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General Editor: William Leuchtenburg

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

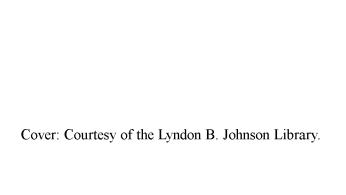
Part 1: White House Aides' Files



A UPA Collection

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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

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4520 East-West Highway • Bethesda, MD 20814-3389

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

The Johnson Administration's response to anti–Vietnam war activites [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

1. Vietnamese Conflict, 1961–1975—United States—Sources. 2. Vietnamese Conflict, 1961–1975—Protest movements—United States—Sources. 3. United States—Politics and government—1963–1969—Sources. 4. Lyndon Baines Johnson Library—Archives. I. Lester, Robert. II. Dubus, Joanna Claire, 1981–. III. Lyndon Baines Johnson Library. IV. LexisNexis (Firm) V. Series.

DS559.62.U6 959.704'3373—dc22

> 2004046534 CIP

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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 shoved 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 ghettoes, 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.

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Karnow, Stanley, Vietnam: A History. New York: Viking Press, 1983.

Turner, Kathleen J., Lyndon Johnson's Dual War: Vietnam and the Press. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985.

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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 1: 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

- Joseph Califano: Subversive Activities Control Board, 1965–1966. 119 pp.
 - 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.
- 0120 Douglas Cater: General Hershey and the Draft Controversy, 1967. 149 pp.
 - 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.
- O269 Ervin Duggan: Paper on Student Demonstrations by Justin Simon, 1967. 36 pp. *Major Topic*: Political activism on college and university campuses.
- 0305 James C. Gaither: Civil Disorders on Campus, 1967–1968. 72 pp.

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.

- James C. Gaither: Vietnam Demonstrations, 1967. 151 pp.
 Major Topics: Petitions to U.S. Supreme Court by delinquent SSS registrants; constitutionality of Selective Service Executive Order.
 Principal Correspondent: Matthew Nimetz.
- James C. Gaither: "The Politically Counterproductive Products of U.S. Involvement in South Vietnam: The Emergence of Anti-American Pressures," 1967. 29 pp.

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.

- 0577 James C. Gaither: Subversive Control Act Amendments, 1966–1967. 190 pp.
 - 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.

0767 James C. Gaither: Selective Service, 1966. 4 pp.

Major Topic: December 1966 meeting of National Advisory Commission on Selective Service.

0771 James C. Gaither: Commission on Selective Service, 1966–1967. 232 pp.

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

James C. Gaither: Commission on Selective Service (cont.), 1966–1967. 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.

- 0359 John W. Macy Jr.: Hershey, Lewis Blaine, 1963, 1968. 65 pp.
 - 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.

- 0424 John W. Macy Jr.: Selective Service System, 1966–1968. 120 pp.
 - 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.
- John W. Macy Jr.: Selective Service, National Advisory Committee on, 1968. 77 pp. *Major Topic*: National Advisory Committee on Selective Service membership.
- John W. Macy Jr.: National Selective Service Appeals Board, 1965–1967. 129 pp.

 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.

0750 John W. Macy Jr.: Subversive Activities Control Board, 1966–1968. 250 pp.

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

John W. Macy Jr.: Subversive Activities Control Board (cont.), 1962–1967. 104 pp.

Major Topics: Appointment of Simon F. McHugh to SACB; vacancies and proposed appointments to SACB.

Principal Correspondent: John W. Macy Jr.

0105 John W. Macy Jr.: Selective Service System, 1965. 2 pp.

0107 Harry C. McPherson Jr.: Vietnam, 1965. 155 pp.

Major Topics: African American casualties in Vietnam; history of U.S. support for South Vietnam.

Principal Correspondent: Harry C. McPherson Jr.

0262 Harry C. McPherson Jr.: Vietnam (1 of 2), 1966. 257 pp.

Major Topics: U.S. bombing raids in North Vietnam; American Bar Association resolution affirming legality of U.S. involvement in Vietnam; rules for election of National Constituent Assembly in South Vietnam.

Principal Correspondent: Harry C. McPherson Jr.

0519 Harry C. McPherson Jr.: Vietnam (2 of 2), 1965–1966. 218.

Major Topics: African American military personnel in Vietnam; State Department opinions on legality of U.S. involvement in Vietnam; joint statement of purpose by South Vietnam and U.S. governments at Honolulu conference.

Principal Correspondent: Harry C. McPherson Jr.

0737 Harry C. McPherson Jr.: Vietnam, Part 1 (1 of 2), 1967. 134 pp.

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.

0871 Harry C. McPherson Jr.: Vietnam, Part 1 (2 of 2), 1967. 112 pp.

Major Topics: Proposed U.S. military ground strategies; proposed peace terms for North Vietnam; U.S. bombing raids in North Vietnam; U.S. nonprofit organizations operating in Vietnam.

Principal Correspondent: Harry C. McPherson Jr.

Reel 4

0001 Harry C. McPherson Jr.: Vietnam, Part 1 (2 of 2) (cont.), 1965. 34 pp.

Major Topic: CBS public opinion survey in Vietnam on U.S. policy.

- 0035 Harry C. McPherson Jr.: Vietnam, Part 2 (1 of 3), 1963, 1967–1968. 202 pp.

 Major Topics: Elections in South Vietnam; U.S. plans for postwar fiscal and tax policy in
 - Vietnam; U.S.-Japan relations; Chinese political influence on Asian nations.
- 0237 Harry C. McPherson Jr.: Vietnam, Part 2 (2 of 3), 1967. 125 pp.

Major Topics: Report on U.S. policy in Vietnam by Congressman Chet Holland; AFL-CIO support for Vietnam war; U.S. bombing raids in North Vietnam; proposed reinterpretation of official U.S. policy toward Vietnam.

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

- 0362 Harry C. McPherson Jr.: Vietnam, Part 2 (3 of 3), 1966–1967. 208 pp.
 - Major Topics: Edwin O. Reischauer's opinions on U.S. policy in Vietnam; elections in South Vietnam; recommendations for improving political process in South Vietnam; report by Harry C. McPherson Jr. on visit to Vietnam; Southern Christian Leadership Conference's opinions on war in Vietnam.

Principal Correspondent: Harry C. McPherson Jr.

0570 Matthew Nimetz: "The Liberals and Vietnam," 1967. 7 pp.

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

0577 Matthew Nimetz: Weekend of October 21 (1 of 3), 1967. 97 pp.

Major Topics: Black Power demonstrations in Washington, D.C.; procedure for arresting demonstrators; demonstrations at Pentagon by National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam; police mobilization for demonstrations at Pentagon.

0674 Matthew Nimetz: Weekend of October 21 (2 of 3), 1967. 201 pp.

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.

0875 Matthew Nimetz: Weekend of October 21 (3 of 3), 1967. 127 pp.

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

0001 Matthew Nimetz: Weekend of October 21 (3 of 3) (cont.), 1967. 37 pp.

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.

0038 Fred Panzer: Draft—Background Material, 1965–1967. 382 pp.

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.

0420 Fred Panzer: Draft—Selective Service, 1967–1968. 97 pp.

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.

0517 Fred Panzer: Fulbright vs. LBJ, 1965–1967. 79 pp.

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.

0596 Fred Panzer: Fulbright, J. William, 1959–1967. 264 pp.

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.

0860 Fred Panzer: Fulbright, J. William, 1961, 1967–1968. 50 pp.

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

0001 Fred Panzer: Fulbright, J. William (cont.), 1964–1967. 164 pp.

Major Topics: Conflict between Senator J. William Fulbright and President Johnson on Vietnam policy; chronology of U.S. relations with People's Republic of China; Fulbright investigation into activities of U.S. troops in Thailand.

Fred Panzer: L. B. J.—Reactions to San Antonio Speech, 1967. 18 pp.

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

0183 Fred Panzer: Subversive Activities Control Board, 1965. 3 pp.

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

0186 Irving Sprague: Vietnam, 1965–1968. 113 pp.

Major Topics: South Vietnam government land reform; proposed guidelines from U.S. House of Representatives for settlement of Vietnam conflict; joint statement of purpose by U.S. and South Vietnam governments at Honolulu conference; U.S. policy toward Latin America. Principal Correspondent: Irving Sprague.

0299 Larry Temple: Department of Justice Subversive Activities Control Board, 1968. 140 pp.

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.

0439 Larry Temple: Selective Service System, 1967–1968. 69 pp.

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

0508 Marvin Watson: McCarthy, Eugene (1 of 3), 1968. 114 pp.

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.

0622 Marvin Watson: McCarthy, Eugene (2 of 3), 1967. 141 pp.

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.

0763 Marvin Watson: McCarthy, Eugene (3 of 3), 1967. 100 pp.

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.

0863 Marvin Watson: Vietnam (1 of 3), 1967. 38 pp.

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

0001 Marvin Watson: Vietnam (1 of 3) (cont.), 1965–1967. 97 pp.

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.

0098 Marvin Watson: Vietnam (2 of 3), 1967–1968. 170 pp.

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.

0268 Marvin Watson: Vietnam (3 of 3), 1967–1968. 148 pp.

Major Topics: Senator Stuart Symington's opinions on Vietnam policy; public opinion on Vietnam policy.

Principal Correspondents: Marvin Watson; Donald MacArthur.

0416 Warren Christopher: Anti-Vietnam Demonstrations, 1967. 327 pp.

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.

0743 Ramsey Clark: Chicago Riot, 1968. 158 pp.

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

0001 Ramsey Clark: Chicago Riot (cont.), 1968. 145 pp.

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.

Ol46 Ramsey Clark: "In Pursuit of Equity: Who Serves When Not All Serve?" 1967. 116 pp. *Major Topics:* Recommendations for changes in SSS; profile of SSS procedures and personnel; deferments.

0262 Ramsey Clark: Pentagon Demonstrations, 1967. 149 pp.

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.

0411 Ramsey Clark: Selective Service, 1968. 3 pp.

Major Topic: Legality of U.S. military involvement in Vietnam.

0414 Ramsey Clark: Selective Service Cases Prosecuted, 1967–1968. 115 pp.

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.

0569 **Ramsey Clark: Yippies, 1968.** 116 pp.

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

0685 Harry C. McPherson Jr.: Dissent, February 23, 1968. 3 pp.

0688 Harry C. McPherson Jr.: National Purpose, 1968. 9 pp.

Major Topic: Academic papers on U.S. poverty.

Principal Correspondent: Fred Panzer.

- Harry C. McPherson Jr.: Rights and Responsibilities of Dissent. 1968. 27 pp.

 Major Topic: Comments on political dissent by Washington Post Editor J. R. Wiggins.
- **Bill Moyers: War Crimes Trials (Mock), 1966.** 28 pp. *Major Topic:* North Vietnamese radio broadcasts criticizing U.S. policy toward Southeast Asia.

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.

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