

IV. C. 2. (b)

EVOLUTION OF THE WAR

Military Pressures Against North
Vietnam

July - October 1964

#286

FOOTNOTES

1. Baltimore Sun, 22 May 1964.
2. On 6 and 7 June two U.S. Navy reconnaissance aircraft were shot down over Laos by communist ground-fire. The United States requested and received permission to furnish armed escort reconnaissance flights, and on 9 June, U.S. aircraft struck Pathet Lao gun positions and damaged a Pathet Lao headquarters. Souvanna Phouma temporarily withdrew his permission for armed escort in response to vigorous DRV and Chinese protests, but renewed it on 12 June. See Baltimore Sun, 7, 9, 10, 13 June 1964. Also, New York Times, 9, 10 June 1964.
3. State/Defense message to Vientiane and Bangkok Embassies, 29 June 1964 (In Vietnam 381: 11-30 June 1964 file) (SECRET).
4. See Baltimore Sun, 3 June 1964; New York Times, 7, 20, 23, 24 June 1964.
5. New York Times, 21 June 1964.
6. New York Times, 22 June 1964; Washington Post, 23 June 1964.
7. New York Times, 11 July 1964; New York Herald Tribune and Washington Star, 9 June 1964.
8. Canadian delegation (Saigon) message to U.S. Department of State, 20 June 1964 (in Vietnam 381: 11-30 June 1964) (TOP SECRET).
9. See Bundy memorandum to Secretary Rusk, "Highlights of Honolulu Conference," 3 June 1964 (in State Department Materials, Vol. I) (SECRET). See also discussion in United States-Vietnam Relations, 1945-1967, IV.C.5, "Military Pressures Against North Vietnam: Action and Debate, Feb-Jun 1964." pp. 34-35 (TOP SECRET).
10. Robert Manning memorandum to President Johnson, "Information Program for Southeast Asia," 16 June 1964 (in Vietnam 381: 11-30 June 1964) (TOP SECRET).
11. NSAM 308, 22 June 1964 (SECRET).
12. From "Pertinent Historical Background, Rules of Engagement--Southeast Asia," (Undated) 1966, notes compiled by Assistant Secretary of Defense (ISA) McNaughton (in McNaughton VIII) (TOP SECRET).
13. Secretary McNamara, before Senate Foreign Relations Committee, 20 February 1968, Hearing Before the Committee on Foreign Relations, U.S. Senate, Ninetieth Congress, Second Session, with the Honorable Robert S. McNamara, Secretary of Defense on February 20, 1968 (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1968), p. 20.

14. Secretary McNamara, before Senate Foreign Relations and Armed Services Committees, 6 August 1964 (in McNaughton VIII) (TOP SECRET).
15. CJCS memorandum to SecDef, "North Vietnam Operations (S)," 19 May 1964 (JCS: 426-64) (TOP SECRET).
16. SACSA memoranda to SecDef, "Operations Against North Vietnam," 13 June 1964; 1 July 1964; 28 July 1964 (in Vietnam 381: Sensitive File) (TOP SECRET).
17. Rusk message to Vientiane Embassy, 26 July 1964 (State 89) (in "Southeast Asia, June-July 1964," CF 15) (TOP SECRET). See also, CJCS memorandum to SecDef, "U.S./GVN Combined Planning," 24 June 1964 (in Vietnam 381: 11-30 June 1964) (TOP SECRET). The internal policy of controversy on cross-border operations during the first half of 1964 is described to some extent in United States-Vietnam Relations, IV.C.5. (TOP SECRET).
18. The specific recommendations appear in a McGeorge Bundy memorandum to Secretary Rusk, et. al., "Draft Basic Recommendation and Projected Course of Action on Southeast Asia," 25 May 1964 (w/Attachment) (in State Department Material, Vol. I) (TOP SECRET). The disposition of these recommendations is discussed in United States-Vietnam Relations, IV.C.5., pp. 22-40 (TOP SECRET).
19. Proceedings of the Honolulu Conference, dealing with the question of pressures against North Vietnam, are discussed in United States-Vietnam Relations, IV. C. 5., pp. 28-34 (TOP SECRET).
20. Secretary McNamara, op. cit., 20 February 1968, pp. 9, 10, 15, 28. See also Ted Sell in the Washington Post, 8 August 1964.
21. Ibid, pp. 31, 32. Assistant Secretary McNaughton, before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, "Tonkin Gulf Incident, August 2 and 4, 1964," 23 May 1966 (in McNaughton VIII) (TOP SECRET). See also U.S. Navy chronology in New York Times, 4 August 1964 and officially released accounts in the New York Times, 9 and 10 January 1968.
22. McNamara, op. cit., 20 February 1968, pp. 10, 13; McNaughton, op. cit., Edwin L. Dale, Jr., New York Times, 4 August 1964.
23. In New York Times; 4 August 1964.
24. McNamara, op. cit., 20 February 1968, pp. 17, 18, 28.
25. From "Proof of Attack," notes compiled by Assistant Secretary McNaughton (in McNaughton VIII) (TOP SECRET) and McNamara, op. cit., 20 February 1968, pp. 10, 15, 17, 35-37.

26. Ibid. See also public accounts in New York Times and Baltimore Sun, 5 August 1964, in New York Herald Tribune, 9 August 1964, and in New York Times, 4 February 1968.
27. McNamara, op. cit., 20 February 1968, pp. 17, 18, 57, 66, 92. See also CTG 72.1 to CINCPACFLT, 041452Z, 041515Z; 041542Z and 041727Z August 1964 (SECRET).
28. McNamara, op. cit., 20 February 1968, pp. 10, 11, 48; see also chronology of the Tonkin crisis in New York Herald Tribune, 9 August 1964. Quotation from Finney, op. cit., 10 January 1963.
29. Ibid., pp. 11, 89.
30. Ibid., pp. 58-60, passim. See also CTG 72.1 to CINCPACFLT 041727Z, 041848Z August 1964; JCS to CINCPAC, 042119Z August 1964 (JCS 7720) (TOP SECRET).
31. Before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, 20 February 1968.
32. See accounts in the New York Times and The Washington Post, 5 August 1964; also the Chronology, New York Herald Tribune, 9 August 1964.
33. Quotations from Secretary McNamara's testimony before Congressional Committees, 6 August 1964 (TOP SECRET). See also McNamara, op. cit., 20 February 1968, pp. 14, 15, 26, 29-31.
34. See Paul W. Ward, Baltimore Sun, 6 August 1964 and James Reston, New York Times, 6 August 1964.
35. McNamara, op. cit., 20 February 1968, pp. 32 (The date given in the testimony is in error).
36. Ibid.
37. McNamara news conference, 5 August 1964, in New York Times, 6 August 1964. See also JCS to CINCS, 050043Z 4 August 1964 (JCS 7729) (SECRET).
38. See Solbert memorandum to SecDef, "Alert Posture for Southeast Asia," 26 September 1964, approved by Secretary McNamara on that date (in Vietnam 381: September file) (TOP SECRET). See also JCS to CINCPAC and CINCSTRIKE/CINCMAFSA, 241630Z October 1964 (JCS 1177) (SECRET).
39. The Washington Post, 6 August 1964.
40. Congressional Record, House of Representatives, 7 August 1964, pp. 17954-17969, passim.
41. Committee on Foreign Relations Report, "Promoting the Maintenance of International Peace and Security in Southeast Asia," U.S. Senate, 88th Congress, 2nd Session, 6 August 1964.

42. Floor debate on proposed Joint Congressional Resolution, U.S. Senate, 6 August 1964.
43. See United States-Vietnam Relations, IV.C.5., pp. 26, 31, 38-40, for a discussion of the rationale behind the initially proposed Congressional Resolution.
44. Text in New York Times, 6 August 1964.
45. Verbatim text of message handed directly to Canadian Embassy, Washington, D.C., for transmittal to Mr. Seaborn. State Department Drafting Office copy, 8 August 1964 (in State Department Materials, Vol I.) (TOP SECRET).
46. See account of U.S. calculations and policy decision in early June 1964 in United States-Vietnam Relations, IV.C.5., pp. 25-27, 34-40, (TOP SECRET). 21-
47. Great Britain and the Soviet Union (Geneva Co-Chairmen); Canada, India and Poland (Members of the Geneva-appointed I.C.C.); and the tripartite Lactian government. See Ibid., p. 27.
48. Henry Tanner, New York Times, 27 July 1964.
49. Unger message to Secretary Rusk, 27 July 1964 (Vientiane 170) (in CF 15) (TOP SECRET).
50. William Bundy, "Memorandum on the Southeast Asia Situation," 12 June 1964 (in State Department Materials, Vol. I) (SECRET).
51. This viewpoint reflected in Department of State message to Vientiane, Saigon embassies and CINCPAC, 14 August 1964 (State 439) (in "Southeast Asia, August 1964," CF 16) (TOP SECRET).
52. The foregoing is available through public sources. See New York Times for the respective dates.
53. Bundy memorandum, 12 June 1964 (SECRET).
54. See Jack Langguth, New York Times, 31 July 1964.
55. Unger to Rusk, 27 July 1964 (TOP SECRET).
56. Henry Tanner, New York Times, 2 August 1964.
57. Department of State message to many addressees, 14 August 1964 (TOP SECRET). See also, Rusk message to Vientiane and other embassies, 7 August 1964 (State 136) (In "Southeast Asia, August 1964," CF 16) (SECRET).

58. Rusk to Vientiane, et. al., 7 August 1964 (SECRET).
59. See New York Times, 9 and 21 August 1964; Christian Science Monitor, 20 August 1964.
60. Rusk to Vientiane, et. al., 7 August 1964 (SECRET).
61. Compare last paragraph in Ibid. with arguments in Bundy memorandum, 12 June 1964 (SECRET).
62. Taylor message to Secretary Rusk, 9 August (Saigon 363) (in CF 16) (SECRET).
63. See Ibid.; Rusk message to Vientiane, et. al., 7 August 1964; CJCS memorandum to SecDef, "Next Courses of Action in Southeast Asia," 14 August 1964 (JCSM-701-64) (in Vietnam 381: August file); CINCPAC message to JCS, "Next Courses of Action in Southeast Asia," 17 August 1964 (in CG 16) (TOP SECRET).
64. Taylor to Rusk, 9 August 1964 (SECRET).
65. U.S. Mission message to Department of State, 18 August 1964 (Saigon 465) (in CF 16) (TOP SECRET).
66. William Bundy memorandum to SecDef, et. al., "Next Courses of Action in Southeast Asia," 11 August 1964 (in Vietnam 381: August file) (SECRET). These views were later expressed in a Department of State message to several addressees, requesting comments.
67. CINCPAC to JCS, 17 August 1964 (TOP SECRET).
68. CJCS memorandum to SecDef, "Recommended Courses of Action - Southeast Asia," 26 August 1964 (JCSM-746-64) (TOP SECRET). See also JCSM-701-64.
69. CINCPAC to JCS, 17 August 1964 (TOP SECRET).
70. See United States-Vietnam Relations, IV.C.5., pp. 35-36 (TOP SECRET).
71. Excerpts from the Rostow thesis in "Analysis of the Rostow Thesis," attachment to Rowen memorandum to JCS, et. al., "The Rostow Thesis," 21 August 1964 (I-27278/64) (SECRET).
72. Ibid., p. 2 (SECRET).
73. Department of State to several addressees, 14 August 1964 (TOP SECRET).
74. McNaughton letter to Assistant Secretary of State Bundy, 11 August 1964 (in Vietnam 381: August file) (TOP SECRET).

75. CINCPAC message to JCS, "Rules of Engagement," 5 August 1964 (in Vietnam 381: August file) (TOP SECRET).
76. JCS message to CINCPAC, "Rules of Engagement," 15 August 1964 (JCS 7947) (in Vietnam 381: August file) (TOP SECRET).
77. COMUSMACV message to CINCPAC, "Cross-Border Operations," 16 August 1964 (in CF 16) (TOP SECRET).
78. CINCPAC message to JCS, "Immediate Actions to be taken in South Vietnam," 31 August 1964 (in Vietnam 381: August file) (TOP SECRET).
79. "Ambassador Taylor's Situation Report on the RVN," attachment to SACSA memorandum to Colonel Alfred J. Moody, Military Assistant to SecDef, 14 August 1964 (in Vietnam 381: August file) (SECRET). See also Department of State to several addressees, 14 August 1964 (TOP SECRET).
80. Bureau of Intelligence and Research memorandum, Department of State, 24 August 1964 (in Department of State Materials, "Working Papers") (SECRET).
81. Taylor message to Department of State, 14 October 1964 (Saigon 1129) (in "Southeast Asia -- October 1964," CF 18) (TOP SECRET). The data reflected in this cable may have been assembled for "Infiltration Study, Viet Cong Forces, Republic of Viet Nam," attachment to MACV (Asst C/S, Intelligence) letter to JCS, "Viet Cong Infiltration," 31 October 1964 (JCS 2343/490, 13 November 1964) (SECRET).
82. Reported in JCSM-746-64 (TOP SECRET).
83. Department of State to several addressees, 14 August 1964 (TOP SECRET).
84. Joint State/Defense message to Saigon Embassy, 20 August 1964 (in CF 16) (SECRET).
85. JCSM-746-64, 26 August 1964 (TOP SECRET).
86. Assistant Secretary McNaughton, "Plan of Action for South Vietnam" (2nd Draft), 3 September 1964 (in State Department Materials, Vol. II) (TOP SECRET).
87. JCS Talking Paper for CJCS, "Next Courses of Action for RVN," 7 September 1964 (in Vietnam 381: Sensitive files) (TOP SECRET).
88. Ibid., (TOP SECRET).
89. Handwritten notes of the White House meeting, 7 September 1964 (SECRET).

90. William Bundy memorandum to SecDef, et. al., "Courses of Action of Action for South Vietnam," 8 September 1964 (in Vietnam 381: August file) (SECRET).
91. McNaughton, "Plan of Action for South Vietnam," (TOP SECRET).
92. Bundy memo, 8 September 1964 (SECRET).
93. Ibid., (SECRET).
94. Handwritten notes (SECRET).
95. Ibid.
96. Bundy memo, 8 September 1964 (SECRET).
97. White House memorandum to SecState and SecDef, "National Security Action Memorandum No. 314," 10 September 1964 (NSAM 314) (in Vietnam 381: September file) (TOP SECRET).
98. CTU 77.6/6 message to COMUSMACV, "Amplifying Report on DE SOTO 1813273 SITREP," 18 September 1964 (in McNaughton VIII) (SECRET).
99. NSC Working Group Working Paper, Part VIII, "Immediate Actions in the Period Prior to Decision," 7 November 1964 (in State Department Materials, Vol II) (TOP SECRET).
100. Vance memorandum to Assistant Secretary McNaughton, 30 September 1964. See also L. Thompson letter to Deputy Secretary Vance, 25 September 1964 (Both in Vietnam 381: September file) (SECRET).
101. Taylor message to SecState, Section One, 19 September 1964 (Saigon 913) (in Vietnam 381: September file) (TOP SECRET).
102. Taylor to SecState, Section Two, 19 September 1964 (TOP SECRET).
103. Ibid.
104. Vientiane Embassy message to SecState (Vientiane 448), described in Section One, 19 September 1964 (TOP SECRET).
105. Section Two, 19 September 1964 (TOP SECRET).
106. CJCS memorandum to SecDef, "Cross-Border Operations," 30 September 1964 (JCSM-835-64) (TOP SECRET).
107. Joint State/Defense message to Vientiane Embassy, 6 October 1964 (State 313) (in "Southeast Asia, September 1964," CF 17) (TOP SECRET).
108. SNIE 10-3-64, "Probable Communist Reactions to Certain Possible U.S./GVN Courses of Action," 9 October 1964, p. 6 (TOP SECRET).

109. State/Defense to Vientiane, 6 October 1964 (TOP SECRET).
110. Unger message to Secretary Rusk and McNamara, 13 October 1964 (Vientiane 609) (in Vietnam 381: October file) (TOP SECRET).
111. Taylor message to Secretary Rusk, 9 October 1964 (Saigon 1068) (in "Southeast Asia - October 1964," CF 18) (TOP SECRET).
112. NSC Working Group Working Paper, Part VIII, 7 November 1964 (TOP SECRET).
113. Henry Kamm, New York Times, 3 and 8 September 1964.
114. Drew Middleton, New York Times, 16, 17, 18 and 22 September 1964.
115. Unger message to Department of State, 17 August 1964 (Vientiane 310) (in CF 16) (TOP SECRET).
116. Bundy memo to SecDef et. al., 11 August 1964 (SECRET).
For evidence of recognition by the Vientiane Embassy of the intent of U.S. policies, see Unger to Department of State, 17 August 1964 (TOP SECRET).
117. Ambassador Unger, in interview with the writer, 6 March 1967 (CONFIDENTIAL).
118. Bundy memo, 11 August 1964 (SECRET).
119. Ibid.
120. U.S. Mission (Saigon) to Department of State, 18 August 1964 (TOP SECRET).
121. Rostow letter to Ambassador Taylor, 23 September 1964, attachment to a Rostow memorandum to Secretary McNamara, 23 September 1964 (in Vietnam 331: September file) (SECRET).
122. See United States - Vietnam Relations, IV.C.5., pp. 25-26 (TOP SECRET).
123. Taylor message to White House, 10 August 1964 (Saigon 364) (in CF 16) (TOP SECRET). See also Rusk message to Saigon Embassy, 20 August 1964 (State 481) (in CF 16) (SECRET).
124. Bundy memo to SecDef, et. al., 11 August 1964; Department of State to several addressees, 14 August 1964 (TOP SECRET).
125. Department of State to several addressees, 14 August 1964 (TOP SECRET). The working paper omitted the phrase, "for planning purposes."
126. Bundy to SecDef, et. al., 11 August 1964 (SECRET).

127. U.S. Mission (Saigon) to Department of State, 18 August 1964 (TOP SECRET).
128. McNaughton, "Plan of Action for South Vietnam," (TOP SECRET).
129. Bundy memo, 8 September 1964 (SECRET).
130. Ibid.; see also NSAM 314, 10 September 1964 (TOP SECRET).
131. See Joint State/Defense message to Ambassador Taylor, 29 October 1964 (State 937) (in CF 18) (TOP SECRET).
132. "Summary" in "Analysis of the Rostow Thesis," pp. 2-3 (SECRET).
133. Ibid., p. 2 (SECRET).
134. Ibid., pp. 3-4 (SECRET).
135. "Analysis of the Rostow Thesis," pp. 13-14, 24, 25, (SECRET).
136. "Summary" in Ibid., p. 5.
137. CJCS memorandum to SecDef, "Courses of Action for South Vietnam," 9 September 1964 (CM-124-64) (in Vietnam 381: September file). See also; CINCPAC to JCS, 17 August 1964 (TOP SECRET).
138. JCSM-746-64, 26 August 1964; CJCS Talking Paper, 7 September 1964; CM-124-64; CM-124-64, 9 September 1964 (TOP SECRET).
139. McNaughton memorandum to Secretary McNamara, "Air Force Study on Tactical Air Capability in Southeast Asia," 8 August 1964 (in Vietnam 381: August file); MACV 150123Z and CINCPAC 182314Z, in William Bundy memorandum, "Issues Concerning Next Courses of Action," 25 August 1964, Items G and H (in State Department Materials, Book I); CINCPAC to JCS, 17 August 1964; CJCS memorandum to SecDef, "Improvement of U.S. Security Posture in South Vietnam," 24 August 1964 (JCSM-731-64); CJCS memorandum to SecDef, "Air Force Tactical Air Relationships Study (Southeast Asia)," 4 September 1964 (JCSM-763-64) (TOP SECRET).
140. JCSM-701-64, 14 August 1964; CINCPAC to JCS, 17 August 1964; JCSM-746-64, 26 August 1964; CJCS Talking Paper, 7 September 1964 (TOP SECRET).
141. Saigon 457 and Saigon 538 cited in Bundy memo, 25 August 1964; U.S. Mission (Saigon) to Department of State, 18 August 1964 (TOP SECRET).
142. U.S. Mission to Department of State, 18 August 1964; Bundy memo, 25 August 1964; Handwritten notes, 7 September 1964 (TOP SECRET).

143. U.S. Mission to Department of State, 18 August 1964; Handwritten notes, 7 September 1964 (TOP SECRET).
144. Bundy memo, 25 August 1964; McNaughton draft, "Aims and Options in Southeast Asia," 13 October 1964 (in "Drafts 1965," McNaughton II) (TOP SECRET).
145. Pencil notes on Bundy memo to SecDef, et. al., 11 August 1964; McNaughton, op. cit.; McNaughton, "Plan of Action for South Vietnam," 3 September 1964 (TOP SECRET).
146. McNamara memorandum to CJCS, "JCSM-729-64: Target Study - North Vietnam (SECRET)," 31 August 1964 (in Vietnam 381: August file); McNaughton, "Plan of Action for South Vietnam," 3 September 1964; McNaughton draft, 13 October 1964 (TOP SECRET).
147. Roche memorandum to JCS, "Draft Scenarios for Recommendation 12 (NSAM 288)," 14 August 1964 (in Vietnam 381: August file); McNaughton, "Plan of Action for South Vietnam," 3 September 1964; Bundy draft memorandum "Courses of Action for South Vietnam," (undated, with penciled notations) (in Vietnam 381: September file) (TOP SECRET).
148. McNaughton to McNamara, 8 August 1964; Hitch memorandum to Secretary McNamara, "Review of USAF Study: Relationships of Tactical Air to Ground Forces, SEA, 1964 and 1969 (U)," 24 August 1964 (in Vietnam 381: August file); McNamara memorandum to CJCS, "Improvement of U.S. Security Posture in South Vietnam," 31 August 1964 (in Vietnam 381: August file) (TOP SECRET).
149. Department of State to several addressees, 14 August 1964; Bundy memo, 25 August 1964; Handwritten notes, 7 September 1964 (TOP SECRET).
150. NSAM 314, 10 September 1964; Joint State/Defense to Taylor, 29 October 1964 (TOP SECRET).
151. See McNaughton to McNamara, 8 August 1964; also, Department of State to several addressees, 14 August 1964; Bundy memo, 8 September 1964, particularly in comparison with Bundy draft memo (undated, with pencil notes) (SECRET).
152. SNIE 10-3-64, 9 October 1964, pp. 5, 6 (TOP SECRET).
153. Ibid., pp. 9-11 (TOP SECRET).
154. Ibid., pp. 11-12 (TOP SECRET).
155. Ibid., p. 2; Handwritten notes, 7 September 1964; SNIE 53-2-64, "The Situation in South Vietnam," 1 October 1964, p. 1 (TOP SECRET).