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## MATERIAL AT THE LBJ LIBRARY PERTAINING TO THE TONKIN GULF

### INTRODUCTION

This list includes the principal files in the Johnson Library that contain material relating to the Tonkin Gulf. It is not definitive, however, and researchers should consult with the Library's archivists about other potentially useful files. The guide includes those collections which have been opened for research in part or in whole, and those collections which are currently unprocessed or unavailable.

### NATIONAL SECURITY FILE

This file was the working file of President Johnson's special assistants for national security affairs, McGeorge Bundy and Walt W. Rostow. Documents in the file originated in the offices of Bundy and Rostow and their staffs, in the various executive departments and agencies, especially those having to do with foreign affairs and national defense, and in diplomatic and military posts around the world. More than one-half of the National Security File has been processed. Consult the finding aid in the Reading Room or borrow a lending copy by writing to the Supervisory Archivist, LBJ Library, 2313 Red River Street, Austin, Texas 78705. Those folders whose titles are preceded by an asterisk "\*" or a date have been processed and their contents declassified in whole or in part. Lists of classified documents have been placed in those folders, and you may request mandatory review of individual documents that have not yet been declassified in full. Those folders not preceded by an "\*" or a date are unprocessed and are not subject to mandatory declassification review. Consult with a member of the staff on the processing schedule.

#### NATIONAL SECURITY FILE, VIETNAM COUNTRY FILE

	<u>Box #</u>
*August 1964	7
Southeast Asia, vol. III, Memos	53-54
*3 A (1) Gulf of Tonkin 1964 & 1967	76
*3 A (2) Gulf of Tonkin 1964-68	77
*3 A (3) Gulf of Tonkin 8/64	77
*Gulf of Tonkin, CODEWORD 8/64-9/64	77
*Tonkin Gulf 9/18/64	77
*Maddox Incident 8/2/64	227
*Maddox Incident 8/4/64; Operation Pierce Arrow 8/5/64 (doc. 134 appears to be a draft of the Stempler-Friedman report).	227
*DeSoto Patrol 9/15/64 Morton and Edwards	227
*Gulf of Tonkin (Miscellaneous) 1964	228
*Operation Pierce Arrow 8/64	228

*Air Strike Targets North Vietnam 8/64-9/64	228
*Reprisal Attack Feb. 11, 1965 2/11/65	228
*Gulf of Tonkin-Heads of State Correspondence 8/64	229
Correspondence re: Gulf of Tonkin (Duplicate Set) 8/64	229
*Reprisal Attack, Feb. 7-8, 1965 2/7-8/65	229
<b>NATIONAL SECURITY FILE, SUBJECT FILE</b>	<u>Box #</u>
(2/92) Rules of Engagement 8/64	44
('89)[Rules for Aerial Engagement in Far East; Reaction to Gulf of Tonkin Strikes]	44
('89)Peacetime Rules of Engagement-US ship-International Waters Under Harassment	44
<b>NATIONAL SECURITY FILE, INTELLIGENCE FILE</b>	
Navy Report "Tonkin Gulf Incident" of 9/18/64	Box 6
<b>NATIONAL SECURITY FILE, NSC MEETINGS</b>	
*NSC Meetings, vol. 3	Box 1
Tab 19 Attack in Gulf of Tonkin; Cyprus	
Tab 20 Gulf of Tonkin Attack	
<b>NATIONAL SECURITY FILE, NSC HISTORIES</b>	
*Gulf of Tonkin Attacks, August 1964	Box 38-39
<b>NATIONAL SECURITY FILE, FILES OF MCGEORGE BUNDY</b>	
August 1964	Box 3
September 1964	Box 4
"Meetings on SE Asia, vol. 1" (draft resolution material, May 1964)	Box 18
<b>NATIONAL SECURITY FILE, HEAD OF STATE CORRESPONDENCE FILE</b>	
Pen Pal Correspondence, Khrushchev [1 of 2] (doc. 38, 38a)	Box 8
<b>NATIONAL SECURITY FILE, MEMOS TO THE PRESIDENT</b>	
August – September 1964	Box 2

### **PERSONAL PAPERS**

This collection of papers from individuals or organizations came to the Library separate from President Johnson's papers. See the finding aid for information concerning the availability of individual collections.

Paul Warnke (John McNaughton files)	<u>Box #</u>
folder MCNTN VIII "Rules of Engagement (2)"	4
(see doc. 86a - draft w/ handwritten "Stempler Friedman rpt 1964" in corner)	
George Ball	7
McGeorge Bundy	
8/4/64 lunch notes	1

Arthur W. Barber		
	These papers include Barber's memorandum recording his recollections concerning "The Bay of Tonkin Investigation."	1
William Gibbons		
	Consists of copies collected by Dr. Gibbons during the course of his work on the first four volumes of <u>The U.S. Government and the Vietnam War, Executive and Legislative Roles and Relationships</u> July 1966 [1 of 7] (1 telegram re: 8/2/64 incident)	19
Ed Moise		
	Consists of copies of logs from the <u>Maddox</u> and <u>Turner Joy</u>	1

### OFFICE FILES OF THE WHITE HOUSE AIDES

Many White House aides maintained office files of their own, separate physically from the rest of the White House Central Files. The files of each aide reflect his or her responsibilities. This list is not definitive, but it does include most pertinent folders in the aides files. An asterisk (\*) indicates that a folder has been processed and is available for research. If a folder is not open for research, it will be processed upon request. Researchers should anticipate a delay in receiving this material.

Cecil Bellinger		<u>Box #</u>
	"Tonkin -2"	16
Bill Moyers		
	"Tonkin Gulf Attacks"	
	"[Notes on National Security Issues, 1963-1965],"	105
Bob Hardesty		
	"Gulf of Tonkin Hearings"	36

### WHCF CONFIDENTIAL FILE

Arranged in the same subject categories as the WHCF Subject File, this file contains security classified or otherwise sensitive material. The CF Name File serves as a name index to the CF Subject File. This collection also includes agency reports and oversized attachments. The CF is entirely processed, but portions are still classified.

Oversize attachments 1/4/67		
Packet #1	"Southeast Asia- June 13, 1964-Secret"	176
Packet #2	"Southeast Asia- Executive Committee Mtg.- May 24, 1964"	176
Packet #3	"Southeast Asia- Meeting of 6/15/64"	177

## MEETING NOTES FILE\*

[several folders]

Box 1

## CONGRESSIONAL BRIEFINGS ON VIETNAM

Congressional Briefings (1964-65) [document #1]

Box 1

## REFERENCE FILE

Gulf of Tonkin (several folders of copies from various files) and copies of documents opened by the National Security Agency in 2005

## National Military Command Center (NMCC) recordings of 4-5 August 1964

Binder in RR

## RECORDINGS AND TRANSCRIPTS OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATIONS

The Johnson Library staff is currently processing the recordings and transcripts of President Johnson's telephone conversations. The collection includes over 5,000 recordings of conversations with members of Congress, other public officials, civil rights leaders, members of the press, friends, and family.

JFK assassination-related recordings and transcripts identified by the Library staff from four periods during the administration were opened in increments from September 30, 1993, through April 15, 1994 (please consult the finding aid for that collection for further information). The JFK Assassination Records Collection, located at the National Archives at College Park, 8601 Adelphi Road, College Park Maryland 20740, has copies of these recordings and transcripts. On October 11, 1996, the Library opened conversations recorded in January through March of 1964 and will open chronological increments of the collection periodically. The unprocessed portion of the collection may include conversations of interest to you that are not included on this guide. If you wish to be notified when additional recordings and transcripts are released, please contact the Library.

Many of the recordings were NOT TRANSCRIBED. The transcripts that were made were prepared in the White House and during the drafting of the President's memoirs, The Vantage Point, published in 1971. Researchers should be cautioned that these transcripts are not always reliable and should never be used without checking them against the actual recordings to assure accuracy.

<u>Citation #</u>	<u>Speaker</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Time</u>	<u>Tape</u>	<u>Program #</u>
4632	Robert Anderson	8/03/64	9:46A	WH 6408.03	PNO 9
4633	Robert McNamara	8/03/64	10:20A	WH 6408.03	PNO 10
4639	Robert McNamara	8/03/64	1:21P	WH 6408.03	PNO 16
4654	George Smathers	8/03/64	8:40P	WH6408.04	PNO 15

4658	Robert McNamara	8/04/64	9:43A	WH6408.04	PNO 19
4662	Robert McNamara	8/04/64	10:53A	WH6408.04	PNO 23
4663	Robert McNamara	8/04/64	11:06A	WH6408.04	PNO 24
4669	George Reedy	8/04/64	11:34A	WH 6408.05	PNO 3
4679	Myer Feldman	8/04/64	?	WH 6408.05	PNO 13
4681	Robert McNamara	8/04/64	5:09P	WH 6408.05	PNO 15
4682	George Mahon	8/04/64	5:15P	WH 6408.05	PNO 16
4686	George Reedy	8/04/64	5:26P	WH 6408.05	PNO 20
4690	Dean Rusk	8/04/64	5:50P	WH 6408.05	PNO 24
4691	Claude Desautels	8/04/64	5:51P	WH6408.05	PNO 25
4693	Cartha "Deke" Deloach	8/04/64	8:01P	WH6408.05	PNO27
4699	George Reedy	8/04/64	8:36P	WH6408.05	PNO 33
4700	George Mahon	8/04/64	8:38P	WH6408.06	PNO 1
4703	Larry O'Brien	8/04/64	9:02P	WH6408.06	PNO 4
4706	Robert McNamara	8/04/64	9:15P	WH6408.06	PNO 7
4707	George Reedy	8/04/64	9:24P	WH6408.06	PNO 8
4711	Paul Johnson	8/04/64	9:24P	WH6408.06	PNO 12
4714	Dean Rusk	8/04/64	9:35P	WH6408.06	PNO 15
4715	Barry Goldwater	8/04/64	10:06P	WH6408.06	PNO 16
4716	John McCormack	8/04/64	10:23P	WH6408.06	PNO 17
4717	Robert McNamara	8/04/64	11:25P	WH6408.06	PNO 18
4718	Averell Harriman	8/04/64	11:59P	WH6408.06	PNO 19
4719	Robert McNamara	8/05/64	10:52A	WH6408.06	PNO 20
4721	George Smathers	8/05/64	2:20P	WH6408.06	PNO 22
4723	Larry O'Brien	8/05/64	2:30P	WH 6408.07	PNO 2
4727	Walter Reuther	8/05/64	2:54P	WH 6408.07	PNO 6
4734	Abner Sibal	8/05/64	3:16P	WH 6408.07	PNO 13
4757	George Reedy	8/05/64	4:14P	WH 6408.08	PNO 6
4763	Robert McNamara	8/05/64	6:00P	WH 6408.08	PNO 12
4773	Robert McNamara	8/06/64	12:46P	WH 6408.08	PNO 22
4775	McGeorge Bundy	8/06/64	1:29P	WH 6408.09	PNO 2
4777	James Rowe	8/06/64	1:35P	WH 6408.09	PNO 4
4779	John McCormack	8/06/64	2:03P	WH 6408.09	PNO 6
4782	George Smathers	8/06/64	2:29P	WH 6408.09	PNO 9
4794	Walter Jenkins	8/07/64	12:40P	WH 6408.10	PNO 4
4795	Larry O'Brien	8/07/64	12:50P	WH 6408.10	PNO 5
4796	Larry O'Brien	8/07/64	1:24P	WH 6408.10	PNO 6
4799	Robert McNamara	8/07/64	1:40P	WH 6408.10	PNO 9
4802	Robert Jones	8/07/64	2:24P	WH 6408.10	PNO 12
4808	John McCormack	8/07/64	3:01P	WH 6408.11	PNO 2
4814	John McKeithen	8/07/64	4:50P	WH 6408.11	PNO 8
4818	Bill Moyers	8/07/64	8:35P	WH 6408.12	PNO 4
4819	Robert McNamara	8/08/64	8:24A	WH 6408.12	PNO 5
4826	McGeorge Bundy	8/08/64	12:18P	WH 6408.13	PNO 6
4855	McGeorge Bundy	8/10/64	9:50A	WH 6408.16	PNO 8
4900	McGeorge Bundy	8/12/64	6:06P	WH 6408.18	PNO 11
4908	Edward Kennedy	8/13/64	1:10P	WH 6408.19	PNO 1
4937	Robert McNamara	8/14/64	6:55P	WH 6408.20	PNO 16
4957	Robert McNamara	8/15/64	2:44P	WH 6408.22	PNO 5
4958	George Reedy	8/15/64	2:50P	WH 6408.22	PNO 6

4962	Chalmers Roberts	8/15/64	3:00P	WH 6408.22	PNO 10
4963	Chalmers Roberts	8/15/64	3:00P	WH 6408.22	PNO 11
5047	George Reedy	8/20/64	11:10A	WH 6408.29	PNO 4
5493	Anatoly Dobrynin	9/04/64	2:00P	WH 6409.06	PNO 1
5591	Robert McNamara	9/18/64	10:18A	WH 6409.10	PNO 21
5593	Robert McNamara	9/18/64	11:46A	WH 6409.11	PNO 1
5597	Robert McNamara	9/18/64	1:55P	WH 6409.11	PNO 5
5600	Robert McNamara	9/18/64	6:26P	WH 6409.11	PNO 8
5601	Walker Stone	9/18/64	6:40P	WH 6409.11	PNO 9
5604	McGeorge Bundy	9/18/64	7:34P	WH 6409.11	PNO 12
5605	Robert McNamara	9/18/64	7:36P	WH 6409.11	PNO 13
5606	Richard Russell	9/18/64	7:54P	WH 6409.11	PNO 14
5607	Richard Russell	9/18/64	7:54P	WH 6409.11	PNO 15
5614	McGeorge Bundy	9/19/64	5:31P	WH 6409.12	PNO 5
5618	McGeorge Bundy	9/19/64	5:44P	WH 6409.12	PNO 9
5626	Press Conference	9/21/64	12:29P	WH 6409.13	PNO 1
5627	Press Conference	9/21/64	12:29P	WH 6409.13	PNO 2
6486	Dean Rusk	11/26/64	11:57A	WH 6411.31	PNO 1

## ORAL HISTORIES

Transcripts of oral history interviews may be consulted at the Library or borrowed through interlibrary loan by writing to the Interlibrary Loan Archivist, Lyndon B. Johnson Library, 2313 Red River Street, Austin, Texas, 78705. Interviews with the following people contain material on the Tonkin Gulf and are open for research. A complete list of oral histories is available and is maintained in the Reading Room and on our website. Some oral history transcripts are available on our website (<http://www.lbjlib.utexas.edu>), and most can be loaned in paper format by mail.

George D. Aiken	AC 74-67	Interview Number: I
George Ball	AC 88-2	Interview Number: I
McGeorge Bundy	AC 07-18	Interview Number: II
William P. Bundy	AC 74-187	Interview Number: I
Omar Burlison	AC 74-189	Interview Number: I
Frank Church	AC 78-37	Interview Number: I
Clark Clifford	AC 74-79	Interview Number: I (orig. 1-2)
Ray S. Cline	AC 86-10	Interview Number: II
John Sherman Cooper	AC 94-7	Interview Number: I
Allen Ellender, Jr.	AC 73-16	Interview Number: I
Buford Ellington	AC 79-49	Interview Number: I
Michael Forrestal	AC 79-47	Interview Number: I
Andrew J. Goodpaster	AC 74-115	Interview Number: I
Daniel O. Graham	AC 86-4	Interview Number: I
Ernest Gruening	AC 79-87	Interview Number: I
Gale McGee	AC 74-152	Interview Number: I, II
A. S. "Mike" Monroney	AC 74-222	Interview Number: I, II, III
Thomas H. Moorer	AC 79-76; AC 86-22	Interview Number: I, II
Lawrence O'Brien	AC 92-13,14,16-20, 22-24, 26-32, 34-37,39,40, 42, 43	Numerous Interview Numbers
Kenneth O'Donnell	AC 82-19	Interview Number: I

Albert H. Quie	AC 75-33	Interview Number: I
Benjamin Huger Read	AC 74-237	Interview Number: I, II
Charles Roberts	AC 79-56	Interview Number: I
Walt Whitman Rostow	AC 74-242	Interview Number: I
Dean Rusk	AC 74-245	Interview number: II
John Sparkman	AC 74-66	Interview Number: I
Dr. Benjamin Spock	AC 85-36	Interview Number: I
William H. Sullivan	AC 78-101	Interview Number: I
Maxwell D. Taylor	AC 83-40	Interview Number: II
Cyrus R. Vance	AC 74-260	Interview Number: III
Earle Wheeler	AC 78-87; 78-88	Interview Number: I, II
Barry Zorthian	AC 84-64	Interview Number: III