The Johnson Administration’s Response to Anti–Vietnam War Activities

Part 1: White House Aides’ Files

A UPA Collection

from

LexisNexis™
The Johnson Administration’s Response to Anti–Vietnam War Activities

Part 1: White House Aides’ Files

Microfilmed from the Holdings of The Lyndon Baines Johnson Library, Austin, Texas

Project Editor
Robert E. Lester

Guide compiled by Joanna Claire Dubus
Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

The Johnson Administration’s response to anti-Vietnam war activities [microform] / project editor, Robert E. Lester.

microfilm reels—(Research collections in American politics)

“Microfilmed from the holdings of the Lyndon Baines Johnson Library, Austin, Texas.”

Summary: Reproduces record groups containing internal memoranda, reports, and working papers circulated between the President and his advisers, and also correspondence between the administration and key individuals and groups outside the White House. Accompanied by a printed guide compiled by Joanna Claire Dubus.

Contents: pt. 1. White House Aides’ Files

ISBN 1-55655-952-6


I. Lester, Robert. II. Dubus, Joanna Claire, 1981–. III. Lyndon Baines Johnson Library. IV. LexisNexis (Firm) V. Series.

DS559.62 U6
959.7043373—dc22

2004046534

CIP
TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction ................................................................. v
Scope and Content Note ...................................................... xi
Source Note .................................................................. xiii
Editorial Note ................................................................. xiii
Acknowledgments ............................................................ xiii
Abbreviations List ............................................................ xv

Reel Index

Reel 1
Joseph Califano .................................................................. 1
Douglas Cater .................................................................. 1
Ervin Duggan .................................................................. 1
James C. Gaither .............................................................. 1

Reel 2
James C. Gaither cont. ....................................................... 2
John W. Macy Jr. ............................................................... 2

Reel 3
John W. Macy Jr. cont. ....................................................... 3
Harry C. McPherson Jr. ..................................................... 3

Reel 4
Harry C. McPherson Jr. cont. ........................................... 3
Matthew Nimetz .............................................................. 4

Reel 5
Matthew Nimetz cont. ...................................................... 4
Fred Panzer .................................................................. 5

Reel 6
Fred Panzer cont. .............................................................. 5
Irving Sprague ............................................................... 5
Larry Temple ................................................................. 6
Marvin Watson ............................................................... 6

Reel 7
Marvin Watson cont. ......................................................... 6
Warren Christopher ......................................................... 7
Ramsey Clark ............................................................... 7
Reel 8
Ramsey Clark cont. ........................................................................................................ 7
Harry C. McPherson Jr. .................................................................................................. 7
Bill Moyers .................................................................................................................. 8

Principal Correspondents Index .................................................................................. 9
Subject Index ............................................................................................................... 11
INTRODUCTION

UPA's newest collection from the extensive presidential files of the Lyndon B. Johnson Library highlights the concerns of the president and his administration about the public's response to the escalating war in Vietnam. The collection enumerates policies, responses, and recommendations from the president's advisers and cabinet members on handling the challenge of the antiwar movement.

The Antiwar Movement

From the beginning of America's gradual military buildup in Vietnam, a vocal minority had sharply criticized U.S. government policy. In voting for Lyndon B. Johnson instead of Barry Goldwater in 1964, these critics had intended to register their strongest opposition to any enlargement of the conflict in Southeast Asia. They felt a profound sense of outrage when President Johnson approved air strikes against North Vietnam only three months after the election. Angry protest demonstrations against the war began in 1965 and mounted in seriousness throughout the 1960s.

University professors and students were among the earliest critics of the American intervention. The protesters conducted sit-ins and teach-ins, during which they "studied" the background of the Vietnam situation and condemned government policy. In August 1965, representatives of various civil rights, peace, leftist, and church groups organized the National Coordinating Committee to End the War. The following October this committee sponsored a series of mass meetings and marches in cities across the nation. Some ten thousand antiwar demonstrators marched down Fifth Avenue in New York City, while in Berkeley, California, the police halted an attempted march on the Oakland Army Terminal. Many of the New York City demonstrators publicly burned their draft cards, and efforts to evade and disrupt the Selective Service system became a favorite form of protest for young men determined not to fight in what they regarded as an immoral war. Although highly visible, the protestors constituted only a small minority in the early days. Bystanders heckled the demonstrators and sometimes pelted them with eggs; self-styled patriots conducted counterdemonstrations demanding still stronger anti-Communist measures.

As the war dragged on, antiwar demonstrators became more passionate. Convinced that the war was demoralizing the nation and crippling the progress of African Americans, Martin Luther King Jr. took a prominent part in the antiwar movement. In April 1967, he led a march of over 100,000 people from New York City's Central Park to the United Nations headquarters, while more than 50,000 attended an antiwar meeting in San Francisco. In October 1967, police arrested 647 protestors during a two-day demonstration in Washington that culminated in a march on the Pentagon, symbol of the American war machine. Opposition to the war was by no means confined to long-haired youths. Prominent news reporters and television commentators revealed their views on America's policy in Vietnam, and the respected New York Times began, during 1967, to call for a halt in the bombing and the beginning of peace negotiations.

In Congress, few lawmakers risked their political future by opposing President Johnson's Vietnam policy, but after 1965, a vocal antiwar faction increased. Because of his chairmanship of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, the position of Senator J. William...
Fulbright was particularly important. In 1964, he had been President Johnson’s most valuable supporter during the Tonkin Gulf crisis. Two years later he was demonstrating his unhappiness with the president’s policies by sharp questioning of administration advisers. Particularly damaging were the hearings of February 1968, when Senator Fulbright explored the Tonkin Gulf affair and found that the August 4th attack by the North Vietnamese was questionable. Referring to his own role in pushing through the Tonkin Gulf Resolution, Fulbright often stated regret for supporting the resolution.

Although Senator Fulbright was one of the more prestigious figures among the Senate “doves,” his Hamlet-like character—publicly agonizing over his decisions—made him less willing to lead vigorous attacks upon the president’s Vietnam policy. Younger and more ambitious men like Senators Eugene McCarthy and George McGovern took the lead in attacking the president’s Vietnam policy. Potentially, the most important dove was Robert F. Kennedy, who had been elected senator from New York in 1964. Despite President John F. Kennedy’s part in the American escalation of the war, his brother became an outspoken critic of Johnson’s inherited Vietnam commitment and policy.

Within the Johnson administration itself there was a rising undercurrent of doubt. At first Under Secretary of State George W. Ball seemed only to be playing the lonely role of devil’s advocate to test the faith of the true believers. By the fall of 1967, however, his misgivings were shared by such men as Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul Nitze and Under Secretary of the Air Force Townsend Hoopes. These moderates found it hard to reach the president’s ear because Johnson’s most trusted advisers, particularly Walt Rostow and Secretary of State Dean Rusk, were persistent hard-liners.

A key man in the behind-the-scenes struggle was Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara, an expert in business management, who had long believed that the efficient application of adequate force would solve the Vietnam problem. As early as the fall of 1966, however, he began to question the recommendations of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and a year later he advised the president to cut back the bombing of North Vietnam and to refuse General William Westmoreland’s request for 200,000 more troops to add to the 500,000 already there.

Unhappy with McNamara’s change of position, President Johnson found a different post for him as president of the World Bank. Clark Clifford, who became secretary of defense on March 1, 1968, was presumed to be a hawk since he had been one of the most trusted advisers of former President Harry S. Truman, when the containment policy originated. But as a keen lawyer, Clifford insisted on studying the whole Vietnam problem for himself. Before his first month in office was over, Secretary Clifford threw his weight to the side of the doves and surprised many people in the president’s inner circle with his proposals.

In the waning days of the Johnson administration, Secretary of Defense Clifford and Secretary of State Rusk were the catalysts that rallied the president’s advisers to the dove or hawk side of the debate. Given the conundrum the president’s advisers and policy makers had made for themselves in Vietnam, the hesitations and reversals of the final months of the Johnson administration are not at all surprising.

“Tonight I want to speak to you of peace in Vietnam, and Southeast Asia.” These opening words of President Johnson’s address to the nation on March 31, 1968, represented a symbolic triumph of sorts for those people around the president who wanted a change in the nation’s policy toward the Vietnam War. The speech revealed the continuing tension among the president’s advisers and Johnson’s own deep ambiguity. The speech, however, was only a partial victory for the administration’s war opponents, and there would still be a series of painful political struggles to gain President Johnson’s approval for alternatives to sending more troops and dropping more bombs.
President Johnson’s speech of March 31 brought the dreams of the antiwar opposition for a major policy change as close to reality as they had been in three years. Yet even as the North Vietnamese were responding positively to Johnson’s initiative on ending the bombing and opening peace negotiations, American life was shuddering through additional spasms of violent dislocation and disorder that shoveled Vietnam to the background of national concerns. In early April, Martin Luther King Jr. was assassinated in an attack that triggered massive uprisings in ghettos across America. Two months later, Robert F. Kennedy was shot to death—a murder that also cut down the McCarthy campaign. Reeling under the impact of these tragic events, peace liberals and their followers stumbled into the Democratic National Convention in Chicago in August, where they became caught up with black militants and antiwar radicals in riotous clashes with city police and state authorities. The conflict in Chicago proved to be the climax of a year that was marked by rising antiwar hopes and larger failures.

LBJ, His Advisers, and the Administration’s Response

From beginning to end, President Johnson tried to steer America down what he conceived to be a middle course of involvement in Vietnam. Claiming an inherited national commitment, the president sought to maintain an anti-Communist regime in Saigon at the same time as he shunted aside his advisers’ encouragement either to carry the war beyond Vietnam or to undertake military de-escalation and early peace negotiations. Inevitably, the president’s course produced domestic discontent.

President Johnson and his advisers never developed any coherent understanding of the antiwar opposition. The Johnson administration’s attitudes and approaches toward critics of the Vietnam policy were rather fragmented, inconsistent, and sometimes illusory. They varied in their expression according to who was issuing criticisms, and therefore who, according to the president, was really behind the attack.

Within the “official family” the president brooked no serious opposition to his policies. President Johnson accepted dissenting views among his advisers during the months prior to the Americanization of the war in 1965. But once U.S. air power and ground troops had been committed, he steamrolled almost all internal expressions of doubt or disaffection. Under Secretary of State Ball, a policy adviser who had distinguished himself during administration debates by his opposition to the Americanization of the war, tried quietly to advance his views within a limited circle at the White House. But publicly he avowed his loyalty to the president’s policies by attacking antiwar critics and insisting that the first order of business was to win the war.

In practice, the president’s attempts to deal with the antiwar opposition changed between 1963 and 1969 from grudging tolerance to outright attacks and then to pained acceptance. In the process, Johnson’s reaction to the opposition careened unpredictably between his proud contention, on the one side, that domestic dissent was the price of working democracy, and his dark suggestions, on the other side, that the opposition was a Communist plot.

In the beginning, the president and his administration appeared patient and generous. During 1963 the Johnson White House politely dismissed expressions of opposition voiced by elitist critics and peace liberals, and it ignored altogether the few scattered street protests mounted by radical pacifists and leftists. In August 1964, shortly after the Tonkin Gulf attacks, national security adviser McGeorge Bundy warned the president of mutterings around the edges of American society that the administration was not doing as well as it should with professionals and educators. Otherwise the administration did not expect any serious expressions of domestic opposition that could not be managed with the right combination of intimidation and moderation.
Early in 1965, after the inauguration of the U.S. air war against North Vietnam, the administration continued to treat its antiwar critics more as a nuisance than as a serious factor in policy. The State Department paid deference to antiwar critics and White House aides Chester Cooper, Robert Ropa, and George Christian met with petitioning pacifists, dismissing their arguments outright. Altogether, the administration played its response to the antiwar opposition in a very low key.

The American people during this time rallied impressively to support the war effort and the administration’s Vietnam policies. Yet neither their numbers nor their enthusiasm slowed the growth of the war or the spread of antiwar opposition. Throughout 1966, persistent attacks from congressional doves, antidraft demonstrations on university campuses, and popular apprehension over the spread of the war to Communist China aggravated suspicions about the wisdom of the war in Vietnam and prompted the administration into making more aggressive attacks on antiwar critics. By the end of the year, the administration pulled back from the attack, urging only that the administration’s critics do their dissenting in private. This “zigzag” was due to the administration’s concern over lending credence to the antiwar opposition and fostering a right-wing backlash.

The administration’s zigzag approach toward the antiwar opposition during 1966 reflected differences within the administration over how to deal with White House critics. Some staff aides, such as Jack Valenti, wanted more aggressive attacks upon the doves. Other aides, such as Bill Moyers and Joseph Califano Jr., feared that the antiwar opposition only indicated a problem that was far broader and more dangerous; namely, antiwar disaffection among the relatively well-informed middle class, who had been the strongest supporters of every major U.S. foreign policy initiative since 1940 and who were not convinced of the wisdom of Vietnam. Indiscriminate attacks upon antiwar critics only aggravated the suspicion and uneasiness felt among those suburban families with college-age kids who were becoming troubled about the war.

For the Johnson administration, 1967 was the year of greatest challenge. Rampant domestic disorders, especially in the black ghettos, rose to new levels of destructiveness at the same time as some of the president’s key advisers concluded that America might be tied down in Vietnam for many years to come. With domestic turmoil spreading and the war mounting in cost with no end in sight, the administration decided to persist in its prevailing war strategy at the same time as it opened a broader attack upon its antiwar critics.

During the first half of the year, the president and his advisers continued their zigzag approach to the antiwar opposition, righteously affirming the importance of responsible democratic dissent at the same time as blasting critics for encouraging the Communists. During the second half of the year, the administration launched its most serious attempt to subvert its antiwar opposition and to rally popular sentiment behind its policies with limited success.

In 1968, several events combined to energize the antiwar opposition and created further disaffection in the Johnson White House. Secretary of Defense McNamara, one of the most influential figures in the history of the Vietnam War and a primary architect of American policy in Vietnam, lost faith in the American effort and pushed the president for a negotiated settlement to the war. Understandably, the president was upset with this defection of one of the “best and brightest.” President Johnson’s frustration and anger reached a highpoint at the end of 1967, and he requested McNamara’s resignation. The allegedly “hawkish” Clark Clifford replaced McNamara in January of 1968.

In addition, the 1968 Tet Offensive exposed the determination of the Communists in South Vietnam and demoralized American public opinion. The credibility gap, referring to the
discrepancies between public pronouncements and private policies of the administration, was now a wide crevasse, and the “light at the end of the tunnel” was nowhere to be seen.

Early in March 1968, a wave of antiadministration resentment in New Hampshire handed Senator McCarthy a huge moral victory in the Democratic primary. Along with Robert F. Kennedy, it seemed that the antiwar opposition had been transformed into an electable commodity.

Buffeted by the new defense secretary’s review of Vietnam policy and strategy and the public’s faltering confidence in the Johnson administration, the president caved in to the peace views of several of his closest advisers, including McGeorge Bundy, Cyrus Vance, Jim Jones, and Harry McPherson. On March 31, President Johnson announced that he was establishing a ceiling on the U.S. troop commitment while preparing the South Vietnamese to take over their own defense and that he was ordering a halt in bombing over most of North Vietnam in hopes of bringing Hanoi to the conference table. The president also announced that he would refuse to seek his party’s presidential nomination in the hope that his withdrawal from office might bring an end to the country’s domestic divisions.

Early in November, President Johnson announced a complete halt in bombing over North Vietnam and, a few days later, the commencement of four-sided peace talks in January 1969. Shortly after Johnson’s November announcement, Richard M. Nixon squeaked through to a presidential victory on the strength of a narrow popular vote upon the promise of ending the Vietnam War.

Sources:
SCOPE AND CONTENT NOTE

The files of President Lyndon Johnson’s aides were microfilmed for this publication from the holdings at the Johnson Library in Austin, Texas. They date from 1959 to 1968, with the bulk of the material from 1965 to 1967. The majority of the collection is arranged alphabetically, from Joseph Califano to Marvin Watson, and concludes with documents from the files of Deputy Attorney General Warren Christopher and Attorney General Ramsey Clark. Documents include correspondence, reports, newspaper clippings, and academic papers.

The Selective Service System as it operated during the Vietnam era caused much popular controversy in the United States. General Lewis B. Hershey, the director of Selective Service, was aggressively pro-draft and stirred up opposition to his system especially among university students and professors. Johnson’s aides collected numerous reports on the structure and procedures of the Selective Service System, press material on Hershey, statistical data on Selective Service registrants, and judicial opinions concerning Selective Service.

The Subversive Activities Control Board, established in 1950 under the Internal Security Act, remained active during the Johnson presidency prosecuting cases against alleged Communist front organizations and individuals with Communist affiliations. White House aides kept track of the SACB’s activities and information on board members, as well as the congressional debate over a proposal to abolish the board.

The Justice Department’s role in preparing for antiwar demonstrations at the Pentagon in October 1967 is documented in the files of Matthew Nimetz, Warren Christopher, and Ramsey Clark. Material on the protests includes background information on the organization that sponsored the demonstration, the National Mobilization Committee on End the War in Vietnam, and police security during the demonstrations.

President Johnson’s political opposition had two powerful leaders: Senators J. William Fulbright and Eugene McCarthy, both members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Printed matter, primarily press clippings detailing the senators’ objections to Johnson’s Vietnam policy, constitutes most of the files of Fred Panzer and Marvin Watson. Watson’s files also cover Senator McCarthy’s presidential campaign during the 1968 election.

UPA has microfilmed other Johnson administration collections including The Confidential Files of the Johnson White House, 1963–1969, Parts 1 and 2; Political Activities of the Johnson White House, 1963–1969, Parts 1 and 2; and Vietnam, the Media, and Public Support For the War. More information on the Subversive Activities Control Board can be found in Records of the Subversive Activities Control Board, 1950–1972. Documents on student activism were filmed in The President’s Commission on Campus Unrest, Part 1.
SOURCE NOTE

The documents reproduced in this microform publication are from the Presidential Papers of Lyndon B. Johnson in the custody of the Lyndon B. Johnson Library, Austin, Texas.

EDITORIAL NOTE

The files selected for Part I are from the Papers as President: Office Files of the White House Aides, and include the office files of:

- Joseph A. Califano Jr.
- Douglass Cater
- Warren Christopher
- Ervin Duggan
- James C. Gaither
- John W. Macy Jr.
- Harry C. McPherson
- Mike Manatos
- Matthew Nimetz
- Frederick Panzer
- Irvine H. Sprague
- Larry Temple
- W. Marvin Watson

Includes selected files from the Personal Papers of Warren Christopher and Clark Clifford.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

UPA would like to acknowledge the assistance and cooperation of the Lyndon B. Johnson Library in Austin, Texas. Mrs. Christina Houston and her staff, particularly Linda Selke, Allen Fisher, and Laura Harmon, were most helpful and patient in providing the support necessary for completion of this microform. Their efforts are greatly appreciated.
ABBREVIATIONS LIST

The following abbreviations and acronyms are used throughout this guide.

**AFL-CIO**  American Federation of Labor–Congress of Industrial Organizations

**NMC**  National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam

**NSSAB**  National Selective Service Advisory Board

**SACB**  Subversive Activities Control Board

**SSS**  Selective Service System
REEL INDEX

The following is a listing of the folders comprising The Johnson Administration’s Response to Anti-Vietnam War Activities, Part I: White House Aides’ Files. The four-digit number on the far left is the frame at which a particular file folder begins. This is followed by the file title, the date(s) of the file, and the total number of pages. Substantive issues are highlighted under the heading Major Topics, as are prominent correspondents under the heading Principal Correspondents.

Reel 1

Major Topics: Sixteenth Annual Report for SACB; investigation of W. E. B. Du Bois Clubs of America; creation of SACB; purposes of SACB; proceedings against Communist Party; Fifteenth Annual Report for SACB; amendments to Subversive Activities Control Act.
Principal Correspondent: Joseph Califano.

Major Topics: SSS annual report; Military Service Act of 1967; SSS organization and appeal boards; requirements for military service deferment; statistics on SSS registrants; legal actions against delinquent SSS registrants; Cornell University student demonstrations against military recruitment; Abe Fortas’s opinions of Lewis B. Hershey; university presidents’ opinions of Lewis B. Hershey; temporary suspension of military recruiting at State University of New York at Binghamton.
Principal Correspondents: Lewis B. Hershey; J. E. Wallace Sterling; Joseph Califano.

Major Topic: Political activism on college and university campuses.

Major Topics: Amendments to Higher Education Act of 1965 concerning student protesters; suspension of financial aid to students involved in protests or riots.
Principal Correspondent: James C. Gaither.

Major Topics: Petitions to U.S. Supreme Court by delinquent SSS registrants; constitutionality of Selective Service Executive Order.
Principal Correspondent: Matthew Nimetz.

Major Topics: Nationalism and South Vietnam; anti-Americanism in South Vietnam; U.S. military advisory personnel in South Vietnam; proposals to achieve conclusion of Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty; proposed study of satellite reconnaissance systems; aid money for Africa and Middle East.
Major Topics: Salaries and expenses for SACB; SACB budget and workload estimates for 1968; investigation of W. E. B. Du Bois Clubs of America; history of Subversive Activities Control Act; Attorney General’s List of Subversive Organizations.
Principal Correspondent: Ramsey Clark.


Major Topics: Robert McNamara’s opinions of SSS; salaries for local SSS board personnel; constitutionality of SSS; proposed revisions to Universal Military Training and Service Act; SSS deferment policies; National Advisory Committee on Selective Service members; proposed presidential statement on signing of Military Selective Service Act of 1967; recommendations for restructuring SSS.
Principal Correspondent: Bradley H. Patterson Jr.

Reel 2

358 pp.
Major Topics: Recommendations for restructuring SSS; executive order amending SSS regulations; proposed release of National Advisory Commission on Selective Service documents; report on SSS effectiveness by Stuart Altman; president’s Manpower Service Advisory Committee proposal; discrimination against African Americans and membership on local SSS boards; student deferments; selection of Peace Corps volunteers by SSS; physicians eligible for military service.

Major Topics: General Lewis Hershey’s policies as director of SSS; Washington Post interview with Lewis Hershey on draft laws.
Principal Correspondent: John W. Macy Jr.

Major Topics: Graduate student deferments; statistics on SSS registrants; appointment of Carlos Ogden as Director of Selective Service for California; effects of Military Selective Service Act of 1967 on higher education; executive order amending SSS regulations.

Major Topic: National Advisory Committee on Selective Service membership.

Major Topics: Statistics on SSS registrants; statistics on NSSAB cases; appointment of Judge Henry J. Gwiazda as chairman of NSSAB; National Selective Service Appeal Board vacancies.
Principal Correspondents: Henry J. Gwiazda; John B. Clinton; Lawrence F. O’Brien.
*Major Topics:* SACB vacancies; proposal to abolish SACB; biographical information on members of SACB; appointment of Simon F. McHugh to SACB; amendments to Subversive Activities Control Act; proposal to expand authority of SACB.
*Principal Correspondent:* John W. Macy Jr.

### Reel 3

*Major Topics:* Appointment of Simon F. McHugh to SACB; vacancies and proposed appointments to SACB.
*Principal Correspondent:* John W. Macy Jr.


*Principal Correspondent:* Harry C. McPherson Jr.

*Principal Correspondent:* Harry C. McPherson Jr.

*Principal Correspondent:* Harry C. McPherson Jr.

*Major Topics:* Soviet leaders’ opinions on Vietnam war; U.S. public opinion on Vietnam war; proposed U.S. strategies to effect political change in South Vietnam; U.S. bombing raids in North Vietnam.

*Principal Correspondent:* Harry C. McPherson Jr.

### Reel 4


*Principal Correspondents:* Harry C. McPherson Jr.; Albert Z. Carr.

*Principal Correspondent:* Harry C. McPherson Jr.

*Major Topic:* U.S. public opinion on Vietnam policy.


*Major Topics:* Communist participation in Pentagon demonstrations; plans for legal proceedings against arrested demonstrators; procedure for arresting demonstrators; speakers and police mobilization at NMC demonstrations.
*Principal Correspondents:* Gerald P. Choppin; Ramsey Clark; Fred M. Vinson Jr.

*Major Topics:* Procedures for arresting and detaining demonstrators; police and military mobilization at NMC demonstrations; availability of sanitary and health facilities during NMC demonstrations; estimated number of participants and schedule for NMC demonstrations.
*Principal Correspondent:* Harry R. Van Cleve.

**Reel 5**

*Major Topics:* Biographical information on NMC leaders; demonstration planning meeting between Justice Department and NMC representatives; proposed sites in Washington, D.C., for NMC demonstrations.
*Major Topics:* Proposal to institute universal military training as alternative to SSS; House of Representatives study of SSS; African Americans’ eligibility for SSS; SSS deferment test and local board rules; statistics on SSS inductees; recommendations for changes in SSS; U.S. Senate hearings on Universal Military Service and Training Act of 1951; Annual Report of the Director of Selective Service for 1965; organizational structure of SSS; SSS induction processes; deferment policies; statistics on SSS registrants.

*Major Topics:* Projected number of SSS inductees for 1968; effects of SSS on U.S. graduate schools; public opinion on Lewis B. Hershey; four-year extension of SSS law; proposed lottery system to replace SSS; conclusions of study by National Advisory Commission on Selective Service.

*Major Topics:* Senator J. William Fulbright’s opinions on U.S. policy toward Vietnam; conflict with President Johnson on Vietnam policy; Fulbright’s opinions on U.S. policy toward Latin America.

*Major Topics:* History of Senator J. William Fulbright’s opinions on U.S. foreign policy and current views on policy toward Cuba and Vietnam; biographical information on Fulbright.

*Major Topics:* Conflict between Senator J. William Fulbright and President Johnson on Vietnam policy; U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee investigation of Tonkin Gulf military engagements.

Reel 6


*Major Topic:* Press analyses of President Johnson’s speech on Vietnam policy.

*Major Topic:* Operating budget for SACB.
*Principal Correspondent:* Thomas J. Donegan.

*Principal Correspondent:* Irving Sprague.
Major Topics: Permissibility of evidence from wiretaps in SACB cases; Communist Party membership cases before SACB; duties of SACB and proposed Internal Security Act of 1968.
Principal Correspondents: Larry Temple; John W. Mahan.

Major Topics: SSS delinquent registrant case before Supreme Court; legal representation for SSS.

Major Topics: Campaign advertisements for Senator Eugene McCarthy; McCarthy’s opinions on U.S. bombing in North Vietnam; campaign organization for McCarthy; public opinion on McCarthy.

Major Topics: Participation of Eugene McCarthy in Democratic presidential primaries and request for equal time on CBS; Conference of Concerned Democrats meeting in Chicago; biographical information on McCarthy and opposition to President Johnson’s Vietnam policy.
Principal Correspondent: Marvin Watson.

Major Topics: Michigan Conference of Concerned Democrats; public opinion on Eugene McCarthy; Conference of Concerned Democrats meeting in Chicago; McCarthy’s opinions on President Johnson’s Vietnam policy.

Major Topics: Opinions of governors and senators on President Johnson’s Vietnam policy; press analyses of President Johnson’s San Antonio speech on Vietnam policy.

Reel 7

Major Topics: International opinion on President Johnson’s Vietnam policy; opinions of Senator Everett M. Dirksen on President Johnson’s Vietnam policy; international opinion on antiwar demonstrations in United States; House Un-American Activities Committee proceedings against persons involved in anti-Vietnam protests; press analyses of 1967 civil rights leaders’ summit; Black Power riots in Cincinnati and Atlanta; activities of Stokely Carmichael.

Major Topics: Opinions of congressmen and senators on Vietnam policy; public opinion on Vietnam policy; Richard Nixon’s criticism of President Johnson’s Vietnam policy; Gerald R. Ford’s opinions on Vietnam policy; relations between Johnson administration and South Vietnam government; Dwight D. Eisenhower’s opinions on proposed Vietnam de-escalation; results of Minnesota caucuses.

Major Topics: Senator Stuart Symington’s opinions on Vietnam policy; public opinion on Vietnam policy.
Principal Correspondents: Marvin Watson; Donald MacArthur.
*Major Topics:* Biographical information on NMC leaders; security expenses for NMC demonstrations; availability of sanitary and health facilities during NMC demonstrations; police mobilization and arrest procedures for NMC demonstrations; national antidraft demonstrations; schedule for NMC demonstrations; demonstration planning meeting between NMC and Justice Department.  
*Principal Correspondents:* Ramsey Clark; Harry R. Van Cleve.

*Major Topics:* Justice Department investigation of Chicago riots during Democratic National Convention; police and military mobilization for convention; April 1968 Chicago riots following assassination of Martin Luther King Jr.; police role in controlling riots in Chicago.

**Reel 8**

*Major Topics:* Arrests during April 1968 Chicago riots; detention facilities for arrestees; Chicago police-citizen relations; mass arrest procedure for Cook County, Illinois; minority report of Chicago Riot Study Committee.

*Major Topics:* Recommendations for changes in SSS; profile of SSS procedures and personnel; deferments.

*Major Topics:* Justice Department evaluation of law enforcement preparation for NMC demonstrations at Pentagon; meeting between Justice Department officials and peace movement representatives; statistics on arrests during NMC demonstrations; North Vietnamese reactions to NMC demonstrations and U.S. peace movement.


*Major Topics:* Legality of U.S. military involvement in Vietnam; prosecutions of delinquent SSS registrants in California; criminal charges against Dr. Benjamin Spock for aiding and abetting draft resisters; SSS petitions before U.S. Supreme Court; press analyses of indictment of Dr. Spock.  
*Principal Correspondents:* Erwin N. Griswold; Fred M. Vinson.

*Major Topic:* Youth International Party rallies in Washington, D.C.


*Principal Correspondent:* Fred Panzer.
Major Topic: Comments on political dissent by Washington Post Editor J. R. Wiggins.

PRINCIPAL CORRESPONDENTS INDEX

The following index is a guide to the major correspondents in *The Johnson Administration’s Response to Anti–Vietnam War Activities, Part 1: White House Aides’ Files*. The first number after each entry refers to the reel, while the four-digit number following the colon refers to the frame number at which a particular file folder containing correspondence by the person begins. Hence, 4: 0674 directs the researcher to the folder that begins at Frame 0674 of Reel 4. By referring to the Reel Index, which constitutes the initial section of this guide, the researcher will find the folder title, inclusive dates, and a list of Major Topics and Principal Correspondents, arranged in the order in which they appear on the film.

Califano, Joseph  
1: 0001, 0120

Carr, Albert Z.  
4: 0237

Choppin, Gerald P.  
4: 0674

Clark, Ramsey  
1: 0577; 4: 0674; 7: 0416

Clinton, John B.  
2: 0621

Donegan, Thomas J.  
6: 0183

Gaither, James C.  
1: 0305

Griswold, Erwin N.  
8: 0414

Gwiazda, Henry J.  
2: 0621

Hershey, Lewis B.  
1: 0120

MacArthur, Donald  
7: 0268

Macy, John W., Jr.  
2: 0359, 0750; 3: 0001

Mahan, John W.  
6: 0299

McPherson, Harry C., Jr.  
3: 0107, 0519, 0871; 4: 0237, 0362, 0674

Nimetz, Matthew  
1: 0377

O’Brien, Lawrence F.  
2: 0621

Panzer, Fred  
8: 0688

Patterson, Bradley H., Jr.  
1: 0771

Sprague, Irving  
6: 0186

Sterling, J. E. Wallace  
1: 0120

Temple, Larry  
6: 0299

Van Cleve, Harry R.  
4: 0875; 7: 0416

Vinson, Fred M., Jr.  
4: 0674; 8: 0414

Watson, Marvin  
6: 0622; 7: 0268
SUBJECT INDEX

The following index is a guide to the major topics in this microform publication. The first number after each entry refers to the reel, while the four-digit number following the colon refers to the frame number at which a particular file folder containing information on the subject begins. Hence, 4: 0237 directs the researcher to the folder that begins at Frame 0237 of Reel 4. By referring to the Reel Index, which constitutes the initial section of this guide, the researcher will find the folder title, inclusive dates, and a list of Major Topics and Principal Correspondents, arranged in the order in which they appear on the film.

AFL-CIO
4: 0237

Africa
1: 0557

African Americans
casualties in Vietnam 3: 0107
discrimination against 2: 0001
eligibility for SSS 5: 0038
military personnel in Vietnam 3: 0519

Amendments
to Higher Education Act of 1965 1: 0305
to Subversive Activities Control Act
1: 0001, 0577; 2: 0750

American Bar Association
3: 0262

Arrests
Chicago riots (April 1968) 8: 0001
Cook County, Illinois 8: 0001
NMC demonstrators 4: 0577–0875; 7: 0416;
8: 0001

Atlanta, Georgia
7: 0001

Black Power movement
demonstrations in Washington, D.C. 4: 0577
riots in Cincinnati and Atlanta 7: 0001

Bombs and bombing
3: 0262, 0737–0871; 4: 0237; 6: 0508

Califano, Joseph
1: 0001

California
2: 0424; 8: 0414

Carmichael, Stokely
7: 0001

Cater, Douglas
1: 0120

Chicago, Illinois
6: 0622–0763; 7: 0743; 8: 0001

China, People’s Republic of
chronology of U.S. relations with 6: 0001
political influence on Asian nations 4: 0035
statements by President Johnson and Dean Rusk on U.S. policy toward 4: 0035

Christopher, Warren
7: 0416

Cincinnati, Ohio
7: 0001

Civil rights
7: 0001

Clark, Ramsey
7: 0743; 8: 0146–0569

Communist Party
membership cases before SACB 6: 0299
participation in Pentagon demonstrations
4: 0674
SACB proceedings against 1: 0001; 6: 0299

Conference of Concerned Democrats
Chicago meeting 6: 0622–0763

Conferences
Conference of Concerned Democrats
6: 0622–0763
Democratic National Convention 7: 0743
Honolulu Conference 3: 0519; 6: 0186

Congress
see House of Representatives, U.S.
see Senate, U.S.

Constitutional law
1: 0377, 0771
Cornell University
1: 0120
Democratic National Convention
7: 0743
Demonstrations and protests
by Black Power advocates in Washington, D.C. 4: 0577
Cornell University 1: 0120
national antidraft demonstrations 7: 0416
NMC Pentagon 4: 0577–0875; 5: 0001; 7: 0416; 8: 0001
student 1: 0120–0305
Youth International Party rallies in Washington, D.C. 8: 0056
see also Riots and disorders
Department of Justice
see Justice Department
Department of State
see State Department
Dirksen, Everett M.
on President Johnson’s Vietnam policy 7: 0001
W. E. B. Du Bois Clubs of America
1: 0001, 0577
Duggan, Ervin
1: 0269
Eisenhower, Dwight D.on proposed Vietnam de-escalation 7: 0098
Elections
Minnesota caucuses 7: 0098
in South Vietnam 3: 0262; 4: 0035, 0362
U.S. presidential (1968) 6: 0508, 0622
see also Democratic National Convention
Executive orders
amending SSS regulations 2: 0001, 0424
Selective Service 1: 0377
Ford, Gerald R.on Vietnam policy 7: 0098
Foreign relations
Africa, aid to 1: 0557
Chinese–U.S. relations 6: 0001
international opinion
on antitwar demonstrations 7: 0001
on Vietnam 7: 0001
Japanese–U.S. relations 4: 0035
Latin America, U.S. policy toward 5: 0517; 6: 0186
Middle East, aid to 1: 0557
Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty 1: 0557
Thailand, U.S. troop activity 6: 0001
Tonkin Gulf military engagements 5: 0860
Vietnam
history of U.S. support 3: 0107
South Vietnam and U.S. joint statement of purpose 3: 0519; 6: 0186
U.S. policy toward 4: 0237, 0570; 6: 0186; 7: 0098
USSR position 3: 0737
Fulbright, J. William
biographical information 5: 0596
conflict with President Johnson on Vietnam policy 5: 0517, 0860; 6: 0001
investigation into U.S. troop activities in Thailand 6: 0001
opinions on U.S. foreign policy 5: 0517, 0596
Gaither, James C.
1: 0305–0528, 0577–0771; 2: 0001
Georgia
Atlanta 7: 0001
Gwiazda, Henry J.
2: 0621
Hershey, Lewis B.
directorship of SSS 2: 0359
interview on draft laws 7: 0268
opinions 1: 0120; 5: 0420
Higher education
academic papers on U.S. poverty 8: 0668
Cornell University 1: 0120
Financial Aid Suspension 1: 0359
Military Selective Service Act effect on
2: 0424
political activism on campuses 1: 0269
State University of New York at Binghamton 1: 0120
see also Students
Honolulu Conference
3: 0519; 6: 0186
House of Representatives, U.S.
study of SSS 5: 0038
and Vietnam policy 4: 0237; 6: 0186; 7: 0098
House Un-American Activities Committee
proceedings against antitwar protesters 7: 0001
Illinois
Chicago 6: 0622–0763; 7: 0743; 8: 0001
Internal Security Act of 1968
6: 0299
Japan
U.S. relations with 5: 0038
Journalism

CBS public opinion survey in Vietnam 4: 0001
on civil rights leaders’ summit 7: 0001
on indictment of Dr. Benjamin Spock 8: 0414
on President Johnson’s Vietnam policy speech 6: 0165, 0863
Washington Post 7: 0268

Justice Department

Attorney General’s List of Subversive Organizations 1: 0577
evaluation of NMC demonstrations at Pentagon 8: 0262
investigation of riots during Democratic National Convention 7: 0743
meeting with NMC leaders 5: 0001; 7: 0416
meeting with peace movement representatives 8: 0262
security expenses for NMC demonstrations 7: 0416

Legislation

see U.S. statutes

Macy, John W., Jr.
2: 0359–0750; 3: 0001–0105

McCarthy, Eugene
biographical information 6: 0622
opposition to President Johnson’s Vietnam policy 6: 0508–0622
presidential campaign 6: 0508–0622
public opinion 6: 0763

McHugh, Simon F.
appointment to SACB 2: 0750; 3: 0001

McNamara, Robert S.
on SSS 1: 0771

McPherson, Harry C., Jr.
general 3: 0107–0871; 4: 0001–0362; 8: 0685–0697
visit to Vietnam 4: 0362

Membership Organizations

AFL-CIO 4: 0237
American Bar Association 3: 0262
W. E. B. Du Bois Clubs of America 1: 0001, 0577
NMC 5: 0001; 7: 0416
SCLC 4: 0362
Youth International Party 8: 0569

Middle East
1: 0557

Military intelligence
reconnaissance 1: 0557

Military operations
U.S. bombing raids in North Vietnam 3: 0262, 0871; 4: 0237; 6: 0183
U.S. ground strategies in Vietnam 3: 0871

Military personnel
advisory personnel in Vietnam 1: 0528
African American 3: 0107
recruitment 1: 0120
in Thailand 6: 0001
see also Selective Service System

Military Selective Service Act of 1967
1: 0120, 0771; 2: 0424

Minnesota
caucuses 7: 0098

Moyers, Bill
8: 0724

National Advisory Commission on Selective Service
1: 0767–0771; 2: 0001, 0544; 5: 0420

National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam (NMC)
biographical information on leaders 5: 0001; 7: 0416
meeting with Justice Department 5: 0001; 7: 0416
Pentagon demonstrations 3: 0875; 4: 0577–0875; 7: 0416; 8: 0262

National Selective Service Appeal Board (NSSAB)
2: 0621–0750; 7: 0416; 8: 0262

Nimetz, Matthew
4: 0570–0875

Nixon, Richard M.
criticism of Vietnam policy 7: 0098

North Vietnam
radio broadcasts criticizing U.S. policy toward Southeast Asia 8: 0724
reactions to NMC demonstrations and U.S. peace movement 8: 0262
U.S. bombing raids 3: 0262, 0737, 0871; 4: 0237

Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty
1: 0557

Ogden, Carlos
2: 0424

Ohio
Cincinnati 7: 0001

Panzer, Fred
5: 0038–0860; 6: 0001–0183

Peace Corps
2: 0001
Police
Chicago 7: 0743; 8: 0001
NMC Pentagon demonstrations 4: 0577–0875; 7: 0416
see also Arrests
Political parties
Communist 1: 0001; 4: 0674; 6: 0299
Democratic
Conference of Concerned Democrats 6: 0622–0763
Democratic National Convention 7: 0743
Youth International Party 8: 0569
Public opinion
U.S. on Lewis B. Hershey 5: 0420
U.S. on war in Vietnam 3: 0737; 4: 0570; 7: 0098–0268
Vietnamese on U.S. policy 4: 0001
Reischauer, Edwin O.
on U.S. policy in Vietnam 4: 0362
Riots and disorders
Chicago riots (April 1968) 2: 0621
Chicago Riot Study Committee 8: 0001
at Democratic National Convention in Chicago 7: 0743
financial aid suspension for students involved in riots 7: 0743
Selective Service System (SSS)
and African Americans 2: 0001
annual reports 1: 0120; 5: 0038
appeal boards 1: 0120
constitutionality 1: 0377, 0771
deferrment policies and tests 1: 0120, 0771; 2: 0424; 5: 0038; 8: 0146
delinquent registrants 1: 0120, 0377; 6: 0439
effectiveness report 2: 0001
eligibility 2: 0001
executive order 2: 0001, 0424
extension of SSS law 5: 0420
House of Representatives study 5: 0038
induction and inductees 5: 0038, 0420
legal representation for 6: 0439
local boards 1: 0771; 2: 0001; 5: 0038
lottery system 5: 0420
organizational structure 1: 0120; 5: 0038
personnel 8: 0146
recommendations for changes to SSS
1: 0771; 2: 0001; 5: 0038; 8: 0146
registrants 1: 0120; 2: 0424, 0621; 5: 0038
restructuring 1: 0771; 2: 0001
salaries 1: 0577, 0771
selection 2: 0001
Supreme Court cases and petitions 1: 0377; 6: 0439; 8: 0414
and U.S. graduate schools 5: 0420
vacancies 2: 0621–0750; 7: 0416
see also National Advisory Commission on Selective Service
see also National Selective Service Appeal Board
Senate, U.S.
hearings 5: 0038
investigations
Tonkin Gulf incident 5: 0860
U.S. troop activities in Thailand 6: 0001
senators’ opinions on Vietnam policy 6: 0863; 7: 0098
Southern Christian Leadership Conference
Vietnam war opinions 4: 0362
South Vietnam
anti-Americanism in 1: 0528
elections 3: 0262; 4: 0035, 0362
land reform 6: 0186
McPherson, Harry C., Jr. visit 4: 0362
nationalism 1: 0528
political process 4: 0362
postwar fiscal policy 3: 0871; 4: 0035
U.S. military advisory personnel in 1: 0528
U.S. nonprofit organizations in 3: 0871
U.S. relations 3: 0107; 7: 0098
Spock, Benjamin
criminal charges against 8: 0414
Sprague, Irving
6: 0186
State Department
legality of U.S. involvement in Vietnam 3: 0519
State University of New York at Binghamton 1: 0120
Students
1: 0120–0305; 2: 0001, 0424
Subversive Activities Control Board (SACB)
abolishment, proposed 2: 0570
annual reports 1: 0001
appointments and membership 2: 0570; 3: 0001
Attorney General’s List of Subversive Organizations 1: 0577
authority 2: 0750
budgets 1: 0577; 6: 0183
creation 1: 0001
duties under Internal Security Act of 1968
6: 0299
expansion, proposed 2: 0570
investigation of W. E. B. Du Bois Clubs of
America 1: 0001, 0577
proceedings against Communist Party
1: 0001
purposes of 1: 0001
salaries and expenses 1: 0577
Subversive Activities Control Act 1: 0577
workload estimate for 1968 1: 0577

Symington, Stuart
on Vietnam policy 7: 0268

Temple, Larry
6: 0299–0439

Texas
San Antonio 6: 0165, 0863

Thailand
6: 0001

Universal Military Service and Training Act
of 1951
1: 0771; 5: 0038

U.S. statutes
Military Selective Service Act of 1967
1: 0120, 0771; 2: 0424
Universal Military Service and Training Act
of 1951 1: 0771; 5: 0038

Vietnam
U.S. policy 3: 0107; 4: 0237, 0570; 6: 0186;
7: 0098
Johnson’s policy 6: 0001, 0165, 0622,
0763, 0863; 7: 0001
public opinion on U.S. policy 4: 0001
U.S. advisory personnel in 1: 0528
U.S. ground strategies 3: 0871
U.S. public opinion on war 3: 0737;
4: 0570; 7: 0098–0268
USSR position on war 3: 0737
see also Demonstrations and protests
see also North Vietnam
see also South Vietnam

Watson, Marvin
6: 0508–0863; 7: 0001–0268

Youth International Party
rallies in Washington, D.C. 8: 0569
Related UPA Collections

Part 1: Confidential Subject and Name Files
Part 2: Confidential Reports File

Part 1: White House Central and Confidential Files
Part 2: White House Aides

VIETNAM, THE MEDIA, AND PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR THE WAR

Vietnam, November 1963–June 1965
Vietnam Special Subjects
Vietnam First Supplement
Vietnam Second Supplement

RECORDS OF THE SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES CONTROL BOARD, 1950–1972

THE PRESIDENT’S COMMISSION ON CAMPUS UNREST
Part 1: Executive Files

UPA Collections from LexisNexis™
www.lexisnexis.com/academic