The Presidential Documents Series

VIETNAM, THE MEDIA, AND PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR THE WAR

UNIVERSITY PUBLICATIONS OF AMERICA

The Presidential Documents Series

VIETNAM, THE MEDIA, AND PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR THE WAR

Selections from the Holdings of the Lyndon B. Johnson Library

Edited by Robert E. Lester

A microfilm project of UNIVERSITY PUBLICATIONS OF AMERICA, INC. 44 North Market Street • Frederick, MD 21701

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

The Presidential documents series. Vietnam, the media, and public support for the war [microform].

Accompanied by a printed reel guide.

1. Vietnamese Conflict, 1961-1975--Public opinion-Sources. 2. Public opinion--United States--History--Sources. 3. Mass media--United States--History--Sources. 4. Vietnamese Conflict, 1961-1975--United States--Sources. 5. United States--History--1961-1969--Sources. 6. Lyndon Baines Johnson Library--Archives. I. Lester, Robert. II. Lyndon Baines Johnson Library. III. University Publications of America, Inc.

[DS559.62] 959.704'3 87-6248 ISBN 0-89093-496-7 (microfilm)

Copyright © 1986 by University Publications of America, Inc. All rights reserved. ISBN 0-89093-496-7.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Scope and Content Note	٧
Acronyms	ix
Reel Index	
Reels 1-5 National Security FileVietnam Country File	1
Reel 6 National Security FileVietnam Country File cont National Security FileName File	5 6
Reel 7 National Security FileName File cont. National Security FileFiles of McGeorge Bundy National Security FileSpeech File	7 7 8
Reel 8 National Security FileSpeech File cont. Office of the President File	8
Reel 9 Office Files of George Christian Office Files of Fred Panzer	9
Reel 10 Office Files of Fred Panzer cont	10
Reel 11 Office Files of Fred Panzer cont. Office Files of Marvin Watson Meeting Notes File	11 12 13
Subject Index	15

SCOPE AND CONTENT NOTE

This microfilm publication from University Publications of America (UPA) documents relations between the White House and the media during the Vietnam War era, revealing how the White House attempted to create and control a favorable perception of the war by the media and the public.

Six major groups of records were selected for filming from the holdings of the Lyndon B. Johnson Library in Austin, Texas: National Security File; Office of the President File; Office Files of George Christian, press secretary and special assistant to the President; Office Files of Fred Panzer, White House staff member and "polls person"; Office Files of Marvin Watson, special assistant to the President; and Meeting Notes File (Presidential). Unless otherwise noted, all the unclassified and declassified (open) material in each folder listed in the Reel Index was filmed in its entirety.

National Security File

The National Security File (NSF) was the working file of President Johnson's special assistants for national security affairs, McGeorge Bundy and Walt W. Rostow. Documents in this file originated in the offices of Bundy and Rostow and their staffs, in the various executive departments and agencies, especially those dealing with foreign affairs and national defense, and in diplomatic and military posts around the world. Although the National Security File is arranged into several series, this project only includes those with portions relevant to the media and public support for the war: NSF, Vietnam Country File; NSF, Name File; NSF, Files of McGeorge Bundy; and NSF, Speech File.

The NSF, Vietnam Country File contains memos, cables, intelligence reports, correspondence, and special studies. Subject files included in this publication are listed below.

- 1. Past Presidential Statements of U.S. Government Commitment in Southeast Asia (Boxes 97-98)
- 2. News Media Coverage, 1967-1968 (Boxes 97-99)
- 3. Public Relations Activities, 1967-1969 (Boxes 99-101)
- 4. Congressional Attitudes and Statements, 1966-1968 (Boxes 102-103)
- 5. San Antonio Speech (Box 103)
- 6. Johns Hopkins Speech (Box 194)

- 7. Why Vietnam (Box 194)
- 8. Arthur Dean Committee (Box 195)
- 9. Public Affairs Policy Committee (Box 197)
- 10. The Quayle Report (Box 213)

The NSF, Name File contains memos from the President's national security staff and White House aides, arranged alphabetically by author. Staff files selected for this publication are:

- 1. Cater Memos (Box 1)
- 2. Cooper Memos (Box 2)
- 3. Colonel Ginsburgh Memos (Box 3)
- 4. Jorden Memos (Box 5)
- 5. Roche Memos (Box 7)
- 6. Ropa Memos (Box 7)
- 7. Rostow Memos (Box 7)

The NSF, Files of McGeorge Bundy, maintained by Bundy for his personal use, includes cables, memos, and correspondence from and to the President, various executive departments and agencies, and diplomatic and military posts around the world. These files also provide reports and studies on various issues and crises. The files selected for this publication are:

- 1. "Non-Speech on Vietnam" (Box 17)
- 2. Vietnam Speeches (Box 17)
- 3. Public Opinion (Box 17)
- 4. Teach-In (Box 18)
- 5. Peace Panel (Box 18)

The NSF, Speech File includes foreign policy speeches by President Johnson, arranged chronologically, from 1964-1966. Also in the Speech File are memos, speech drafts, and press releases. The speech files used in this project include:

- 1. State of the Union Address, 1966 (Box 4)
- 2. Speeches on Vietnam, 1963-65 (Box 7)

The State of the Union Address, 1966 was not filmed in its entirety. Only portions, memos, and press releases relevant to the Vietnam War were included. The Speeches on Vietnam, 1963-65 were filmed in their entirety.

Office of the President File

Correspondence, memos, and reports used by the President and his special assistants were maintained in the Office of the President. This publi-

cation utilizes the files of McGeorge Bundy, 1964-1968 (Box 1) and John P. Roche, 1966-1968 (Box 11).

Office Files of the White House Aides

Materials gathered and utilized by White House aides in their day-to-day operations were normally kept in the aides' offices and were not sent to be filed in the White House Central Files. These files consist of correspondence, memos, and reports relating to the issues and problems on which an aide was working.

While the aides had various duties throughout the Johnson Administration, selection of their files for inclusion in this project was based on the aide's role in reporting to and advising the President on White House activities pertaining to the public perception of the war and the creation of favorable media coverage of the war. Papers of selected key aides are: George Christian, press secretary and special assistant to the President; Fred Panzer, staff member of the White House ("polls person"); and Marvin Watson, special assistant to the President.

The selection of individual files (folders) was based on their relevance to the issue of Vietnam, the media, and public support for the war. These files include polls, correspondence, reports, and speeches by the White House and various executive departments, congressional correspondence and committee reports, and correspondence, memoranda, and reports from private individuals and organizations.

George Christian files (folders) selected include:

- 1. Department of State News Briefing of September 18, 1967 (Box 1)
- 2. Edwin Reischauer--Vietnam (Box 2)
- 3. Vietnam--Unclassified Material, September 1967-March 1968 and December 1966-February 1968 (Box 2)
- 4. Vietnam, November 1967-February 1968 (Box 4)
- 5. Vietnam Miscellaneous File, February 1968 (Box 12)

Fred Panzer files (folders) selected include:

- 1. Polls--Vietnam, June 1965-March 1968 (Box 182)
- 2. Vietnam Information Group, November 1967-August 1968 (Box 427)
- 3. Vietnam--Correspondence, March-June 1967 (Box 428)
- 4. GOP Vietnam Position, 1967 (Box 428)
- 5. Vietnam--Congress, 1966-1967 (Box 428)
- 6. Articles on Vietnam, 1964-1967 (Box 428)
- 7. Vietnam Peace Plans, May 1968 (Box 429)
- 8. Vietnam--Pacification Program, 1966-1967 (Box 430)

- 9. Foreign Reaction to the Vietnam War and U.S. Policy, 1966-1968 (Box 430)
- 10. Vietnam Veterans, 1968 (Box 430)
- 11. U.S. Economic Aid to South Vietnam, 1966 (Box 430)
- 12. Vietnam Publications (published by DOD, Department of State, GPO, Senate Committee Prints, etc.) (Box 430)

Marvin Watson files (folders) selected include:

- 1. John P. Roche--Memos, 1967-1968 (Box 29)
- 2. Vietnam, 1967-1968 (Box 32)

Meeting Notes File

This file includes notes on 160 White House meetings, briefing papers, correspondence and memos. The White House meetings were attended primarily by the President and his foreign policy advisors, and more than a third dealt with some facet of the Vietnam War. From these notes, files were selected dealing only with media correspondence. Folders of transcripts and briefing papers are from Box 3, Meetings with Correspondents, February 1967-May 1968.

All of the materials appearing in this publication were filmed as they are arranged within each folder at the Lyndon B. Johnson Library, i.e., in reverse chronological order. The current microfilming procedures of the Library require UPA to film not only the document withdrawal sheets (which indicate that a document has been withdrawn from the file), but also the entire open contents of a folder. UPA has complied with these procedures.

The Library has provided UPA with its latest search of its records for material relevant to this project. The Library also has its own finding aid for material on the war, entitled *Materials Available for Research on the Vietnam War*, May 1983.

The editor would like to extend his appreciation to the staff at the Lyndon B. Johnson Library for their assistance with this project.

ACRONYMS

A.D.A. Americans for Democratic Action

AID Agency for International Development

ARVN Army of the Republic of Vietnam

DNC Democratic National Committee

DOD Department of Defense

JCS Joint Chiefs of Staff

MACV Military Assistance Command, Vietnam

NSC National Security Council

SANE National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy Committee

SEATO Southeast Asia Treaty Organization

U.N. United Nations

USIA United States Information Agency

USIS United States Information Service

VFW Veterans of Foreign Wars

VIG Vietnam Information Group

VNCC Vietnam Coordinating Committee

REEL INDEX

The frame number on the left hand side of the page identifies where a specific folder begins. These folders are typically a chronological grouping of documents from various executive departments, Congress, and private individuals and organizations. The index lists the folder title and the major substantive issues, reports, key policy formulations, and primary persons within each folder.

Reel 1

National Security File

Vietnam Country File

"Past Presidential Statements of U.S. Government Commitment in Southeast Asia," 1953-December 1967. 290pp. Boxes 97-98, Folder 7C(1).

> Collective Defense Treaty; John McCloy; News Conferences; Eisenhower and Kennedy Statements; "Unified Action" with France; SEATO; Honolulu Declaration; Laos.

- "Past Presidential Statements of U.S. Government Commitment in Southeast Asia," 1967-1968. 229pp. Boxes 97-98, Folder 7C(2).

 Bombing Halt; San Antonio Speech; 1964 Campaign Statements; Tet Offensive.
- News Media Coverage of Vietnam, July-November 1967. 286pp. Boxes 97-98, Folder 7D(1).

Marvin Kalb; Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker; American Newspaper Publishers Association; Press Questions; James Lucas; Vietnamese Press; "Stalemate" Thesis; General William Westmoreland; Bombing Program; Walt W. Rostow; Corruption; Schoenbrun Messages.

News Media Coverage of Vietnam, December 1967-March 1968. 219pp. Boxes 97-98, Folder 7D(2).

Walt W. Rostow; Control of Press; Reporting Rules; *Boston Globe* Survey; Tet Offensive; Joint Chiefs of Staff Relations; Hanoi Peace Bid; Troop Contributing Countries; ARVN Operations; David Halberstam.

[see Reel 2, Frame 0706 for April 1968-December 1968. Filmed out of order.]

Reel 2

National Security File cont.

Vietnam Country File cont.

O001 Public Relations Activities, September-October 1967. 182pp. Box 99, Folder 7E(1)a.

Douglas Committee; Vietnam Information Group; Bombing Program; Enemy Order of Battle; National Citizen's Committee for Peace with Freedom in Vietnam; Speeches.

Public Relations Activities, September-October 1967. 310pp. Box 99, Folder 7E(1)b.

General William Westmoreland; Enemy Order of Battle; War Progress; Dr. Walter Judd; Bombing Policy, Document and Research Notes.

- O493 Public Relations Activities, November 1967. 213pp. Box 99, Folder 7E(2).

 Douglas Committee; Vietnam Information Group; National Citizen's

 Committee for Peace with Freedom in Vietnam; War Progress;

 Enemy Order of Battle; "Stalemate" Issue.
- 0706 News Media Coverage of Vietnam, April 1968-December 1968. 235pp. Box 99, Folder 7D(3).

Vice President Nguyen Cao Ky; Bombing Policy; Peace Negotiations; Keyes Buch Story; Dean Rusk. [Filmed out of order.]

Public Relations Activities, December 1967-January 1968. 41pp. Box 100, Folder 7E(3).

Douglas Committee; Vietnam Information Group; Bombing Issues.

Reel 3

National Security File cont.

Vietnam Country File cont.

Public Relations Activities, December 1967-January 1968. 263pp. Box 100, Folder 7E(3) cont.

Ambassador Robert Komer; VIP Visits to Vietnam; Great Society Program; Infiltration Issue; ARVN Operations; AFL-CIO; Bombing Issue.

Public Relations Activities, February-April 1968. 308pp. Box 100, Folder 7E(4)a.

Vietnam Orientation Visits; Clark M. Clifford; Peace Negotiations; Polls; Southeast Asia Resolution of 1968; Vice President Hubert Humphrey; Tet Offensive; Escalation Question.

Public Relations Activities, February-April 1968. 142pp. Box 100, Folder 7E(4)b.

Vietnam Information Group; Tom Johnson; "Talking Notes."

O713 Public Relations Activities, May-June 1968. 287pp. Box 101, Folder 7E(5).

Vietnam Information Group; "Talking Notes"; Peace Negotiations; AID; Inquiry Committee; U.S. Presidential Elections; Infiltration; Tet Offensive.

Reel 4

National Security File cont.

Vietnam Country File cont.

Public Relations Activities, July-August 1968. 249pp. Box 101, Folder 7E(6).

Vietnam Information Group; "Talking Notes"; Kerr Peace Plan; Peace Negotiations; Situation; Bombing Issue; "Restraint" Question; Vietnamese Politics; President Nguyen Van Thieu.

0250 Public Relations Activities; September-October 1968. 251pp. Box 101, Folder 7E(7).

> Vietnam Information Group; War Progress; Troop Withdrawals; Bombing Halt; U.N.; General Maxwell Taylor; Visit of General Curtis LeMay; Peace Negotiations.

O501 Public Relations Activities, November 1968-January 1969. 49pp. Box 101, Folder 7E(8).

Vietnam Information Group; Bombing Halt; Morality; Polls; Walt W. Rostow.

O550 Congressional Attitudes and Statements, January 1966-November 1967. 331pp. Box 102, Folder 7F(1).

Senate Foreign Relations Committee; A.D.A.; Senator Robert Kennedy; John Kenneth Galbraith; Vietnam Policy; Representative Morris Udall; Senator Stuart Symington; U.N.; Senator Mike Mansfield; Congressional Criticism and Action; Senator Eugene McCarthy.

Ossi Congressional Attitudes and Statements, December 1967-March 1968. 124pp. Box 102, Folder 7F(2)a.

Senator Edward Kennedy; U.S. Strategy; Refugees; Peace Negotiations; *Congressional Record.*

Reel 5

National Security File cont.

Vietnam Country File cont.

O001 Congressional Attitudes and Statements, December 1967-March 1968 cont.121pp. Box 102, Folder 7F(2)a cont.

Senate Foreign Relations Committee; Vietnam Information Group; S.Con. Res. 63; "Stalemate" Issue; Vietnam Policies; *Congressional Record.*

O122 Congressional Attitudes and Statements, December 1967-March 1968. 229pp. Box 102, Folder 7F(2)b.

Congressional Record; Peace Negotiations; Tet Offensive; State Governors; Senator J. William Fulbright; Senate Foreign Relations Committee; Interrogations; Polls; U.N.

O351 Congressional Attitudes and Statements, April-October 1968. 303pp. Box 102. Folder 7F(3).

Party Planks; Richard Nixon; Spiro T. Agnew; McGeorge Bundy; Senator Edmund S. Muskie; Hans J. Morgenthau; Peace Negotiations: Bombing: Vice President Hubert Humphrey.

Congressional Attitudes and Statements, November 1968. 74pp. Box 103, Folder 7F(4).

McGeorge Bundy; Bombing Issue; Senate Foreign Relations Committee; House Foreign Affairs Committee; Congressional Contacts.

O728 San Antonio Speech and Commentary, September 29, 1967. 294pp. Box 103. Folder 7G.

Bombing Issue; Peace Negotiations; U.N.; Harry C. McPherson, Jr.; Walt W. Rostow; Jim [James R.] Jones; Speech Drafts.

Reel 6

National Security File cont.

Vietnam Country File cont.

- Veteran's Day, 1967. 33pp. Box 103, Folder 7H.

 Presidential Remarks; Prisoners of War.
- Johns Hopkins Speech Reactions, April 1965. 83pp. Box 194.
 Foreign Reaction (USIA); Public Opinion.
- 0117 Why Vietnam, August 20, 1965. 54pp. Box 194.
 General Dwight D. Eisenhower; McGeorge Bundy; Robert S.
 McNamara; Appropriations.
- O171 Arthur Dean Committee--Committee for an Effective and Durable Peace in Asia, September 1965. 112pp. Box 195.

 List of Committees; Statements of Principles; Lists of Members.
- O283 Public Affairs Policy Committee, August-November 1965. 123pp. Box 197.

 MACV: Masting Managements: Ergodom House: Arthur Doop.

MACV; Meeting Memoranda; Freedom House; Arthur Dean Committee; U.N.; Refugees; Information Problem.

O406 A Survey of Public Opinion in South Vietnam (Quayle Report), January 1966. 170pp. Box 213.

National Security File cont.

Name File

- O576 Cater Memos, May 1964-March 1966. 12pp. Box 1.
 McGeorge Bundy; Foreign Policy.
- O588 Cooper Memos, July 1964-August 1966. 132pp. Box 2.

 Vu Van Thai; Warrenton Meeting; Vietnam Coordinating Committee;

 SANE Delegation; Peace; Rice Situation; Refugees; *The Asian Week*; Chieu Hoi; Senator Barry Goldwater; Peace Negotiations;

 McGeorge Bundy; Presidential Campaign.
- O720 Colonel Ginsburgh Memos, September 1966-November 1968. 60pp.
 Box 3.
 U.S. Troop Dispositions; Walt W. Rostow; U.S. Air Force.
- Jorden Memos, August 1966-May 1968. 41pp. Box 5.
 Walt W. Rostow; Peace Negotiations; U.N.; Asia; Press Contacts.
- 0821 Roche Memos, January-October 1967. 61pp. Box 7.
 Peace Negotiations; A.D.A.; Douglas Committee; Walt W. Rostow;
 Statistics Problem; Ho Chi Minh.
- 0882 Ropa Memos, July 1965-May 1967. 80pp. Box 7.

 Walt W. Rostow; International Rescue Committee; Southeast Asia;
 United Kingdom; SEATO; Senate; Far East; Foreign Aid; Women
 Strike for Peace; Jaycees; Teach-In.
- O962 Rostow Memos, April 1966-September 1968. 40pp. Box 7.
 Joe Alsop; United Kingdom.

Reel 7

National Security File cont.

Name File cont.

O001 Rostow Memos, April 1966-September 1968 cont. 206pp. Box 7 cont.
Bombing Issue; Douglas Committee; Henry Kissinger; Legislation;
Peace Negotiations; U.N.; Pacification; U.S. Government
Organization; Asian Conferences; Civilian Casualties.

Files of McGeorge Bundy

- 0207 "Non-Speech on Vietnam," February 1965. 70pp. Box 17. Drafts, Outlines, and Views.
- 0277 Vietnam Speeches (1), February 1966. 111pp. Box 17.
 Drafts; "Investment" Memo; Vice President Hubert Humphrey;
 Senator Robert Kennedy; Walt W. Rostow; U.S. Military; Honolulu Declaration.
- Vietnam Speeches (2), March 1965-January 1966. 144pp. Box 17.

 George W. Ball; Dean Rusk; U.N.; Outline of "Talking Points"; State of the Union Message; Peace Negotiations; Vietnam Appropriations.
- Vietnam Speech--Drafts for June 1965 Presidential Address, June 1965.
 55pp. Box 17.
 Drafts and Outlines.
- O587 Public Opinion, January 20-26, 1966. 7pp. Box 17.
 Bombing Issue; Peace Negotiations.
- McGeorge Bundy, Teach-In, May-June 1965. 148pp. Box 18.
 "Aggression" Chronology; Infiltration; Universities; Agenda; Hans J.
 Morgenthau; Bombing Issue; Freedom House; Free World
 Assistance; Association of Asian Studies; Academic Community.
- O742 President's Consultants on Foreign Affairs (Peace Panel), 1967-1968. 115pp. Box 18.

Foreign Aid; Vietnam Panel; Lists of Members; Senator Lewis Douglas; John McCloy.

Speech File

0857 State of the Union (1), January 12, 1966. 146pp. Box 4.

McGeorge Bundy; Statistics; Drafts; Combat Operations; Bill Moyers.

Reel 8

National Security File cont.

Speech File cont.

- O001 State of the Union (1), January 12, 1966 cont. 126pp. Box 4 cont.

 Drafts; Outlines; Foreign Affairs Pact; Peace Terms.
- O127 State of the Union (2), January 12, 1966. 268pp. Box 4.
 "Social Revolution and Nation Building"; Civil Activities; AID
 Program; Foreign Aid; Drafts; Walt W. Rostow; McGeorge Bundy.
- O395 Drafts for Speeches on Vietnam (1), 1963-1965. 236pp. Box 7.

 McGeorge Bundy; Situation Notes; Robert S. McNamara; Dean Rusk; David Susskind.
- O631 Drafts for Speeches on Vietnam (2), 1963-1965. 177pp. Box 7.

 McGeorge Bundy; William P. Bundy; Negotiations; Foreign Aid.

Office of the President File

- 0808 Bundy, McGeorge, 1964-1968. 115pp. Box 1.

 General Maxwell Taylor; U.N.; Foreign Policy; United Kingdom;
 National Security Council; Freedom House; Foreign Aid; Bombing Issue.
- Poche, John P., 1966-1968. 88pp. Box 11.

 "Wrong" Option; Saigon Situation; Peace Negotiations; Vietnam Referendum (Emory University); U.N.; Democratic Party; A.D.A.; Riots; National Citizen's Committee for Peace with Freedom in Vietnam; Court Martial of Captain Howard Levy; Pacification; "Peaceniks."

Reel 9

Office Files of George Christian

- News Briefing--Department of State, September 18, 1967. 42pp. Box 1.

 Transcript.
- 0043 Edwin Reischauer--Vietnam, February 1968. 30pp. Box 2. Senator Robert Kennedy; Tet Offensive.
- Vietnam--Unclassified (1 of 2), September 1967-March 1968. 247pp. Box 2.

Advertisement; Eugene V. Rostow; Pacification; ARVN Operations; General William Westmoreland; Walt W. Rostow; Ho Chi Minh; Public Opinion; Dean Rusk.

Vietnam--Unclassified (2 of 2), December 1966-February 1968 and Undated. 320pp. Box 2.

Vietnamese Elections; Air Strikes in Hanoi; Press Briefings; Bombing Issue; Dean Rusk; General William Westmoreland; Vietnam Visits; USSR; Population Control; Vietnam Information Group; Tom Johnson; National Citizen's Committee for Peace with Freedom in Vietnam; Refugees; Vietnam Medical Appraisal Team; National Foreign Policy Conference for Editors and Broadcasters.

- Vietnam, November 1967-February 1968. 17pp. Box 4.
 Deployment of U.S. Troops; Senate Foreign Relations Committee;
 Tet Offensive.
- Vietnam Miscellaneous File, February 1968. 55pp. Box 12.

 Senate Foreign Relations Committee; Draftees; General William

 Westmoreland; Tet Offensive; Khe Sanh; Senator Robert Kennedy.

Office Files of Fred Panzer

O712 Polls--Vietnam, June 1965-March 1968. 126pp. Box 182.
Statistics; Bombing Issue; Troop Withdrawals; Vietnamese Elections; Escalation; U.N.

Vietnam Information Group, November 1967-August 1968. 196pp. Box 427.

> U.S. Special Forces; President Nguyen Van Thieu; Agendas; Bombing Issue; Peace Negotiations; Enemy Strength Figures; Asian Leaders; Refugees; Population Data; Recovery; Boston Globe Survey; Tet Offensive; ARVN Operations; Vietnam Orientation Visits: Ambassador Robert Komer.

Reel 10

Office Files of Fred Panzer cont.

- O001 Authors Take Sides on Vietnam, by Cecil Woolf and John Bagguley. 2pp. [Text was not filmed.]
- 0003 Vietnam--Correspondence, March-June 1967. 12pp. Box 428.

 Casualty Rates; Senator Robert Kennedy; Bombing Issue; CBS

 Vietnam Survey; Peace Efforts.
- OO15 GOP Vietnam Position--Romney/Hatfield/Brook, 1967. 47pp. Box 428.
 Governor Nelson Rockefeller; Governor Ronald Reagan; Senator Charles Percy; Richard Nixon; Party Strategy; Senator Everett Dirksen.
- Vietnam-Congress, 1966-1967. 311pp. Box 428.

 John F. Kennedy; Republican Party; Senate Committee on Foreign Relations; Democratic Party; Administration's Vietnam Policy; Peace Efforts; Gulf of Tonkin Incident; Senator George Aiken; Congressional Record; Congressional Elections; Senator Stuart Symington; Senator Mike Mansfield; Bombing Issue; Senator J. William Fulbright.
- O373 Articles on Vietnam, 1964-1967. 200pp. Box 428.

 USIS Features; History of U.S. Involvement; SANE Committee;
 Self-Determination in Vietnam; Department of State Background
 Notes; Congressional Record; British Press Summaries; Fort Wayne
 AID Activities; Legality of U.S. Participation; Gulf of Tonkin; Senate
 Foreign Relations Committee; History—Chronology of Events.

- Vietnam Peace Plans, May 1968. 297pp. Box 429.

 Negros; National Committee for a Political Settlement in Vietnam;
 Cyrus Vance; Peace Negotiations; Senator Walter Mondale; Laos;
 USIS Features; Legality of War; Bombing Issue; Kerr Peace Plan;
 Governor Nelson Rockefeller; Vietnam Working Group; Honolulu
 Meeting; Ambassador W. Averell Harriman.
- 0870 T.V. Scripts on Vietnam, 1965-1966. 35pp. Box 429. [Texts of these scripts were not filmed.]
- 0905 Other Powers' Aid to Vietnam, February 1968. 5pp. Box 430.
- Vietnam--Pacification Program, 1966-1967. 28pp. Box 430.
 Ambassador Robert Komer; General William Westmoreland; Foreign Aid; Rural Reform.
- 0938 Foreign Reaction to the Vietnam War and U.S. Policy, 1966-1968. 63pp. Box 430.

U.N.; France; Cambodia; Sweden; United Kingdom; Vatican; Australia; China; USSR; Canada.

Reel 11

Office Files of Fred Panzer cont.

- Foreign Reaction to the Vietnam War and U.S. Policy, 1966-1968 cont. 98pp. Box 430 cont.
 - USSR; France; Canada; Vatican; United Kingdom; Australia; USIA; Thailand; Democratic National Committee.
- 0099 Vietnam Veterans, March 19, 1968. 2pp. Box 430.
- 0101 U.S. Economic Aid to South Vietnam, 1966. 4pp. Box 430.

0105 Vietnam Publications [CO312] (1 of 2). 282pp. Box 430.

The Third Challenge--Unconventional Warfare, DOD; War and Advice, DOD; Aggression from the North, DOD; Know Your Enemy: The Viet Cong, DOD; Vietnam: Four Steps to Peace, Department of State; Why Vietnam, U.S. Government; The Legality of U.S. Participation in the Defense of Vietnam, Department of State; The Pledge of Honolulu, Department of State; Fact Sheet: Why Vietnam, DOD; Fact Sheet: The U.S. Commitment to Freedom, DOD; Fact Sheet: U.S. Policy on Vietnam, DOD; Liberation or Conquest: The Struggle in South Vietnam, DOD; The Evidence at Vung Ro Bay, DOD; Geographic Aspects of the Struggle in Vietnam, Department of State; Vietnam: The 38th Day, Department of State.

0387 Vietnam Publications [CO312] (2 of 2). 355pp. Box 430.

Southeast Asia and Vietnam, 1954-1966, Committee Print, Senate Foreign Relations Committee; The Issue in Vietnam, Department of State; Vietnam Today, Department of State; Vietnam: The Struggle To Be Free, Department of State; Vietnam: The Struggle For Freedom, DOD; The Vietnam Conflict: The Substance and the Shadow, Committee Print, Senate Foreign Relations Committee; Vietnam in Brief, Department of State; Pattern for Peace in Southeast Asia, Department of State; Vietnam Perspectives, American Friends of Vietnam; Power and Responsibility, Department of State; Quiet Warriors: Supporting Social Revolution in Vietnam, Department of State.

Office Files of Marvin Watson

- O742 Roche, John P.--Memos, 1967-1968. 81pp. Box 29.
 Situation; Covert Warfare; Democratic Party; Senator Robert
 Kennedy; Ho Chi Minh; National Citizen's Committee for Peace with
 Freedom in Vietnam; The Committee for Responsibility; Refugees;
 A.D.A.
- Vietnam (1 of 2), 1967-1968. 222pp. Box 32.

 Draft Demonstrations; Peace Negotiations; Bombing Issue; Media Reaction Analyses; Senator Everett Dirksen; New Left Threat; Institute for American Democracy; Democratic National Committee; Polls; Vice President Hubert Humphrey; Representative Gerald R. Ford; Newsclippings; National Citizen's Committee for Peace with Freedom; Racial Violence.

Vietnam (2 of 2), 1967-1968. April 1968. 235pp. Box 32.

Dwight D. Eisenhower; Federal Employees; General William

Westmoreland; AFL-CIO; Vice President Hubert Humphrey;

Presidential Campaign; Peace Efforts; Bombing Issue; Senator
Robert Kennedy; Tet Offensive; SANE Committee; Senator Stuart

Symington; Veterans of Foreign Wars.

Meeting Notes File

- Meetings with Correspondents, February-April 1967. 8pp. Box 3. Bombing Issue; *The Economist*.
- Meetings with Correspondents, July-August 1967. 14pp. Box 3.

 South Vietnamese Elections; Peace Efforts; Bombing Issue.
- Meetings with Correspondents, September 1967. 38pp. Box 3.
 South Vietnamese Elections; Bombing Issue; Peace Efforts; War Appropriations; Australia Situation.
- 1340 Meetings with Correspondents, October 1967. 17pp. Box 3. Polls; Ngo Dinh Diem; Dissent.
- 1357 Meetings with Correspondents, January-March 1968. 9pp. Box 3.
 Prisoners of War; Khe Sanh; War Costs; Bombing Issue; Tet
 Offensive; General William Westmoreland.
- 1366 Meetings with Correspondents, April-May 1968. 7pp. Box 3.
 Peace Negotiations; Vice President Hubert Humphrey; Senator Robert Kennedy.

SUBJECT INDEX

The following index is a guide to the major subjects of this collection. The first Arabic number refers to the reel, and the Arabic number after the colon refers to the frame number at which a particular subject begins. Hence 3: 0934 directs the researcher to the subject that begins at Frame 0934 of Reel 3. By referring to the Reel Index that constitutes the initial section of this guide, the researcher can find the main entry for this subject.

Academic community

7:0594

AFL-CIO

3: 0001: 11: 1045

Agency for International Development (AID)

Fort Wayne 10: 0373 general 3: 0713; 8: 0127

"Aggression" chronology

7:0594

Agnew, Spiro T.

5:0351

Aid

economic 11: 0101

foreign 6: 0882; 7: 0742; 8: 0127,

0631, 0808; 10: 0910

see also Agency for International

Development (AID)

Aiken, George (Senator)

10:0062

Air power, U.S.

6:0720

Alsop, Joseph, Jr.

6:0962

American Newspaper Publishers

Association

1:0520

Americans for Democratic Action

(A.D.A.)

4: 0550; 6: 0821; 8: 0923; 11: 0742

Appropriations

6: 0117; 7: 0388; 11: 1302

Arthur Dean Committee

see Committee for an Effective and

Durable Peace in Asia

ARVN operations

1:0806; 3:0001; 9:0073, 0838

Asia

general 6: 0780

leaders 9: 0838

see also Far East

The Asian Week

6:0588

Association of Asian Studies

7.0594

Australia

10:0938; 11:0001, 1302

see also SEATO

Ball, George W.

7:0388

Battle, enemy order of

general 2: 0001, 0183, 0493

strength 9:0838

see also Infiltration issue.

Bombing issue	Collective Defense Treaty
general 1: 0291, 0520; 2: 0001,	1:0001
0183, 0706, 0941; 3: 0001;	see also SEATO
4: 0001, 0250, 0501; 5: 0351,	Combat operations, U.S.
0654, 0728; 7: 0001, 0587,	7: 0857
0594; 8: 0808; 9: 0320, 0712,	see also ARVN operations
0838; 10: 0003, 0062, 0573;	Committee for an Effective and Durable
11: 0823, 1045, 1288-1366	Peace in Asia
Hanoi 9: 0320	6: 0171, 0283
Boston Globe survey	Committee for Responsibility
1: 0806; 9: 0838	11: 0742
Bundy, McGeorge	Conferences
Aides Files 7: 0207-0742	Asian 7: 0001
general 5: 0351, 0654; 6: 0117,	Honolulu 10: 0573
0576, 0588; 7: 0857; 8: 0127,	National Foreign Policy, for Editors and
0395, 0631	Broadcasters 9: 0320
Office Files of the President 8: 0808	see also Honolulu Declaration
Bundy, William P.	Congress
8: 0631	attitudes 4: 0550, 0881;
Bunker, Ellsworth (Ambassador)	5: 0001-0654
1: 0520	contacts 5: 0654
Cambodia	criticism 4: 0550
10: 0938	elections 10: 0062
see also Southeast Asia	Congressional Record
Canada	4: 0881; 5: 0001, 0122; 10: 0062,
10: 0938; 11: 0001	0373
Casualties	Cooper, Chester
civilian 7: 0001	memos 6: 0588
militaryrates 10: 0003	Corruption
Cater, Douglas	Vietnamese 1: 0520
6: 0576	Court martial
CBS Vietnam Survey	Captain Howard Levy 8: 0923
10: 0003	Covert warfare
Chieu Hoi	11: 0742
6: 0588	Democratic National Committee
China, Peoples Republic of	11: 0001
10: 0938	Democratic Party
Christian, George	8: 0923; 10: 0062; 11: 0742
9: 0001-0657	Diem, Ngo Dinh
Civil activities	see Ngo Dinh Diem
8: 0127	Dirksen, Everett (Senator)
Clifford, Clark M.	10: 0015; 11: 0823
3: 0263	Dissent
	11: 1340

Bombing issue

Freedom House Douglas, Lewis (Senator) 6: 0283; 7: 0594; 8: 0808 7:0742 Free World Assistance **Douglas Committee** 1:0806; 7:0594; 10:0905 2: 0001, 0493, 0941; 6: 0821; Fulbright, J. William (Senator) 7:0001 5:0122;10:0062 Draft see also Senate Foreign Relations demonstrations 11: 0823 Committee draftees 9: 0657 Galbraith, John Kenneth Economic aid 4:0550 see Aid Ginsburgh, Colonel The Economist 6:0720 11:1280 Goldwater, Barry (Senator) Eisenhower, Dwight D. 6:0588 general 11: 1045 GOP statements 1:0001 position on Vietnam 10:0015 Why Vietnam 6: 0117 Government **Elections** U.S.--organization 7: 0001 U.S.--Congressional 10: 0062 **Great Society Program** U.S.--1968 3: 0713 3:0001 Vietnamese 9: 0320, 0712; **Gulf of Tonkin Incident** 11: 1288, 1302 10:0062,0373 **Escalation** Halberstam, David 3: 0263; 9: 0712 1:0806 **Far East** Harriman, W. Averell (Ambassador) 6:0882 10:0573 see also Asia Ho Chi Minh Federal employees 6: 0821; 9: 0073; 11: 0742 11:1045 Honolulu Declaration Ford, Gerald R. (Representative) 1:0001;7:0277 11:0823 Honolulu meeting Foreign affairs 10:0573 State of the Union speech 7: 0857; **House Foreign Affairs Committee** 8:0001,0127 5:0654 Foreign aid **Humphrey, Hubert (Vice President)** see Aid 3: 0263; 5: 0351; 7: 0277; 11: 0823, Foreign policy 1045, 1366 see Policy, foreign Infiltration issue Fort Wayne 3: 0001, 0713; 7: 0594 Agency for International see also Publications; Westmoreland, Development (AID) 10: 0373 William (General) France "Information problem" "Unified Action" 1: 0001 6:0283 Vietnam War and U.S. policy **Inquiry Committee** 10: 0938; 11: 0001

3:0713

Institute for American Democracy

11:0823

International Rescue Committee

6: 0882

Interrogations

prisoners of war--Viet Cong 5: 0122 see also Prisoners of war

see also Prisoners of Wal

"Investment" memo

7: 0277 **Jaycees**

6:0882

Johns Hopkins Speech

reactions 6: 0034

Johnson, Tom

3: 0571; 9: 0320

Joint Chiefs of Staff

relations 1: 0806

Jones, James R. (Jim)

5:0728

Jorden, William

memos 6: 0780

Judd, Walter (Doctor)

2:0183

Kalb, Marvin

1:0520

Kennedy, Edward (Senator)

refugees 4: 0881

Kennedy, John F.

statements 1: 0001; 10: 0062

Kennedy, Robert (Senator)

4: 0550; 7: 0277; 9: 0043, 0657;

10: 0003; 11: 0742, 1045, 1366

Kerr Peace Plan

4: 0001; 10: 0573

see also Peace

Khe Sanh

9: 0657; 11: 1357

see also Tet offensive

Kissinger, Henry

7:0001

Komer, Robert (Ambassador)

3: 0001; 9: 0838; 10: 0910

Ky, Nguyen Cao

see Nguyen Cao Ky

Laos

1:0001;10:0573

Legislation

7:0001

see also Appropriations

LeMay, Curtis (General)

4:0250

Levy, Howard (Captain)

court martial of 8: 0923

Lucas, James

1:0520

McCarthy, Eugene (Senator)

4:0550

McCloy, John

1:0001;7:0742

McNamara, Robert S.

6:0117;8:0395

McPherson, Harry C., Jr.

5:0728

MACV

6:0283

see also Westmoreland, William

(General)

Mansfield, Mike (Senator)

4: 0550; 10: 0062

Media reaction analysis

11:0823

see also Press; War, U.S. involvement

Medical Appraisal Team, Vietnam

9:0320

Military establishment, U.S.

7:0277

Mondale, Walter (Senator)

10:0573

Morality

4: 0501

Morgenthau, Hans J.

5:0351;7:0594

Moyers, William (Bill)

7:0857

Muskie, Edmund S. (Senator)

5:0351

National Citizen's Committee for Peace Kerr Peace Plan 4: 0001; 10: 0573 with Freedom in Vietnam negotiations 2: 0706: 3: 0263, 0713: 2: 0001, 0493; 8: 0923; 9: 0320; 4: 0001, 0250, 0881: 5: 0122, 11:0742.0823 0351, 0728; 6; 0588, 0780, National Committee for a Political 0821; 7: 0001, 0388, 0587; Settlement in Vietnam 8: 0631, 0923; 9: 0838; 10:0573 10: 0573; 11: 0823, 1366 National Foreign Policy Conference for "peaceniks" 8: 0923 **Editors and Broadcasters** terms 8: 0001 9:0320 see also Bombing: Ho Chi Minh **National Security Council** Peace Panel 8:0808 see President's Consultants on Negroes Foreign Affairs 10:0573 "Peaceniks" New Left 8:0923 threat 11: 0823 Percy, Charles (Senator) News 10:0015 briefings 9: 0001, 0320 Policy, foreign conferences 1:0001 McBundy, George 8: 0808 Ngo Dinh Diem Cater, Douglas 6: 0576 11:1340 Political parties, U.S. Nguyen Cao Ky Democratic Party 8: 0923; 10: 0062; 2:0706 11:0742 see also Elections Democratic Party--National Com-Nguyen Van Thieu (President) mittee 11: 0001 4: 0001; 9: 0838 party planks 5: 0351 Nixon, Richard Republican Party 10: 0015, 0062 5: 0351; 10: 0015 Politics, Vietnamese see also Elections elections 9: 0320, 0712; 11: 1288, "Non-Speech on Vietnam" 1302 7:0207 general 4: 0001 Notes see also Corruption; Nguyen Cao Ky; Department of State 10: 0373 Nguyen Van Thieu general 2: 0183 Polis "talking" 3: 0571, 0713; 4: 0001 3: 0263; 4: 0501; 5: 0122; 9: 0712; **Pacification** 11:0823, 1340 7: 0001; 8: 0923; 9: 0073; 10: 0910 see also Public opinion: Surveys Panzer, Fred **Population** 9: 0712-0838; 10: 0001-0938; 9:0320,0838 11:0001-0387 Presidential address, June 1965 Peace 7:0532 Cooper, Chester 6: 0588 Presidential campaigns efforts 10: 0003, 0062: 1964 1: 0291 11: 1045-1302 1968 6: 0588; 11: 1045 Hanoi 1: 0806 see also Kennedy, Robert (Senator)

President's Consultants on Foreign	Reform, rural
Affairs	10: 0910
7: 0742	Refugees
Press	4: 0881; 6: 0283, 0588; 9: 0320,
Britishsummaries 10: 0373	0838; 11: 0742
contacts 6: 0780	see also Casualties; Kennedy,
control of 1:0806	Edward (Senator)
general 1: 0520, 0806; 2: 0706	Reischauer, Edwin
questions 1: 0520	9: 0043
reporting rules 1: 0806	Reporting rules
Vietnamese 1: 0520	1:0806
see also Boston Globe Survey; The	see also "Information problem"; Press
Economist; "Information problem"	Republican Party
Prisoners of War	general 10: 0062
U.S. 6: 0001; 11: 1357	strategic 10: 0015
Viet Conginterrogation of 5: 0122	see also Political parties
Public Affairs Policy Committee	"Restraint" Question
6: 0283	4: 0001
Publications	Rice situation
Department of Defense 11: 0105,	6: 0588
0387	Riots, U.S.
Department of State 11: 0105, 0387	8: 0923
Public image	see also Dissent
6: 0283	Roche, John P.
Public opinion	general 6: 0821
Boston Globe Survey 1: 0806;	Office Files of the President 8: 0923
9: 0838	Rockefeller, Nelson (Governor)
CBS Vietnam Survey 10: 0003	10: 0015, 0573
general 6: 0034; 7: 0587; 9: 0073	Romney, George (Governor)
polls 3: 0263; 4: 0501; 5: 0122;	10: 0015
9: 0712; 11: 0823, 1340	Ropa, Donald
South VietnamQuayle Report	memos 6: 0882
6: 0406	Rostow, Eugene V.
see also Press	9: 0073
Public relations	Rostow, Walt W.
2: 0001-0493, 0941; 3: 0001-0713;	1: 0520, 0806; 4: 0501; 5: 0728;
4: 0001-0501	6: 0720, 0780, 0821, 0882, 0962;
Quayle Report	7: 0001, 0277; 8: 0127; 9: 0073
6: 0406	Rusk, Dean
Racial violence	2: 0706; 7: 0388; 8: 0395; 9: 0073,
11: 0823	0320
Reagan, Ronald (Governor)	San Antonio Speech
10: 0015	1: 0291; 5: 0728
Recovery	SANE Committee
economic 9: 0838	6: 0588; 10: 0373; 11: 1045

Statistics Schoenbrun Messages 1:0520 general 7: 0857; 9: 0712 S. Con. Res. 63 problem 6: 0821 Strategy, U.S. 5:0001 **SEATO** 4:0881 see also Vietnam policy 1:0001;6:0882 Self-determination Surveys Boston Globe 1: 0806: 9: 0838 10:0373 CBS Vietnam 10: 0003 Senate Quayle Report 6: 0406 6:0882 see also Polls; Public opinion see also Congress Susskind, David Senate Foreign Relations Committee 8:0395 4: 0550; 5: 0001, 0122, 0654; 9: 0640, 0657; 10: 0062, 0373 Sweden see also Fulbright, J. William 10:0938 (Senator); House Foreign Affairs Symington, Stuart (Senator) 4: 0550; 10: 0062; 11: 1045 Committee "Social Revolution and Nation Building" "Talking notes" Vietnam Information Group 3: 0571, 8:0127 0713; 4: 0001 Southeast Asia "Talking points" 6:0882 see also Asia; Cambodia; Laos; speeches 7:0388 Taylor, Maxwell (General) Thailand 4: 0250: 8: 0808 Southeast Asia Resolution of 1968 Teach-In 3:0263 Special Forces, U.S. 6:0882:7:0594 9:0838 Tet offensive 1: 0291, 0806; 3: 0263, 0713; Speeches 5: 0122; 9: 0043, 0640, 0657, Bundy, McGeorge 7: 0207-0532 drafts 5: 0728 0838; 11: 1045, 1357 Thailand general 2: 0001; 6: 0001 Johns Hopkins--reactions to 6: 0034 11:0001 "Non-Speech on Vietnam" 7: 0207 see also Southeast Asia San Antonio 1: 0291; 5: 0728 Thai, Vu Van State of the Union--1966 7: 0388. see Vu Van Thai Thieu, Nguyen Van 0857; 8: 0001, 0127 see Nguyen Van Thieu "talking points" 7: 0388 Troops, U.S. "Stalemate" Issue dispositions 6: 0720; 9: 0640 1: 0520; 2: 0493; 5: 0001 withdrawals 4: 0250; 9: 0712 State of the Union speech Udali, Morris (Representative) 1966 7: 0388, 0857; 8: 0001, 0127 4:0550 States

governors 5: 0122

U.N.	Vietnam Panel
4: 0550; 5: 0122; 6: 0283, 0780;	7: 0742
7: 0001, 0388; 8: 0808, 0923;	Vietnam policy
9: 0712	4: 0550; 5: 0001; 10: 0062
"Unified Action"	Vietnam referendum
1: 0001	Emory University 8: 0923
see also France	see also Polls; Surveys
United Kingdom	Vietnam, visits to
general 6: 0882, 0962; 8: 0808	orientation 3: 0001, 0263; 9: 0320,
press summaries 10: 0373	0838
Vietnam War and U.S. policy	Vietnam Working Group
10: 0938; 11: 0001	10: 0573
Universities	Vu Van Thai
7: 0594	6: 0588
USIA	War
6: 0034; 11: 0001	costs 11: 1357
see also USIS	escalation 9: 0712
USIS	progressgeneral 2: 0183, 0493;
10: 0373, 0573	4: 0250
see also USIA	progressSaigon 8: 0923
USSR	progresssituation 4: 0001; 8: 0395;
general 9: 0320	11: 0742, 1302
Vietnam War and U.S. policy	see also Khe Sanh; Tet offensive
10: 0938; 11: 0001	War, U.S. involvement
Vance, Cyrus	history 1: 0001-0291; 10: 0373
10: 0573	legality 10: 0373, 0573
Vatican	reactionforeign 10: 0938; 11: 0001
Vietnam War and U.S. policy	reactionJohns Hopkins speech
10: 0938; 11: 0001	6: 0034
see also Peace	reactionmedia 11: 0823
Veterans	Warrenton Meeting
11:0099	6: 0588
Veterans Day, 1967	Watson, Marvin
6: 0001	11: 0742-1045
Veterans of Foreign Wars	Westmoreland, William (General)
11: 1045	1: 0520; 2: 0183; 9: 0073, 0320,
Vietnam Coordinating Committee	0657; 10: 0910; 11: 1045, 1357
(VNCC)	see also Infiltration issue
6: 0588	Why Vietnam
Vietnam Information Group	6: 0117
general 2: 0001, 0493, 0941;	Women Strike for Peace
3: 0571, 0713; 4: 0001, 0250,	6: 0882
0501; 5: 0001; 9: 0320, 0838	"Wrong" Option
"talking notes" 3: 0571, 0713;	8: 0923
4: 0001	

RELATED VIETNAM TITLES

CIA Research Reports.

Vietnam and Southeast Asia, 1946-1976. Vietnam and Southeast Asia, Supplement.

Confidential U.S. State Department Central Files.

Indochina: Internal Affairs, 1945-1949. Indochina: Internal Affairs, 1950-1954.

Memos of the Special Assistant for National Security Affairs: McGeorge Bundy to President Johnson, 1963-1966.

The Special Studies Series.

Vietnam and Southeast Asia, 1960-1980.

Transcripts and Files of the Paris Peace Talks on Vietnam, 1968-1973.

U.S. Armed Forces in Vietnam, 1954-1975.

Part One. Indochina Studies.

Part Two. Vietnam: Lessons Learned.

Part Three. Vietnam: Reports of U.S. Army Operations.

Part Four. Vietnam: U.S. Army Senior Officer Debriefing Reports.

The War in Vietnam: Classified Histories by the National Security Council.

UNIVERSITY PUBLICATIONS OF AMERICA