

May 3, 1965

Sanitized - Approved For Release : CIA-RDP75-00001R000100090074-7

# U.S. News & World Report

VOLUME LVIII—No. 18 WASHINGTON, D.C.

FOIAb3b

## THE NEW LBJ: A TOUGHER LINE

CPYRGHT

CPYRGHT



—USN&WR Photo

**PAKISTAN'S AYUB KHAN.** After edging closer to Red China and Russia, an Asian ally found U.S. patience running out and door to White House suddenly shut.



—Black Star Photo

**EGYPT'S NASSER.** There's no rush to meet his latest request for more aid dollars. U.S. purse no longer is to be open for all comers.

**INDIA'S SHASTRI.** He also found LBJ's door temporarily closed, after echoing Red demands that U. S. change course in Vietnam.

—Pix Photo



Word has gone out from the White House—old ways of dealing with "friends" are being changed. The new way: Countries that want American friendship are expected to earn it.

Some world leaders are already getting the message.

A real and important, if sometimes subtle, change is occurring in U. S. attitude and in policy toward the outside world.

The change may reflect the coming end to an era.

President Johnson is making it clear that the U. S., from now on, is not to go around the world trying to buy friends or beg for love. Those who want U. S. friendship will be expected to earn it. Blackmail seems to be barred.

Dean Rusk, Secretary of State, is in full agreement with the changing White House policy.

**In U. S. "doghouse."** Pakistan, an ally and once a favored friend of the U. S., is to feel the effect of the change. India, accustomed to special treatment, has had a hard slap on the wrist. Only the most tenuous ties remain with Indonesia. Nasser's Egypt is being forced to stew while waiting for new aid.

The President has not been pleased by the attitude or actions of Lester Pearson, Prime Minister of a Canada fully dependent on U. S. for its defense. Any foreign leader who sounds off critically in public about U. S. actions in Vietnam can expect to end up in the White House "doghouse."

President Ayub Khan of Pakistan and Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri of India both were told on recent days that planned visits to Washington at

*(continued on next page)*



—USN&WR Photo

**BRITAIN'S WILSON.** At home, Laborite Prime Minister is under heavy fire for supporting U. S. stand in Asia. In Washington, the welcome mat was rolled out.



—USN&WR Photo

**SOUTH KOREA'S PARK.** His invitation for a May visit still stands. Korea, despite troubles at home, is pitching in with troops to help the U. S. in Vietnam.

**ITALY'S MORO.** He has just enjoyed the kind of greeting LBJ is giving U. S. supporters.

—USN&WR Photo



[continued from preceding page]

## LBJ'S NEW TOUGH LINE

this time would not be welcomed. President de Gaulle of France learned some time ago that U. S. considers unfriendly some of his attitudes and actions, both in Europe and in Southeast Asia. De Gaulle, supposedly one of the major U. S. allies, actually is a major irritant—and being treated as such.

At the same time, the welcome mat has been out for Harold Wilson, Prime Minister of Britain. Britain is fully backing the U. S. in Vietnam. Aldo Moro,

The President has said privately that so long as he is President nobody is going to insult this nation and get a handshake in return.

**LBJ: no "sugar daddy."** As the influential "Times of India" put it: President Johnson may want to make it apparent by recent actions that "he is not a sort of sugar daddy to dole out economic or military assistance to countries which not only do not support American policies, but openly criticize them."

Ayub Khan of Pakistan is being referred to as a classic example.

On a per capita basis, Pakistan has enjoyed about twice as much U. S. aid as India, another beneficiary of large-scale assistance. Pakistan's armed forces are equipped with American weapons. Large-scale development projects have been financed by the U. S. After all of that, Ayub Khan has been edging closer and closer to Red China and Russia.

In April of 1964, Pakistan gave Red China her first direct air link to the West. In March of 1965, President Khan spent a week in China and wrote in the visitors' book of the Museum of the Revolution in Peiping: "It did my soul good to see how a dedicated people struggled under a wise and dedicated leadership to find salvation."

Early in April, 1965, the Pakistani President spent 10 days in Russia.

Yet Pakistan is a member of the South East Asia Treaty Organization and, as U. S. sees it, should be helping with defense of South Vietnam against attack by Communists from the North who are supported by Red China.

**The "shock."** While Ayub Khan was going ahead with plans to visit the U. S. in late April, probably to ask for more U. S. help, President Johnson gave him the "shock treatment." Khan was told to put his visit off. The implication: Mend your ways first.

The case of India is somewhat the same. U. S. taxpayers have put up or promised nearly 5 billion dollars to help the Indians. India herself was attacked by Red China not long ago.

If the Communists overrun Southeast Asia, India will be flanked and her neck probably will be on the block.

Yet India's Shastri has echoed the demand of Communists that U. S. stop bombings of North Vietnam and has given no support of even a token nature to U. S. efforts to resist aggression by Communists in South Vietnam.

It was against that background that the Indian Prime Minister intended to pay an official visit to Washington to receive honors and assurance of more aid.

Again, President Johnson, in effect, said: Not now. Bring it up later.

The lesson in these two instances seemed to American officials to be that billions of dollars in aid, and efforts of the U. S. to be helpful in every way have purchased no allies and produced no assurance of friendship.

**Payoff for aid.** Indonesia's Sukarno is being cut off from all aid now, but only after U. S. accepted a variety of insults, assaults and property seizures. Sukarno, betting on American defeat in Southeast Asia, is aligning himself closely with Red China and is waging war against British-supported Malaysia.

The U. S. helped to get the Dutch to give up the rich islands that now constitute Indonesia. Later, the U. S. did what it could to force the Dutch to give to Indonesia their half of the vast island of New Guinea. Indonesia has had much U. S. aid. In return, U. S. libraries have been burned, Americans subjected to insult and attack and American properties seized.

So here was one more lesson, as U. S. officials see it, of the strange rewards that flow from generosity and support.

Egypt's Nasser is another case of much the same type. U. S. complaints against Nasser keep piling up. He opened Africa to Russian penetration. He ran guns to leftist rebels in the Congo, where U. S. is trying to help keep order. Nasser let the East German Communists get their first foothold in the Middle East, continues to fight in Yemen, and opposes American policy in Vietnam.

Aid to Nasser's Egypt in the past totaled a billion dollars. In return, the Kennedy Library in Cairo was attacked and destroyed, with damage of \$400,000. U. S. has still to collect. All the while, Nasser is engaging this country in drawn-out bargaining over the cost.

Back in January, Nasser put in a bid for 450 millions more in aid. He is still waiting. Indications are that any aid will be doled out on the basis of conditions met, rather than on the basis of hoped-for friendship to be purchased.

**"Guidelines" for friendship.** There's a change in Washington, a tougher line. An era of easy handouts seems now to be coming to an end.

In the future, countries that want help and friendship from the U. S. apparently will be expected to return both in fuller measure than in the past.

Official thinking behind new U. S. policy—inside story, page 31; where Reds will attack in Vietnam, 34.



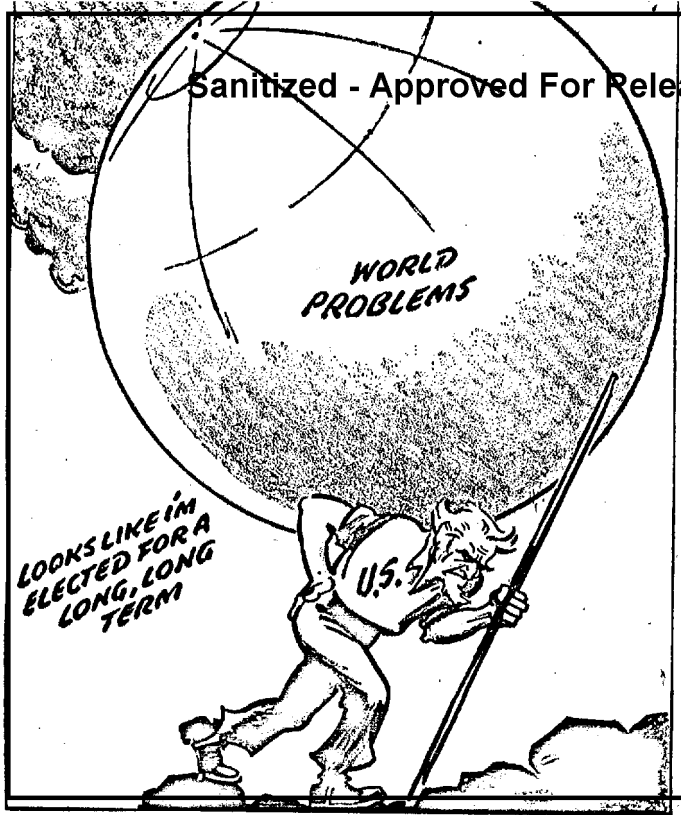
—Carl Frank Photo

AID from America will continue to flow, but new standards will apply in future.

Premier of Italy, has just enjoyed unusual hospitality and attention at the hands of President Johnson. Italy is described as a faithful friend.

Gen. Chung Hee Park, President of South Korea, is to be welcomed to Washington in May. South Korea, with troubles of its own, still is finding a way to help out in South Vietnam.

President Johnson has made it clear to intimates that he is disturbed by the behavior of some national leaders who profess friendship for the U. S., accept large amounts of aid, and then either give comfort to the enemy or take actions unfriendly to the U. S.



—Cartoon from "Albany Knickerbocker News"

From the *State Department's* *Major Shapers of foreign policy: a frank appraisal of America's problems in a world full of increasing dangers.*  
CPYRGHT



George W. Ball



Dean Rusk



William P. Bundy

CPYRGHT

CPYRGHT

# INSIDE WORD: THE WORLD AS SEEN BY WASHINGTON

CPYRGHT

With a new, tougher foreign policy shaping up at the White House, it is now possible to get a first-hand look at how the President's chief advisers are measuring the world's crisis areas—and the thinking that lies behind U. S. strategy.

This is the official U. S. appraisal of problems raised by the war in Vietnam, by Red China . . . De Gaulle in Europe . . . the Middle East . . . and other issues.

Top-ranking U. S. officials on recent days presented to the nation's editors background briefings sizing up the world outlook as it appears to this country.

These briefings were not publicly reported.

Officials who gave editors an inside look at the affairs of today's world included Dean Rusk, Secretary of State; George W. Ball, Under Secretary of State; William P. Bundy, Assistant Secretary for Far Eastern Affairs, and other top diplomatic and military leaders.

In what follows you are given in capsule form the information that was received by editors in Washington in meetings and seminars over a two-day period.

**To prove Russia right.** On the over-all world situation, a high official gave this picture:

Either Soviet Russia or Red China would try to "do in" the U. S. at the first sign that it seemed safe to do so.

The U. S. job is to make certain that neither ever gets the idea that the risk is worth taking.

Both Russia and Red China are "cocky." When Castro in Cuba handed her the opportunity, Russia moved its strategic power, in the form of nuclear-tipped missiles, into the Western Hemisphere.

U. S. accepted the challenge at that time and showed that this country would not knuckle under to nuclear blackmail.

Now the tactics of Communists have shifted to "wars of liberation." At the moment they are split on strategy.

China has said all along that it is safe to infiltrate men and arms across frontiers to fight these wars. China said U. S. would not react. Russia disagreed and warned there was too much risk of U. S. military intervention.

In Vietnam, U. S. is trying to prove that Russia is right on this point; to show that this type of aggression does not pay, and to try to make China give it up.

**Isolation is out.** And why does U. S. take on this job far away from home?

The answer given: Like it or not, U. S. is the only power in the non-Communist world strong enough to do the job—in Vietnam or elsewhere. No other nation can contain the power either of Red China or Russia, or both. If the U. S. lets up, then China or Russia, or both, will move.

Therefore: If we do not like the responsibilities, we will have to give up the power. So far, U. S. shows itself preferring the power more than it dislikes the responsibilities

(continued on next page)

## WORLD AS SEEN BY WASHINGTON

CPYRGHT [continued from preceding page]

that go with it. Isolation, as a result, is out. U. S. troops stay in Europe to contain Russia. The fight goes on in Vietnam. The Seventh Fleet stays in Asiatic waters. Aid goes to African and other countries to help them meet the threat of Communists.

**A dangerous time.** On the outlook for war or peace: The present period is difficult and very dangerous, yet the feeling is that the prospect for general war with Russia is not on the horizon.

Southeast Asia, however, is a test.

China wants Southeast Asia; still it seems not sure that it is ready to risk a big war to satisfy that desire. The outlook for general war relates to whether the desire to grab Southeast Asia outweighs the unreadiness to accept general war.

**Ready for anything.** When it comes to the situation in Vietnam:

The U. S. commitment in South Vietnam is a decade old and is a serious commitment.

The U. S. is not going to be driven out by military action from the North. The U. S. wants to avoid a big land war, but is ready for anything. Thus the Reds have a grim road ahead if they are determined to push along the lines they have been following the last three or four years.

The U. S. will not stop bombing of North Vietnam on a unilateral basis. We can stop if the Communists stop doing some of the things they are doing. The war, in fact, could be stopped "almost literally tomorrow" if the North would back off. We have heard no signals that indicate they are willing to stop anything.

**Chief threat: Russia.** Actually, Vietnam is not considered the most vital problem for this country.

The situation in Vietnam is serious, yes; but the chief threat to America's security and standing in the world is regarded as coming from the world's only other superpower, Soviet Russia.

Hope is that, someday, Russia will be persuaded to negotiate seriously on German reunification and arms control. Those are the two great issues to be settled. Not until they are settled can the cold war be ended.

Relations with Russia were starting to get surprisingly better until the Vietnam issue heated up.

Trade with Soviets was—and still is—given serious thought. Nobody believes the Russians are going to make any significant political concessions to get trade with U. S., but, coming at the right time, trade might help create a better atmosphere for serious talks.

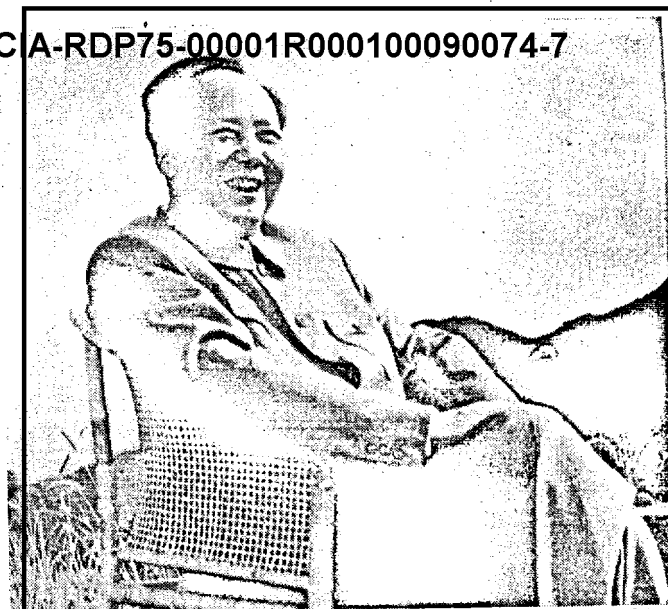
Said one high official:

It would be wise for Congress to give the President the right to trade with Russia at his discretion. Trade in strategic goods would be excluded.

**Russia's "equal" leaders.** Who is really running Russia? As of now, Leonid I. Brezhnev and Alexei N. Kosygin are sized up roughly as true equals.

It took Khrushchev four years after Stalin's death to establish himself as the first among equals in similar circumstances. Inevitably, Russia will be ruled by one man—it could be Presidium strong man Nikolai V. Podgorny—but abrupt change seems not to be in the cards.

**Maybe in 1970—** The U. S. attitude on Red China—aside from Vietnam—is tough and getting tougher.



—Eastfoto

**MAO TSE-TUNG.** Attitude of Red China's ruler and his cronies toward U. S. "is one of monumental hatred. They have been troublemakers all their lives and will be until they die."

Main points: Don't relent anywhere in Southeast Asia. Don't trade with Peiping; don't renege on pledge to Nationalist Chinese on Formosa.

No relaxation in toughness is seen so long as Mao Tse-tung and other old revolutionaries remain alive.

In the words of one official: They have grown hard and intransigent. Their attitude toward U. S. is one of monumental hatred. They have been troublemakers all their lives and will be troublemakers until they die.

After Mao? Some hope, if his successors realize that aggression is not going to gain them anything.

This is regarded as a strong possibility: About 1970—the time when Chinese nuclear weaponry comes of age—the Reds may acquire a more prudent sense of how to handle such awesome power. Hope is that China also will have acquired some sense of respect for its neighbors.

**A feud to deepen?** Regarding the split between Red China and Russia, this point is driven home:

Gulf between the two is as wide as ever. And if Vietnam ever simmers down, Moscow and Peiping will probably move even further apart.

The feud has this basic feature: Russia in 47 years of Communism has created an advanced industrial society that it doesn't want to see destroyed. Russians believe they have more to gain than lose by keeping peace with U. S.

China is at a different stage of development, feels the need for an external enemy to keep up demands and pressure on its own people. The U. S. is a handy whipping boy for getting more production from workers.

So: Russia is cautious; Chinese will carry a risk a very long way.

The big question is what happens if Red China and U. S. go to war.

From an expert: Chances are, Russia would stand aside at first. But if it became a war in which Chinese were obviously going to lose and if U. S. objectives seemed to threaten Russia directly, then the Russians would come in on the side of China.

Red China, according to officials, seems to be proceeding on that basis.

**The nuclear punch.** U. S. military might is the ace in the hole in dealings both with Red China and with Russia.



—Pictorial Parade Photo

**CHARLES de GAULLE.** French President is regarded as "biggest headache the U. S. has anywhere in the non-Communist world." But American policy is not to lock horns with him now.

That might be based on nuclear weapons of many types, with the intention clearly stated that, if forced, U. S. would use them against an enemy.

In the Far East, only Red China's ground forces give officials cause for concern. Troops are not well equipped and lack rapid transportation. But masses of available manpower are called China's "ultimate weapon."

Because of the threat from Peiping, the U. S. Pacific base on Okinawa is of extreme and growing importance. U. S. has talked with the Japanese Government about staying there, over opposition of left-wing groups. Agreement on that has virtually been sealed.

**If Russians struck—** When it comes to matching nuclear power with Russia, this information is put forward:

U. S. possesses three to four times as much nuclear striking power as Soviets. But there would be more American than Russian casualties in a general war.

The reason: U. S. population is concentrated, Soviet population is relatively dispersed. A Soviet "first strike" would leave 100 to 150 million U. S. casualties. Pentagon estimate is that 800 U. S. warheads sent against the Soviet Union in retaliation would leave 100 million Russians either dead or wounded.

U. S. casualties could be cut to about 40 million by a series of defensive measures. In order of importance, these are: fallout shelters, antimissile missiles, manned interceptors, more intercontinental missiles and new manned bombers.

Enough shelters to save 30 million Americans would cost 5 billion dollars. Enough Nike X missile-killers to save 35 million lives would cost 20 billion dollars.

The Pentagon is not concerned that population density in metropolitan areas makes U. S. more vulnerable than Russia. There is utmost confidence that U. S. has enough power to deter any sane Russian ruler from starting a nuclear war.

**Headache in Europe.** Charles de Gaulle of France is marked as the biggest headache the U. S. has anywhere in the non-Communist world.

The decision is not to tangle with De Gaulle at this time. Officials are convinced France cannot dominate Europe, where no nation apparently wants to become a partner of French policy. The problem for the U. S. is not that De Gaulle will prevail, but that his capability for obstruction at

this period of European history is greater than U. S. capability for initiative.

Thus: For the period just ahead, U. S. policy is to lie low in Europe, refrain from pushing the multilateral nuclear force, demanding bigger armies for the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, or hammering away at unification of Western Europe as an immediate political and economic goal.

The U. S. is determined, in the longer run, to resume an active role in European affairs. The "mistake" of withdrawing, as after World War I, is not to be repeated. Only U. S. tactics have changed, not basic policy.

**Three hot spots.** Middle East is getting serious attention as an area of brewing crisis, in the throes of revolutionary change. Three of the hottest spots, as pictured by top officials:

**Yemen.** Conflict there shows signs of getting hotter still. Egypt's Nasser is backing the revolutionary Government with arms and men, while Saudi Arabia's King Faisal supports the ousted Royalists.

Nasser seems determined to score a complete military victory in Yemen. He rejects peaceful negotiation that would mean a hands-off agreement between Egypt and Saudi Arabia. It's described as a touchy situation that could have dangerous repercussions far beyond Yemen's borders.

**Jordan Valley.** The water dispute between Arabs and Israelis is a major U. S. worry. It started when Israel tapped the waters of Lake Tiberius for irrigation. The Arabs claimed this was illegal. In retaliation, they have come up with a scheme to divert the headwaters of the River Jordan to Arab lands. Israel warns that this would reduce the lake to unusable levels and force Israel to take military action.

Trouble could come in a matter of months, and it could be nasty trouble that might escalate into another full-blown Arab-Israeli war.

**Cyprus.** Crisis is now somewhat cooled, but could boil up again quickly. The U. S. regards Cyprus as a major Middle Eastern problem, involving two NATO members—Greece and Turkey—plus an island that contains the most important British base in the Eastern Mediterranean.

There's no indication that a genuine peace can be negotiated. On the contrary, Greeks and Turks appear to have hardened in their positions. It's a disturbing situation to American policy makers.

**Still up for grabs.** The situation in Africa, from U. S. view, is better than it has been in months. But the Reds are hard at work to turn the situation around.

The feud between Red China and Russia has brought more Communist activity in Africa, not less. They are bitter competitors. Russia, as a result, is sending arms to countries that otherwise might not have gotten them. Generally, Russians are appealing to governments, while Red Chinese are wooing individual hotheads.

The African continent is still shaky, up for grabs. The Chinese threat is more spectacular, but the Russian threat is taken as the more serious.

**The brightest spot.** Look around the world, and you find the brightest spot for Americans is the closest to home—in Latin America.

The tide has turned in the past year in favor of stability in Venezuela, Brazil, Chile and British Guiana, and to a lesser extent in Panama. The Alliance for Progress is exceeding a growth rate set three years ago.

Castro, it's now fairly evident, has been rejected throughout the Hemisphere as the answer to the problems of Latin America.

Policy now: Try to add to the forward progress of recent months—and hope for the best.



# AS VIETNAM WAR GETS BIGGER— WHAT TO LOOK FOR NEXT

CPYRGHT

**Red strategy in Vietnam is bringing this prediction—**

**Start of the rainy season, just ahead in South Vietnam, will signal a major Communist offensive on the ground**

**Target of the likely Red attack: a key city in the upper third of South Vietnam.**

**Objective: a big psychological victory to counter U. S. bombing, plus seizure of needed rice.**

### SAIGON

A critical period in the war here appears to be drawing close.

Communist infiltration of troops and arms is continuing at a high rate in South Vietnam. U. S. bombing of North Vietnam, to date, is failing to hurt the Communists significantly.

Just ahead is the rainy season, when air activity will be reduced. It is in this period that Communist forces seem sure to mount their next offensive. Explosive action on the ground then is expected.

Only on the ground can the Communists, weak in the air and at sea, reply effectively to U. S. bombing of North Vietnam. Military observers say a strong reply by the Viet Cong guerrillas appears inevitable.

The likely target area for any major Red offensive at this time covers the part of South Vietnam that extends from Quangtri, near the seventeenth parallel, down to Binh Dinh, a third of the way south along the coastline.

Most probable target for a large ground attack is the region closest to North Vietnam and the Red-held panhandle of Laos.

Here, North Vietnamese Regular Army troops could be introduced quickly, and supplies built up in a hurry. Thick jungle and sparse population make it relatively easy for the Reds to move

unobserved and free from attack by air. This also is an area where the South Vietnamese Army is spread the thinnest, and is most exposed to attack.

**Aims of Red forces.** Strategists say the Communist objectives in a ground assault in upper South Vietnam would be these:

- To produce the illusion that South Vietnam has been cut in half.
- To seize the rice crop in Binh Dinh Province. And, more important—
- To chalk up a resounding psychological victory by wiping out elements of the Vietnamese Army and seizing, even if only temporarily, a major city or provincial capital in South Vietnam.

Tempting targets for Communist attack thus include the provincial capitals of Quinhon, Kontum and Pleiku, with even the heavily defended port city of Danang, guarded by U. S. marines, a possible target.

**What U. S. plans now.** In the face of this approaching crisis in Vietnam, steps to increase further the U. S. support for the war were announced in Washington on April 21 by Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara. This announcement, made at the White House,

followed a major strategy conference in Hawaii of the U. S. military high command in the Pacific.

A sharp increase in U. S. military aid to South Vietnam is to go into effect at once, Mr. McNamara said, raising the total to be shipped during this budget year from 207 to 330 million dollars. U. S. air support is to be expanded, with South Vietnam's forces increased by 100,000 to 160,000 men. Some increase in U. S. troop strength in South Vietnam is planned, as well.

How much the present U. S. forces in South Vietnam will be stepped up is to depend, the strategists say, on the size and direction of the expected Communist offensive. Here now are 32,000 Americans, 8,000 of them marines. Available as reinforcements on short notice are 20,000 additional marines, plus an Army division based on Okinawa and Hawaii.

U. S. bombing of targets in North Vietnam, to date, has not had the effect that American planners had hoped. After 11 weeks of intensive day-by-day bombardment of military targets by U. S. Air Force and Navy planes, the Viet Cong, Hanoi and Peiping appear no closer now to the conference table than before.

There have been no signs that North Vietnam has begun withdrawing its forces from the South. Communist infiltration in recent months has "increased at a high rate," according to Secretary McNamara.

To date, the Communists apparently are convinced that they can still win on the ground in South Vietnam, without being hurt irreparably by air attacks in North Vietnam.

If bombing raids are still considered a lever capable of forcing Hanoi to leave South Vietnam alone, then sooner or later the U. S. is expected to move along to a second stage. Logical targets in any "second stage" air offensive: factories, storage depots, railway yards and docks near populated centers, targets not primarily of military importance. A de-

## U. S. BOMBING IN NORTH VIETNAM— HOW MUCH, HOW COSTLY, HOW EFFECTIVE

*Since February 7, when U. S. bombing raids began—*

**2,435 bombing sorties have been flown by American airplanes against targets in North Vietnam in 11 weeks.**

### THE COST TO U. S.:

- 35 aircraft lost, with—
- 20 Americans killed, missing or captured

### THE RESULTS:

- Naval base at Quangkhe 70-80 per cent destroyed
- Munitions depot at Xombang 70-80 per cent destroyed
- Major ammunition depot at Phuvan 90 per cent destroyed
- Air base at Donghoi 90 per cent destroyed
- 20 radar sites damaged or destroyed
- 16 major bridges knocked out
- 5 troop-training areas damaged extensively

Source: U. S. Dept. of Defense

cision to go after targets of this kind can be made only by President Johnson.

The decision to eliminate the "privileged sanctuary" concept of the Korean War already has been made. If Red China should introduce its forces into the Vietnamese war, this would probably lead to U. S. air attacks on China.

**Both sides underestimating?** The most explosive factor at this crucial stage of the war appears to be a tendency by both sides to underestimate the other's determination and the extent of its commitment.

U. S. policy is firmly committed to preventing a Communist take-over of South Vietnam, with President Johnson on recent record as willing to let the war "escalate" as much as necessary to prevent a Communist victory.

Yet both the Chinese Communists and the North Vietnamese have just as big a stake in the outcome of war in South Vietnam.

For Red China, failure in Vietnam would be a disastrous setback in Mao Tse-tung's most cherished programs—to drive the U. S. out of Asia, "recover" the Nationalist Chinese island of Formosa, spread the pattern of "revolutionary wars" and establish China's leadership in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

North Vietnam's stake is smaller, but its commitment is greater. North Vietnam, not China, is doing the fighting: In the long run, North Vietnam's survival as a Communist country not directly controlled by Red China depends upon the unification of the two Vietnams under Communist leadership. For North Vietnam's Ho Chi Minh, there is little to lose, everything to gain.

All available evidence right now indicates that neither North Vietnam nor Red China wants a final showdown with the U. S., or a rapid escalation of the war. But the Communists seem to be just as determined as U. S. leaders are to stick out the war.

**Danger of the weather.** What happens next, and when, depends now in large measure upon the weather in this tropical country. An important factor is the approach of heavy rains in the spring and summer.

Start of the rainy season varies, is usually around the first part of May in the Saigon and Hanoi areas. Peak of the season, the most hazardous time for air support in war, hits here around July and August, with the season over in October. Yet other parts of this small country have vastly different rain patterns, with the peak coming at other times.

The signs, however, all point to a major Communist offensive to be launched on the ground very soon, with a military showdown likely in the weeks just ahead.



—Wide World Photo

Captured Viet Cong guerrillas

## COMMUNISM HAS MANY FACES IN THE VIETNAM WAR

### SAIGON

Maybe you are confused—as millions of people are—by the tangle of names and roles on the Communist side of the war in Vietnam.

To help you sort them out—

**Viet Cong.** This term literally translates into "Vietnamese Communists." It is widely and loosely used by Americans and others to describe all Communist activity—military and political—in South Vietnam.

The Communists themselves, do not use the term. The Reds call their military forces—from guerrillas up to organized battalions and regiments—the Liberation Army of South Vietnam. These forces, counting such so-called irregulars as terrorists and regional guerrillas, have been estimated at approximately 150,000 men.

**National Liberation Front.** This is the Communists' political arm in South Vietnam. It is, in effect, a shadow government created by North Vietnam and has no real status in the South.

The Front's most powerful individual is Tran Nam Trung, reportedly a member of North Vietnam's Communist Party and a leader in the war that drove out the French a decade ago. The Liberation Front maintains offices in Peiping, Moscow and several other Communist or pro-Communist capitals.

**North Vietnam.** This is the part of Vietnam now ruled by Communists under Ho Chi Minh.

Direct control over the Liberation Front in the South is maintained by the Central Committee of North Vietnam's Communist Party through Gen. Nguyen Van Vinh, a veteran Red and member of North Vietnam's Council of Ministers.

Vinh serves directly under the

Defense Minister, Gen. Vo Nguyen Giap, who was the commander of the Communist forces that defeated the French at Dienbienphu.

Giap removed all doubt about who was running the war in South Vietnam less than a year ago when he declared that "North Vietnam is the base for revolutionary struggle of the entire country."

**Red China.** Although the Chinese Communists threatened for months to send "volunteers" and regular military forces into the war, intelligence reports say that through mid-April there was no evidence of Chinese control or influence over the Viet Cong in the South.

Most of the latest equipment of the Viet Cong is composed of Chinese copies of Soviet weapons.

**Soviet Union.** Except for propaganda, the Russians have shown a reluctance to get deeply involved in Vietnam, despite goading by Peiping. Now, however, Russians are reportedly installing surface-to-air missiles around Hanoi, the capital of North Vietnam.

There is no evidence any Russians are directly involved with the Viet Cong in the South.

**Buddhists.** There is no open link between the political monks and the Communists, but the Communists, themselves, have boasted about the ease with which they infiltrate the Buddhists.

The political monks control the Institute for Secular Affairs in Saigon. The leaders of the Institute want three things: (1) a cease-fire, (2) an American withdrawal, (3) negotiations between the Government of South Vietnam and the Liberation Front. The fact that these are exactly the things the Communists want does not seem to disturb the political monks at all.

# CLOSE-UP OF THE TEAM NOW RUNNING THE U.S.

CPYRGHT

The "Johnson era" in the White House now has come of age. After a time of testing, the President's chief advisers seem secure in their jobs. LBJ listens to the men listed here—and then acts.

CPYRGHT

In the fourth month of his first full term, President Johnson has his team of top aides firmly established.

There are 16 men on this first team. All have wide leeway in their fields. Yet the President is firm on fixing policy himself and insists that these policies be adhered to unquestioningly.

Cabinet meetings are important again. It is there that policies are explained for all to understand. LBJ's goal is this: Cabinet officers should speak with one voice on Administration aims.

On LBJ's team are some former members of the Kennedy Administration. Others are new men. Most are expected to remain through Mr. Johnson's present term. The top 16—

**Secretary of State  
DEAN RUSK**



Secretary of State Dean Rusk is finding that, under President Johnson, he is expected to run his Department without interference by anyone except the President himself. This was not the case during the Kennedy Administration. Then, half a dozen top officials helped run the State Department.

Insiders say that because Mr. Rusk is Secretary of State in fact as well as name he has a new zest for the job—a new feeling of confidence.

Other sources say that the foreign-policy decisions Mr. Rusk recommends are often tougher and "more daring" than his closest friends thought he was capable of a year or more ago.

**Defense Secretary  
ROBERT S. McNAMARA**



CPYRGHT

Mr. McNamara won presidential respect in the early days of the Johnson Administration. It was he who quickly provided a solution—a ceiling on military spending—when the President wanted to pare his budget and convince Congress a tax cut was justified.

Secretary McNamara's views are given careful study by the President. The two men have become close friends. Rumors that Mr. McNamara might be switched to another job are discounted.

Whether it is the war in Vietnam, development and positioning of weapons, or U. S. relations with allies, the President, Mr. Rusk and Mr. McNamara work as a unit in deciding policy.

**National Security Adviser  
McGEORGE BUNDY**



Mr. Bundy, as the President's Special Assistant for National Security Affairs, is a regular participant at the weekly foreign-policy luncheons that Mr. Johnson has with Secretaries Rusk and



President Johnson meets with advisers  
CPYRGHT

McNamara. Although Mr. Bundy sometimes shapes policy, he is more co-ordinator than policy maker. The big three—the President, Mr. Rusk and Mr. McNamara—may evolve a score of policies at these meetings. Mr. Bundy's opinions are asked and are given consideration, but his power is somewhat different from the power he held under President Kennedy. Then, Mr. Bundy and his White House staff were often referred to as "the little State Department."

Complaints formerly were heard that the Bundy group was in direct competition with Mr. Rusk. This is no longer so.

CPYRGHT

**Vice President  
HUBERT H. HUMPHREY**



CPYRGHT

Mr. Humphrey is becoming the busiest Vice President in history. Most of his assignments are designed to take some of the heavy burden of everyday work off Mr. Johnson's shoulders.

For example: Mr. Humphrey is Chairman of the National Aeronautics and Space Council, of the President's Equal Employment Opportunity Committee and of the National Advisory Council of the Peace Corps. He also co-ordinates the civil-rights and antipoverty programs. He is President Johnson's chief liaison man on Capitol Hill.

The Vice President attends meetings of the National Security Council, the Cabinet and those the President holds with legislative leaders. He is briefed on defense and foreign policy. He confers with the President in person or by phone several times each day.



Secretary of Commerce  
**JOHN T. CONNOR**



Mr. Connor, recruited from the business world to fill a Cabinet vacancy last January, has quickly won his spurs in the Johnson Administration. Insiders report that Mr. Connor's success in organizing business support of White House moves to improve the U. S. balance of payments has convinced the President that he selected the right man.

Greater responsibilities may lie ahead for Mr. Connor. Mr. Johnson recently told friends it might be possible to expand Commerce Department activities. He did not say exactly what he had in mind, but the President is known to have hopes of streamlining the executive branch before leaving office.

Talent Scout  
**JOHN W. MACY, JR.**



It is unique in Washington for the Chairman of the Civil Service Commission to be linked with Cabinet officers when important posts are discussed. But such is the role of John W. Macy, Jr., in the Johnson Administration.

Mr. Macy's power is associated with his job as "talent scout" for Mr. Johnson. The President personally has given him the responsibility of picking persons who will work out well in high-ranking positions.

Almost all of the new men coming into the Administration are chosen by the President in co-operation with Mr. Macy. The President sees nothing unusual or startling about this association. Since Mr. Macy already is responsible for recruiting of thousands of federal employes, Mr. Johnson feels he is the best man to search out top people for political appointments as well.

"It's just Lyndon's way of working," says one White House source wise in the ways of the President. "He likes to put all the responsibilities in one field under one big tent."

CPYRIGHT

Treasury Secretary  
**HENRY H. FOWLER**



A hand-picked selection of President Johnson after former Secretary Douglas Dillon stepped out, Henry H. Fowler has warned Congress that it can go too far in cutting excise taxes. This tactic, some observers say, is indicative of Mr. Fowler's "conservatism."

A White House source, however, says that "the labels of 'conservatism' and 'liberalism' pinned on an individual mean little in the Johnson Administration." The reason cited: "If a man sounds 'conservative' on a particular policy, it is because Mr. Johnson is 'conservative' on that particular policy. The same holds for 'liberal' ideas that are expressed."

CPYRIGHT

Attorney General  
**NICHOLAS deB. KATZENBACH**



When Robert F. Kennedy was Attorney General in his brother's Cabinet, he was, in effect, the "assistant President." Though Mr. Katzenbach is not that, he has vital and demanding duties.

On him has fallen the vast job of policing civil-rights laws—on schools, voting, jobs and public accommodations—and of starting court actions when he deems them necessary.

In that role, Mr. Katzenbach, no matter what he does, antagonizes many.

At the same time, he faces the ire of businessmen over the sweeping applica-

tion of antitrust laws that has unfolded recently. Here his role consists of policing mergers in banking and industry, battling railroads, accusing firms of "price-fixing." All this is one of the biggest sources of complaint of businessmen over federal policy at this time.

In both these touchy fields, President Johnson will set strategy, but Mr. Katzenbach will fight the battles.

Interior Secretary  
**STEWART L. UDALL**



Mr. Udall, another holdover from the Kennedy "New Frontier," is described by friends as "enchanted" with his job and the new challenges it offers. Left to run his department without interference, the Secretary of the Interior has told top officials that he wouldn't leave "on a bet."

Mr. Udall is finding that he can get things done with little red tape under the Johnson regime. For instance, after only one discussion with the President on the subject, unneeded land held by the Defense Department was turned over to the Interior Department for parks. The emphasis on conservation in the "Great Society" also pleases Mr. Udall.

Agriculture Secretary  
**ORVILLE L. FREEMAN**

CPYRIGHT



Secretary of Agriculture Freeman, insiders report, feels that he is one of the few men who have held that position with the full understanding of the President. It looks as though he is in that job to stay for a while. Mr. Johnson's long experience in the Senate is said to have taught him that there are no easy solutions to agricultural problems. For  
*(continued on next page)*

**CLOSE-UP OF THE TEAM  
 NOW RUNNING THE U. S.**  
 CPYRGHT continued

this reason, Mr. Freeman is not under pressure to develop answers overnight. The President has referred to Secretary Freeman's post as "the hardest job in the Cabinet."

**Labor Secretary  
 W. WILLARD WIRTZ**



Secretary of Labor Wirtz has survived one Cabinet crisis and now can be regarded as one of the most stable of the LBJ team.

Mr. Wirtz was held in the highest esteem by the President during the 1964 presidential campaign. It was the Labor Secretary who provided Mr. Johnson with what were considered some of his most effective speeches.

Later, Mr. Wirtz quarreled with his Under Secretary, John F. Henning. This caused the President some embarrassment with labor. Insiders say, however, that ties between Mr. Wirtz and Mr. Johnson have been mended and that Mr. Wirtz will stay.

who could work easily with the President. These reports are no longer heard.

Mr. Celebrezze's power, moreover, is growing as the health, education and welfare programs of the "Great Society" make their way through Congress.

The President is said to be pleased with the Secretary's administrative abilities and in no mood to replace him.

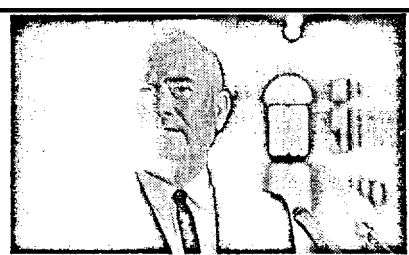
**Postmaster General  
 JOSEPH P. GRONOUSKI**



Early in the Johnson days, it often was rumored that Postmaster General Gronouski would be leaving the Government. That situation appears to have changed as the President delegates more and more responsibilities to the head of the Post Office Department.

Mr. Johnson has charged Mr. Gronouski with building the Post Office, long a big money loser, into an efficient operation. The President has given him a free hand in a campaign to make the Department pay its own way. Efforts by Mr. Gronouski to cut the Post Office budget have impressed the President.

**Intelligence Adviser  
 VICE ADM. WILLIAM F. RABORN, JR.**



Admiral Raborn, as the new Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, is on notice from the President that all activities of the supersecret agency are to be subject to careful examination by the White House. The CIA has been under fire from Congress for years.

One complaint often heard is that top CIA officials refused to take White House suggestions seriously. Now, Admiral Raborn is under orders to run the agency quietly and efficiently, but with the understanding that the White House

has the final word. Before the Admiral is accepted as a policy maker, insiders say, he will undergo a period of testing.

**Economic Adviser  
 GARDNER ACKLEY**



Mr. Ackley, Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, is another choice of the late President Kennedy who apparently is making good on the Johnson team. His job is keeping track of the growth of the U. S. and proposing cures for undesirable gyrations.

While President Johnson still looks to the Departments of Commerce and Labor and the Treasury for reports on economic trends, Mr. Ackley is charged with the job of giving swift warning of any inflationary dangers.

Although Mr. Ackley is said to have won Mr. Johnson's confidence in his abilities, he still does not have the status of his predecessor, Walter Heller.

**Space Adviser  
 JAMES E. WEBB**



As Administrator of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, Mr. Webb is charged with getting the maximum results out of the approximately 5 billions a year being spent by NASA on space activities.

The President is said to be highly pleased with the way Mr. Webb has handled his responsibilities, particularly in his relations with Congress.

"Mr. Webb enjoys the President's full confidence," says a White House aide in explaining the space chief's place on the top team. One quality Mr. Johnson admires "is the fact that Mr. Webb has not tried to extend his power into other agencies or departments." [END]

**Welfare Adviser  
 ANTHONY J. CELEBREZZE**



Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Celebrezze is another Cabinet member who has survived a difficult transition from one Administration to another.

In the early days of the Johnson Administration there were reports that Mr. Celebrezze was not the kind of man