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Volume II

THE AIR WAR IN NORTH VIETNAM
UNITED STATES - VIETNAM RELATIONS 1945 - 1967

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THE AIR WAR IN NORTH VIETNAM
FOOTNOTES

1. CINCPAC msgs. to JCS 142140Z January 1967 (TS).

2. CINCPAC msg. to JCS 182210Z January 1967 (TS-LIMDIS).

3. CINCPAC msg. to JCS and COMUSMACV, Exclusive for General Wheeler and General Westmoreland from Admiral Sharp, 030520Z January 1967 (S-EXDIS-SPECAT).


5. CIA SC #04442/67, op. cit.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid.

8. Ibid.

9. Ibid.

10. Ibid.

11. See Task Force paper IV.C.3 for a detailed study of this particular effort.


16. JCSM-6-67, ibid.


20. William Bundy Memorandum to Under Secretary Katzenbach, no date ("drafted 21 Jan 67" pencilled in) (TS) with Katzenbach's initialed approval at the bottom.
22. Ibid.
23. Leonard H. Marks, Director USIA, Memorandum for Dean Rusk, Subject: Regaining Initiative on Tet Truce, 2 February 1967 (S).
24. "SCENARIO" unsigned, undated, handwritten paper in McNaughton Book III, Tab RR.
25. Ibid.
29. DIA Intelligence Supplement, "North Vietnamese Resupply Activity during Tet Stand-Down," 10 February 1967 (S).
32. CINCPAC msg. to JCS 012005Z February 1967 (TS-LIMDIS)
34. Cyrus Vance, Deputy Secretary of Defense, letter to Nicholas deB. Katzenbach, Under Secretary of State, 21 February 1967 (TS); with a paper on escalation options attached.
35. Ibid., p. 10.
36. Ibid., p. 11.
37. Ibid., pp. 7-8.
40. Ibid.
42. Maxwell D. Taylor Memorandum for the President, Subject: "Possible Forms of Negotiation with Hanoi," 20 February 1967 (TS).

43. W. W. Rostow Memorandum for Secretary of State; Secretary of Defense; Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff, February 21, 1967 (TS).

44. Targets listed in CM-2194-67, Memorandum for the President from Earle G. Wheeler, Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff, 22 March 1967 (TS).

45. Embassy Saigon msg. 20060, 10 March 1967 (S-EXDIS).


49. COMUSMACV msg. to CINCPAC 09101, 18 March 1967 (TS).

50. "My 'press suggestions' for SecDef in Guam, 3/21/67," in McNaughton Book III, Tab GG.


53. CINCPAC msg. to CINCPACFLT 080408Z April 1967 (TS).


56. Ibid.


58. CM-2318-67, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Earle G. Wheeler, Memorandum to the President, Subject: "The Target System in North Vietnam," 5 May 1967 (TS).
59. Ibid.

59a. Ibid.


63. Ibid.


65. Ibid., p. 18.


67. Ibid.

68. "Notes on Discussions with the President," 27 April 1967 (TS), no indication of who took the notes.

69. Ibid.

70. Memorandum to the Under Secretary, Subject: "Thoughts on Strategy in Vietnam," May 1, 1967 (TS); the paper is not signed or is authorship otherwise indicated except by the following final note: "I am sending you copies of this, and retaining one in a totally private file. This memorandum has been seen and discussed with no one except the typist. Copies 1 through 6 - The Under Secretary, Copy 7 - Bundy file."

71. Ibid.

72. Ibid.

73. Ibid.

75. McGeorge Bundy letter to President Lyndon B. Johnson, no date ("rec'd 5-4-67, 12m" in pencil) with attached "Memorandum on Vietnam Policy."

76. Ibid.

77. Ibid.

78. Ibid.


82. Ibid.

83. Ibid.

84. Ibid.

85. Ibid.

86. Referred to in McGeorge Bundy Memorandum to Secretary McNamara, May 11, 1967.


88. Ibid.

89. Ibid.

90. Ibid.

91. Ibid.


93. Ibid.

94. Ibid.

95. Ibid.


99. Ibid.

100. Draft Memorandum for the President, Subject: "Future Actions in Vietnam," 19 May 1967"(first rough draft; data and estimates have not been checked.)" (TS-SENSITIVE).

101. Ibid.

102. Ibid.

103. Ibid.

104. Ibid.

105. Ibid.

106. Ibid.

107. Ibid.

108. Ibid.

109. Ibid.

110. Ibid., emphasis in original.

111. Ibid.

112. Ibid.

113. Robert S. McNamara Memorandum for the President, 20 May 1967, commenting on Sen. Brooke's proposals for negotiations between the GVN and the VC and for a reconciliation program. McNamara notes that, "Brook's proposals are almost identical to those which I suggested in the Draft Memorandum submitted to you yesterday." (TS).


116. Ibid.


118. Ibid.


121. Ibid.

122. Ibid.

123. Ibid.

124. Ibid.


126. Ibid.

127. Ibid.

128. Ibid.


130. Ibid.

131. Ibid.

132. Ibid.

133. Ibid.


135. Ibid.

136. Memorandum for the CJCS, DCI, SecNav, and SecAF, 20 May 1967.
137. Ibid.

138. Ibid.


140. Ibid.

141. Ibid.

142. Ibid.

143. Ibid.

144. JCSM 312-67, Memorandum for the SecDef, 2 June 1967 (TS).

145. Ibid.

146. Ibid.

147. Ibid.


149. Ibid.

150. Ibid.


152. Ibid.

153. Ibid.


155. CINCPAC msg. to JCS 290506Z May 1967 (TS).


157. Untitled, unsigned outline in McNaughton Book XIII, Tab B dated 6/8/67 in pen (TS-EYES ONLY, "This paper to be read by McNaughton ONLY.").
158. Ibid.

159. Ibid.


161. Ibid.

162. Ibid.

163. Ibid.

164. Ibid.


166. W.P. Bundy Memorandum for the Secretary (of State), Subject: "First Full Interview with Radvanyi," June 1, 1967 (TS-SENSITIVE).


169. Ibid.


171. Ibid.


173. Ibid.

174. Ibid.


177. Ibid., pp. 129-134.

178. Ibid., p. 246.

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4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid.

8. Ibid.

9. Ibid.

10. Ibid.

11. Ibid.

12. Ibid.

13. Ibid.

14. Ibid.

15. Ibid.

16. Ibid.

17. ASD(ISA) Memorandum for the Secretary of Defense, 5 March 1968, Subject: Rolling Thunder Target List and Procedures.


20. Ibid., emphasis added.

22. Background Information..., op. cit., p. 239.


24. Handwritten memo to "Secretary McNamara, Recommend your approval of attached message authorizing restrike against JCS target #81. McConnell", 11 September 1967, with attached briefing papers.


34. CINCPAC msg. 072055Z October 1967 (TS).

35. CINCPAC msg. to JCS 080726Z October 1967 (TS-LIMDIS).

36. ASD/ISA Paul C. Warnke Memorandum for the Secretary of Defense, Subject: "NVN Bombing (Comments on Valid Targets on 10/12 List Not Yet Recommended)," 23 October 1967 (TS-SENSITIVE).

37. JCS msg. to CINCPAC 9674, 232212Z October 1967 (TS-LIMDIS).

38. CM-2707-68, 27 October 1968, Subject: "ROLLING THUNDER 58" (TS).


40. Robert S. McNamara Memorandum for the Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff, November 6, 1967 (TS).

41. Quote from an unnamed CIA analysis in a Memorandum for Mr. Warnke by Charles W. Havens, Special Assistant to the ASD/ISA, without date but filed with materials for early November 1967 (TS).
42. Ibid.


44. Ibid.


50. Ibid., pp. 4-6.

51. Ibid., pp. 7-8.

52. Ibid., pp. 13-14.

53. Ibid., p. 15.

54. Ibid., p. 17.


57. Ibid., pp. 3-7, emphasis in original.

58. Ibid., pp. 7-8, emphasis in original.

59. Ibid., p. 10, emphasis in original.


61. Ibid.


64. Ibid.


67. Ibid.

68. Ibid.

69. Ibid.

70. Ibid.

71. COMUSMACV msg. to CINCPAC 02891, 260755Z January 1968 (S).

72. Background Information..., op. cit., pp. 268-269.
FOOTNOTES

1. Broadcast on radio Hanoi, 1 Jan. 1968, emphasis added.


6. Background Information ..., op. cit. p. 56.


9. Ibid.


11. Ibid.


18. CIA Memorandum, Subject: "Hanoi's Appraisal of its Strategic Position Prior to the Current Offensive," unnumbered, 27 Feb. 1968 (S), emphasis added.
19. The principle issue addressed in this re-evaluation was the level of forces to be sent to Vietnam to meet MACV requirements for augmentation resulting from TET. As such, the bulk of the papers drafted and considered in the Clifford Group dealt only tangentially with the air war. Since the problem of force deployments is treated in Task Force paper IV.C.6, no attempt will be made here to furnish the details of those papers. Only the sections dealing directly with the air war will be treated. The broad outline of the policy process, however, will be sketched to place the arguments about bombing policy into perspective.


23. CIA Memorandum (unnumbered), Subject: "Questions Concerning the Situation in Vietnam," 1 March 1968 (S).

24. Ibid.

25. CIA Intelligence Memorandum, Subject: "International Communist Aid to North Vietnam," 2 March 1968 (S).


29. Memorandum signed "M.D.T.," Subject: "Viet-Nam Alternatives," undated but known to have been written sometime between Feb. 28 and March 3 with a copy sent to the President.

30. Ibid.

32. OASD/SA/Southeast Asia Programs, Memorandum for the Secretary of Defense, 23 Feb. 1968 (S).

33. Draft Memorandum for the President, 4 March 1968 (TS-NODIS).

34. Ibid., Tab E, "Negotiating Posture Options, and Possible Diplomatic Actions," (TS).

35. Ibid., Tab F, "Military Action Against North Vietnam," (TS-SENS)

36. Ibid., Tab F-1, "The Campaign Against North Vietnam," (TS-SENS)

37. Ibid.

38. Ibid.

39. Ibid.

40. Ibid.

41. Clark Clifford Memorandum for General Wheeler, 5 March 1968 with attached "Draft Statement" and "Points" by Dean Rusk, 5 March 1968 (TS-SENS--EYES ONLY).

42. William F. Bundy Letter to the Honorable Richard Helms, Director of Central Intelligence, March 8, 1968 (TS-NODIS).

43. Ibid.

44. Unsigned, undated Memorandum for the Director, CIA, in ISA files (TS), presumably not sent.


46. Ibid.

47. Ibid.

48. Ibid.

49. Ibid.

50. Ibid.

55. Unsigned Memorandum for the Secretary of Defense, Subject: "Hanoi's Position on Settling the Conflict in Vietnam," March 11, 1968 (TS-SENS); the memo has "Dr. H" in the corner and was prepared by Halperin's Policy Planning Staff.
57. Ibid., emphasis added.
58. Ibid.
59. ASD/ISA Paul C. Warnke Memorandum for the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, Subject: "North Vietnam Bombing Questions," 14 March 1968 (S); with the pencil notation, "not sent" at the top.
61. Ibid.
62. Ibid.
64. Department of State Msg. 139431, 30 Mar. 1968 (TS-NODIS-LITERALLY EYES ONLY FOR AMBASSADOR OR CHARGE), emphasis added.
65. Ibid.
66. Ibid.
67. White House Press Release, Mar. 31, 1968, "Remarks of the President to the Nation."