IV. C. 2. (b)

EVOLUTION OF THE WAR

Military Pressures Against North Vietnam

July - October 1964
FOOTNOTES


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.


11. NSAM 308, 22 June 1964 (SECRET).


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).


20. Secretary McNamara, op. cit., 20 February 1963, pp. 9, 10, 15, 28. See also Ted Sull in the Washington Post, 3 August 1964.


25. From "Proof of Attack," notes compiled by Assistant Secretary McNaughton (in McNaughton VIII) (TOP SECRET) and McNamara, op. cit., 20 February 1963, pp. 10, 15, 17, 35-37.

27. McNamara, *op. cit.*, 20 February 1963, pp. 17, 18, 57, 66, 92. See also CTG 72.1 to CINCPACFLT, 041152Z, 041515Z, 041542Z and 041727Z, August 1964 (SECRET).


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).


33. Quotations from Secretary McNamara's testimony before Congressional Committees, 6 August 1964 (TOP SECRET). See also McNamara, *op. cit.*, 20 February 1963, pp. 14, 15, 26, 29-31.


35. McNamara, *op. cit.*, 20 February 1963, pp. 32 (The date given in the testimony is in error).

36. Ibid.


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 CINCSK/TAC/SEASOF, 241630Z, October 1964 (JCS 1177) (SECRET).


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.


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 Iactian government. See Ibid., p. 27.


49. Unger message to Secretary Rusk, 27 July 1964 (Vientiane 170) (in CF 15) (TCP 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.


55. Unger to Rusk, 27 July 1964 (TOP SECRET).


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 135) (In "Southeast Asia, August 1964," CF 16) (SECRET).
58. Rusk to Vientiane, et. al., 7 August 1964 (SECRET).


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).


64. Taylor to Rusk, 9 August 1964 (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).


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).


78. CINCPAC message to JCS, "Immediate Actions to be taken in South Vietnam," 31 August 1964 (in Vietnam 331: August file) (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).


85. JCSM-746-64, 26 August 1964 (TOP SECRET).


88. Ibid., (TOP SECRET).

89. Handwritten notes of the White House meeting, 7 September 1964 (SECRET).


92. Bundy memo, 8 September 1964 (SECRET).

93. Ibid., (SECRET).

94. Handwritten notes (SECRET).

95. Ibid.

96. Bundy memo, 8 September 1964 (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).


108. SNIE 10-3-64, "Probable Communist Reactions to Certain Possible U.S./GVN Courses of Action," 9 October 1964, p. 6 (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 1063) (in "Southeast Asia - October 1964," CF 18) TOP SECRET).


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.6.5., pp. 25-29 (TOP SECRET).

123. Taylor message to White House, 10 August 1964 (Saigon 361) (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 to 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).


129. Bundy memo, 8 September 1964 (SECRET).

130. Ibid.; see also NSAM 314, 10 September 1964 (TOP SECRET).


133. Ibid., p. 2 (SECRET).

134. Ibid., pp. 3-4 (SECRET).


136. "Summary" in Ibid., p. 5.


138. JCSM-746-64, 26 August 1964; CJCS Talking Paper, 7 September 1964; CM-124-64; CM-124-64, 9 September 1964 (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 477 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).


145. Penciled 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).


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).