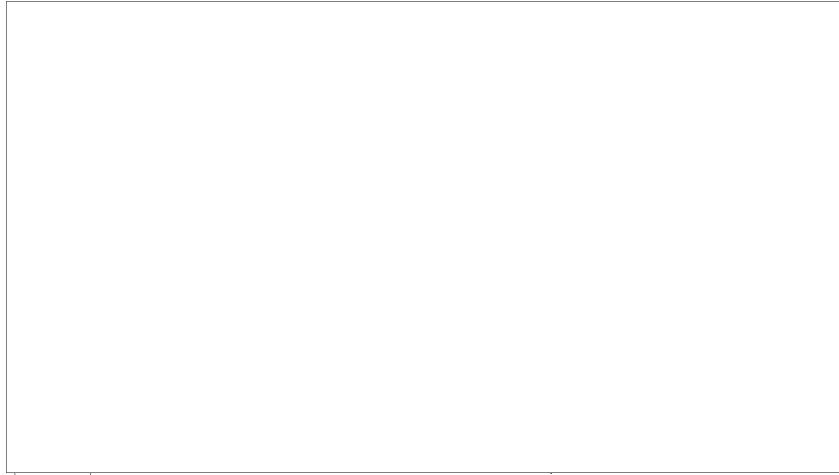
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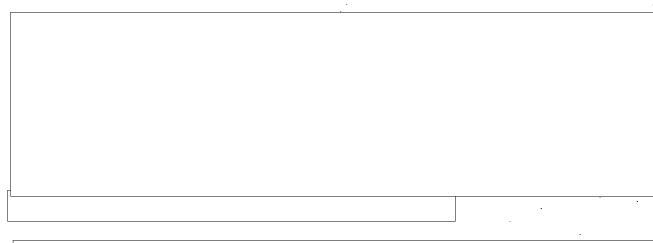
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SOUTH VIETNAM

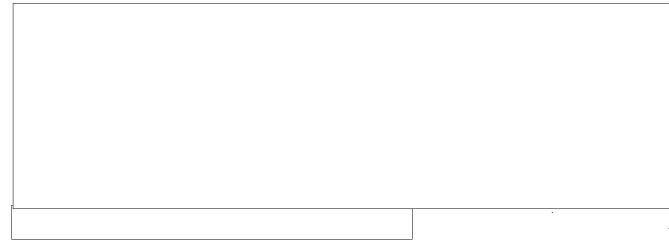
South Vietnamese forces defending An Loc are still holding out today against intense enemy artillery and ground attacks all around the town's perimeter. The Communists launched new tank assaults this morning, and unconfirmed press reports state that some tanks have entered the northern part of An Loc.



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Northwest of Saigon in Hau Nghia Province, government territorial forces and units from the South Vietnamese 25th Division have recaptured three outposts that the Communists had overrun on 10 May. Fighting continues southwest of Trang Bang District town.



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*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

The North Vietnamese continue to shell government positions north and west of Hue, but there have been no major new ground attacks. [redacted]

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Quang Ngai Province, at the southern end of MR 1, may be a new major enemy target. Government forces have been stretched thin there following the transfer of troops north to help defend Hue. [redacted]

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*There is still a considerable reservoir of support for the enemy among the villagers of this province, and many of them are likely to help the North Vietnamese against the government.*

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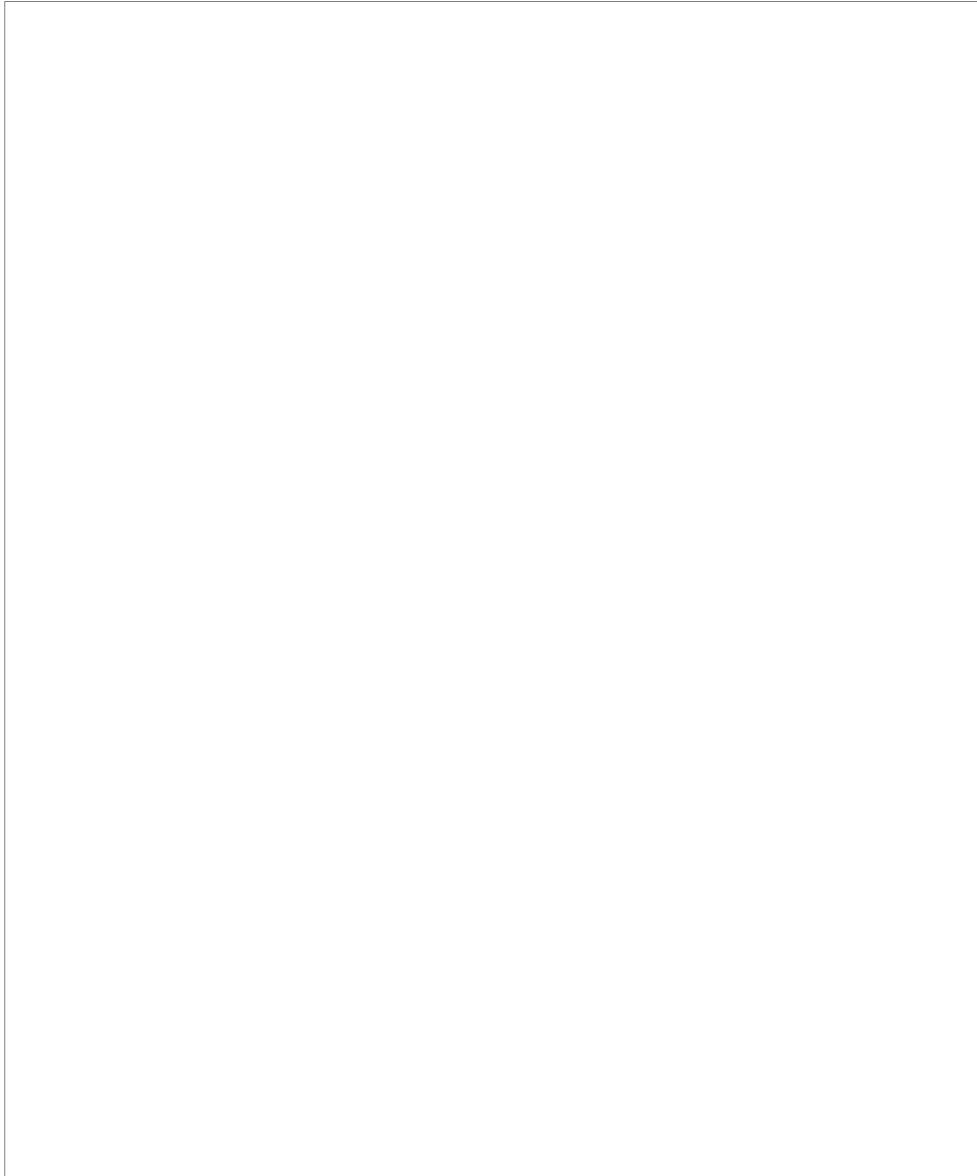
President Thieu has promulgated some stiff control measures to strengthen the national resistance to the Communist offensive. Following his proclamation of martial law on Wednesday, Thieu's government has announced that private homes can be searched at any time and private property requisitioned to meet urgent military needs. High schools and universities are to remain closed for the time being, and the nighttime curfew has been extended throughout the country.

Thieu still wants additional emergency decree power and hopes to get National Assembly approval.

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**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**



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*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

**LAOS**

Vang Pao's forces encountered no opposition when they reoccupied Sam Thong, the former refugee center which has been in Communist hands since mid-March. A company of North Vietnamese, however, on 9 May attacked and halted a government task force attempting to move from Pha Dong to Phou Pha Sai, a strategic highpoint overlooking the southern Plaine des Jarres. Another North Vietnamese force has pushed a small irregular contingent from Ban Na, which had been reoccupied without opposition earlier this week.

The North Vietnamese also appear to be preparing to counter government forces in the Tha Tam Bleung area, northeast of Sam Thong. Several enemy trucks were sighted moving toward this area on 9 May, and intercepts disclose that the Communists are keeping the irregulars under close surveillance.



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*This year, as in the past, Vang Pao is attempting to recapture during the rainy season as much of the territory between the Plaine des Jarres and Long Tieng as is possible.* 

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*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

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EGYPT-USSR



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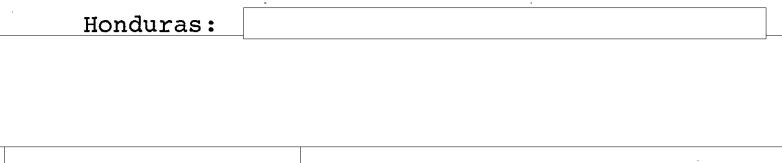
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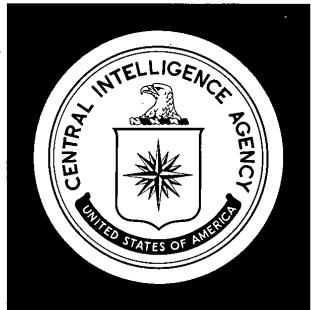
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# *The President's Daily Brief*

13 May 1972

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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

THE PRESIDENT'S DAILY BRIEF

13 May 1972

PRINCIPAL DEVELOPMENTS

On Page 1

Soviet

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Vietnam.

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In South Vietnam, government forces remain under heavy pressure at An Loc. (Page 3)

A Soviet diplomat has made an unusually strong affirmation of Soviet interest in mutual and balanced force reductions. (Page 5)

The South Korean CIA director reports on his trip to the North. (Page 6)

Soviet

Cuba. (Page 8)

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25X1

The Chilean president has submitted to Congress a proposed constitutional amendment to nationalize ITT. (Page 9)

The British are considering the sale of Jaguar fighter planes to Egypt. (Page 10)

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

**SOVIET UNION - VIETNAM**

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[redacted]

Soviet politburo member Shelepin has postponed his visit to Norway, scheduled for 15-20 May, because of "unforeseen circumstances." Kremlin leaders may have decided that increasingly tough decisions may be necessary and that all politburo members should remain available for consultation. In the past, however, Shelepin himself has given a high priority to being present in Moscow during times of crisis, and he may have been instrumental in putting off his own trip.

The new US moves against North Vietnam have not caused any interruption in the travel of other Soviet leaders. [redacted]

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[redacted]  
[redacted]

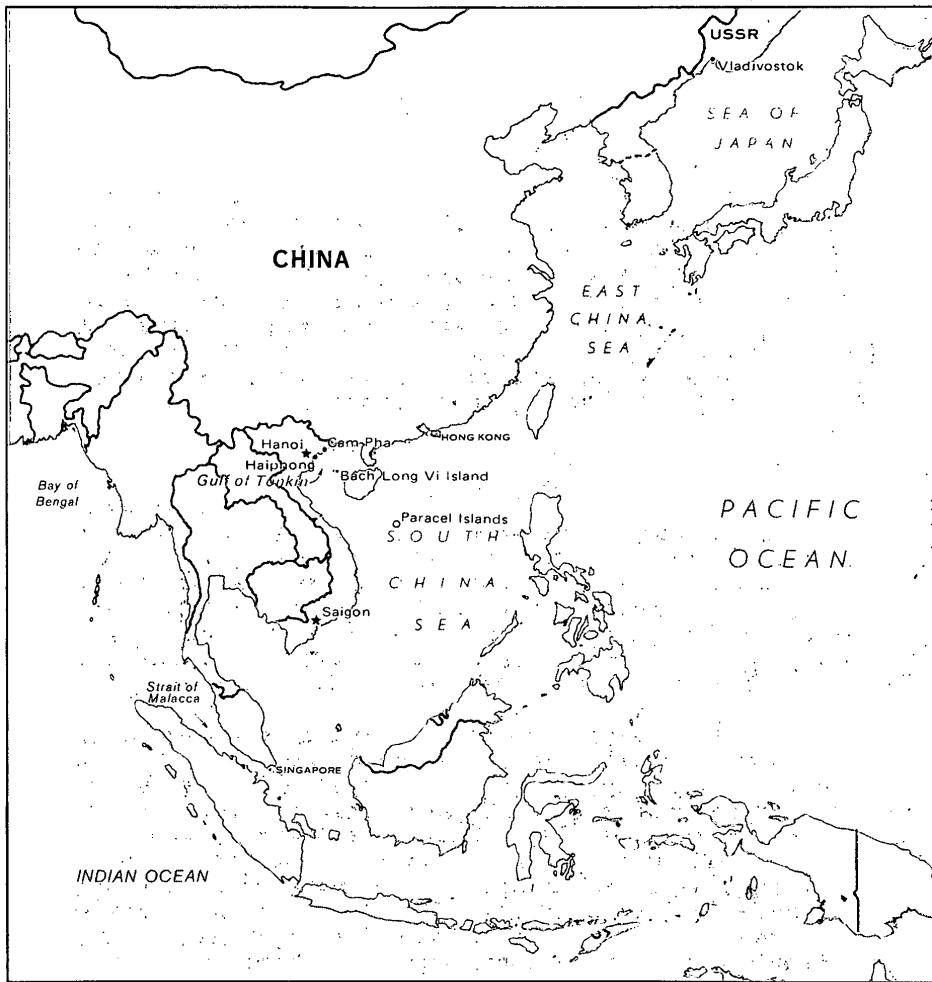
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Yesterday, the USSR formally protested the damage to two Soviet ships--the Pevek and the Grisha Akopyan--and the injuries to Soviet crewmen resulting from recent US bombing raids. The language of the note, however, was relatively restrained and did not refer to the Soviet crewman who died. The Soviets indicated that the Grisha Akopyan had been put out of action, and they reserved the right to demand compensation for that and for other damage. The note was delivered to Ambassador Beam by First Deputy Foreign Minister Kuznetsov and has not yet been publicized.

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**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**



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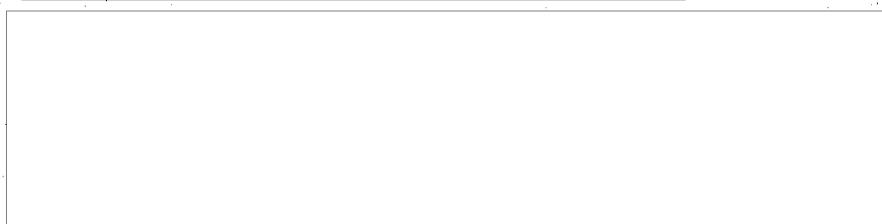
**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

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Four Soviet minesweepers were sighted late yesterday heading south into the Sea of Japan through the La Perouse Strait north of Hokkaido. The ships probably deployed from the Soviet naval base at Petropavlovsk and should join other Soviet naval ships in the Vladivostok area in the next few days. If they continue moving south, it would take ten days to two weeks for them to reach the Indochina area.

**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**



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**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY****VIETNAM**

Communist forces are increasing pressure on government positions in several areas of South Vietnam, with the heaviest action at An Loc. Fresh artillery and ground assaults yesterday were launched against the town, and enemy tanks breached government defenses in the western and northern sectors. Heavy rains, which prevented the full use of aircraft in defense of An Loc, ended early this morning and government forces have thus far contained the enemy drive with the aid of tactical aircraft.

In northern South Vietnam, intercepts indicate that the Communists have scheduled a series of attacks for tomorrow in Quang Nam Province. Specific targets include the provincial headquarters at Hoi An as well as nearby ships and docking facilities. Other targets are the airfields at Da Nang and Marble Mountain.

In the central highlands, South Vietnamese Rangers continue to hold Ben Het following a Communist tank-supported attack. Ranger forces have cleared much of the area around the camp.

In the Mekong Delta, Communist action was directed mostly against rural outposts, but the enemy may soon begin attacking more important targets.

[redacted] the Communists have moved an estimated 1,000 troops across the border from southeastern Cambodia into Kien Giang Province. These forces may be from the enemy's Phuoc Long Front, which is believed to have at least three infantry regiments in this area.

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\* \* \*

President Thieu's bid for emergency decree powers from the National Assembly apparently faces a difficult future. An Quang Buddhist-dominated opposition blocs in both houses of the assembly have publicly denounced the measure, charging that it was a move toward dictatorship.

*Although Thieu seems likely to get eventual legislative approval, the assembly's opposition is a serious blow to his effort to create the appearance of national unity.*

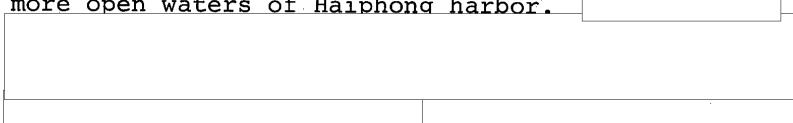
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**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

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\* \* \*

The North Vietnamese claimed on 10 May that they had begun minesweeping operations in Haiphong harbor. In earlier years they were able to remove mines from inland waterways, but they are believed to have only a marginal capability at best to sweep mines from the more open waters of Haiphong harbor.



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*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

USSR

Oleg Grinevsky, a senior Soviet delegate at SALT, has made an unusually strong affirmation of Soviet interest in mutual and balanced force reductions. In a conversation with Raymond Garthoff on 10 May, Grinevsky compared the future importance of MBFR over the next few years with that of SALT. He suggested that MBFR talks might begin in mid-November and should be restricted to those countries in Europe whose territory or forces are involved--the two Germanies, Poland, Czechoslovakia, the Netherlands, and Belgium, besides the US and USSR, the UK, and possibly France. Grinevsky did not discuss the relationship between MBFR and a conference on European security, but his mention of a mid-November starting date--after the US elections--could be an effort to accommodate the US.

*Grinevsky is one of two principal disarmament officers in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Since MBFR is a Western initiative about which the Soviets have been lukewarm, his remarks are particularly conciliatory.*

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

## KOREA

South Korean CIA Director Yi Hu-rak's trip to North Korea from 2 to 5 May was a success. Both sides used the opportunity to gauge the mettle of the other and to develop a framework for future discussion of bilateral issues. Yi told Ambassador Habib this week that the North Koreans seemed genuinely interested in a dialogue that would lead to a lessening of tension on the peninsula.

Yi gained this impression from meetings with Premier Kim Il-song, his brother Kim Yong-chu, and other North Korean leaders. Both sides called for broadened political, social, and economic contacts as steps toward greater mutual understanding and eventual reunification. Yi told Habib, however, that he believed this process would take an extremely long time and noted that the North Koreans were not willing to imply by agreeing to discussions that in the interim they accept the concept of two Koreas. Rather, the North wishes to talk only in the context of future reunification.

The high points of Yi's stay were two meetings with Premier Kim Il-song. Yi was impressed with the North Korean leader, describing him as highly intelligent, with views free of the jargon that characterized his subordinates. According to Yi, Kim seemed genuinely interested in learning about conditions in South Korea, ROK military intentions toward the North, Seoul's attitude toward the presence of US troops in the South, and Japanese intentions toward the peninsula. Although his interest was genuine, Kim's view of the world, as expressed to Yi, does not carry much beyond the confines of Pyongyang's propaganda. Kim seemed to think, for example, that the Japanese harbor plans to occupy South Korea again, and lightly brushed aside past North Korean hostile acts against the South--such as the attack on President Pak's palace in January 1969 or the capture of the USS Pueblo--as either accidental or beyond his control.

Yi stated that no important conclusions were reached in the meetings nor were any problems settled. Both sides agreed, however, to keep the talks secret and to continue them at a high level. It was established that North Korean Second Vice Premier Pak Song-chol would travel to Seoul for the next stage in the dialogue, but the timing of his visit was not set. Yi also secured an agreement for the establishment of a "hot line" between Seoul

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

and Pyongyang and obtained assurances from Kim Il-song that the North will permit the Red Cross talks on family reunification to move ahead.

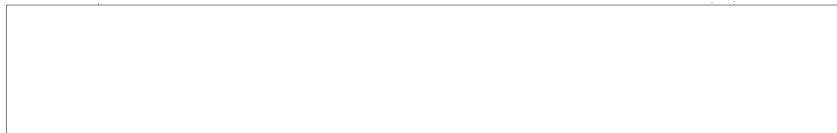
*Yi avoided characterizing President Pak's reaction to his trip, but suggested that other members of the South Korean leadership who were informed remain essentially cautious.*

*Pyongyang's choice of Pak Song-chol--an experienced and well-traveled negotiator with a good grasp of foreign affairs--to lead its side implies that the North Koreans will pursue their side of the dialogue without recourse to the polemics that have characterized the Red Cross talks.*

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

USSR-CUBA



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*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

## CHILE

President Allende yesterday submitted to Congress a proposed constitutional amendment nationalizing ITT's telephone company assets in Chile. The amendment, like the one passed last year to nationalize US copper interests, provides for subtracting "unlawful profits" and other penalties from the value of company assets in determining any compensation to be paid to the company. Allende explained to Ambassador Davis on Thursday that it had been determined that the simple nationalization legislation he had intended to submit a week ago would not do and that a constitutional amendment was required.

*Although Allende was vague in his conversation with Davis, the implication is clear that ITT will now receive little if any compensation. It is evident that Allende has retreated from the assurances he gave Ambassador Davis and Under Secretary Irwin recently that ITT would receive "reasonable" compensation.*

*The apparent explanation for Allende's switch is pressure from extremists within his coalition who have been pushing for more rapid socialization and advocating confrontation with the US. These extremists have been critical of Allende's caution vis-a-vis Washington.*

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

UK-EGYPT

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The Jaguar is a Mach 1.7 aircraft designed primarily for ground attack and tactical strikes. This role in the Egyptian Air Force is now filled by the SU-7, which carries about half the bomb load.

British policy permits sales of limited amounts of military equipment to Middle Eastern countries if, in London's judgment, the sales do not upset the military balance in the area. Earlier this year the UK approved the sale of three small submarines to Israel.

The British probably view the sale--which would be the first to a foreign country--as desirable, even though they realize Cairo itself cannot pay for many years. It would serve as a valuable enhancement of the British image in the Arab world.

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FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

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## *The President's Daily Brief*

*15 May 1972*

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**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

**THE PRESIDENT'S DAILY BRIEF**

15 May 1972

**PRINCIPAL DEVELOPMENTS**

Soviet military and political leaders continue to conduct business as usual. The current status of Soviet naval and merchant ships near North Vietnam is discussed on *Page 1*.

An attack on Kontum City in the central highlands appears imminent. (*Page 3*)

Egyptian President Sadat has admitted that misunderstandings have arisen between Moscow and Cairo. (*Page 5*)

The opposition Christian Democrats in West Germany appear ready to support both the draft all-party resolution and the Eastern treaties. (*Page 6*)

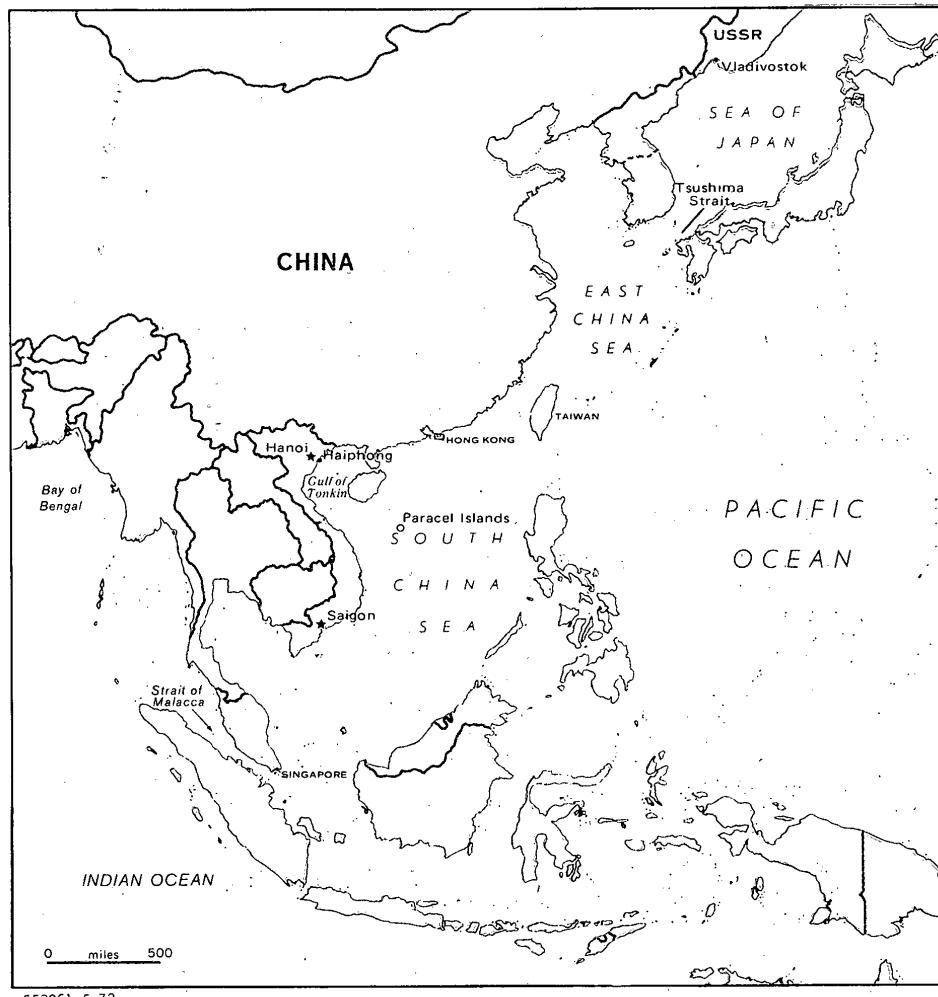
Soviets  Egypt. (*Page 7*)

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Soviet  Cuba (*Page 7*)

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**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**



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*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

**USSR-VIETNAM**

Top Soviet military and political leaders are still conducting business as usual. Defense Minister Grechko and the heads of the Soviet Navy and Air Force arrived in Cairo on Sunday for a four-day stay, and Moscow has announced that army chief Pavlovsky left Sunday for a visit to France that is to last until 19 May. Pravda and Izvestia carry routine articles by Warsaw Pact commander Yakubovsky and Pact chief of staff Shtemenko marking the alliance's 17th anniversary. According to the TASS summaries, the articles mention the situation in Vietnam only briefly.

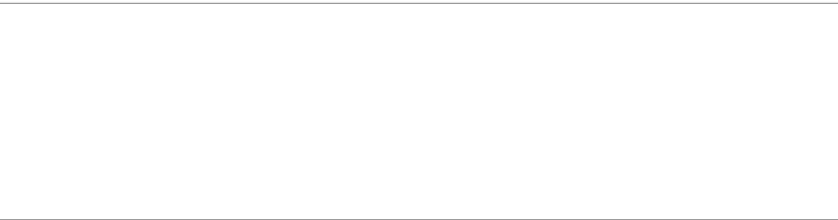
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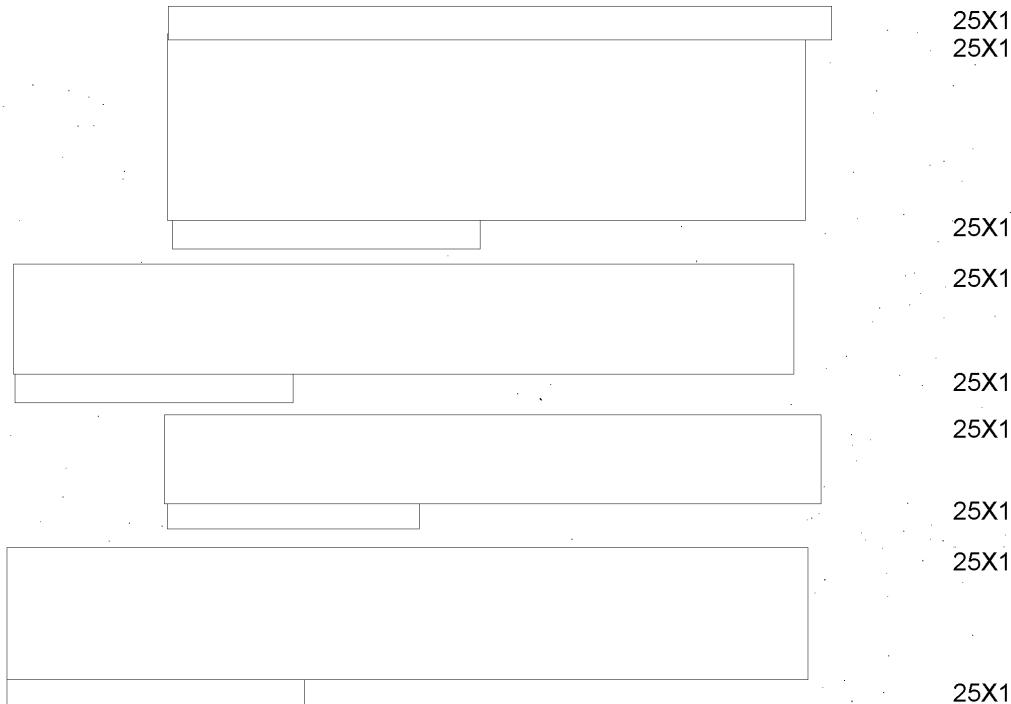


Several Soviet press reports have recently conveyed the impression that Soviet seaborne shipments to Vietnam are still proceeding. According to a domestic broadcast on 12 May, for example, a Soviet shipping official said that eight ships carrying non-military cargoes were on their way to North Vietnam. Broadcasts from Vladivostok have said that one ship from that port is en route to Vietnam and that port workers will continue to load cargo for Haiphong.

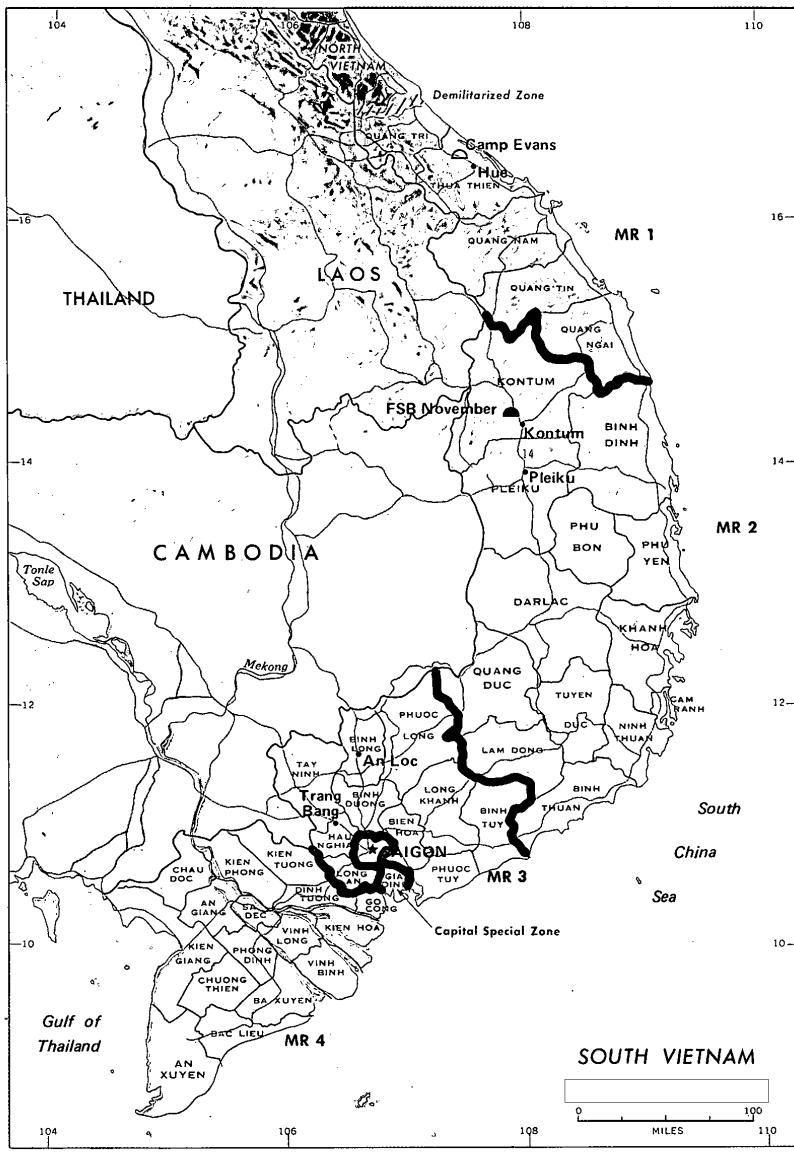
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**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

**SOUTH VIETNAM**

Communist forces struck government positions around Kontum City in the central highlands over the weekend, and an attack on the provincial capital seems imminent. Early Sunday morning, infantry and tanks attacked Fire Support Base November, three miles northwest of Kontum. Failing to take the base, the Communists bypassed it and engaged other government positions within two miles of the city. Two bridges south of Kontum on Route 14 were either damaged or destroyed by the Communists, probably in an effort to hinder the movement of supplies and reinforcements from Pleiku.

In Military Region 1, an operation by three South Vietnamese Marine battalions, which were air-lifted behind enemy lines into southern Quang Tri Province over the weekend, terminated after less than 24 hours. It appears to have caused little damage to enemy units. The Communists, in fact, were aware that some kind of an attack was coming. The headquarters of the 304th Division had ordered its subordinate units last Thursday to prepare defensive positions against a South Vietnamese foray.

Farther south in Military Region 1, intercepts indicate that a North Vietnamese artillery regiment and an infantry regiment are planning attacks against South Vietnamese positions in Thua Thien Province. The attacks may be directed against Camp Evans, which has frequently been mentioned in intercepts as a likely target.

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The Lower House passed President Thieu's request for emergency powers yesterday by an 81 to 49 vote following a heated debate, but the government is not sure it can get Senate approval of the measure.

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**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

***FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY***

The influential Nguyen Ngoc Huy, head of the  
moderate Progressive Nationalist Movement, has come  
out against the bill.

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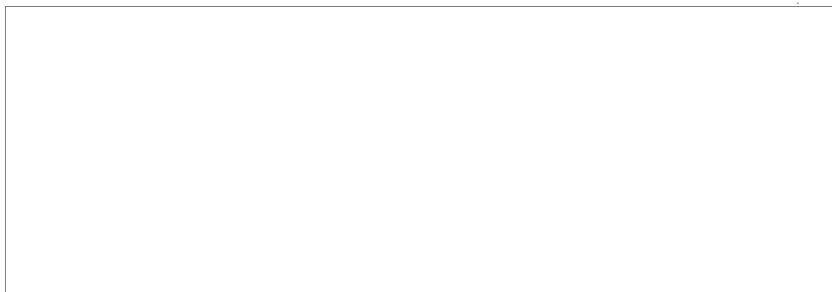
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***FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY***

*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

EGYPT-USSR

President Sadat has again emphasized that the need for Soviet support in the struggle against Israel overshadows any differences that may arise in Cairo's relationship with Moscow. Speaking before the National Assembly on Sunday, and with an eye to Soviet Defense Minister Grechko's current visit to Cairo, the Egyptian leader accused the US and Israel of seeking to drive a wedge between Egypt and the Soviet Union. He admitted that misunderstandings had arisen between Cairo and Moscow, but emphasized the indispensable nature of Soviet aid.



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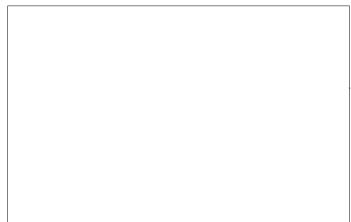
**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

**WEST GERMANY**

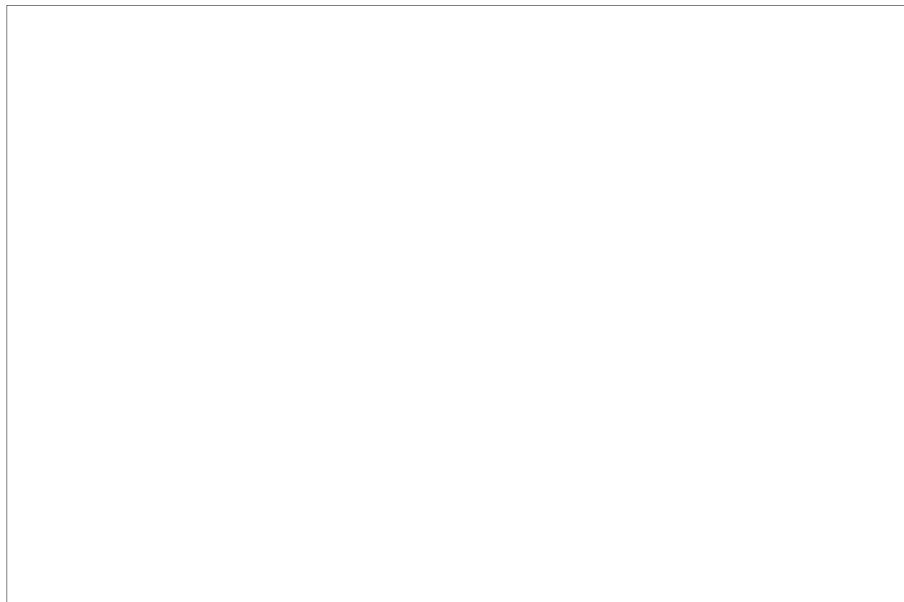
The opposition Christian Democrats are expected to decide during caucuses today and tomorrow to support both the draft all-party resolution and the Eastern treaties, despite last-minute doubts raised last week when the Soviets for a time seemed unwilling to agree to parts of the resolution. The resolution is a unilateral West German interpretation of the treaties which the Soviets, as the price for Christian Democratic agreement not to block ratification, are supposed to accept without challenge.

*Even though conservative resistance to the treaties is apparently beginning to weaken, it is doubtful that opposition leader Barzel can convince his divided party to support ratification en bloc when the Bundestag votes on Wednesday.*

**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**



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NOTES

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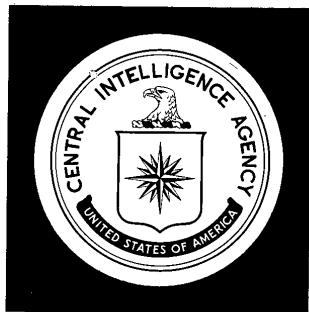
USSR-Cuba:

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Turkey: President Sunay's rejection on Saturday of Prime Minister-Designate Urguplu's proposed government has deepened the political crisis and further undermined the Turkish parliamentary system. Sunay declared that the proposed cabinet was incompatible with the military leaders' memorandum of March 1971 when they ousted the Demirel government and insisted on installing an "above parties" cabinet. The military either dictated or endorsed Sunay's action, and the failure of Urguplu's two-week long effort increases the chance that they will directly take over the government.

*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

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## *The President's Daily Brief*

*16 May 1972*

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*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

THE PRESIDENT'S DAILY BRIEF

16 May 1972

PRINCIPAL DEVELOPMENTS

[redacted] the military situation in South Vietnam continues to be relatively stable [redacted]

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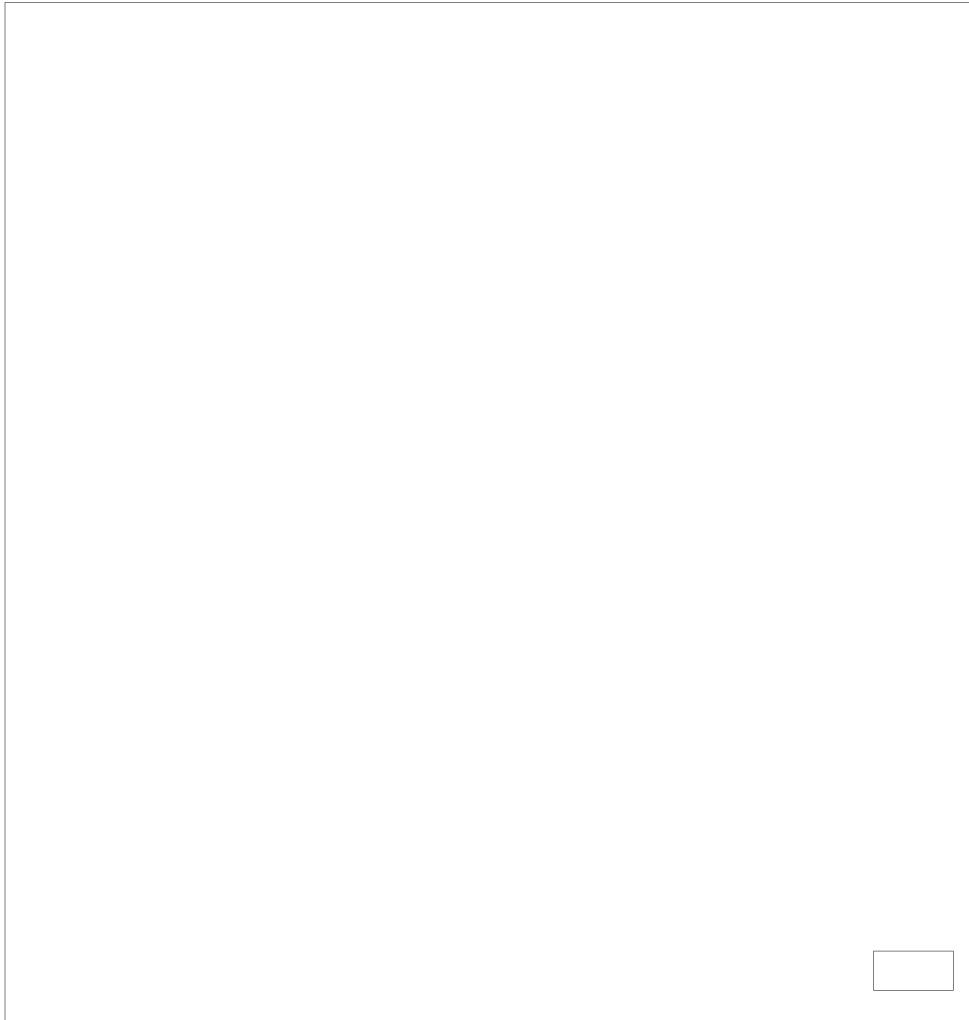
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The West German Christian Democrats' executive committee has cleared the way for Bundestag ratification of the Eastern treaties tomorrow. (Page 3)

At Annex, we discuss the Chilean military's views on ousting President Allende.

*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*



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*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

VIETNAM



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Soviet military leaders are still carrying out their travel plans. Of the nine top-ranking military leaders in the USSR, five are currently outside the country. Latest to leave is Marshal Yakubovsky, the Warsaw Pact commander, who arrived in Budapest yesterday on a visit scheduled to last "a few days."

Politically, Moscow is attempting to convey the impression that Soviet aid for the Vietnamese Communists will continue. The Soviet press has announced that the Viet Cong's "ambassador" in the USSR had a "warm and friendly" talk yesterday with Deputy Premier Novikov, the Soviet official responsible for overseeing the USSR's foreign aid program.

The military situation in South Vietnam continues to be relatively stable. South Vietnamese Marines reoccupied Fire Support Base Bastogne west of Hue yesterday without opposition. There were light enemy probes around Kontum City and moderate pressure on An Loc, but no major new enemy initiatives. Throughout the country, the Communists appear to be primarily engaged in attempting to resupply and reposition their forces for future offensive operations.

*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*



*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

**CHINA**

Equipment observed since early this year in satellite photography of the Wu-chai missile launch complex appears to be part of a launch stand similar to the one at Shuang-cheng-tzu. That launch stand, previously associated only with a large, gantry-served launch facility, was used last September for the first developmental launch of an ICBM-size booster.



*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

**NOTES**

West Germany: The Christian Democrats' executive committee voted 27 to 1 yesterday to support the all-Bundestag resolution setting forth the unilateral West German interpretation of the Eastern treaties. The party's parliamentary deputies are meeting today and are expected to follow suit. This clears the way for Bundestag ratification of the Eastern treaties by a substantial majority tomorrow. It also presages passage of the treaties in the Bundesrat on Friday. This would leave only the formality of President Heinemann's signature to complete the ratification process.

USSR-Syria: Soviet Defense Minister Grechko's visit to Syria last week resulted in agreement on unspecified measures "in the field of military co-operation," according to TASS. [redacted]

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[redacted] Grechko has been in Egypt since Sunday and is scheduled to return to Moscow tomorrow.

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## CHILE: WILL THE MILITARY BRAKE ALLENDE?

The continuing contest between Allende and his opposition has focused attention on the role of the Chilean military. The weight of our information is that most military officers remain reluctant to get involved in an effort to oust the Allende government. Although many officers are dissatisfied and a few of them hope something will happen to justify a coup attempt, the predominant attitude is that stiffening political opposition may make a military move unnecessary.

The Chilean armed forces traditionally have kept aloof from politics. [redacted]

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[redacted] The prevailing view is that a constitutional president is sacrosanct, whatever his drawbacks, and that Allende is not directly accountable for many of the excesses of his political supporters.

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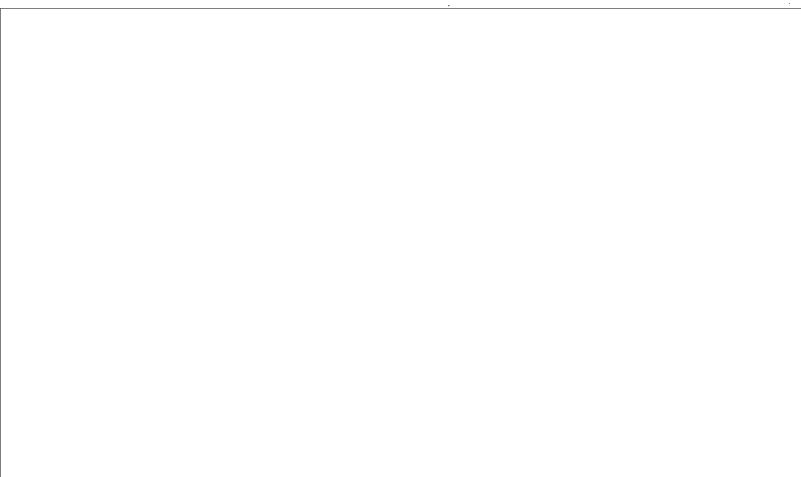
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*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

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Serious civil disorders could well prompt military intervention, particularly if the government were obliged to call on the armed forces to help restore order. Rightist groups are arming themselves and talking about a showdown with their leftist counterparts. Some clashes have already taken place in the countryside, where leftist-inspired farm seizures have caused unrest for many months. Some rightists are doubtless seeking to stimulate sufficient violence to provoke military action against

A2

*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

the government. The problem, of course, is that no one can foresee the outcome, and rightist-inspired violence could backfire, providing the pro-government extremists with an excuse for even greater armed militance.

If the military should ultimately feel compelled to intervene to restore order, it would be in keeping with Chilean military tradition for the armed forces to stop short of an out-and-out overthrow of the government. Military leaders might exert pressure on Allende to moderate government policies and to acquiesce in the disarming of his militant supporters. In these circumstances, Allende would probably prefer to make such concessions than to lose everything, and the military would not have to take responsibility for violating the constitution or for running the government.

*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

*Top Secret*



## *The President's Daily Brief*

17 May 1972

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*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

LATE ITEM

USSR: In what appears from a TASS dispatch to be a Pravda editorial today, the Soviet leadership reaffirms its support for Hanoi and at the same time asserts that the improvement of Soviet-US relations is possible and desirable--although not at the expense of "some third countries." The editorial declares that the Soviet Union will continue giving "all necessary assistance" to North Vietnam. The emphasis of the article, however, appears to be on the Soviet "peace program" and the solution of problems by negotiation.

*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

**THE PRESIDENT'S DAILY BRIEF**

17 May 1972

**PRINCIPAL DEVELOPMENTS**

On page 1 we [redacted] discuss military developments in South Vietnam.

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We note only a few new groups entering the infiltration corridor from North Vietnam. Hanoi clearly anticipated heavy losses in the current offensive and prepositioned troops infiltrated earlier in the season to act as replacements. (Page 3)

Egypt [redacted] (Page 4)

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[redacted] Egypt [redacted] Soviet [redacted] (Page 5)

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[redacted] Israel [redacted] Soviet [redacted] (Page 6)

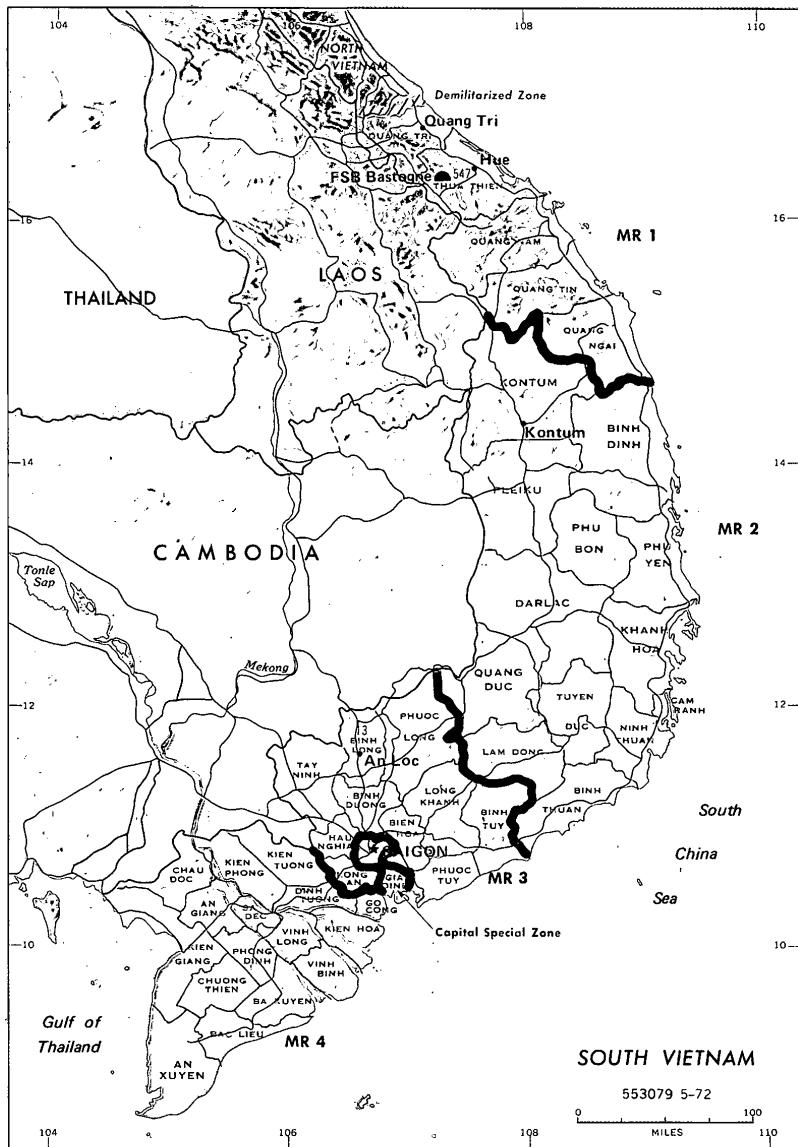
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[redacted] Fatah is planning further acts of terrorism against US, Israeli, and European interests. (Page 7)

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The vote on the Eastern treaties in the West German Bundestag comes today and we still expect them to be approved. (Page 8)

**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

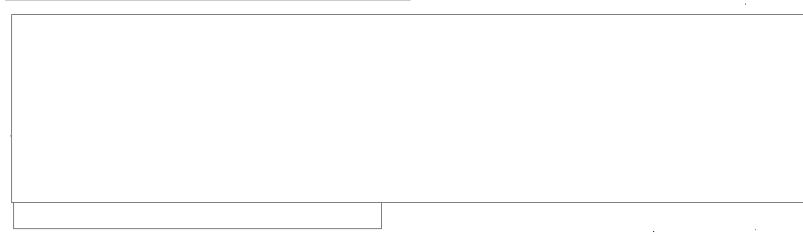


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**USSR-VIETNAM**



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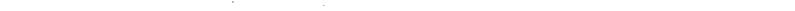
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South Vietnamese forces are becoming more aggressive in some sections of the country. North of Saigon, for instance, they have organized a task force to relieve the garrison at An Loc. The force has met with only light resistance while moving to within eight miles of the town. Another battalion has been airlifted to a point within five miles of An Loc and two regiments of the long-stalled 21st Division have begun to move north to link up with these advance units.

South Vietnamese units near Hue have made three forays out of Fire Support Base Bastogne since they reoccupied the base on Monday. They claim to have captured seven tons of ammunition in these operations. Intercepted Communist communications, however, indicate that North Vietnamese units have moved to within a few miles of Bastogne, suggesting that the Communists may attempt to dislodge government forces from the base again.

(continued)

*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

The Communist forces that have been trying to get into position for a major assault on Hue have been taking a heavy pounding from the air and have been disrupted by recent government forays. Nevertheless, they still appear to be bringing in supplies and reconnoitering the battlefield. They may be withholding heavy fire in order to keep their heavy weapons concealed until they have assembled stocks of ammunition in forward positions adequate to support a substantial operation.

In the highlands near Kontum City, too, most Communist forces are concentrating on reconnaissance and other preparations.

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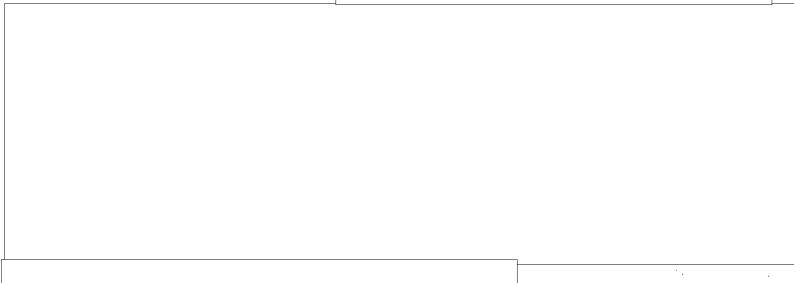
*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

**VIETNAM**

This year's "infiltration season" may be ending,  
and only a few new groups are now entering the in-  
filtration corridor.

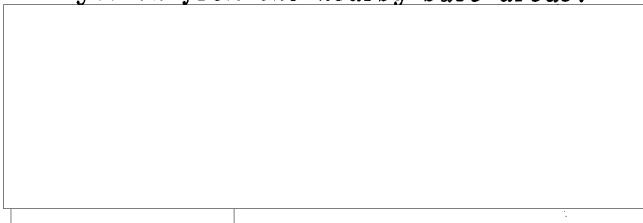
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Hanoi clearly anticipated heavy losses in  
the current offensive and prepositioned  
large numbers of replacements in base  
areas near the major battlefields before  
beginning the campaign. During the lull  
after each major assault, the wounded  
have been evacuated and replacements  
brought in from the nearby base areas.

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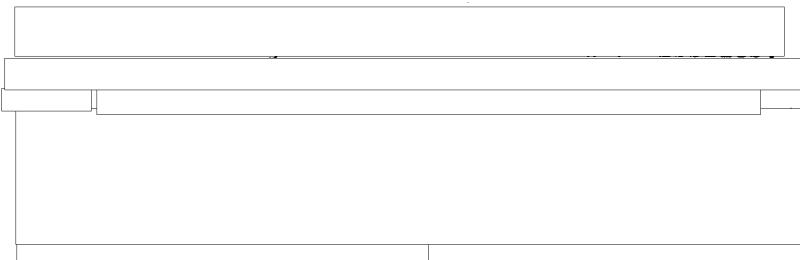


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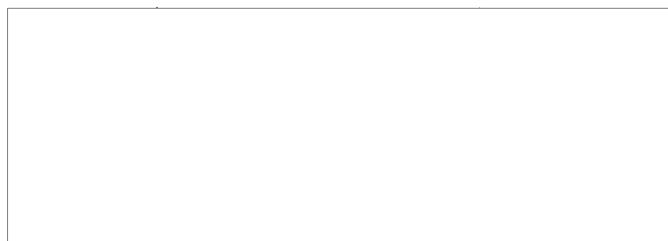
*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

**USSR-EGYPT**



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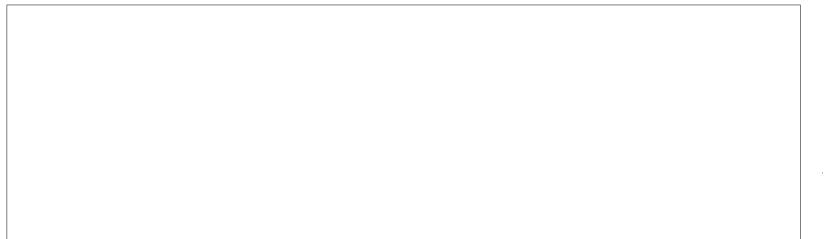


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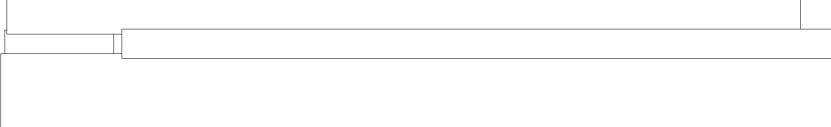
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**USSR-EGYPT**



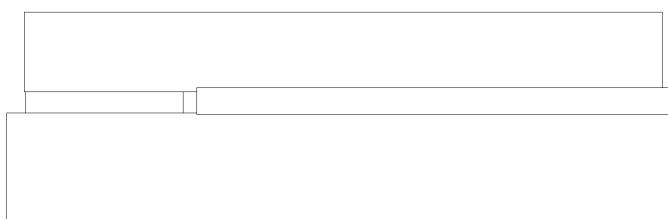
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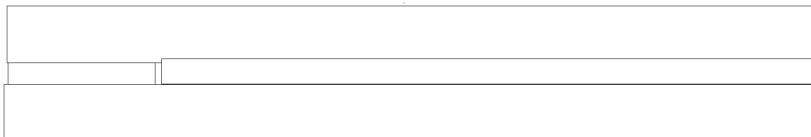
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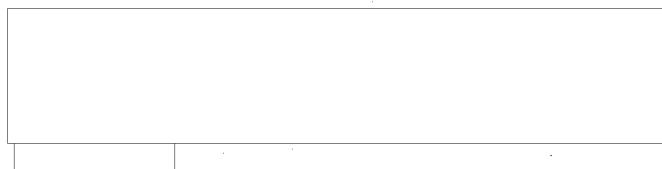
*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

**ISRAEL-USSR**



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*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

**FEDAYEEN**

[redacted] Fatah is planning 25X1  
further acts of terrorism against American, Israeli,  
and European interests over the next month or so.  
After the fiasco at Tel Aviv on 8 May, when Israeli  
commandos frustrated the hijacking of a Belgian air-  
liner, Fatah planners engaged in a series of post-  
mortems to analyze their mistakes. [redacted]

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*These are just plans, of course, but the  
terrorists do have the ability to strike  
scattered individual targets without warn-  
ing.*

**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

**WEST GERMANY**

The vote in the Bundestag on the Eastern treaties is to take place today. We still expect the treaties will be approved.

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A procedural hitch may have developed that could delay the Bundesrat vote scheduled for Friday. The land government of the Saarland is reported to have lodged an objection to consideration of the treaties that could put off the vote until the middle of next week, but it does not affect the outcome.

*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

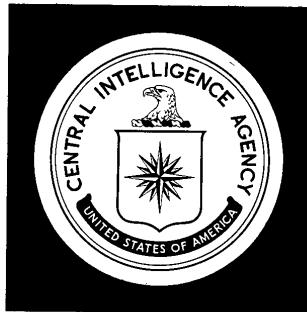
*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

**NOTE**

Egypt-US: Without offering a reason, Cairo has requested a reduction in the size of the US Interests Section in Egypt from 20 to ten individuals, the level that existed following the break in relations in 1967. The Egyptians also plan to reduce the size of their representation in Washington. Although no deadline for the reduction was initially given, the chief US representative in Cairo was told later that a month would be satisfactory. His efforts to elicit an explanation met only the response that the decision had been made at the "highest level." The action seems to have been taken to dramatize Egypt's dissatisfaction with US policies in the Middle East. Agreement to expand the size of the US Interests Section to the present level was reached a year ago, during a period of relative cordiality in US-Egyptian ties.

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## *The President's Daily Brief*

18 May 1972



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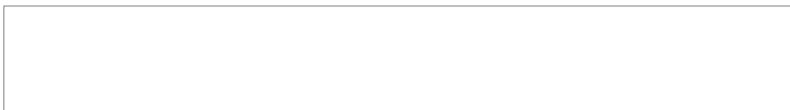
**THE PRESIDENT'S DAILY BRIEF**

18 May 1972

**PRINCIPAL DEVELOPMENTS**

Soviet leaders appear to be preparing the Soviet public for President Nixon's visit and providing a justification for their policy of restraint in Vietnam. (Page 1)

The USSR's ambassador to China is reported to have suddenly left for Moscow. (Page 2)



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in South Vietnam. The fighting remains at a relatively low level. (Page 3)

Following yesterday's favorable vote in the Bundestag, Bonn's Eastern treaties still face the final hurdle of approval by the upper house Bundesrat. (Page 5)

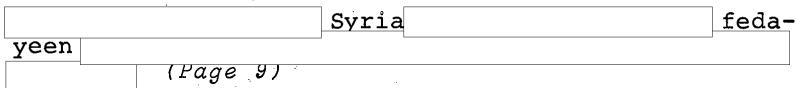
The latest satellite photography of Soviet ICBM launch complexes shows no new silo construction. (Page 6)



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The candidacy of former Cambodian deputy prime minister In Tam will add credibility to the presidential elections next month but Lon Nol should have little difficulty winning. (Page 8)



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(Page 9)

**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

**USSR**

Major Soviet newspapers on 16 and 17 May carried lead articles emphasizing the wisdom of negotiating solutions to problems. Izvestia, for example, although it did not mention the US directly, called for a settlement of international problems through negotiations, "not confrontation." The articles reiterated support for North Vietnam, but in such a way as to suggest that negotiations offer the best way of ending the war.

On the Moscow evening television news on 16 May, the commentator, V. Sharagin, declared that "despite the stormy course of events," the USSR seeks the solution of international problems at the negotiating table. In noting that the President will begin his visit next week, he explained that the talks will review all outstanding questions with the aim of improving bilateral relations and strengthening the outlook for peace.

*Soviet leaders appear to be preparing the Soviet public for the President's visit and providing a justification for their policy of restraint in Vietnam. In fact, Sharagin's commentary invoked party chief Brezhnev's authority in defending this policy, thereby perhaps warning critics of the imprudence of continued carping. Apart from possible misgivings at higher levels, Soviet propagandists have been confronted in recent days with questions from their audiences about the propriety of receiving the President while the US is attacking North Vietnam.*

**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

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**USSR**

According to the AFP correspondent in Peking, Soviet Ambassador to China Tolstikov has suddenly left for Moscow.

*The most obvious explanation for Tolstikov's return would be that he is to participate in last-minute deliberations regarding the President's visit to Moscow. He might also have been recalled to provide an up-to-date reading of how China intends to handle the issue of overland supply of North Vietnam.*

*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

[redacted] VIETNAM

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The North Vietnamese, meanwhile, are continuing to move substantial volumes of supplies to various battlefronts in South Vietnam. Intercepts [redacted] show a heavy flow of supplies on routes through the DMZ, as well as from Laos, into northern Military Region 1 and the central highlands. To handle this flow, the North Vietnamese recently moved one logistic unit from Laos to the Hue area and have now deployed two more such units to the two northern provinces of South Vietnam.

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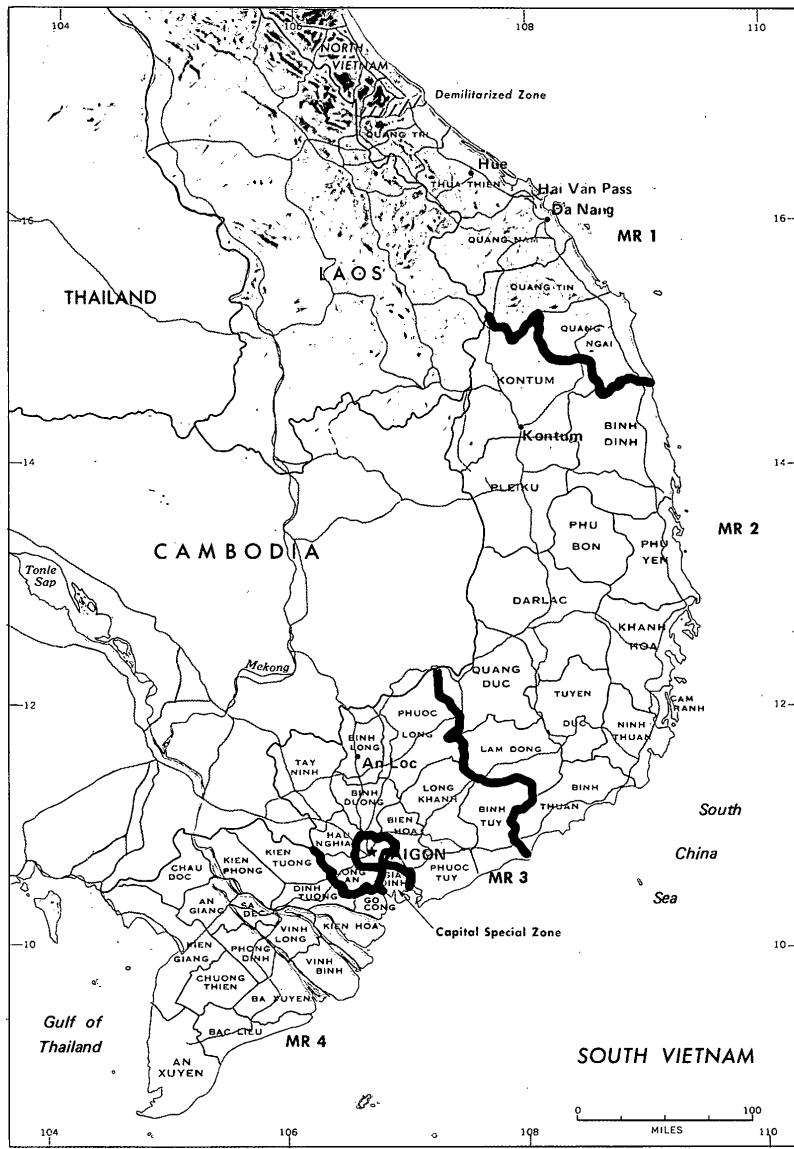
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South Vietnam's major battlefields are relatively quiet as both sides get ready for increased activity. The Communists have interdicted Route 1

*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*



*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

between Hue and Da Nang by damaging a large bridge just north of the Hai Van Pass. Government forces are conducting operations west of Hue and have re-captured three positions.

Enemy pressure on Kontum City during the past two days has included shellings of the airport that destroyed three transport planes and two helicopters. With overland routes to Kontum frequently being interdicted, attacks against the airfield and aircraft trying to use it will complicate operations to re-supply the city.

The government task force that is trying to open Route 13 to An Loc has so far made little progress. Late on 16 May, however, two 155-mm. howitzers were set up about five miles from the city, thus providing the defenders with the first direct artillery support they have had since the enemy siege began in early April.

*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

**WEST GERMANY**

Following yesterday's favorable vote in the Bundestag, Bonn's Eastern treaties still face the final hurdle of approval by the upper house Bundesrat. Christian Democratic leader Barzel, however, has given assurances that his party will not pose any difficulties for the treaties there. This vote was originally set for Friday but may be delayed for a week.

In yesterday's Bundestag vote, the Soviet and Polish treaties passed with massive abstentions by the opposition. The voting came after a marathon opposition caucus on 16-17 May, in which Barzel failed in his attempt to get a majority of the deputies to vote for the treaties. He had to settle for a compromise that, while assuring ratification, appeased party conservatives by allowing the deputies to show their dislike of the treaties by abstaining.

*Although Barzel managed to convince most of his deputies that the party could not afford to defeat the treaties, his maneuvering has exacerbated disagreement within opposition ranks over Eastern policy. He is likely to face further trouble from party conservatives on this score.*

*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

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*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

**USSR**

The latest satellite photography, which covered portions of 17 of the 24 ICBM launch complexes, shows no new silo construction. Work on the last new ICBM silo began in July 1971.

Work continues on the 60 small and six large new-type silos at Pervomaysk and Derazhnya. The first group of these new small silos probably will be externally complete in late 1972, but installation of internal equipment will not come until after that.

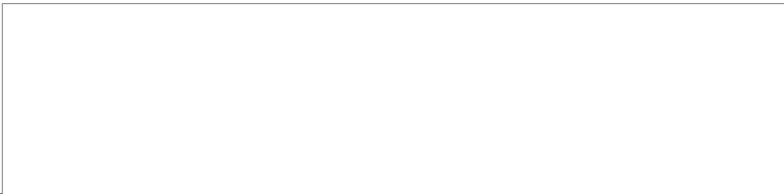
Construction of the 25 large new-type silos at five SS-9 ICBM complexes is also continuing, but at a slower pace. The first group of these large new silos probably will not be externally complete before early 1973.

*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

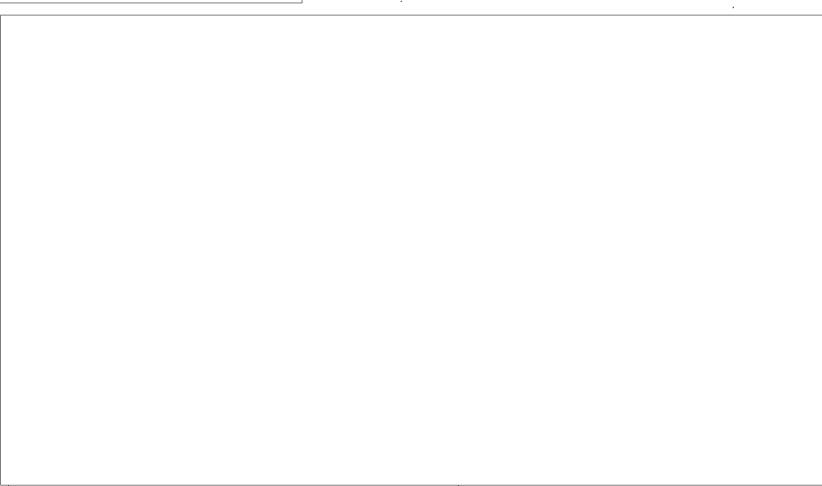
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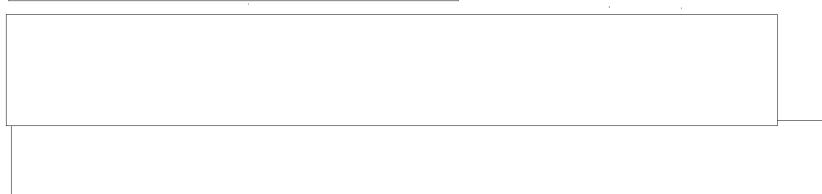


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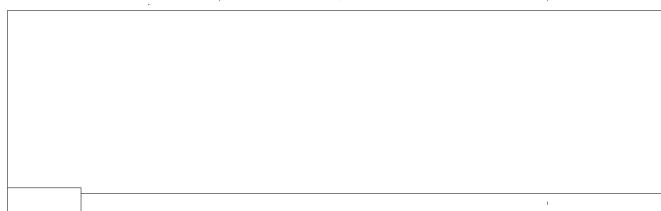
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*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

**CAMBODIA**

Former deputy prime minister In Tam has announced that he will be a candidate in the presidential elections scheduled for 4 June.

Of the four individuals who have filed to run against Lon Nol, only In Tam seems likely to gain much support, and his candidacy will add to the credibility of the elections. It seems unlikely, however, that he could beat Lon Nol or even, in combination with the other three candidates, prevent Lon Nol from getting the majority necessary to prevent a runoff election. Lon Nol has already obtained the important endorsement of the military establishment, and efforts are under way to ensure that the troops and their dependents get out and vote.

In what may be a bid to obtain the backing of Sirik Matak's supporters in the election, Lon Nol has managed to persuade Matak to accept a post as "special adviser" to the president. The duties of this new position have yet to be defined, but Matak will have the same rank and privileges as prime minister. The appointment may also have been made in order to pave the way for Matak's eventual designation as vice president. In any case the move to bring Matak back into the government will be unpopular with Phnom Penh's disgruntled students, whose protests forced Matak to quit in March.

**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

NOTE

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*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

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# *The President's Daily Brief*

19 May 1972

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**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

**THE PRESIDENT'S DAILY BRIEF**

19 May 1972

**PRINCIPAL DEVELOPMENTS**

[redacted] Soviet [redacted] 25X1  
Vietnam [redacted] Page 1. 25X1

Military action has remained relatively light throughout most of South Vietnam, but increased enemy action in the Mekong Delta appears likely.  
(Page 2)

China's People's Daily has carried the complete text of President Nixon's address of 8 May. (Page 3)

[redacted] North Vietnam. 25X1  
(Page 4) [redacted] 25X1

[redacted] Chile [redacted] 25X1  
(Page 5) [redacted] 25X1

**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

***FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY***

**USSR-VIETNAM**



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***FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY***



**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

**SOUTH VIETNAM**

Military action remains relatively light throughout most of South Vietnam. Two skirmishes were reported yesterday near Kontum City, and a government relief force is continuing to make further progress toward An Loc.

Government forces continue to counterattack north and west of Hue [redacted]

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[redacted]  
[redacted]  
25X1  
25X1

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Fighting has increased in the southern Mekong Delta, where North Vietnamese troops have attacked and partially overrun a district capital in Kien Giang Province that is astride the infiltration route from Cambodia. [redacted]

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During the past month four South Vietnamese regiments have moved from the delta to the relief of An Loc. This leaves two government divisions in the delta and significantly shifts the balance of opposing forces in the Communists' favor.

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The South Vietnamese still seem to have the upper hand in the most heavily populated regions of the Mekong Delta, but there are signs that the North Vietnamese intend to concentrate their main force units to take advantage of the weakened South Vietnamese position. Hanoi is now able to assemble the most powerful striking force of regular troops it has ever had in this region. Even though this force is weak in artillery, and apparently lacks armor, it is still capable of opening yet another major battlefield.

**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

**CHINA-US-VIETNAM**

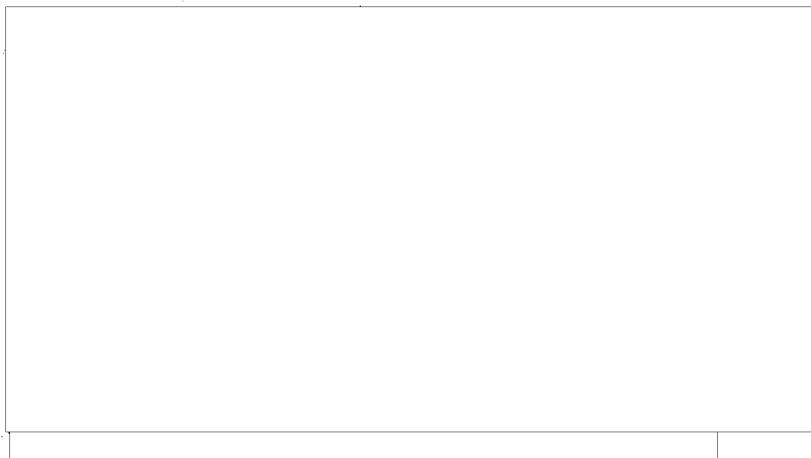
The People's Daily of 11 May, which was just received in Hong Kong, carried the complete text of President Nixon's address on 8 May. This issue had featured Peking's first authoritative comment on the speech; a note at the end of the official comment directed the readers' attention to the text. The comment had been broadcast by the Chinese, but the speech was not.

*It is not unprecedented for Chinese media to carry the text of foreign statements that are then subjected to criticism, but in the case of the speech on 8 May the Chinese have confined their attacks to the military measures announced and have not commented on the cease-fire and withdrawal proposals. People's Daily, in effect, leaves the latter before the reader without rebuttal. Hanoi will not be pleased that the article also let stand without comment the President's statement that the actions he announced were not directed against any other nation.*

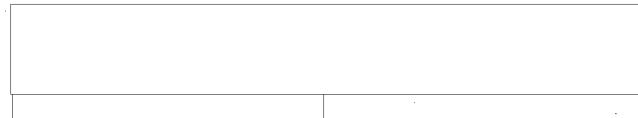
**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

NORTH VIETNAM



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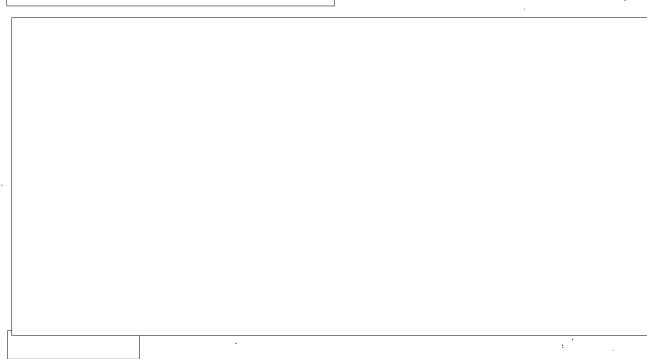


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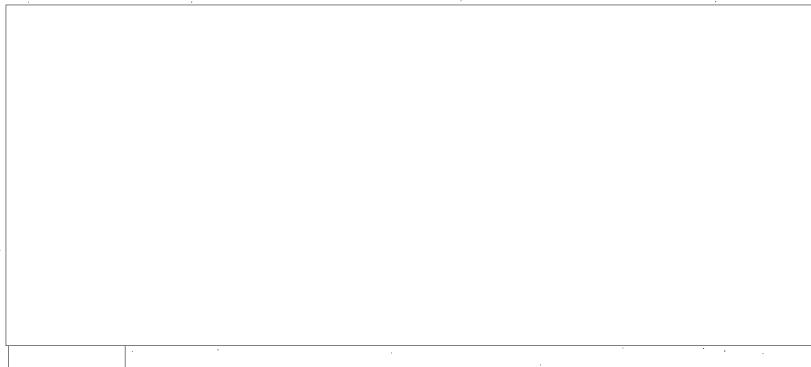
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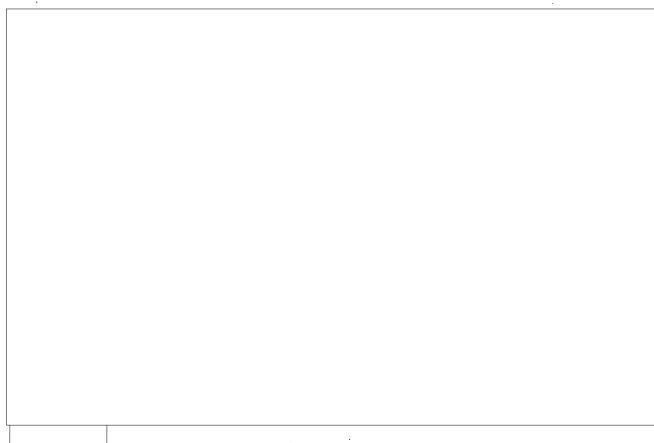
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CHILE



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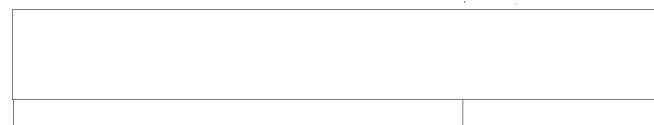
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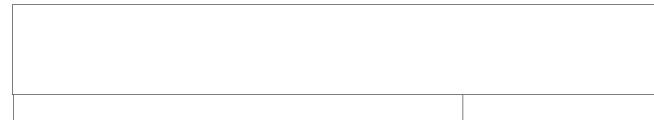
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**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

**NOTES**

West Germany: With opposition leader Barzel calling for an end to procrastination, Christian Democratic state leaders decided yesterday not to delay the vote on the Eastern treaties until 25 or 26 May. Ratification of the treaties is expected today when the opposition Christian Democrats, despite their 21-20 edge, should allow the treaties to pass in the Bundesrat by the abstention of one or more state governments.

USSR-Cuba: The F-class submarine that has been at Mariel departed early this week, marking the first time in some ten weeks that no Soviet warships have been in Cuba. The diesel attack submarine was east of Cape Kennedy on 18 May, apparently headed home. The Soviet destroyer, submarine tender, and tanker that left Cuba ahead of the submarine have maintained a northeasterly heading since entering the Atlantic early this month.

Egypt-Iraq: [redacted]

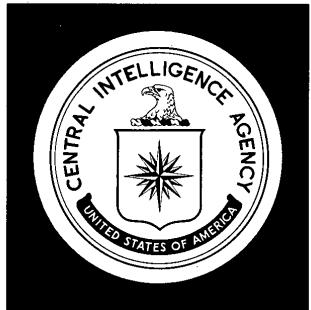
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France: According to the atomic affairs officer of the French Foreign Ministry, the 1972 nuclear test series is to run from late June to the end of July at the Pacific test center east of Tahiti. The officer said the tests are to be low-yield detonations of 20 kilotons or less, in contrast to earlier reports that at least one test this year would be a high-yield thermonuclear explosion.

**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

*Top Secret*



# *The President's Daily Brief*

20 May 1972



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*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

**THE PRESIDENT'S DAILY BRIEF**

20 May 1972

**PRINCIPAL DEVELOPMENTS**

The circumstances of yesterday's party central committee meeting in Moscow suggest that Brezhnev may feel the need to protect his domestic position.

(Page 1)

Despite completion of parliamentary action in Bonn on the Eastern treaties, final ratification may still be delayed, while a shift in Moscow's position on transmitting the all-Bundestag resolution spells more trouble for both Brandt and Barzel. (Page 3)

In Vietnam, the An Loc relief column reports encountering a heavy ground attack this morning.

(Page 4)

*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

**SOVIET UNION**

The party central committee, meeting in a one-day session yesterday, approved a report by Brezhnev on the international situation, which almost certainly included an outline of the leadership's plans for its meeting with President Nixon. The circumstances surrounding the plenum, particularly the timing so close to the summit, suggest that Brezhnev may feel the need to protect his domestic position.

According to TASS, the session in addition to discussing Brezhnev's speech also heard a report by party secretary Kapitonov on the exchange of party documents.

*Brezhnev had proposed an exchange of party membership cards--which provides an opportunity to review and perhaps weed out party members--in his report to the 24th Congress in March 1971. However, neither Brezhnev nor his closest allies have referred to the subject since then, and Politburo member Shelest (who has opposed Brezhnev on detente policy among other matters) has wondered aloud why the exchange was not yet under way. It is thus possible that Kapitonov's report on this topic was added to the agenda to quiet Brezhnev's opponents on domestic issues.*

The plenum also named Boris Ponomarev an alternate member of the Politburo. He is a long-time party secretary and chief of the central committee's international department that handles relations with countries and parties outside the "bloc." He is probably a protege of senior party ideologist and foreign affairs expert Suslov. Ponomarev was reported to have opposed the 1968 Czech invasion, because of the opposition he knew it would arouse among international parties. His boss, Suslov, helped provide the ideological justification for the new opening to West Germany in early 1969.

*Ponomarev's promotion would thus seem to bolster the commitment to detente policies a bit, but not to add to Brezhnev's personal strength.*

The central committee is usually convened either well in advance of an important event or after it has taken place, to put its seal of approval on the Soviet position. The general line on

**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

summitry was, in fact, laid down at the last plenum held in November 1971. It is therefore highly unusual for the central committee to be convened at this time on the very eve of the President's arrival.

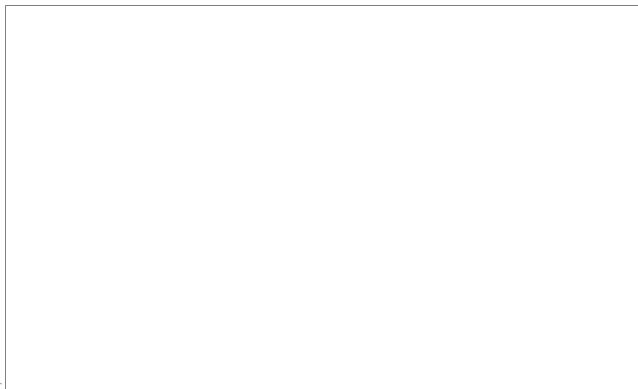
*These pieces of evidence, plus the seemingly counterproductive way in which the Soviet ambassador to Bonn handled the Eastern treaties yesterday (see the next item), do not add up to clear proof of important difficulties within the Soviet leadership. Against the background of the strains arising from the situation in Vietnam, the summit, and the cliff-hanger in Bonn, however, they suggest to us that such is the case. If so, the problems of preserving unity may affect the leadership's maneuverability at the summit.*

*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

**WEST GERMANY**

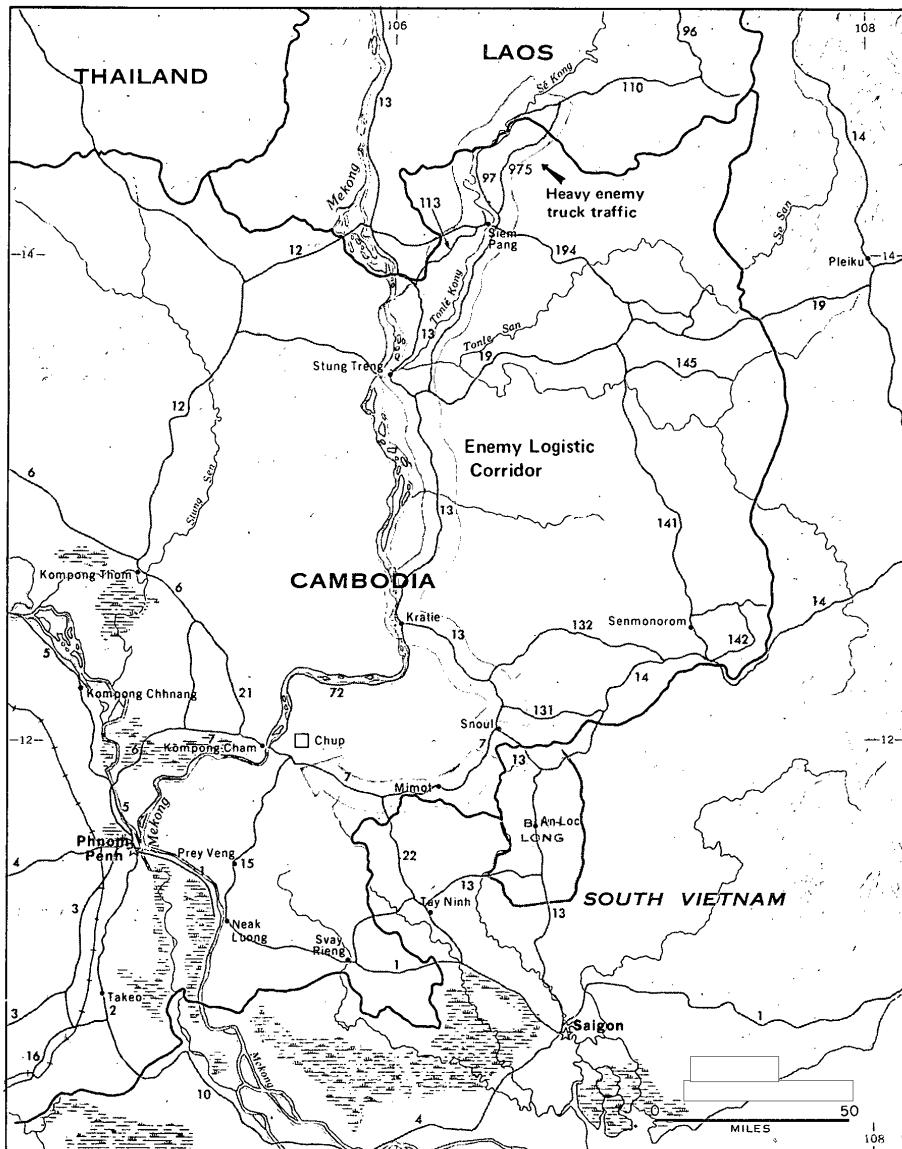
Parliamentary consideration of the Eastern treaties is now complete, but final ratification may still be delayed. A legal challenge was lodged yesterday by a conservative politician, who asked West Germany's constitutional court to issue an injunction against the promulgation of the treaties. Although the court is likely to reject a request made by an individual, the Bavarian state government, dominated by anti-treaty Christian Socialists, is considering a similar action. The court's willingness to hear a challenge would delay the entry into force of the treaties by at least several weeks.

Another difficulty arises from a last-minute change in Moscow's position on transmitting the all-Bundestag resolution that was the opposition's price for not opposing the treaties. The Soviets provided only oral acknowledgment of the resolution, rather than a written aide memoire as previously agreed. They attribute this switch to the CDU failure to vote for the treaties.



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*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*



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**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

**VIETNAM**

The government relief column edging toward An Loc reported itself under heavy ground attack this morning. Preliminary reports indicate that seven enemy tanks have been knocked out. Yesterday a Soviet ZSU-57-2 tank with twin 57-mm. gun mounts was captured in the besieged town--the first time this weapon has been seen in South Vietnam.

In other parts of the country, scattered shellings and ground attacks continue. The Communists have been especially aggressive around Kontum City. Yesterday the government abandoned Fire Support Base November just to the north and moved its defenders into the provincial capital. Government troops continue to expand their defenses around Hue. An assault against enemy positions northwest of Fire Support Base Birmingham caught over 400 enemy troops in the open, and heavy artillery strikes were called in on them.

The Communists are still moving substantial amounts of supplies and equipment south along Cambodian roads near South Vietnam. [redacted] 25X1 heavy truck traffic in the northeast along recently widened Route 975, linking south Laos with the Stung Treng area of Cambodia--the jump-off point for Communist supplies destined for the southern half of South Vietnam. South of Stung Treng, [redacted] 25X1 [redacted] heavy Communist use of Route 13, particularly between Kratie City and Snuol, just north of South Vietnam's Binh Long Province. Numerous enemy tanks were observed parked along the roadway on 18 May.

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

\* \* \*

Hanoi continues to show anxiety that the Vietnam peace talks might be broadened. Yesterday a Radio Hanoi broadcast reiterated criticism of proposals to give the United Nations a direct role in the negotiations and scored the British for calling for a new Geneva Conference. Labeling the idea of "internationalizing" the Vietnam problem "a sinister scheme of US imperialism," the broadcast insisted that the matter must be settled between the US and Vietnam at the Paris conference.

*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

NOTE

China: [REDACTED] 25X1  
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*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

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# *The President's Daily Brief*

*Sunday, April 2, May 19*

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*Sunday Cable*

PDB BRIEF  
21/5/72

## VIETNAM

The Communists are maintaining pressure on government forces in several areas, but no new major ground fighting has been reported. South Vietnamese forces with the assistance of heavy airstrikes have turned back enemy attacks on the government's relief column south of An Loc. The column remains stalled a few miles short of the city.

In the central highlands, light enemy artillery and ground attacks continue near Kontum City, while government forces are conducting small spoiling operations north of the city. Intercepted enemy messages and captured prisoners point toward a resumption of the Communist effort against Kontum City sometime in the next two or three days. In Quang Ngai Province, South Vietnamese forces still hold Ba To District town, but the Communists apparently have been able to isolate the defenders and prevent any resupply or reinforcement.

East of Saigon, in Phuoc Tuy Province, an estimated battalion-sized enemy force on 20 May

entered the district town of Dat Do apparently unopposed and began constructing defensive positions. South Vietnamese territorial forces are now engaging the Communist force.

In the delta province of Kien Giang, fighting continues for control of Kien Luong District town, but neither side has made an all-out effort to establish control. South Vietnamese forces are holding on in the center of town and have been able so far to ward off repeated enemy probes.

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PDB BRIEF  
21/5/72

EGYPT

On 17 May, Egyptian security authorities arrested a number of persons associated with former vice-president Zakariya Muhyeddin [redacted] 25X1

[redacted] Other prominent Egyptians [redacted] have 25X1  
been put under house arrest. [redacted] 25X1

[redacted] 25X1

*The arrests reflect a decision by President Sadat to move against political opponents who recently submitted a petition critical of his policies. Sadat suspects Muhyeddin of inspiring the petition even though he did not sign it. The petition, recently published by a conservative Beirut newspaper, criticized "excessive" Egyptian reliance on the USSR and called for "the formation of a national front to assume charge of planning a policy for the national liberation struggle." In a speech on 14 May, Sadat warned that he would not tolerate the establishment of any institutions outside Egypt's constitutional organizations and said that any persons attempting to create such organizations would be punished.*

*(continued)*

*Sadat's actions against critics of his relationship with the USSR may have been partly intended for Moscow's benefit. Muhyeddin is believed to command considerable respect from Egypt's military leadership and this may have deterred Sadat from moving against him directly.*

PDB BRIEF  
21/5/72

WEST GERMANY

The constitutional court has promptly refused to accept challenges brought by two individuals against the Eastern treaties. The threat of a similar action by the Bavarian state government has also apparently been overcome. A leading state official has stated flatly that Bavaria will not seek a court ruling on the treaties.

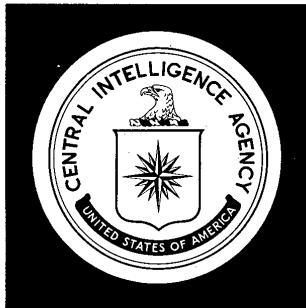
*Bavaria's decision not to risk opprobrium in what would almost certainly be a losing court suit clears the way for President Heinemann to sign the law ratifying the treaties as scheduled on 23 May.*

PDB BRIEF  
21/5/72

NOTE

Laos: On Friday, Prime Minister Souvanna Phouma stymied a challenge from rightists in the National Assembly when their resolution calling for his government's resignation failed to come to a vote. Two new resolutions were introduced providing for the maintenance of Souvanna's government with some minor changes. Action on these motions is expected on Monday. The ouster resolution was promoted by the powerful Sananikone family, which had been pressing him to fire his minister of finance. Souvanna also continues to refuse to fill portfolios held open for the Lao Communists under the Geneva Accords of 1962 in order to maintain a framework for their future participation.

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## *The President's Daily Brief*

22 May 1972

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**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

**THE PRESIDENT'S DAILY BRIEF**

22 May 1972

**PRINCIPAL DEVELOPMENTS**

The apparent demotion of politburo member Shelest strengthens pro-detente forces in the Soviet leadership. (Page 1)

In the Vietnam fighting, a series of Communist attacks against South Vietnamese positions in the coastal Quang Tri - Thua Thien border area were repulsed with the help of allied air strikes and naval gunfire. The enemy buildup around Hue continues. (Page 2)

North Vietnamese editorialists are mixing dire warnings and high praise about the support of Hanoi's allies abroad. (Page 3)

The Egyptians have again displayed their misgivings about Soviet policy in the Middle East and their concern over the summit. (Page 4)

Egyptian President Sadat has moved against political opponents who recently submitted a petition critical of his policies. (Page 5)

The way has been cleared for West German President Heinemann to sign the law ratifying the Eastern treaties tomorrow. (Page 6)

Lao Prime Minister Souvanna Phouma has stymied an effort by rightists to force the resignation of his government. (Page 6)

**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

**USSR**

Politburo member Petr Shelest has been appointed to the relatively unimportant post of deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers.

This move is probably the first step in a demotion process. The fact that the appointment was announced following the Central Committee plenum that unanimously endorsed Brezhnev's detente policy on 19 May suggests that Shelest lost out in the debate over foreign policy. He has been an outspoken critic of detente, and the US Embassy in Moscow reports that he is rumored to have pushed for cancellation of the summit meeting after President Nixon's speech on Vietnam on 8 May. The move against Shelest may also have been given a boost by the West German ratification of the Eastern treaties. In any event, his demotion strengthens those favoring detente and increases somewhat Brezhnev's room to maneuver.

Shelest almost certainly will lose his position as Ukrainian first secretary, which would cut him off from his provincial power base. Although he may be able to retain his politburo membership for some time, Shelest is likely to be less influential in his new position. He joins eight other deputy chairmen of the Council of Ministers--none of whom has politburo status--and is outranked on the council by Chairman Kosygin and two first deputy chairmen who are full members of the politburo.

**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**



*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

**SOUTH VIETNAM**

The Communists carried out a series of tank-led attacks against South Vietnamese positions in the coastal Quang Tri - Thua Thien border area on 21 May, but were turned back with the help of heavy allied air strikes and naval gunfire.

*The attacks apparently were made to discourage further South Vietnamese counter-attacks into Communist-occupied Quang Tri Province. Recent intercepts have reflected the enemy's growing concern about such government operations and suggest that the Communists have been forced to divert men and equipment to strengthen their defensive positions.*

The enemy still appears to be pressing ahead with preparations to attack Hue. A recent intercept called for increased harassment of government forces in other provinces in order to keep South Vietnamese reinforcements from being sent to the Hue area. The North Vietnamese also appear to be increasing their forces around the city. The 36th Regiment of the 308th Division has moved south toward Fire Support Base Bastogne, putting it near the 324B Division and its three infantry regiments. Another regiment of the 308th may also be moving south toward this area.

In the fighting around An Loc, South Vietnamese forces have turned back yet another enemy attack on the relief column moving slowly toward the town.  

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*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

## NORTH VIETNAM

North Vietnamese editorialists are mixing dire warnings and high praise about the support of Hanoi's allies abroad. A "commentator" article published in the official army newspaper on 21 May directs invective at President Nixon that is meant to make those "socialists" who might be considering dealing with him as uncomfortable as possible. On the same day, however, Hanoi's regular daily newspaper took a completely different line, expressing the regime's profound gratitude for the support of its allies, explicitly the Soviet Union. The paper also points out that North Vietnam has awarded posthumous citations to the Soviet sailors who, Hanoi charges, were killed in recent US air strikes.

*Much of Hanoi's domestic audience may well regard such contradictory press play with puzzlement, but the regime undoubtedly is less concerned with reaction on the home front than with that of the Soviets. The North Vietnamese leaders appear to be trying to underscore their concern about a possible slackening of Soviet support as a result of the Moscow summit, without giving public offense to the Soviets. Moreover, by emphasizing Soviet casualties and damage to Soviet ships, Hanoi doubtless hopes to put pressure on Kremlin leaders before Soviet and world opinion.*

**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

**EGYPT-USSR**

The Egyptians have again displayed their misgivings about Soviet policy in the Middle East and their concern over the summit. On Friday, the semi-official Egyptian newspaper, al-Ahram, published an account of a forum on the Moscow summit that reflected criticism of the USSR as well as the US. The meeting's primary theme was worry that the Middle East would be a low priority topic at Moscow.

Egyptian Foreign Ministry Undersecretary Ismail Fahmy blamed the US and USSR jointly for the Arab-Israeli deadlock and said the impasse could not be broken without their participation. He warned the Soviets that they would be making a major miscalculation if they thought the Arab states would accept a no-war, no-peace policy. Other participants spoke in a similar vein. One stated bluntly that Moscow prefers the no-war, no-peace situation, while another complained that US obligations to its friends in the area are stronger than those of Moscow to its clients.

*Cairo views the US-USSR discussion as one of its few hopes for breaking the deadlock with Israel and is deeply concerned that other issues will take priority. Egyptian suspicion that Soviet interests in the Middle East are primarily self-serving has been aired before, but not at this level. Egyptian officials may hope that publication of this dialogue will provide a warning to Moscow not to bargain away Arab interests at the summit. Domestically, the article serves as another assertion of national independence designed to dampen criticism of the regime's close ties with the Soviet Union.*

**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

**EGYPT**

On 17 May, Egyptian security authorities arrested a number of persons associated with former vice-president Zakariya Muhyeddin, [redacted]. Other prominent Egyptians [redacted] have been put under house arrest.

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The arrests reflect a decision by President Sadat to move against political opponents who recently submitted a petition critical of his policies. Sadat suspects Muhyeddin of inspiring the petition even though he did not sign it. The petition criticized "excessive" Egyptian reliance on the USSR and called for the formation of a national front to supersede Egypt's established institutions. In referring to the petition in a speech on 14 May, Sadat warned that anyone attempting to establish such an organization would be punished.

Sadat's actions against critics of his relationship with the USSR may have been partly intended for Moscow's benefit. Muhyeddin is believed to command considerable respect from Egypt's military leadership and this may have deterred Sadat from moving against him directly.

**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

NOTES

West Germany: The way has been cleared for President Heinemann to sign the law ratifying the Eastern treaties tomorrow. The constitutional court on Friday refused to accept challenges brought by two individuals against the treaties and a key Bavarian official involved in the legal preparations of another possible appeal has said flatly that his state government would not seek a court ruling on the treaties.

Laos: On Friday, Prime Minister Souvanna Phouma stymied a challenge from rightists in the National Assembly when their resolution calling for his government's resignation failed to come to a vote. Two new resolutions were introduced providing for the maintenance of Souvanna's government with some minor changes. Most politicians now appear to favor some face-saving compromise. The ouster resolution was promoted by the powerful Sananikone family, which had been pressing Souvanna to fire his minister of finance. Souvanna also continues to refuse to fill portfolios held open for the Lao Communists under the Geneva Accords of 1962 in order to maintain a framework for their future participation.

*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

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# *The President's Daily Brief*

23 May 1972

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**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

**THE PRESIDENT'S DAILY BRIEF**

23 May 1972

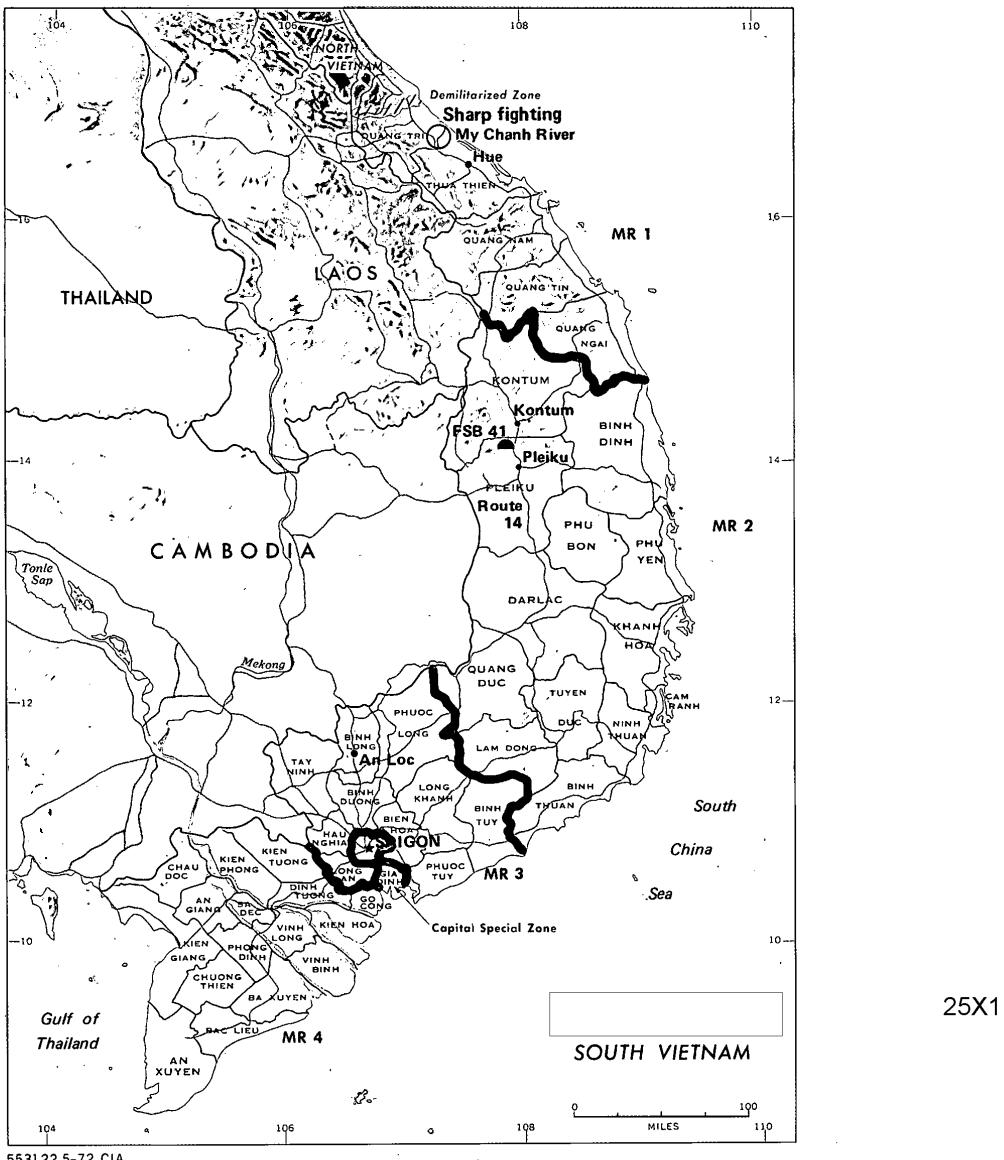
**PRINCIPAL DEVELOPMENTS**

The military situation in South Vietnam is discussed on *Page 1*.

The threat of a breakdown in civil order in Chile was averted last weekend when President Allende's Socialist Party withdrew its support from left-wing extremists. (*Page 3*)

Chinese irregular forces are again buying and transporting opium in the Burma-Thailand border area. (*Page 4*)

**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**



**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

**VIETNAM**

The North Vietnamese continued strong probes against government lines along the Quang Tri - Thua Thien Province border yesterday for the second day. Most of the North Vietnamese forces have been pushed back, but only after sharp fighting.

*The attacks do not appear to be an enemy attempt to make a major breakthrough toward Hue, but rather an effort to keep the South Vietnamese off balance. Intercepts last week indicated that the North Vietnamese were concerned that government forces were planning to carry out further raids in Quang Tri Province.*

The North Vietnamese may be awaiting the arrival of the 325th Division before mounting a major new drive against the defenses of Hue. Communications continue to indicate that the 325th is moving into South Vietnam from the southern panhandle of North Vietnam. One regiment of the division is already south of the DMZ, and another regiment and the division headquarters also appear to be getting ready to move.

Kontum City was quiet on 22 May following the enemy's reconnaissance in force on the previous day. To the south, on Route 14, initial reporting indicates the Communists have overrun Fire Support Base 41, midway between Kontum and Pleiku. South Vietnamese rangers have been trying to reopen Route 14. Two ranger battalions have been airlifted close to an enemy-held position that commands the route, and a third unit is moving up the road about four miles away.

Debriefings of enemy prisoners and ralliers in Military Region 2 suggest that the Communists have lost as many as 2,000 troops in the fighting around Kontum in the last two months, chiefly from B-52

strikes and artillery fire. [ ] the Communists have experienced heavy losses of equipment and supplies, especially among armored units. They also appear to be having difficulty coordinating their support units for the campaign against Kontum City.

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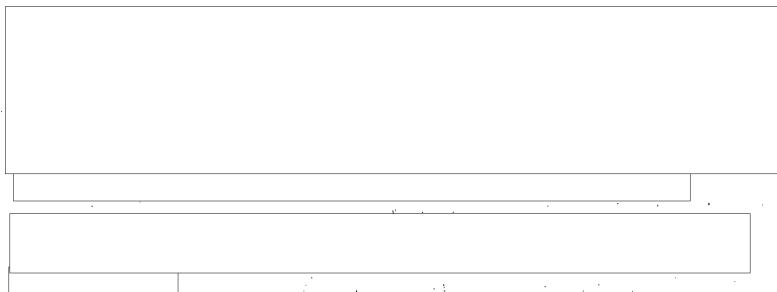
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**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

Farther south, Communist shelling of An Loc continues. Intercepts indicate that elements of two North Vietnamese divisions and a senior rear services authority have moved back across the border to base areas in Cambodia, presumably for rest and refitting. Other enemy units have only recently been committed to the fighting around An Loc, however, and are expected to maintain pressure on the South Vietnamese forces in the area.

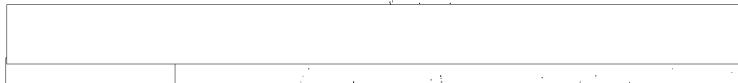
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**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

**CHILE**

The threat of a breakdown in civil order last weekend

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[redacted] was averted when President Allende's Socialist Party withdrew its support from the extremist Movement of the Revolutionary Left. The Socialists took this unprecedented action under pressure from the Communists, and then joined the Communists in criticizing the violent aspects of the MIR.

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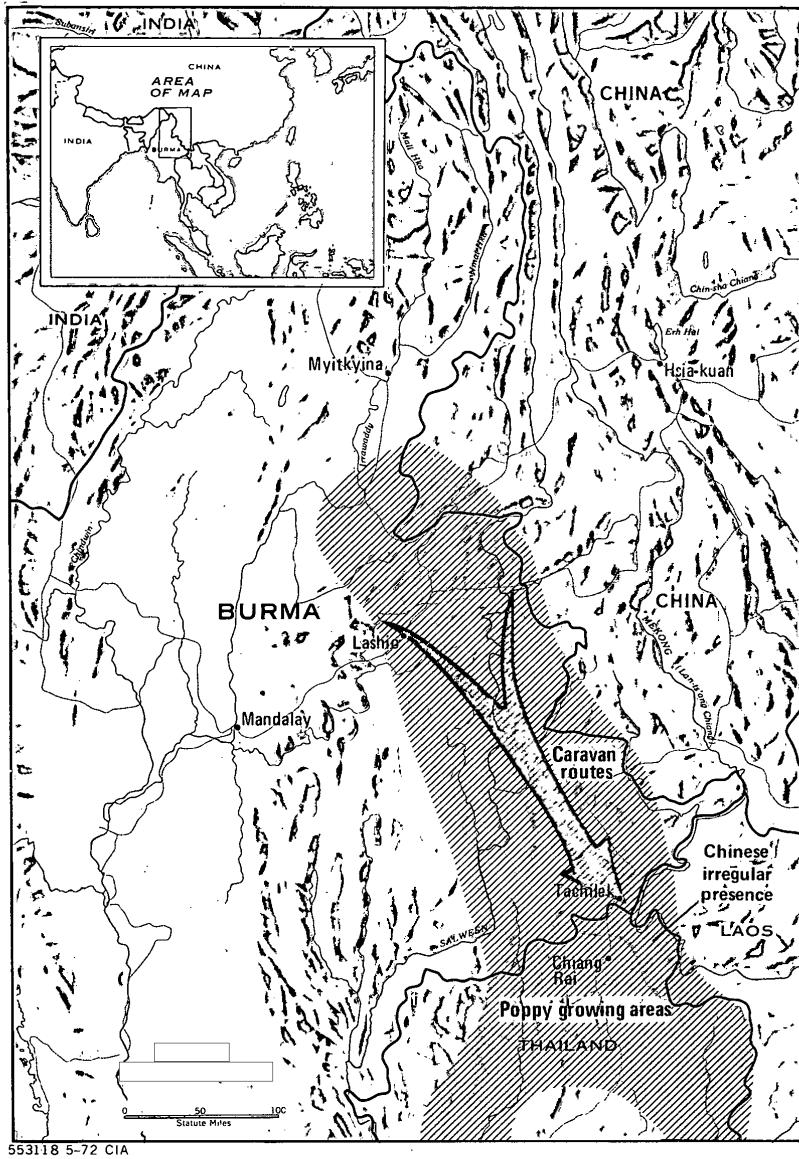
The Socialists' denunciation of the MIR may make Allende more willing to move against armed extremist groups of both left and right. Until now he has felt inhibited in disarming the leftists because they largely support the government's declared aims.

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[redacted] Allende may still agree to disarm extremists if he believes this would reduce the threat from both the right and the MIR.



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**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

**THAILAND**

[redacted] in the Burma-Thailand border area [redacted] Chinese irregular forces again are buying opium in the Lashio area of Burma and transporting it to refineries controlled by the irregulars in northern Thailand. The trade is [redacted] managed by the same Chinese leaders who agreed last summer to get out of the narcotics business in return for Bangkok's assistance in resettling 4,000 irregular troops and dependents. Bangkok subsequently purchased their stock on hand and in March publicized the burning of 26 tons of opium.

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*The lucrative opium trade has been the irregulars' main source of income in the 20 years since they left China after the Communist takeover. They presumably calculate that they can afford to renege on last year's agreement because Bangkok would have great difficulty in deploying and supporting enough troops to close the long, remote border. They also are aware that the government values their cooperation against Communist insurgents in northern Thailand.*

**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

***FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY***

**NOTE**

Turkey: President Sunay, no doubt speaking for Turkey's military leaders, yesterday approved the cabinet proposed by Prime Minister - designate Melen. The next step is for parliament to approve the new government's program, and this appears likely to happen within seven days. Most of the 25 cabinet members are holdovers.

***FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY***

*Top Secret*



# *The President's Daily Brief*

*24 May 1972*

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*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

THE PRESIDENT'S DAILY BRIEF

24 May 1972

## PRINCIPAL DEVELOPMENTS

In Vietnam, Communist forces continue pushing against government positions north of Hue and edging closer to Kontum City.

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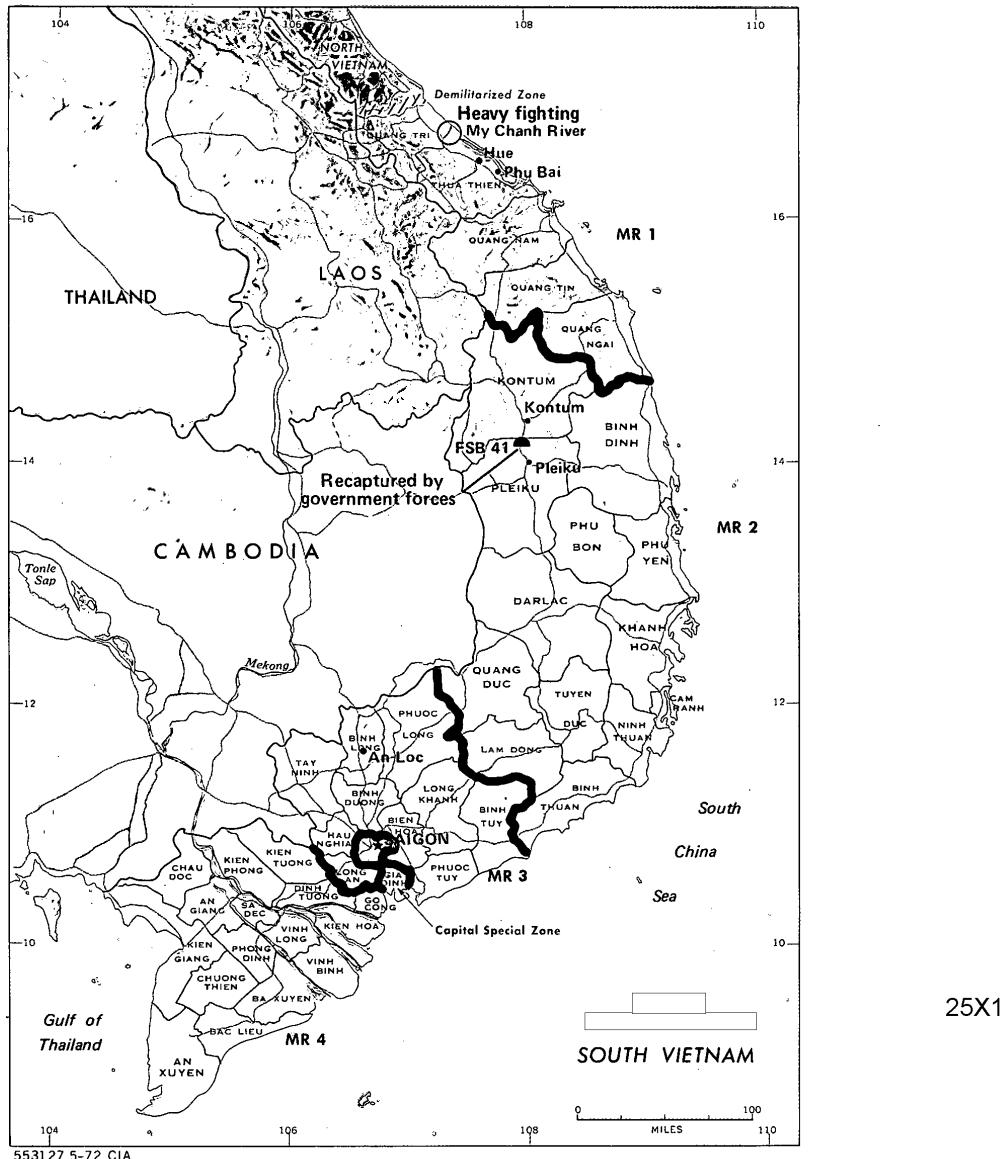
On Page 3 we discuss recent efforts by both Moscow and Cairo to smooth out their prickly relationship.

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**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**



*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

VIETNAM

North of Hue, Communist forces continue to push against government positions, although South Vietnamese marines stopped them from advancing yesterday. Intercepts suggest that the Communists are preparing new action south of Hue. Elements of a North Vietnamese division have been conducting reconnaissance around the US base at Phu Bai near Hue, and one unit reported on 22 May that "we are ready to strike at Hue and the Americans."

In the central highlands, Communist units continue to edge closer to Kontum City.

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To the south, government troops have made contact with North Vietnamese troops blocking Route 14, and government territorial forces have retaken a fire support base that was overrun on Monday.

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North of Saigon, the 21st Division that has been moving to relieve An Loc is about one mile south of the town. Enemy attacks yesterday kept it from making any further progress, but the government troops inside the town are reported to have expanded their perimeter on the north and the west.

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*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

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*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

## USSR-EGYPT

*The imposing military entourage that toured Egypt with Marshal Grechko last week was part of a growing Soviet effort to shore up President Sadat's international and domestic position.*

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*The Soviets presumably decided last month that additional measures were needed to buttress Sadat, as well as the Soviet position in Egypt. During Sadat's visit to Moscow in April, the Soviets for the first time publicly supported Arab use of "other means" (presumably military) to regain Israeli-occupied territory. The communiqué winding up the visit also stated that the two sides had "reached agreement on a further strengthening of military cooperation between them." In May, during Defense Minister Grechko's visit, the USSR and Egypt announced that they had "coordinated practical steps" to implement that agreement. The public statements, however, provide no indication as to the specifics involved.*

*Moscow could do very little that would significantly improve Egypt's military position against Israel. Nevertheless, several courses of action are open that would have beneficial effects on Sadat's political position and on Soviet-Egyptian relations. One such step would be the symbolic restoration of Cairo's offensive capability against Israel (e.g., several TU-16 bombers with ASM capability). Another would be Soviet help in establishing a defense industry in Egypt. The Egyptians are sensitive about their deficiencies in both these areas. Any Soviet aid of this sort would be designed primarily for its political impact rather than to change the military balance in the Middle East.*

(continued)

FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY

**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

The Soviets, in any event, have demonstrated their continued military support of Egypt. By sympathizing with Sadat's references to the need for military action against Israel and by announcing that a new arms agreement has been concluded, the Soviets put the best possible face on their ties with Cairo prior to discussions of the Middle East situation with President Nixon.

With one striking exception--noted below--Egyptian officials and media are now going along with the Soviet theme of mutual Soviet-Egyptian satisfaction with their relationship. [redacted]

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The Cairo press in recent days has played up reports that the Soviet Union is intent on discussing Middle East problems "directly" as a vital area of tension between Moscow and Washington. The Egyptians have also stressed that the Soviets fully back their view that the Arab-Israeli dispute can be settled only by the withdrawal of Israeli forces from all occupied territories, even if this requires Egypt to use force. [redacted]

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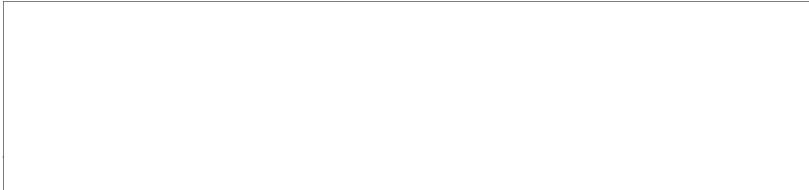
Despite all this, the Egyptians still believe that they can expect nothing positive from the summit meetings, and they undoubtedly still have misgivings about great power dealings over their heads. The only exception to the general line of mutual confidence has been a round-table discussion among prominent Egyptian writers and Foreign Ministry officials reported in al-Ahram last week. The discussion focused on these misgivings and may have been intended to remind Moscow of its undertakings on Egypt's behalf.

**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

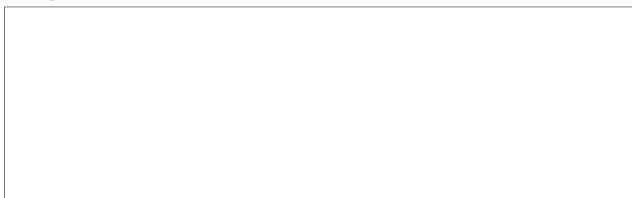
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NOTES

Poland: [redacted]

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USSR-India: In Moscow's first major arms shipment to India since the war with Pakistan, a Soviet freighter delivered seven MIG-21s, apparently the J-model, to Bombay

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[redacted] these aircraft [redacted] have weapons-carrying capability and combat radius better than the MIG-21. India is currently manufacturing. India plans to begin making its own J-models sometime next year [redacted]

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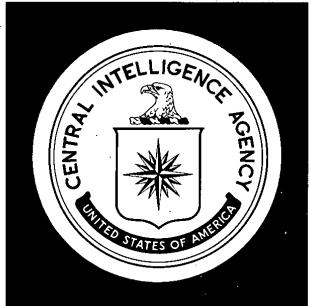
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Laos: Prime Minister Souvanna Phouma on Monday dealt the final blow to the latest challenge from rightists in the National Assembly. As a substitute for a rightist demand for the government's resignation, the Assembly approved a motion calling merely for the government to respect the constitution. Souvanna carried the day by insisting that he would not change his government even if the vote went against him and by showing that he retained the strong support of King Savang.

*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

*Top Secret*



## *The President's Daily Brief*

25 May 1972

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**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

**THE PRESIDENT'S DAILY BRIEF**

25 May 1972

**PRINCIPAL DEVELOPMENTS**

On *Page 1* we discuss the military situation in South Vietnam and some signs that the Communists may be losing their earlier optimism.

Iraq  Soviet   (*Page 3*)

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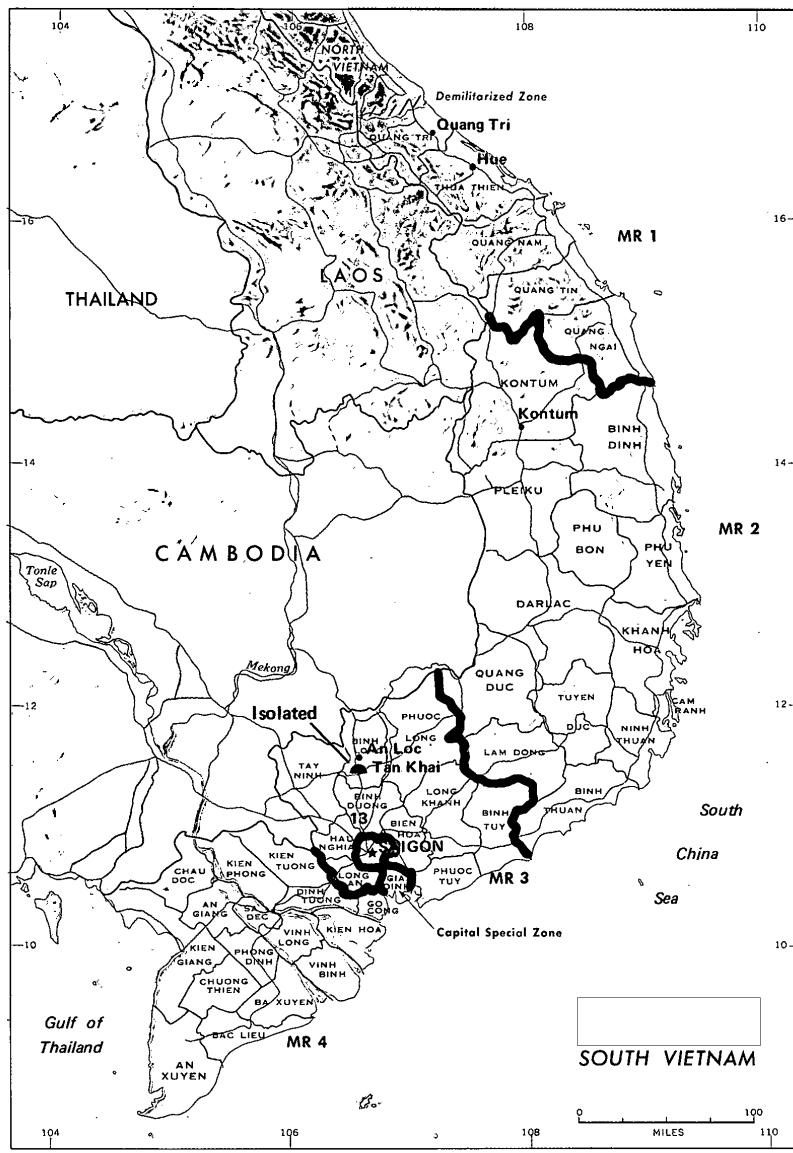
Pakistan  Chinese   (*Page 4*)

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Announcement that Bangladesh intends to begin war crimes trials in July could disrupt plans for the Indo-Pakistani summit meetings. (*Page 5*)

Efforts to find a compromise solution to the impasse between the UK and Rhodesia have been dealt a heavy blow. (*Page 6*)

**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**



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**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

**VIETNAM**

The three battalions of South Vietnamese marines operating behind enemy lines in Quang Tri Province since 23 May have caused heavy Communist losses in troops, equipment, and foodstuffs. The South Vietnamese are now moving back toward friendly lines.

Intercepted Communist messages reveal that allied air strikes and the hot weather in Quang Tri are causing increasing morale problems among Communist units there. One message characterizes the strikes as "terrible" and reports having "difficulties" in keeping units up to strength.

The South Vietnamese units that had been making perceptible progress toward the relief of An Loc in recent days are now encountering stiffened enemy resistance. One government strongpoint along the relief route is said to have been isolated by the Communists, while sharp clashes just south of An Loc have stopped the lead elements of the relief force.

The main Communist headquarters in southern South Vietnam has been forced to admit to its cadres that the "desperate" South Vietnamese defense of An Loc and South Vietnamese counterattacks in the north have disrupted Communist plans

however

the Communists still intend to capture An Loc and to defeat the South Vietnamese units attempting to relieve the town.

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**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

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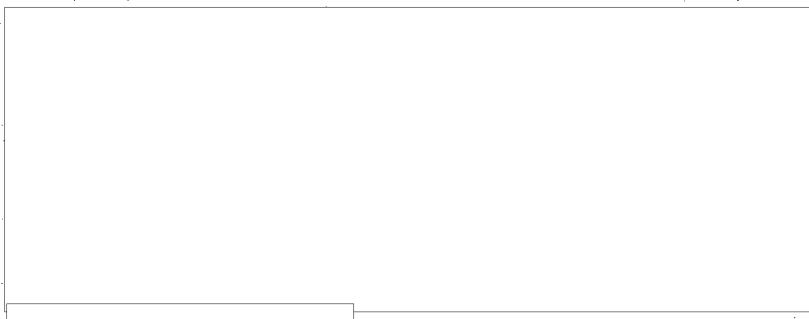
USSR-IRAQ



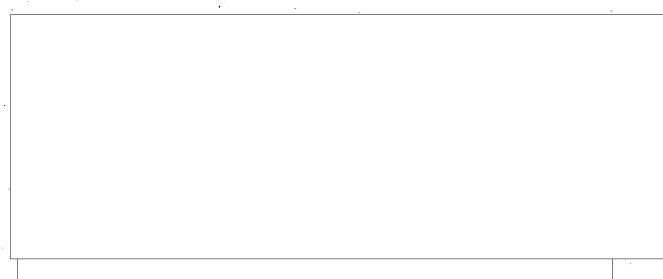
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PAKISTAN-CHINA



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*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

SOUTH ASIA.

Bangladesh has announced that it intends to begin war crimes trials in July. The Bangladesh home minister said that investigations of some 100 Pakistani Army officers had been completed and that other investigations are under way.

India has said that it is willing to give the Dacca government custody of prisoners against whom there are well-documented cases. President Bhutto, on the other hand, has publicly emphasized that if any prisoners are turned over to Dacca for trial, the prospects for his summit talks with Prime Minister Gandhi, now expected to begin late in June, would be seriously jeopardized. The Indians may stall in announcing specific plans for handing over prisoners to Bangladesh in hopes of avoiding a Pakistani cancellation of the meeting.

*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

**UK-RHODESIA**

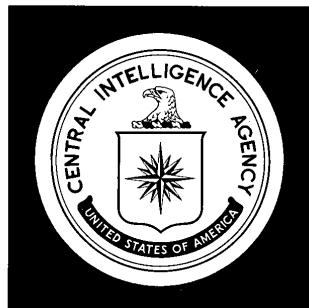
The Pearce Commission that has been looking into the acceptability of the UK-Rhodesian agreement concluded last November has decided that the people of Rhodesia "as a whole" reject the accord.

*The commission's negative finding apparently puts an end to the efforts of London and Salisbury to reach a face-saving compromise. Rhodesian Prime Minister Smith has denounced the report but London has reluctantly accepted its conclusion. Foreign Secretary Douglas-Home told Parliament that the UK would continue its economic sanctions against Rhodesia. Prime Minister Heath, however, can expect opposition from many in his own party when authorization for the sanctions comes up for renewal this fall.*

*Black African leaders have reacted favorably to the report and some African states may now press for a meeting of the UN Security Council on Rhodesia in an effort to increase pressure on the Smith government.*

*The Rhodesian Government shows no interest in negotiating further. The ruling Rhodesian Front Party will move to place tighter controls on blacks. Salisbury is also likely to resume the piecemeal eviction of Africans from white-designated lands and ban, or sharply restrict, the activities of the African National Congress, which led the fight against the settlement during the Pearce Commission hearings.*

*Top Secret*



# *The President's Daily Brief*

26 May 1972

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**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

**THE PRESIDENT'S DAILY BRIEF**

26 May 1972

**PRINCIPAL DEVELOPMENTS**

In Vietnam, the Communists are increasing pressure on government positions in several areas. (Page 1)

Japanese Prime Minister Sato has explicitly acknowledged that Peking is the "sole legitimate" government of China--the clearest public signal to date that Tokyo is ready to move ahead in normalizing ties with Peking. (Page 2)

[Redacted] 25X1  
[Redacted] 25X1  
(Page 3)

Romanian President Ceausescu's sudden postponement of trips to Japan and West Germany appears to stem from domestic political difficulties. (Page 4)

Chile [Redacted] 25X1  
[Redacted] 25X1  
(Page 5)

Soviet leader Shelest has lost his job as party boss in the Ukraine. (Page 6)

[Redacted] India [Redacted] 25X1  
[Redacted] 25X1  
[Redacted] 25X1  
(Page 6)

**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**



553143 5-72

**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

**VIETNAM**

The Communists are increasing pressure on government positions in several areas.

Around Kontum City, heavy and accurate Communist shelling has knocked out a number of government artillery positions and temporarily closed the airfield. South Vietnamese defenders, however, inflicted heavy losses on a large enemy sapper force that briefly penetrated the city yesterday. There are elements of at least ten Communist infantry and combat support regiments now ringing Kontum City within a radius of 15 miles.

In Quang Tri Province, South Vietnamese Marines are meeting only light resistance and are expected to wind up their three-day spoiling operation on schedule sometime today. The heavy equipment and foodstuff losses reportedly inflicted on the Communists during this operation will, however, tend to be offset by the substantial quantities of supplies the enemy is continuing to move into northern South Vietnam from Laos. Intercepted Communist messages indicate that as much as 450 tons of supplies are en route to this region, and there are signs that this high level of logistics activity will continue in the near future.



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In North Vietnam, the regime is apparently still dissatisfied with the performance of its cadre in supporting the offensive in the South in the face of increased US bombing. The first hint that the regime may be considering a purge appeared in an article on 16 May in the Hanoi city newspaper by an official of the local party committee. He claimed that, in a combat situation, the "small segment" of party members who are unequal to the new tasks are "no longer worthy of being party members" and must be ostracized "in time" in order to keep the party "clean and steadfast."

**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

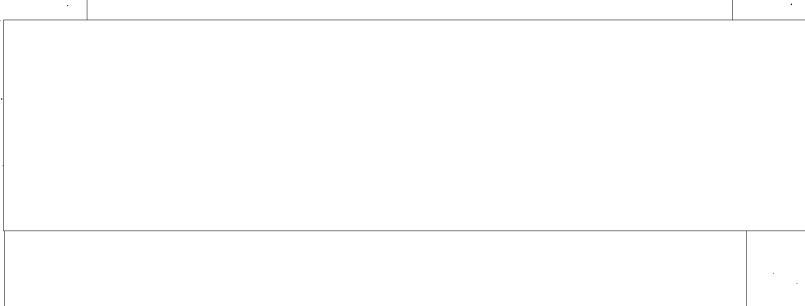
**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

**JAPAN-CHINA**

In a Diet debate on 24 May, Prime Minister Sato explicitly acknowledged that Peking is the "sole legitimate" government of China.

*This statement meets one of Peking's three conditions for the restoration of relations and is the clearest public signal to date that Japan is prepared to move ahead in normalizing ties with Peking. Sato skirted China's other two demands--acknowledgement that Taiwan belongs to the mainland and renunciation of the peace treaty Tokyo signed with Taipei in 1952--by repeating his position that Tokyo cannot comment on the territorial status of Taiwan and stating that the treaty should be dealt with in governmental negotiations.*

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**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

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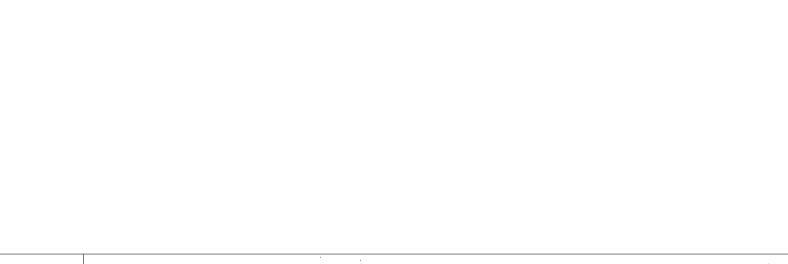


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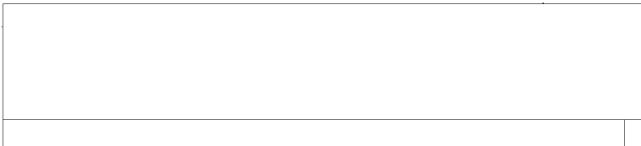


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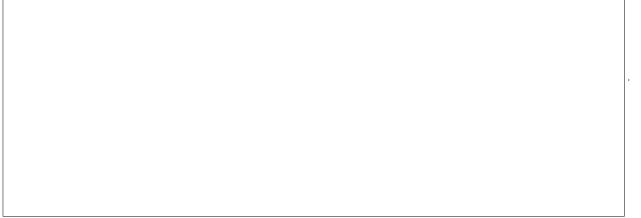


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*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

## ROMANIA

President Ceausescu has suddenly postponed trips to Japan and West Germany that were scheduled for next month.

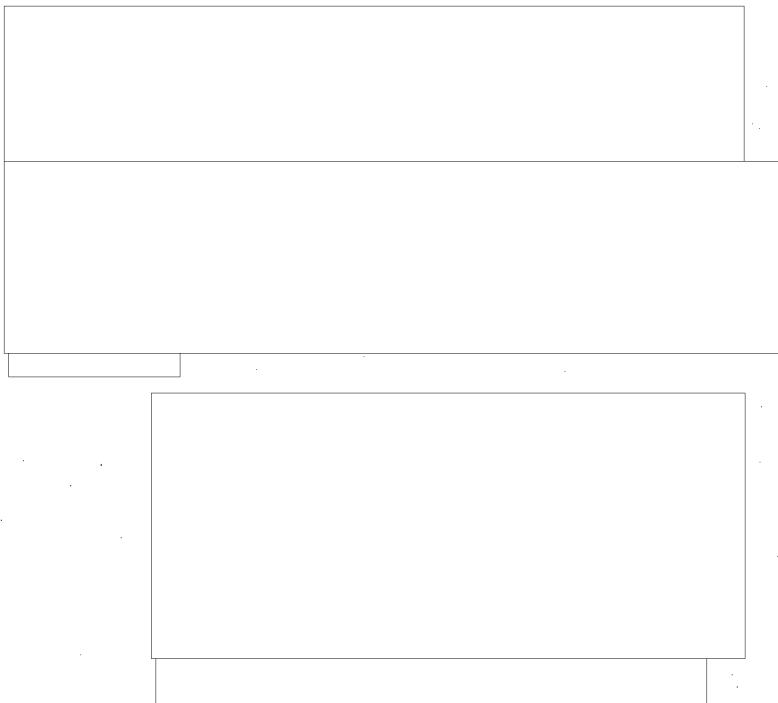
Domestic politics appear to have been the reason for the postponement. Recent high-level personnel shifts that have received little public explanation have caused uneasiness--and perhaps opposition--among party members, who seem to fear that more extensive changes may be made at a party conference in July. Ceausescu's recent trip to eight African and Arab countries also has caused some criticism at home, particularly his promise of aid to developing nations, given at a time when Romania is struggling with a large foreign debt.

None of these problems, either singly or collectively, constitutes a threat to Ceausescu's leadership at the moment. Given his autocratic nature, however, Ceausescu will not overlook even a minor challenge. Apparently he has decided to take the initiative against internal grumblings by staying at home, defending his policies, and personally overseeing preparations for the party conference in July.

**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

CHILE



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*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

NOTES

USSR: Yesterday Vladimir Shcherbitsky was elected party first secretary of the Ukraine, replacing Petr Shelest. Shcherbitsky has been premier of the Ukrainian government since October 1965 and was elected a full member of the party politburo in March 1971. His election to the policy-making politburo was engineered by Brezhnev and suggested that he was being groomed as Shelest's successor. The speedy change following the demolition of Shelest last week will spare Ukrainian leaders the embarrassment of having President Nixon received by Shelest, a critic of detente, when he visits Kiev.

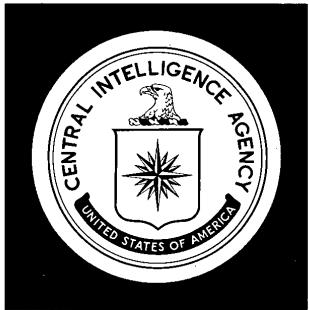
India: [redacted]

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*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

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## *The President's Daily Brief*

27 May 1972

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**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

**THE PRESIDENT'S DAILY BRIEF**

27 May 1972

**PRINCIPAL DEVELOPMENTS**

The major fighting in South Vietnam has been around Kontum and north of Hue.

(Page 1)

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The President's visit to Moscow has received extensive coverage in Polish media, but since 19 May nothing has been published about his visit to Warsaw.  
(Page 3)

**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

**VIETNAM**

The Communists mounted a heavy, tank-led assault on Kontum City on 26 May, but the South Vietnamese, aided by air strikes, drove them back. Government troops spent the rest of the day clearing sappers from the city's airfield, and by late afternoon were conducting limited clearing operations outside of town.

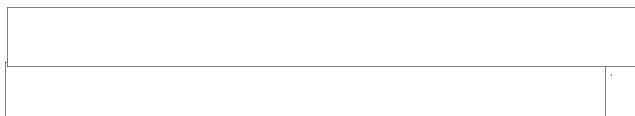
Most of the North Vietnamese 320th Division has shifted south, away from Kontum City, although one of its regiments may still be involved in the fighting north of town along with elements of the 2nd Division. The shift puts units of the 320th in position to aid other enemy forces currently blocking the government's effort to reopen Route 14 between Pleiku and Kontum. It will also give the division a chance to recover from the heavy losses it apparently suffered north of Kontum.

The Communists also attacked with tanks and infantry along the My Chanh River defense line north of Hue. One enemy spearhead nearly captured a key bridge on Route 1, but the South Vietnamese have now driven this force back.

President Thieu has asked the South Vietnamese senate to postpone the debate and vote on his request for emergency decree powers until sometime after 29 May. A pro-government senator has told US Embassy officers that the President has agreed to accept an amendment that would limit his decree power to specific fields, including defense and the economy. This move, however, appears to have produced only a few extra votes for the bill, and its passage remains in doubt.

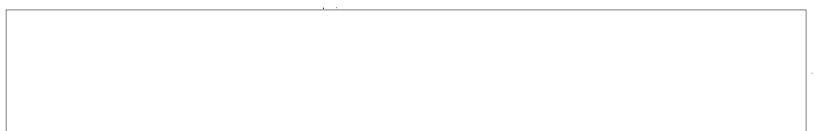
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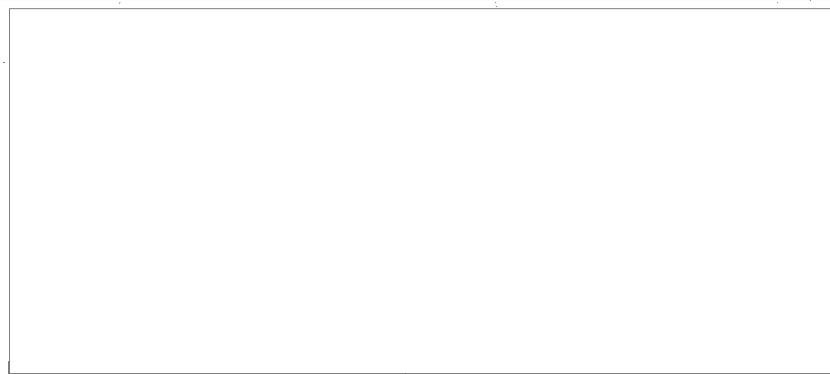
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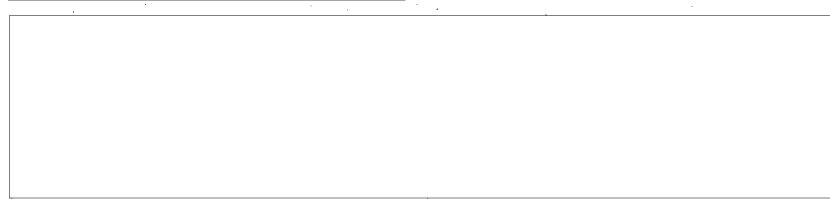
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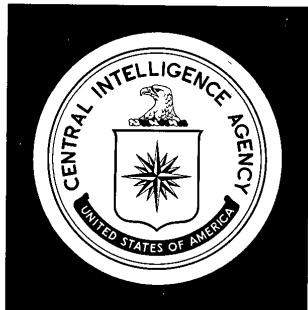
**NOTES**

Poland-US: Polish media have given extensive coverage to President Nixon's visit to the Soviet Union. Although emphasis primarily is on a factual recitation of each day's events, commentary has stressed the working nature of the visit and the summit's contribution toward world peace. Since 19 May, however, there has been no mention of the President's visit to Warsaw. His itinerary in Warsaw has not been published, presumably because the Poles wish to avoid large crowds.

West Germany: A group of anarchist students, the "Baader-Meinhof Gang," claims responsibility for most of the recent bombings in West Germany and says they were gestures of support for the "revolution" in Vietnam. The gang, which now calls itself the "Red Army Faction," promises more action against US installations on 2 June, the anniversary of the founding of the Viet Cong's Provisional Revolutionary Government. The Bonn government, which has been trying to round up this group for two years, is taking special precautions to guarantee the security of the NATO ministerial meeting in Bonn on 30 and 31 May.

Peru-Cuba: Peru has called a special OAS meeting for 31 May. The Peruvian delegation intends to propose a formal study of whether Cuba still poses a threat to the hemisphere. No matter what the OAS decision, Peru is expected to proceed thereafter with the reestablishment of diplomatic ties with Cuba.

*Top Secret*



# *The President's Daily Brief*

Sunday 28 March 1973

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PDB Cable  
28 May 1972

~~USSR-VIETNAM~~

Two Radio Moscow ~~broadcasts~~<sup>oa</sup> beamed at Vietnamese listeners on 25 May assert that negotiations are the only way to end the war, and they both endorse the Vietnamese Communist ~~Con-~~ Hanoi proposal to reconvene the Paris talks. The first notes that the Vietnam problem "cannot be solved by military means." The second defends Moscow's search for better relations with Washington and reminds unnamed "friends" that the USSR's peace program entails no sacrifice of principle because it pays great attention to eliminating "dangerous hotbeds of war" in Southeast Asia and to solving problems there by political means.

This line is in keeping with what the Soviet media ~~said~~ have ~~said~~ in the recent past, and it squares with Premier Kosygin's remarks during his toast Friday night. These broadcasts, beamed specifically at the Vietnamese and in their language, are evidently designed to emphasize Moscow's position to Hanoi. Meanwhile, the Soviet media continue to ignore recent North Vietnamese statements denouncing the President and criticizing attempts to internationalize the Vietnam issue.

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## VIETNAM

The situation at Kontum City has taken a turn for the worse. New Communist attacks took place early on 27 May and at last word North Vietnamese forces hold two sections of the city. Enemy pressure has kept the city's main airport closed. Allied helicopters have been able to bring in some supplies and evacuate wounded troops by landing in the western part of the city, but even this was becoming hazardous at last report.

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[Redacted]

The North Vietnamese are also maintaining pressure on government lines north of Hue. The Communists have made little headway and have suffered heavy casualties but show no signs of pulling back. A prisoner says the increased attacks which began on 21 May will be maintained for ten days. Communications continue to show the North Vietnamese 325th Division moving into South Vietnam from the southern panhandle of North Vietnam. A second regiment of that division has now moved across the DMZ into Quang

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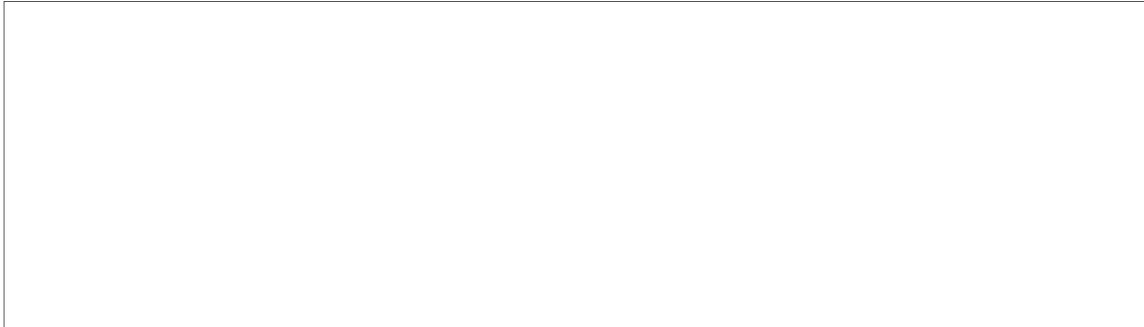


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## CAMBODIA

With the voting only a week away, former deputy prime minister In Tam seems to be posing a real threat to Lon Nol's bid to become the country's first elected president.

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[redacted] significant numbers of voters in the Phnom Penh area favor In Tam, and that he is running ahead of Lon Nol in some of the more populated areas of the country-side. In Tam is making effective use of those issues on which Lon Nol is most vulnerable--military weakness, corruption, and authoritarianism. His candidacy has been especially appealing among Phnom Penh's disgruntled students, many of whom have volunteered to help in his campaign.

For its part, the regime--with the vigorous backing of the military establishment--is working to boost Lon Nol through such means as a massive army parade on 27 May. [redacted] 25X1

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[redacted] The government will be counting the votes and this, 25X1 of course, gives it the ultimate advantage.

[redacted]

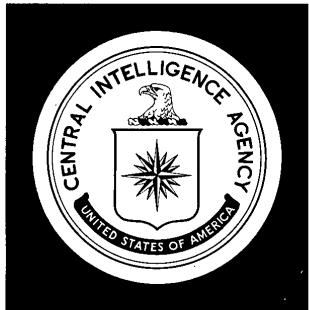
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NOTE

Poland-US: The Polish press, after five weeks of near silence on President Nixon's forthcoming Warsaw visit, has now published extensive commentary. The most authoritative article, in the party newspaper Trybuna Ludú on 27 May, says Poland sees the US as a "valuable partner for mutually advantageous economic relations." The article also refers positively to the chance of improved political relations, but the emphasis throughout is on Poland's continuing allegiance to socialist principles and its allies.

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*Top Secret*



## *The President's Daily Brief*

29 May 1972

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*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

**THE PRESIDENT'S DAILY BRIEF**

29 May 1972

**PRINCIPAL DEVELOPMENTS**

On page 1 we discuss Warsaw's positive attitude toward President Nixon's forthcoming visit as Poland looks ahead to its future role in a period of European detente.

Moscow broadcasts to Vietnam urge an end to the war through negotiation, and a Viet Cong representative insists that big power summit meetings will not change the situation. (Page 2)

In South Vietnam, the military situation at Kontum City is serious. (Page 3)

Next Sunday's election in Cambodia could turn out to be a real contest. (Page 4)

In Chile, labor union elections this week are expected to boost Allende's claim of strong working class support. (Page 5)

Bonn has asked for an early meeting between West European and US officials on the SALT agreements. (Page 6)

*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

**POLAND**

As a result of President Nixon's visit to Moscow, Warsaw is looking ahead to a period of detente in Europe backed by the US and the Soviet Union. The Polish Government sees an opportunity to re-establish in some degree many of Poland's traditional ties with Western Europe, but it also worries that the USSR might try to limit such ties. It appears that within the past few days the Poles have decided to seek during President Nixon's stop in Warsaw a closer relationship to the US. This they see partly as a counterweight to anticipated Soviet pressures for close East European coordination on policy toward Western Europe. The Poles, apparently dismayed by the USSR's failure thoroughly to consult with them during the West German treaty ratification crisis, also seem to have concluded that they must seize this opportunity to stake out a policy toward Europe that is less dependent on the Soviet Union but still stays largely within the framework of their alliance with Moscow.

Since last Thursday, Polish officials in Washington--perhaps under instructions--have given US diplomats and USIA officers a glimpse of Polish expectations arising from the President's visit.

--Polish party chief Gierek is said to hope for an understanding with the President that will be broader than improved economic relations;

--Although they will be unable to express it explicitly, the Poles remain interested in a continued US presence in Europe, including the US troops in West Germany; and

--The Polish Government may express a desire for an agreement to hold periodic consultations--similar to Warsaw's arrangement with the French--on matters of mutual interest, particularly European problems.

These positions are clearly designed to achieve for the Poles the kind of leeway they think they will need in establishing new relationships with Western Europe. For some time, the Poles have valued the US presence in Europe as a check on the Germans as well as the Soviets.

**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

**USSR-VIETNAM**

Two Radio Moscow broadcasts beamed at Vietnamese listeners on 25 May assert that negotiations are the only way to end the war, and they both endorse the Vietnamese Communist proposal to reconvene the Paris talks. The first notes that the Vietnam problem "cannot be solved by military means." The second defends Moscow's search for better relations with Washington and reminds unnamed "friends" that the USSR's peace program entails no sacrifice of principle because it pays great attention to eliminating "dangerous hotbeds of war" in Southeast Asia and to solving problems there by political means.

*This line is in keeping with what the Soviet media have said in the recent past, and it squares with Premier Kosygin's remarks during his toast Friday night. These broadcasts, beamed specifically at the Vietnamese and in their language, are evidently designed to emphasize Moscow's position to Hanoi. Meanwhile, the Soviet media continue to ignore recent North Vietnamese statements denouncing the President and criticizing attempts to internationalize the Vietnam issue.*

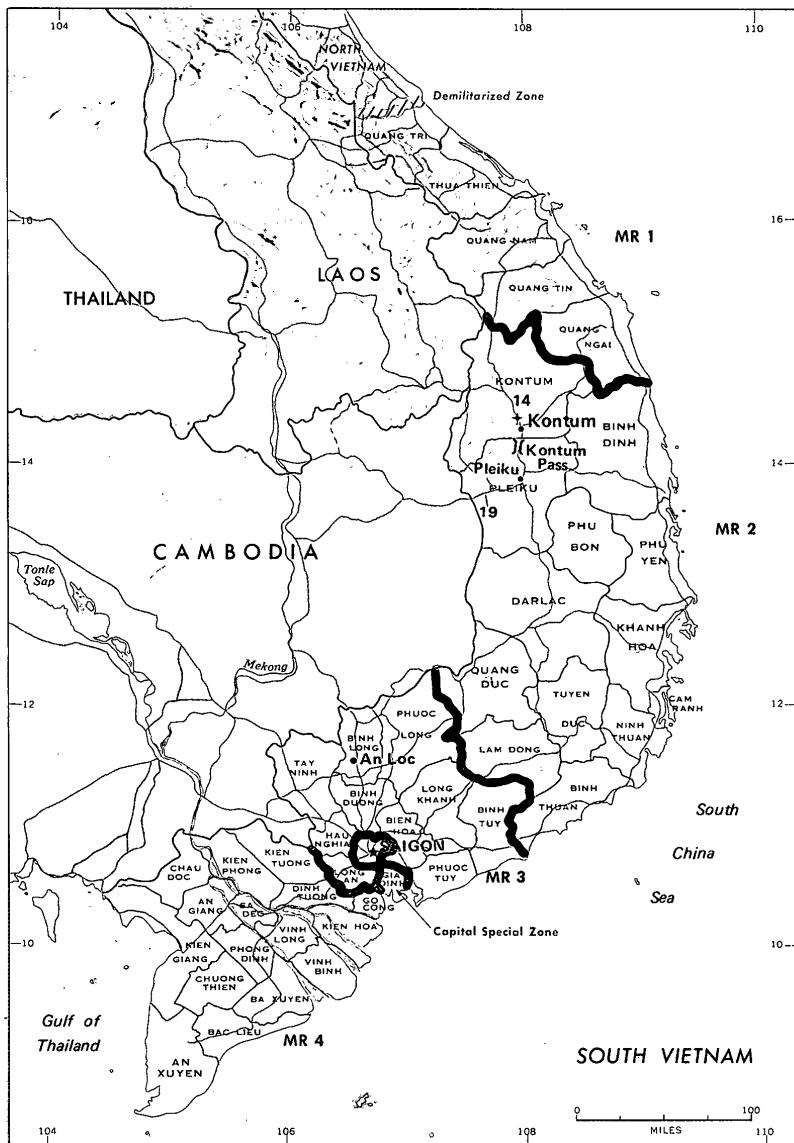
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In an interview with a Japanese correspondent in Paris on Sunday, the Viet Cong's chief negotiator said that none of President Nixon's "big power negotiations" can solve the Vietnam problem. According to the Japanese press report, Madame Binh also ruled out any possible change in Soviet and Chinese policies toward Vietnam, "whatever the aims of President Nixon's visits to Peking and Moscow might be."

*If Madame Binh's remarks are accurately reflected in the Japanese press, they represent the most explicit statement this year by any Vietnamese Communist official on the big power summit meetings. North Vietnam's news media have repeatedly warned Hanoi's allies abroad of "deceitful US diplomatic ploys" but so far have made no direct reference to President Nixon's visits to either Moscow or Peking.*

**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*



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*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

VIETNAM

The situation at Kontum City is serious. The airfield is now in Communist hands and the city's main ammunition dump nearby has been destroyed. Helicopters are still able to bring in some supplies to the defenders. Resupply by land is precluded by Communist forces blocking the road at Kontum Pass. Nevertheless, South Vietnamese counterattacks on 28 May have driven some Communist forces out of the city.

An American observer has reported spotting a large Communist force of some 1,000 men and 26 tanks moving toward Pleiku City, some 30 miles away. There have been several Communist sapper attacks against military installations in the city and this movement suggests that larger attacks may be in the offing.

Fighting in the rest of the country was light and scattered. Only a few actions have been reported in the An Loc area. The South Vietnamese relief force has made no further progress toward the town.

*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

**CAMBODIA**

*With the voting less than a week away, former deputy prime minister In Tam seems to be posing a real threat to Lon Nol's bid to become the country's first elected president.*

[redacted] reports over the past week indicate that significant numbers of voters in the Phnom Penh area favor In Tam, and that he is running ahead of Lon Nol in some of the more populated areas of the countryside. In Tam is making effective use of those issues on which Lon Nol is most vulnerable--military weakness, corruption, and authoritarianism. His candidacy has been especially appealing among Phnom Penh's disgruntled students, many of whom have volunteered to help in his campaign.

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[redacted] The government will be counting the votes and this, of course, gives it the ultimate advantage.

**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

**CHILE**

Several hundred thousand labor union members throughout the country will vote on Tuesday and Wednesday for the leadership of their national labor confederation. There are nine competing slates, but the main ones are those of the Communists, the Socialists, and the opposition Christian Democrats.

*The government--in which the Communists and the Socialists are both represented--is expected through this election to gain some substance for its claim of strong working class support. However the votes are divided among them, the combined pro-government forces--with two major and several minor party slates--are likely to win over half the votes.*

*The Christian Democrats, campaigning to pick up protest votes from people disillusioned with the Allende government, could get upwards of 25 percent of the total. Much more than that would embarrass the Allende government. Even more awkward from the government's view would be a strong showing by the slate backed by the ultra-revolutionary and violence-prone Movement of the Revolutionary Left.*

**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

**NOTES**

West Germany - SALT: Bonn has asked for an early meeting between West European and US officials on the SALT agreements. A Foreign Office official made the request a few hours before the agreements were signed in Moscow. He disclaimed any European intention to "watch over the shoulder of their American friends," but said that US-European consultations would also be desirable before negotiations begin on a second-stage agreement. He noted that Bonn attaches less importance to the details of SALT agreements than to "broad concepts which take into account European interests."

Cuba: Fidel Castro is still wending his way through Eastern Europe prior to his planned arrival in Moscow in mid- to late June. His nine days in Bulgaria, most of it spent sightseeing, were evidently somewhat of a strain on his hosts. Castro, now in Rumania for four days, is expected to move on to Hungary on Tuesday. He then visits East Germany, Poland, and Czechoslovakia before finally arriving in the USSR.

**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

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## *The President's Daily Brief*

*30 May 1972*

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**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

**THE PRESIDENT'S DAILY BRIEF**

30 May 1972

**PRINCIPAL DEVELOPMENTS**

Soviet media treatment of the President's television address shows that Moscow considers a number of topics to be sensitive. (Page 1)

Fighting has been heavy around Kontum, and there may be more fresh enemy troops moving into South Vietnam across the DMZ.

(Page 2)

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The military situation in Laos is reviewed on Page 3.

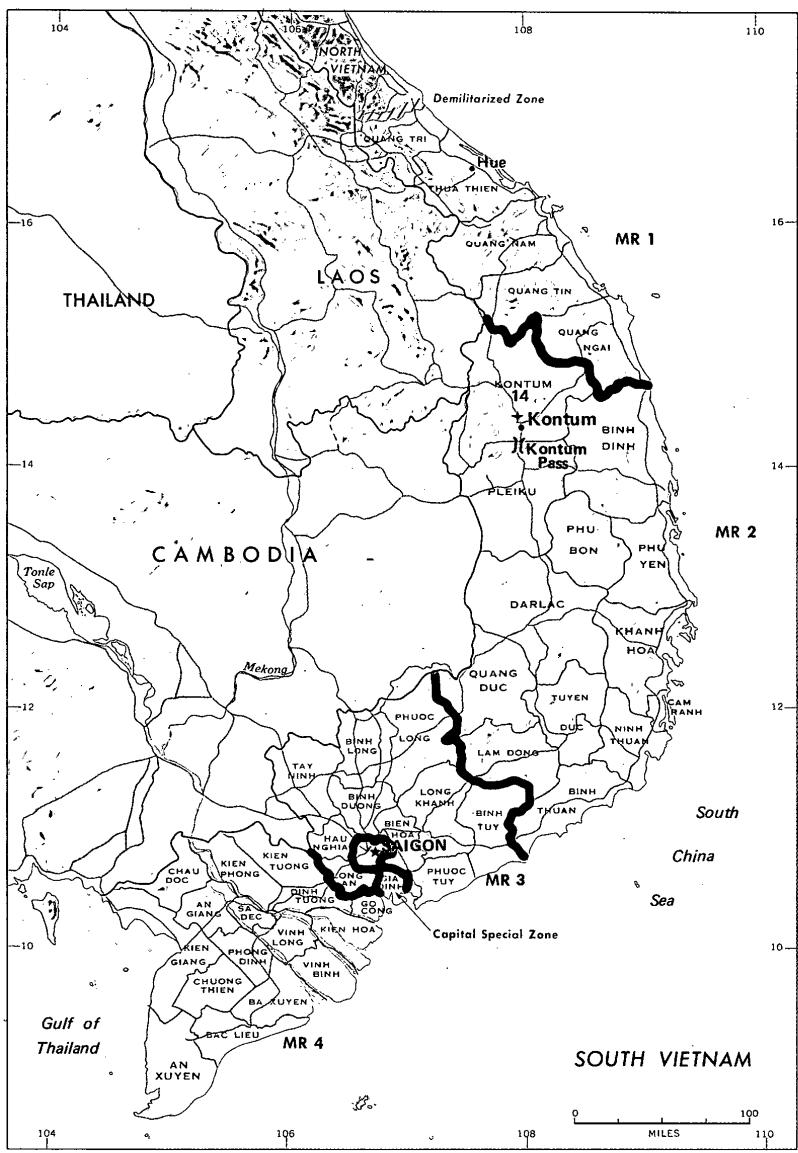
**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

**USSR**

Despite favorable coverage of the strategic arms limitation agreement in yesterday's Pravda, the Soviet press has yet to publish many of the points included in President Nixon's television address. Among the topics the Soviets appear to consider sensitive are the President's challenge to compete in producing better lives for the Soviet and American people; his warning that there would be only losers in an unchecked arms race; and his references to reductions of the US armed forces, to the right of each nation to choose its own political system, and to US determination to defend its liberty. Foreign policy considerations may have weighed in the omission of other passages, such as the President's discussion of the responsibilities of great powers vis-a-vis smaller nations.

**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**



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*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

**VIETNAM**

Fighting has remained heavy around Kontum City. Government forces began counterattacking on Sunday, and late reports indicate the South Vietnamese have cleared some enemy pockets. Communist units, however, still hold territory in the northern and eastern parts of the city. The airfield remains closed, but supplies are being airdropped and brought in by helicopter.

South of Kontum, government forces so far have been unable to reopen Route 14 through the Kontum Pass. The recent shifts of major elements of the North Vietnamese 320th Division and an artillery unit toward the pass indicate the enemy is determined to try to keep Kontum City isolated.

There are signs that more fresh troops from the North Vietnamese 325th Division have moved across the DMZ. [redacted]

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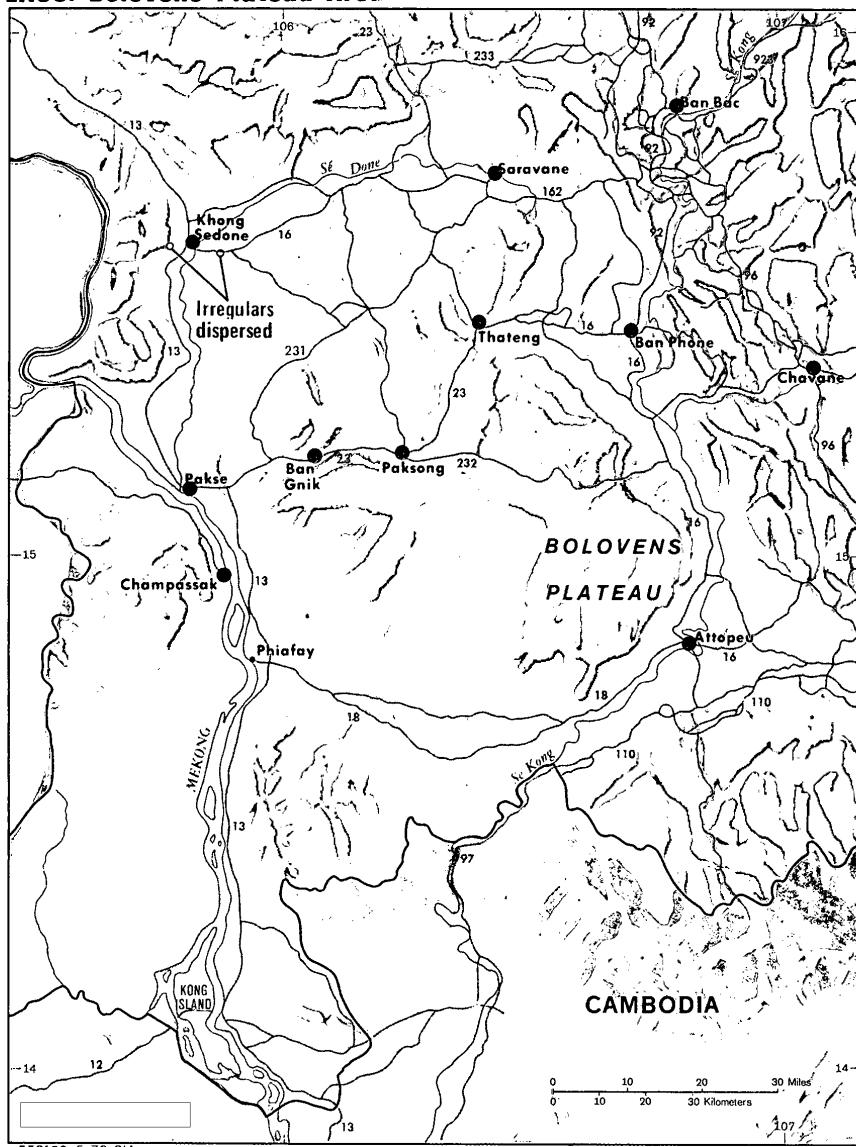
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*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

### LAOS: Bolovens Plateau Area



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*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

LAOS

Communist forces have dispersed government units attempting to retake Khong Sedone, a provincial capital 30 miles north of Pakse, and may be planning to increase pressure near Pakse itself. Intercepts indicate that the North Vietnamese have been reconnoitering government defenses between Pakse and the forward government position at the junction of Routes 23 and 231.

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[redacted] five enemy infantry battalions plus some artillery and armor units are to attack the junction.

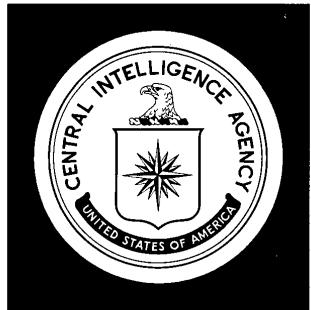
*Communist attacks west of the Bolovens Plateau are most likely intended to tie down government units and to forestall any government campaign to recapture the Plateau during the rainy season. We continue to believe that an all-out enemy attack on Pakse is unlikely at this time.*

In north Laos, Vang Pao's irregulars have made some progress in their effort to recapture the hills southwest of the Plaine des Jarres. Advance units of one irregular task force have moved to within three miles of Phou Pha Sai, a strategic high point overlooking the southern Plaine. Another force has moved eastward from Sam Thong to occupy several other high points. Elements of several North Vietnamese regiments remain in this general area, however

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31 May 1972

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THE PRESIDENT'S DAILY BRIEF

31 May 1972

PRINCIPAL DEVELOPMENTS

The situation in Vietnam is discussed on *Page 1*.

The Poles, after several weeks of silence on the President's visit, have begun discussing the trip extensively. (*Page 3*)

Hungary [redacted]

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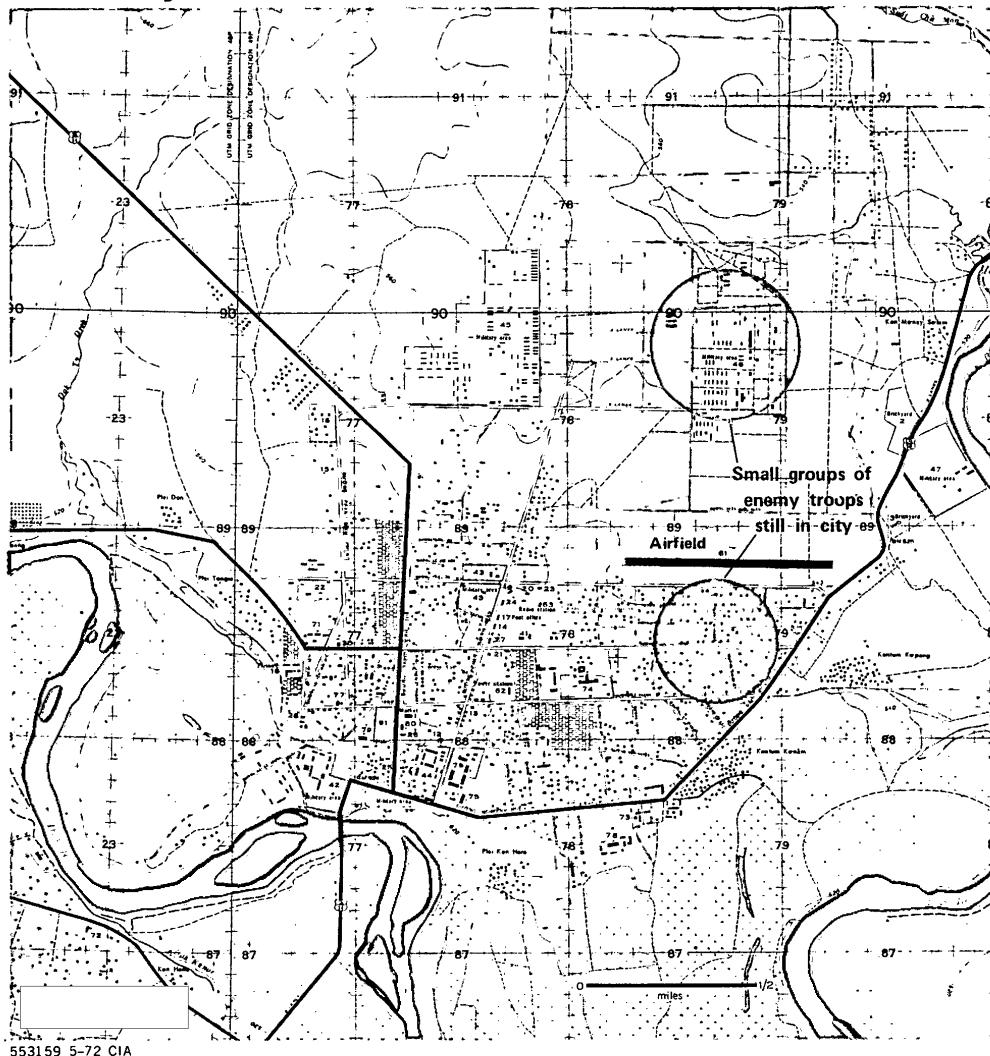
[redacted] (*Page 4*)

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China's campaign to revitalize cultural activity appears to be gaining momentum. (*Page 6*)

*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

### Kontum City Area



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*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

**VIETNAM**

Kontum City is still being shelled, and enemy forces still hold sections on the eastern and northern edges of the town, but enemy pressure appears to have let up at least temporarily. Government patrols around the periphery of the city continue to encounter resistance, however, indicating that the enemy is still nearby in strength.

*The attacks against Kontum that lasted from 25 to 29 May may represent something less than a maximum effort by the enemy. Two North Vietnamese infantry regiments and two sapper battalions appear to have been the main forces involved in these attacks. Three other infantry regiments deployed near the city could be available for another, stronger attack soon.*

In the Hue area, the government's defense line along the My Chanh River appears to have stabilized. The South Vietnamese again hold essentially the same positions they held on 21 May when the latest round of North Vietnamese assaults began. Enemy artillery fire has recently become less intense, although intercepts indicate that an increase is planned.

To the south, at An Loc, a sharp firefight is under way near the main South Vietnamese command post in the city. Much of the enemy force that has besieged An Loc appears to be shifting away. however.

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US bombing has caused some foreign technicians to be withdrawn from projects in North Vietnam, according to intercepts.

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*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

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**POLAND**

Warsaw, after several weeks of silence on President Nixon's visit to Poland, has begun to discuss the trip extensively in the press and in public speeches. (There had been no extensive commentary since announcement of the visit on 19 April, and no mention of it at all since 19 May, the day before the President left the US.) Premier Jaroszewicz said in a speech on 27 May that Poland will receive the President in the spirit of its effort to achieve understanding and cooperation in international affairs. On Monday, a government spokesman disclosed some of the President's itinerary and said that Poland attaches great importance to developing its relations with Washington.

*The Poles apparently believe that, in the wake of the successful Moscow summit, they can now discuss the visit more freely. The full itinerary has not been published, however, indicating that Warsaw still wants to discourage large crowds.*

**FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY**

*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

HUNGARY-USSR



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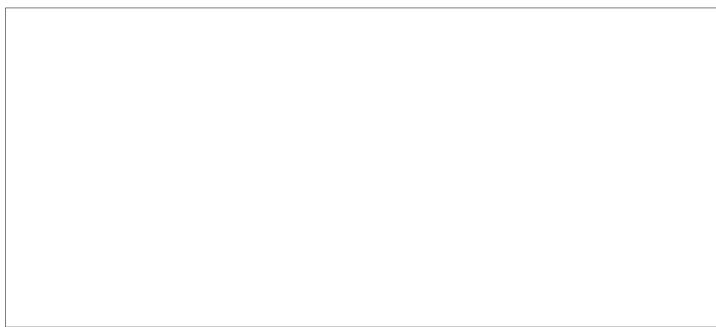


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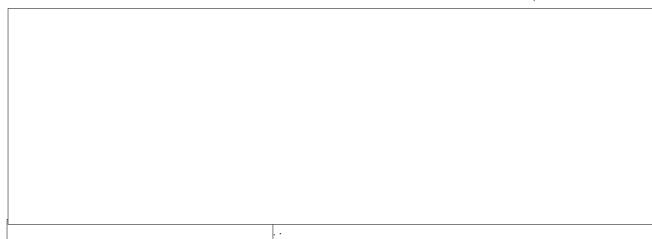


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CHINA

*The campaign to revitalize cultural activity, which has been under way since last winter, appears to be gaining momentum.*

Last week an editorial appearing in Peking's three leading publications put authority's stamp of approval on an increase in creative work in the cultural sphere. The current phase of the campaign has produced a flurry of cultural exhibitions and forums in Peking and most provincial capitals. More importantly, the regime, as an indication of its seriousness, has resurrected the slogan "let a hundred flowers bloom," thereby calling to mind the period in the 1950s when the party greatly relaxed its restraints on intellectual endeavors.

*It is clear, however, that Peking has no intention of permitting the sort of unfettered intellectual activity that produced stinging criticism of the regime during the earlier "hundred flowers" period.*

*[redacted] the present campaign has the more limited objective of restoring literary and artistic pursuits to the level existing before the Cultural Revolution.*

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*Even these modest efforts are likely to meet resistance from ultraleftists in Peking who are unwilling to countenance artistic expression that deviates from the handful of model works popularized during and immediately after the Cultural Revolution. The tide seems to be running in favor of raising cultural standards, however, and criticism of certain "left" policies that called for a "liquidation" of literature and art is appearing more frequently.*

*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

**NOTE**

Kenya: Tribal animosities in the army are coming to a head. Nairobi is feverish with rumors that a "coup" by one faction or another is to occur in the next few days, possibly even tonight (EDT). The tensions are local, and basically arise from a drive for total dominance by the Kikuyu tribe, to which President Kenyatta belongs. Members of another tribe--the Kamba--have long been on top in the military, however, and the Kikuyu want them out. One way or another, the chances of some violent outbreak seem fairly good.

*FOR THE PRESIDENT ONLY*

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