IV. C. 2. (a)

EVOLUTION OF THE WAR

MILITARY PRESSURES AGAINST NORTH VIETNAM

ACTION AND DEBATE

Feb - Jun 1964

#285

UNITED STATES - VIETNAM RELATIONS

1945 - 1967

IV. C. 2. (a)

EVOLUTION OF THE WAR

MILITARY PRESSURES AGAINST NORTH VIETNAM

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GPO Book V3-285

VI. FOOTNOTES

1. This program was approved by President Kennedy on 11 May 1961, in NSAM 52.

2. "Program of Operations Against North Vietnam" and undated Memorandum for the President, "Operations Against North Vietnam," both attached to Krulak memo to Mr. McNamara, "North Vietnam Operations Paper," 2 January 1964 (In Vietnam 381: Jan file).

3. Attachment to Rusk letter to Secretary McNamara, "Mechanism for Political Control and Guidance of Cross-Border Operations," 11 December 1963 (In file of materials prepared for SecDef prior to SVN Conference, March 1964, CF8 - Sec VII.A.). See also Anthis memorandum for Deputy SecDef, "Division of Responsibility Between CIA and DOD for the Planning and Execution of Operation 34-A," 16 April 1964 (In Vietnam 381: Sensitive file).

4. Memorandum, "Covert Operations Against North Vietnam," December 1963, p.1. (In file of materials prepared for SecDef, "Back-up Book, Saigon Trip, 18-20 December 1963.")

5. Ibid.

6. From NSAM 273, 26 November 1963.

7. CINCPAC letter to JCS, "Combined MACV-CAS Saigon Plan for Actions Against North Vietnam," 19 December 1963. (In 092 North Vietnam, I-35033/63.)

8. Roger Hilsman, To Move a Nation (New York: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1967), p.527.

9. "Program of Operations Against North Vietnam," 2 January 1964.

10. Agenda papers (Item E), "OPLAN 34A-64 (North Vietnam)," c. End-February 1964, p.1. (In file of papers prepared for Mr. McNaughton prior to SVN meeting, March 1964, McNaughton VI).

11. CINCPAC letter, 19 December 1962. (In 092 North Vietnam: I-35033/63.)

12. "Program of Operations Against North Vietnam," 2 January 1964, p.1.

13. Memorandum for the Director, CIA, "Probable Reactions to Various Courses of Action with Respect to North Vietnam," 30 December 1963 (Tab D to Ibid.).

14. "Program of Operations Against North Vietnam," 2 January 1964, pp. 6-7.

15. Ibid., pp. 1-2 (underlining added).

16. Rostow memorandum to Secretary Rusk, "Southeast Asia," 13 February 1964, p.3. (In State Dept Material, Book I.)

17. Agenda papers - "OPLAN 34A-64 (North Vietnam)."

18. SNIE 50-64, "Short-Term Prospects in Southeast Asia," 12 February 1964.

19. Rostow letter to Rusk, 13 February 1964, p.4.

20. CJCS memorandum to SecDef, "Vietnam and Southeast Asia," 22 January 1964 (JCSM 46-64). (In Vietnam 381: Sensitive File.)

21. Rusk letter to Secretary McNamara, 5 February 1964. (In Vietnam 381: February file.) Also Ibid., p.3.

22. White House Memorandum for the Record, "South Vietnam," 20 February 1964. (In Vietnam 381: February file.)

23. Robert Johnson memorandum to William Sullivan, "Alternatives for Imposition of Measured Pressure Against North Vietnam," 13 March 1964. (In 092 North Vietnam: I-35316/64.)

24. Johnson memorandum to Sullivan, "Alternatives for Imposition of Measured Pressure Against North Vietnam," 19 March 1964 (with attachments). (In 092 North Vietnam: I-35343/64.)

25. SecDef memorandum to CJCS, "Vietnam," 21 February 1964. (In Vietnam 381: February file.)

26. Rusk message to Saigon Embassy and CINCPAC, 25 February 1964 (State 1307), giving agenda of Honolulu and Saigon meetings. (In McNaughton VI.)

27. These included a "White Paper" detailing Hanoi's role; a Presidential statement of our rationale and limited intent; a Congressional Resolution; and diplomatic consultations. Annex A to SecDef Memorandum to President Johnson, "South Vietnam," 16 March 1964 (U.S. Military Action Against North Vietnam -- an Analysis), pp. A-1, 2. (In "Pressures Planning," McNaughton V.)

28. Ibid., pp. A-3, A-4, A-6.

29. Ibid., pp. A-7, A-8, A-10, A-11.

30. SecDef Memorandum to President, 16 March 1964, pp. 7-8, 15.

31. SACSA, Agenda Item Number C11, "Modification of Restrictions Placed on Cross Border Operations Beyond South Vietnam's International Boundaries," 27 February 1964 (In McNaughton VI).

32. CJCS Memorandum for SecDef, "Steps to Improve the Situation in Southeast Asia with Particular Reference to Laos" (JCSM-159-64), 26 February 1964. (In Vietnam 381: February file.)

33. Draft Memorandum for the President, "Stabilizing the Situation in Southeast Asia," 25 February 1964. (In Vietnam 381: February file.)

34. SecDef Memo to Pres, 16 March 1964, p.18.

35. Ibid., pp. 6-7, 15, 18, Annex D.

36. NSAM 288, 17 March 1964.

37. JCS msg to CINCPAC, "Planning Actions, Vietnam," 18 March 1964 (JCS 5390). (In "South Viet-Nam Back-up Material for 12 McNamara Recommendations, as of 8 May 1964," CF9 - Sec 12.)

38. "Recommendation No. 12 -- Status Report on 12 Recommendations," 5 May 1964. (In file of materials assembled for Secy McNamara prior to Saigon Conference, May 1964, CF10 - Sec. 3.)

39. William Bundy (Ass't Sec. of State) letter to Ambassador Lodge, 4 April 1964 (Section C in "Pressures Planning," McNaughton V).

40. "Political Scenario in Support of Pressures on the North (Third Draft)," 31 March 1964 (Section B in McNaughton V). Also referred to as Tab A in the Bundy letter to Lodge, 4 Apr 1964.

41. Rostow memo to W. Sullivan, "The External Element in Vietnam," 26 February 1964. (In Vietnam 381: February file.)

42. Lt. Gen. J. F. Carroll memo for SecDef, "North Vietnamese Support to the Viet Cong and the Pathet Lao," 29 February 1964. (In Vietnam 381: February file.)

43. JCSM-159-64, 26 February 1964.

44. JCSM-46-64, 22 January 1964.

45. CJCS memo to SecDef, "Removal of Restrictions for Air and Ground Cross-Border Operations," 2 March 1964 (JCSM-168-64). (In Vietnam 381: Sensitive file.)

46. "Political Acceptability of Cross-Border Operations Involving Laos and Cambodia," attachment to Rusk letter to McNamara, 11 December 1963. (In "SecDef : South Vietnam March Conference," Vol II, CF8 - Part VII.)

47. CIA msg to OSD, 10 December 1963. This policy view prevailed, as Secretary McNamara decided, on 21 December, not to recommend operations across the Laotian border. See CIA memo for SecDef, et al, "Operations into Laos," 7 February 1964. (In CF8 - Part VI.)

48. Vientiane Embassy msg to SecState, 1 March 1964 (Vientiane 927). (In CF8 - Part VI.)

49. Vientiane Embassy msg to SecState, 13 December 1963 (State 682). (In CF8 - Part VI.)

50. CJCS memo to SecDef, "Vietnam," 2 March 1964 (JCSM-174-64). (In Vietnam 381 : Sensitive file.)

51. Lodge msg to SecState, 17 March 1964 (State 1767). (In Vietnam 381: 16-31 March file.)

52. President's msg to Ambassador Lodge, 17 March 1964 (State 1454). (In Dept of State Material, Book I.)

53. Ibid. See also Lodge msg to President, 15 March 1964 (State 1757).

54. President's msg to Ambassador Lodge, 20 March 1964 (State 1484).

55. Tab A, Bundy letter to Lodge, 4 April 1964.

56. Scenario drafts prepared on 31 March, 8 April, 17 April and 20 April. (In "Pressures Planning," McNaughton V.)

57. Clay memo to Ass't SecDef (ISA), "Political Scenario on Vietnam," 13 April 1964 (w/attachments). (In "Pressures Planning," McNaughton V.)

58. SecDef memo for Chairman, JCS, "Draft Scenarios for Recommendation 12 (NSAM 288)," 23 April 1964. (In Vietnam 381 : 16-30 April file.)

59. Saigon Embassy Conference Memo, "Meeting of April 19, 1964," 22 April 1964. (In Dept of State Material, Vol I.)

60. Lodge msg to President Johnson, 20 February 1964 (State 1594); Lodge msg to McGeorge Bundy, 15 March 1964 (State 1757).

61. All in Embassy Conference Memo, 22 April 1964.

62. Ibid.

63. "Summary of Rusk's Recommendations for Additional Steps in South Vietnam," 20 April 1964. (In CF10 - Yellow Tab.)

64. Rostow memo to Secretary Rusk, "On How Much Flesh and Blood Can Stand: Laos and Vietnam," 23 April 1964. (In Vietnam 381 : 16-30 April file.)

65. Lodge msg to President Johnson, 15 May 1964 (State 2212). (Excerpt in back-up notebook.)

66. CJCS memorandum to SecDef, "Draft Scenarios for Recommendation 12 (NSAM 288)," 16 May 1964, JCSM-422-64. (In Vietnam 381 : 16-30 May file.)

67. Khanh's proposals were reported in Lodge msg to Secretary of State, 4 May 1964 (Saigon 2108). (In CF10 - Orange Tab)

68. Talking Paper for Secretary of Defense, "General Khanh's Conversation with Lodge," 7 May 1964. (In Vietnam 381: 1-15 May file)

69. Baltimore Sun, 22 May 1967.

70. JCSM-426-64, referred to in McNaughton memorandum to Deputy SecDef, "North Vietnam Operations," 25 May 1964. (In Vietnam 381: 16-31 May file)

71. CJCS memorandum to SecDef, "Readiness to Implement NSAM 288," 23 May 1964 (JCSM-445-64). (In Vietnam 381: 16-31 May file)

72. CJCS memorandum for SecDef, "Air Campaign Against North Vietnam," 30 May 1964 (JCSM-460-44). (In Vietnam 381: 16-31 May file)

73. Rusk msg to Ambassador Lodge, 21 May 1964 (State 2027).

74. Lodge msg to Secretary Rusk, 26 May 1964 (State 2318). (Excerpt in Back-up Notebook)

75. From a draft memorandum to President Johnson, "Scenario for Strikes on North Vietnam," 23 May 1965. (In State Dept Material, Vol I)

76. Ibid.

77. Rusk msg to Ambassador Lodge, 22 May 1964 (State 2049). (In file of materials prepared for Secretary McNamara, "Honolulu Conference on Southeast Asia," CF11)

78. Draft memorandum to President, 23 May 1964.

79. Memo for Record, "Possible Items for Back-up Book," 27 May 1964. (In Vietnam 381: 16-31 May file)

80. SNIE 50-2-64, "Probable Consequences of Certain U.S. Actions with Respect to Vietnam and Laos," 25 May 1964.

81. Ibid., pp. 2-3

82. Ibid., pp. 5-6 (underlining added)

83. 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 Dept Material, Vol I)

84. Attachment to Ibid., p. 1

85. Ibid., pp. 1-2

86. CJCS memorandum to SecDef, "Scenario for Strikes on North Vietnam (Noise Levels - Telegraphing Actions)," 30 May 1964 (JCSM-469-64). (In Vietnam 381 : Sensitive file.)

87. Attachment to Bundy memorandum to Rusk, 25 May 1964, pp. 2-5, passim.

88. Canadian delegation (Saigon) msg to Dept of State, 20 June 1964. (In Vietnam 381 : 11-30 June 1964.)

89. President's msg to Ambassador Lodge, 26 May 1964 (State 2087). (In CF11.)

90. Attachment to Bundy memorandum to Rusk, 25 May 1964, p.3.

91. State msg to Secretary Rusk (New Delhi Embassy), 29 May 1964 (State TOSEC 36). See also Ball msg to diplomatic posts, 29 May 1964 (State Circular 2229). (In CF11.)

92. State msg to Saigon and New Delhi Embassies, 27 May 1964 (State 2095). (In CF11.)

93. Ibid.

94. Ibid.

95. Taylor msg to Admiral Felt and General Harkins, 28 May 1964 (JCS 2625-64). (In CF11.)

96. Taylor memorandum to SecDef, "Transmittal of JCSM-471-64, 'Objectives and Courses of Action -- Southeast Asia,'" 2 June 1964 (CM-1450-64). (In Vietnam 381 : 1-10 June 1964.)

97. JCS memorandum to SecDef, "Objectives and Courses of Action -- Southeast Asia," 2 June 1964 (JCSM-471-64). (In Vietnam 381 : 1-10 June 1964.)

98. Ibid.

99. Rusk (CINCPAC) msg to State, "Highlights of General Khanh Conversation with Secretary, May 31," 2 June 1964 (SECTO 37). (In State Dept Material, Vol I.)

100. Enclosure to CINCPAC letter to SecDef, "Summary Record of Plenary Session, Special Meeting on Southeast Asia, 1-2 June 1964," 8 June 1964. (In Vietnam 381 : 1-10 June file.)

101. Ibid.

102. Wm. Bundy Memo for Record, "Tuesday Afternoon Session in Honolulu, June 2, 1964," 3 June 1964. (In State Dept Material, Vol I.)

103. Ibid., pp. 2-4, passim.

104. Ibid., p.4.

105. Ibid., pp. 4-7.

106. Ibid., pp. 7-9.

107. Wm. Bundy memorandum to Secretary Rusk, "Highlights of Honolulu Conference," 3 June 1964. (In State Dept Material, Vol I.)

108. Ibid., pp. 5-6.

109. Bundy note to Secretary McNamara, General Taylor, Mr. McCone, with Ibid. attached, 3 June 1964. (In Vietnam 381 : 1-10 June file.)

110. SecDef Mil Ass't memorandum to Chairman, JCS, 3 June 1964. (In Vietnam 381 : 1-10 June file.)

111. SecDef Mil Ass't memorandum to General Burchinal, 4 June 1964. (In Vietnam 381 : 1-10 June file.)

112. Burchinal memorandum to Army Chief of Staff, "Actions Stemming from Honolulu Meeting, 1-2 June 1964," 4 June 1964 (DJSM-941-64). (In Vietnam 381 : 1-10 June file.)

113. See New York Times, 21 June 1964.

114. Manning memorandum to Secretary McNamara, "Southeast Asia Information Requirements," 10 June 1964. (In Vietnam 381 : 1-10 June file.)

115. Memorandum for discussion, "Alternative Public Positions for U.S. on Southeast Asia for the Period July 1 - November 15," 10 June 1964. (In State Dept Material, Vol I.)

116. Rostow memorandum to President Johnson, "Southeast Asia: June 6, 1964," (w/Attachment: Draft Presidential Statement -- Southeast Asia). (In Vietnam 381 : 1-10 June file.)

117. See Washington Post, 15 June 1964, for coverage of the Rusk speech; New York Times, 24 June 1964, for the President's news conference.

118. Kent memorandum for Director, CIA, "Would the Loss of South Vietnam and Laos Precipitate a 'Domino Effect' in the Far East?" - 9 June 1964, pp. 1-2. (In State Dept Material, Vol I.)

119. Ibid., p.2.

120. CM-1450-64, 2 June 1964.

121. Taylor memorandum to SecDef, "Comments of the CJCS on JCSM-471-64, Objectives and Courses of Action -- SEA," 5 June 1964 (CM-1451-64). (In Vietnam 381 : 1-10 June 1964 file.)

122. McNamara memorandum to CJCS, 10 June 1964.

123. JCSM-471-64, 2 June 1964.

124. CM-1451-64, 5 June 1964.

125. Memorandum for discussion, 10 June 1964.

126. Wm. Bundy memorandum to discussants, "Probable Developments and the Case for a Congressional Resolution," 12 June 1964, pp. 1-6, passim. (In State Dept Material, Vol I.)

127. McGeorge Bundy memorandum to SecState and SecDef, 15 June 1964 (w/attachments). (In Vietnam 381 : 11-30 June 1964 file.)

128. Memorandum for meeting on June 15, 1964, "Elements of a Southeast Asian Policy that Does Not Include a Congressional Resolution," 15 June 1964. (In Vietnam 381 : 11-30 June 1964 file.)

129. Ibid., p.2.