

Endnotes

Introduction

- 1 Quoted in Deborah Shapley, *Promise and Power: The Life and Times of Robert McNamara* (New York: Little Brown, 1993), 265.
- 2 William P. Bundy Oral History Interview by William W. Moss, April 25, 1972, JFKL, p. 21.
- 3 “US Policy on Viet-Nam: White House Statement,” October 2, 1963. Retrieved online November 2, 2014, *Mt. Holyoke Documents Relating to American Foreign Policy, Vietnam*: <https://goo.gl/W4Gw07>.
- 4 In this respect, it builds especially on Paul Hendrickson, *The Living and the Dead: Robert McNamara and the Five Lives of a Lost War* (New York: Vintage Books, 1996).
- 5 Andrew Preston, *The War Council: McGeorge Bundy, the NSC, and Vietnam* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), 10.
- 6 Graham T. Allison, and Philip Zelikow, *Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis* (New York: Longman, 1999), 307.
- 7 Craig, for instance, describes three typical stages of historiography in US foreign policy and on the Kennedy administration: an “orthodox” stage that reflects the “political mood of the day” when a President leaves office and that typically relies by journalistic accounts and memoirs, followed by a “revisionist” stage as new sources appear, concluding in a more nuanced stage with “mature literature” that is “refined by relatively full access to the archival record.” Campbell Craig, “Kennedy’s International Legacy, Fifty Years On,” *International Affairs* 89:6 (2013): 1367. See also Michael J. Hogan and Thomas G. Paterson (eds.), *Explaining the History of American Foreign Relations*, 2nd edn. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004) for a comprehensive account of the waves in the historiography of US foreign policy, as historians have transitioned along orthodox-revisionist-post-revisionist lines as well as along methodological choices, from realist historians that focused relatively more on nationalist dimensions of foreign policy toward multiarchival, gender and cultural history. Similar critical historiographical reviews

include Michael J. Hogan and Frank Costigliola, *America in the World: The Historiography of American Foreign Relations since 1941* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013); John Lewis Gaddis, "The Emerging Post-Revisionist Synthesis on the Origins of the Cold War," *Diplomatic History* 7 (Summer 1983): 171–190; Thomas W. Zeiler, "The Diplomatic History Bandwagon: A State of the Field," *Journal of American History* 95:4 (March 2009): 1053–1073; Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The Objectivity Question and the American Historical Profession* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), part 4. For Vietnam specifically, see John Dumbrell, *Rethinking the Vietnam War* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 5–21; Mark Philip Bradley and Marilyn B. Young, *Making Sense of the Vietnam Wars: Local, National and Transnational Perspectives* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008); Gary R. Hess, "The Unending Debate: Historians and the Vietnam War," *Diplomatic History* 2 (Spring 1994): 239–264.

- 8 On this type of criticism, see especially H. R. McMaster, *Dereliction of Duty: Lyndon Johnson, Robert McNamara, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and the Lies That Led to Vietnam* (New York: HarperCollins, 1997); U. S. Grant Sharp, *Strategy for Defeat: Vietnam in Retrospect* (San Rafael, CA: Presidio Press, 1978); William C. Westmoreland, *A Soldier Reports* (New York: Doubleday, 1976); David R. Palmer, *Summons of the Trumpet: US–Vietnam in Perspective* (San Rafael, CA: Presidio Press, 1978); Harry G. Summers, *On Strategy: the Vietnam War in Context* (Honolulu, HI: University Press of the Pacific, 2003); Shelby L. Stanton, *The Rise and Fall of the American Army: US Ground Forces in Vietnam, 1965–1973* (Novato, CA: Presidio Press, 1995); Douglas Kinnard, *The War Managers* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2007); Gary R. Hess, "The Military Perspective on Strategy in Vietnam," *Diplomatic History* 10:1 (January 1986): 91–106.

- 9 This was very much Hilsman's line, not least in Roger Hilsman Oral History Interview No. 1, Paige E. Mulhollan, May 15, 1969, LBJL. George Ball recalled McNamara's anger at dissent over the administration's policies, that a memo that he wrote in September 1964 questioning the administration's policy on Vietnam was greeted with hostility: "McNamara, in particular, was absolutely horrified. He treated it like a poisonous snake. The idea that people would put these kinds of things down on paper!" George Ball Oral History Interview No. 1 by Paige E. Mulhollan, July 8, 1971, LBJL.

- 10 Shapley, *Promise and Power*, dedication.

- 11 Hendrickson, *The Living and the Dead*, dedication.

- 12 Phil Rosenzweig, "Robert S. McNamara and the Evolution of Modern Management," *Harvard Business Review* (December 2010): 87–93.

- 13 R. J. Sutherland, "Cost-Effectiveness and Defense Management; Mr. McNamara's Pentagon" (paper presented at the ORD Informal Paper, Ottawa, 1966); Thomas Norris, "A Giant of Management" (paper presented at the 38th Annual Meeting of the Academy for Management, undated); Henry Brandon, "Kennedy Fights the Generals," *Sunday Times* (May 27, 1962); William W. Kaufmann, *The McNamara Strategy* (New York: Harper & Row, 1964); Theodore H. White, "Revolution in the Pentagon," *Look Magazine* (April 23, 1963).

- 14 As Andrew Preston has also noted, the “false dichotomy between ‘hawks’ and ‘doves’ characteristic of works on US involvement in Vietnam” is unhelpful and does not capture the complexity of advisors. Andrew Preston, “The Soft Hawk’s Dilemma in Vietnam: Michael V. Forrestal at the National Security Council, 1962–1964,” *International History Review* 25:1 (March 2003): 67.
- 15 Shapley, *Promise and Power*, 291.
- 16 Douglas Brinkley, “The Stain of Vietnam: Robert McNamara, Redemption Denied,” *Foreign Affairs* 72:3 (July 1993).
- 17 For histories that deal specifically with the OSD and the armed services in the Vietnam War, see Andrew F. Krepinevich, *The Army and Vietnam* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986); Robert Buzzanco, *Masters of War: Military Dissent and Politics in the Vietnam Era* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996); McMaster, *Dereliction of Duty*.
- 18 The “economic context” is understood to mean the prevailing domestic economic conditions that existed during McNamara’s tenure at the OSD, rather than the global economic order as understood by more left-wing historians. For this body of literature, see especially Gabriel Kolko, *Vietnam: Anatomy of War, 1940–1975* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1986).
- 19 The secondary literature on the economic history of the 1960s, and especially Barry Eichengreen’s work, has also been useful in challenging the conventional wisdom that balance of payments concerns became salient only later in the 1960s. Ultimately, the economic concerns that Gavin has emphasized for Europe were, in fact, especially significant for Vietnam. Francis J. Gavin, *Gold, Dollars, and Power: The Politics of International Monetary Relations, 1958–1971* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004); Barry Eichengreen, “From Benign Neglect to Malignant Preoccupation: US Balance-of-Payments Policy in the 1960s,” in George L. Perry and James Tobin, eds., *Economic Events, Ideas, and Policies: The 1960s and After* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2000).
- 20 In emphasizing the economic dimensions of the Kennedy administration as it pertains to defense, the book connects rather more to earlier histories of that administration. While some see a “hagiography” or “worshipful” approach in the “Camelot School” of books produced by Kennedy’s advisors such as Theodore Sorensen or Arthur J. Schlesinger in the years immediately after the assassination, these books are also interesting because they dedicate far more pages to the economic troubles that faced the President than to issues such as Vietnam, which has tended to be the focus of later histories. For instance, while Robert Dallek in a key biography of President Kennedy spends only one chapter on the economic situation of the early 1960s, and intertwines that discussion with domestic issues more broadly, Sorensen dedicated five chapters to the same issues. Robert Dallek, *John F. Kennedy: An Unfinished Life, 1917–1963* (London: Allen Lane, 2003); Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr., *A Thousand Days: John F. Kennedy in the White House* (New York: Greenwich House, 1983); Theodore C. Sorensen, *Kennedy* (New York: Smithmark, 1995).
- 21 Robert Miller has described this trajectory most vividly in stating that “decisions by Kennedy served to move US policy forward in a straight line from

those taken by the Truman and Eisenhower administrations; they progressively burdened the United States with ever-greater responsibility for the fate of South Vietnam, thereby correspondingly reducing South Vietnam's incentives for shaping its own future itself. Failure became inevitable." Robert H. Miller, "Vietnam: Folly, Quagmire, or Inevitability?," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 15 (April 1992): 114. Similarly, and in less stark terms, the *Pentagon Papers* describe the 1962–1963 period of planning for withdrawal as follows: "In retrospect, this experience falls into place as a more or less isolated episode of secondary importance; eventually abortive, it had little impact on the evolution of the Vietnam War." *Pentagon Papers*, Gravel edn., vol. 2 (Boston: Beacon Press, 1971), chapter 3. Retrieved online December 12, 2014, *Mt. Holyoke Documents*: <https://goo.gl/GF23ZC>.

- 22 Senator Mansfield quoted in Kai Bird, *The Color of Truth: McGeorge Bundy and William Bundy: Brothers in Arms* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1998), 260; Roswell Gilpatric Oral History Interview by Ted Gittinger, November 2, 1982, LBJL; Kenneth P. O'Donnell et al., *Johnny, We Hardly Knew Ye* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1970), 15–18. By contrast, historians such as Frederik Logevall, Lawrence Freedman, Howard Jones, John Newman and, most recently, Marc Selverstone have acknowledged that the withdrawal plans were not a mere cosmetic exercise but reflected real interests within the administration. However, these same historians are divided on their interpretation of the evidence. Logevall and Freedman see Kennedy as "ambivalent" and pragmatic on Vietnam and reject the notion that Kennedy would have continued his plans to disengage from South Vietnam after the situation there collapsed into 1964. By contrast, Howard Jones and John Newman have gone the furthest in arguing that Kennedy's "decision to withdraw was unconditional, for he approved a calendar of events that did not necessitate a victory." Howard Jones, *Death of a Generation: How the Assassinations of Diem and JFK Prolonged the Vietnam War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 377; James K. Galbraith, "Exit Strategy," *Boston Review* (October/November 2003). In a somewhat more conspiracy theorist vein, Newman argues that Kennedy, with complicit support from McNamara, neutralized his more hawkish advisors and was planning to use his military advisors' overly optimistic reporting against them by getting them to publicly commit to an irreversible withdrawal timetable. He calls this a "deception within a deception." John M. Newman, *JFK and Vietnam: Deception, Intrigue, and the Struggle for Power* (New York: Warner Books, 1992), 321–322. Although Newman assigns a greater role to McNamara in leading the withdrawal plans, he, like most historians who have concerned themselves with the withdrawal plans in the Kennedy administration, has focused primarily on President Kennedy himself and his personal qualities or prescience.
- 23 The chapters ahead build on Selverstone's work but narrow its scope, by focusing almost exclusively on the OSD and civil-military relations. By focusing on McNamara alone, new light is cast on the people and bureaucratic forces that shaped and influenced his positions on Vietnam. Marc J. Selverstone, "It's a Date: Kennedy and the Timetable for a Vietnam Troop Withdrawal," *Diplomatic History* 34:3 (June 2010): 485–495.

- 24 Brian VanDeMark, *Into the Quagmire: Lyndon Johnson and the Escalation of the Vietnam War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 7. See also Francis X. Winters, *The Year of the Hare: America in Vietnam, January 25, 1963–February 15, 1964* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1997).
- 25 On this issue, Freedman writes, “1964 was not a good year for doubters, many of which were squeezed out of the lower ranks of the administration.” Lawrence Freedman, “Vietnam and the Disillusioned Strategist,” *International Affairs* 72:1 (1996): 141.
- 26 Robert S. McNamara Oral History Interview No. 1 by Walt W. Rostow, August 1, 1975, LBJL.
- 27 Townsend Hoopes, *The Limits of Intervention: How Vietnam Policy Was Made – and Reversed – During the Johnson Administration* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1973), 240.
- 28 Hohler, UK Embassy, Saigon to Warmer, FO, July 14, 1961, Reel 8: FO 371/160114, FO Files: The USA, Series Two: Vietnam 1959–1975, National Archives, Kew.
- 29 Robert S. McNamara Oral History Interview by OSD Historical Office, July 24, 1986, Folder: OSD OH 3, Box I:109, RSM Papers, LoC.
- 30 Dr. Daniel Ellsberg, phone interview with author, January 10, 2013.
- 31 Adam Yarmolinsky interview by Brian VanDeMark, April 1, 1995, Folder: Yarmolinsky, 1993, Box II:104, RSM Papers, LoC.
- 32 Newman, *JFK and Vietnam*.
- 33 MC LBJ Presidential Recordings: President Johnson and McNamara, January 2, 1964. WH 6401.03, Conversation 1149.
- 34 Robert S. McNamara OH No. 1. by Walt W. Rostow, January 8, 1975, LBJL.

Chapter 1

- 1 The average tenure for all of McNamara’s successors was 696 days in office. McNamara stayed in office 2,595 days.
- 2 This framework builds loosely on the political scientist Samuel Huntington’s theories. Huntington distinguished three trends. For him, civilian control was consolidated along three lines: strategic planning, combat command and resource allocation. This book fuses the strategic planning and combat command into one: civilian control of strategy in both planning and execution. Samuel P. Huntington, “Defense Organization and Military Strategy,” *The Public Interest* 75 (Spring 1984): 22.
- 3 Adam Yarmolinsky, “Civilian Control: New Perspectives for New Problems,” *Indiana Law Journal* 49:4 (Summer 1974): 654–672.
- 4 Steven Casey, *Selling the Korean War: Propaganda, Politics and Political Opinion in the United States 1950–1953* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 173.
- 5 Ernest R. May “The US Government, a Legacy of the Cold War,” *Diplomatic History* 16:2 (1992): 270. For additional resources on the Defense Department as a militarized outcome of the Cold War, see Carolyn Eisenberg, “The New Cold War,” *Diplomatic History* 29:3 (June 2005): 423–427; John L. Gaddis, *Strategies of Containment* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005): 8;

- Stephanie C. Young, “Power and the Purse: Defense Budgeting and American Politics, 1947–1972,” PhD dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 2009; Melvyn P. Leffler, *A Preponderance of Power: National Security, the Truman Administration and the Cold War* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1992); Saki Dockrill, *Eisenhower’s New-Look National Security Strategy, 1952–61* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1996), chapter 1. In addition, for a discussion on the singular role of the Korean War and NSC 68 in shaping the defense budget and the role of the Defense Department, see Casey, *Selling the Korean War*, chapter 7; Ernest R. May, ed., *American Cold War Strategy: Interpreting NSC 68* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin’s, 1993); Samuel F. Wells Jr., “Sounding the Tocsin: NSC68 and the Soviet Threat,” *International Security* 4 (Spring 1979): 116–158; Walter S. Pool, *The JCS and National Policy, 1950–1952* (Washington, DC: Office of Joint History, 1998); Robert Jervis, “The Impact of the Korean War on the Cold War,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 24:4 (December 1980): 563–592.
- 6 Samuel P. Huntington, “American Ideals versus American Institutions,” *Political Science Quarterly* 97:1 (Spring 1982): 11.
 - 7 At first, as agreed on in January 1942, the organization was called the Organization of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (OJCS). Steven L. Rearden, *The Formative Years: 1947–1950*, vol. 1: *History of the Office of the Secretary of Defense* (Washington, DC: OSD Historical Office, 1984), 17.
 - 8 *Ibid.*, 388.
 - 9 *Ibid.*, 314–316, 391.
 - 10 Daniel Yergin, *Shattered Peace: The Origins of the Cold War and the National Security State* (New York: Penguin Books, 1980), 201. For an account of the unification debate, see Douglas T. Stuart, *Creating the National Security State: A History of the Law That Transformed America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008), 74–106.
 - 11 Yergin, *Shattered Peace*, 201–203.
 - 12 Samuel P. Huntington, *The Soldier and the State: The Theory and Politics of Civil–Military Relations* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1957).
 - 13 Samuel P. Huntington and Andrew J. Goodpastor, *Civil–Military Relations* (Washington, DC: American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, 1977), 11.
 - 14 Eliot A. Cohen, *Supreme Command: Soldiers, Statesmen, and Leadership in Wartime* (New York: Anchor Books, 2002), 243.
 - 15 Dale R. Herspring, *The Pentagon and the Presidency: Civil–Military Relations from FDR to George W. Bush* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2005), 2.
 - 16 Alain Enthoven, McNamara’s Assistant Secretary for Systems Analysis, and his colleague Wayne Smith were particularly critical of this axis. They complained that the Senate had “not produce[d] strong budgetary oversight” because it relied on the authority of the military officials rather than evidence per se, asking generals what they wanted and supporting it, without critically assessing needs. Alain C. Enthoven and K. Wayne Smith, *How Much Is Enough? Shaping the Defense Program, 1961–1969* (New York: Harper & Row, 1971), 310.

- 17 General Maxwell D. Taylor, *The Uncertain Trumpet* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1974), 20–21, 92–95.
- 18 Enthoven and Smith, *How Much Is Enough?*, 96.
- 19 James Roherty provides useful labels to distinguish between two types of Secretaries of Defense among McNamara's predecessors: first, those that were primarily concerned with the managerial aspects of the job, which he called "functionalist," and the policy-makers, which he called "generalist." James Roherty, *Decisions of Robert S. McNamara: A Study of the Role of Secretary of Defense* (Coral Gables, FL: University of Miami Press, 1970), 100.
- 20 May, "The US Government, a Legacy of the Cold War," 275.
- 21 See also Keith D. McFarland and David L. Roll, *Louis Johnson and the Arming of America* (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2005); Leffler, *A Preponderance of Power*.
- 22 May, "The US Government, a Legacy of the Cold War," 271.
- 23 Gaddis, *Strategies of Containment*, 85–86.
- 24 Rearden, *The Formative Years: 1947–1950*, ii.
- 25 Douglas Kinnard, *The Secretary of Defense* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1980), 2, 204.
- 26 Rearden, *The Formative Years*, 74.
- 27 *Ibid.*, 132.
- 28 *Ibid.*, 140.
- 29 On this, see, for instance, John W. Spanier, *The Truman–MacArthur Controversy and the Korean War* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1959); Richard H. Rovere and Arthur Schlesinger Jr., *The MacArthur Controversy and American Foreign Policy* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1965).
- 30 Yergin, *Shattered Peace*, 194.
- 31 Walter Millis, ed., *The Forrestal Diaries* (New York: Viking, 1951), 300–301. The diaries offer a privileged view into Forrestal's frustrations in his dealings with the President and the services.
- 32 Rearden, *The Formative Years*, 330–338.
- 33 *Ibid.*, 336.
- 34 Yergin, *Shattered Peace*, 207.
- 35 The quote comes from his Navy physicians' official statement. "Fatigue Blamed for Condition of Forrestal," *St. Petersburg Times* (April 12, 1949): 6. On his growing mental health issues, see Townsend Hoopes and Douglas Brinkley, *Driven Patriot: The Life and Times of James Forrestal* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 1992); James C. Olson, *Stuart Symington: A Life* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2003), 164–175.
- 36 The last person to see him was his successor, Louis Johnson. Yergin, *Shattered Peace*, 208.
- 37 Hoopes and Brinkley, *Driven Patriot*, preface.
- 38 Huntington, "Defense Organization and Military Strategy," 24.
- 39 MC LBJ Presidential Recordings: President Johnson and McNamara, January 2, 1964, WH 6401.03, Conversation 1149.
- 40 "Nomination of Robert S. McNamara," 87th Congress (January 17, 1961) (Senate Committee on Armed Services), p. 1. Hearing ID: HRG-1961-SAS-0005, US Congressional Hearings Digital Collection Historical Archives, 1824–2003.

- 41 McFarland and Roll, *Louis Johnson*, 197–199.
- 42 Ibid.
- 43 Ibid., 354.
- 44 Johnson to Thurman A. Stout, August 30, 1950, Folder: 3, Box 109, Louis A. Johnson Papers, Secretary of Defense, Correspondence, UVAL.
- 45 “Marshall Urges Enduring Defense,” *New York Times* (November 25, 1950): 6.
- 46 Bart Barnes, “Financier Robert A. Lovett, 90, Former Secretary of Defense, Dies,” *Washington Post* (August 5, 1986): D6.
- 47 Quoted in Gerard Clarfield, *Security with Solvency: Dwight D. Eisenhower and the Shaping of the Military Establishment* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1999), 95.
- 48 Ibid.
- 49 Quoted in Melvyn P. Leffler, “Defense on a Diet: How Budget Crises Have Improved US Strategy,” *Foreign Affairs* (November/December 2013). Retrieved online November 2, 2014: <http://fam.ag/132TXkn>.
- 50 Ibid.
- 51 Kinnard, *The Secretary of Defense*, 622.
- 52 Robert Coughlan, “Top Managers in ‘Business Cabinet,’” *Life Magazine* (January 19, 1953): 100. Another press report described a mere “eight millionaires” instead. “Washington Wire,” *New Republic* (December 15, 1952).
- 53 See also Jay M. Parker, *The Colonels’ Revolt: Eisenhower, the Army and the Politics of National Security* (Newport, RI: Naval War College, 1994).
- 54 “Department of Defense Reorganization Act of 1958,” August 6, 1958. Retrieved online December 17, 2014, Government Printing Office: <http://goo.gl/YvG93U>.
- 55 Ibid.
- 56 Louis Kraar, “Defense Dynamo: McNamara Centralizes Pentagon Control, Puts Civilians in Command,” *Wall Street Journal* (February 19, 1962).
- 57 For an earlier iteration and the intellectual framework for McNamara’s reforms, see Charles J. Hitch and Roland N. McKean, *The Economics of Defense in Nuclear Age* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 1960).
- 58 President Dwight D. Eisenhower “Military-Industrial Complex Speech” (speech, January 17, 1961), Public Papers of the Presidents, Dwight D. Eisenhower, 1960, p. 1035–1040.
- 59 Ibid.
- 60 For more recent literature on the missile gap controversy, see Christopher Preble, *John F. Kennedy and the Missile Gap* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2004).
- 61 Olson, *Stuart Symington: A Life*, 360–362.
- 62 Thomas Norris, “A Giant of Management” (paper presented at the 38th Annual Meeting of the Academy for Management, undated).
- 63 W. H. Lawrence, “Symington Panel Urges Revamping of the Pentagon,” *New York Times* (December 6, 1960): 1.
- 64 “Defense Organization,” November 17, 1960, Folder: Transition Memoranda, Topic memoranda 1, Box 17, Neustadt Papers, Government Consulting Files, JFKL.

- 65 Ibid.
- 66 McMaster, *Derelection of Duty*, 2.
- 67 Robert A. Lovett OH No. 1 by Dorothy Foedlick, July 20, 1964, JFKL, p. 10.
- 68 Kraar, “Defense Dynamo.”
- 69 “President Kennedy’s Appointments,” American Department FO to Prime Minister, January 26, 1961, PREM 11/4574, National Archives, Kew.
- 70 David Halberstam, *The Best and the Brightest* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1969), 219.
- 71 As part of his work for the Ford Foundation’s Fund for the Republic, Yarmolinsky had produced a study on individuals that had been unfairly treated under McCarthyism and the federal security program. On a visit to Ann Arbor, McNamara and Yarmolinsky met and discussed Yarmolinsky’s report as well as McNamara’s work on auto safety. He described McNamara saying: “I think his whole bent is towards service. We are put on the earth to be useful.” Adam Yarmolinsky Oral History Interview No. 1 by Daniel Ellsberg, November 11, 1964, JFKL.
- 72 Halberstam, *The Best and the Brightest*, 228.
- 73 Robert S. McNamara and Brian VanDeMark, *In Retrospect: The Tragedy and Lessons of Vietnam* (New York: Vintage Books, 1995), 8.
- 74 Rosenzweig, “Robert S. McNamara and the Evolution of Modern Management,” 89; *The Fog of War*, directed by Errol Morris (Sony Pictures Classics, 2004), DVD.
- 75 McNamara and VanDeMark, *In Retrospect*, 10.
- 76 Ibid.
- 77 Ibid., 15.
- 78 Halberstam, *The Best and the Brightest*, 237.
- 79 Rosenzweig, “Robert S. McNamara and the Evolution of Modern Management,” 87–93.
- 80 Robert McNamara Oral History Interview by the Secretary of Defense Historical Office, April 23, 1986, Folder: OSD OH 1, Box 1:109, RSM Papers, LoC.
- 81 Ibid.
- 82 McNamara and VanDeMark, *In Retrospect*, 17.
- 83 “McNamara Defines His Job,” *New York Times* (April 26, 1964).
- 84 Robert McNamara Oral History Interview by the Secretary of Defense Historical Office, April 23, 1986, Folder: OSD OH 1, Box 1:109, RSM Papers, LoC.
- 85 McNamara to President elect Kennedy, December 12, 1960, Folder: Secretary of Defense letter of acceptance, 1960, Box II:46, RSM Papers, LoC.
- 86 Chairman Richard Russell, 87th Congress, “Military Construction Authorization FY63” (June 14, 1962) (Senate Committee on Armed Services), p. 14. Hearing ID: HRG-1962-SAS-0053, US Congressional Hearings Digital Collection Historical Archives, 1824–2003.
- 87 Kraar, “Defense Dynamo.”
- 88 Joshua E. Klimas, “Balancing Consensus, Consent, and Competence: Richard Russell, the Senate Armed Services Committee and Oversight of America’s Defense, 1955–1968,” PhD dissertation, Ohio State University, 2007.

- 89 Robert McNamara Oral History Interview by the Secretary of Defense Historical Office, April 23, 1986, Folder: OSD OH 1, Box I:109, RSM Papers, LoC.
- 90 Kaufmann, *The McNamara Strategy*, 189.
- 91 Enthoven and Smith, *How Much Is Enough?*

Chapter 2

- 1 Robert McNamara Oral History Interview No. 1 by the Secretary of Defense Historical Office, April 23, 1986, Folder: OH 1 for OSD, Box I:109, RSM Papers, LoC.
- 2 Ibid.
- 3 Roherty, *Decisions of Robert S. McNamara*, 66.
- 4 Robert S. McNamara Oral History Interview No. 1 by Walt W. Rostow, January 8, 1975, LBJL.
- 5 Jeffrey G. Barlow, "President John F. Kennedy and the Joint Chiefs of Staff," PhD dissertation, University of South Carolina, 1981, p. 110.
- 6 Roswell Gilpatric Oral History Interview No. 1 by Ted Gittinger, November 12, 1982, LBJL.
- 7 Carl Kaysen Oral History Interview No. 1 by Joseph E. O'Connor, July 11, 1966, JFKL.
- 8 Robert S. McNamara Oral History Interview No. 1 by the Secretary of Defense Historical Office, April 23, 1986, Folder: OH 1 for OSD, Box I:109, RSM Papers, LoC.
- 9 Interview between Brian VanDeMark and Adam Yarmolinsky, April 1, 1993, Folder: Yarmolinsky 1993, Box II:104, RSM Papers, LoC.
- 10 Robert McNamara Oral History Interview No. 1 by the Secretary of Defense Historical Office, April 23, 1986, Folder: OH 1 for OSD, Box I:109, RSM Papers, LoC.
- 11 "Senate Probes "Muzzling" of Military," *Washington Post* (1961): A4.
- 12 Later, he was institutionalized after he tried to lead a citizen militia in a standoff over the forced desegregation at the University of Mississippi and then released after it emerged that he was fit to stand trial. He continued to be involved in conspiratorial militant groups throughout the South. Clive Webb, *Rabble Rousers: The American Far Right in the Civil Rights Era* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2010), 141–149.
- 13 "Senator, Pentagon Aide Clash in 'Muzzling' Quiz," *Los Angeles Times* (1962): 3.
- 14 "Citizens Council Interview, March 1962," MP 1986.01, Citizens' Council Forum Film Collection, Reel 0030, Mississippi Department of Archives and History.
- 15 McNamara to Taylor, June 11, 1963, Folder: Reading File, June 1963, Box 118, RG200, RSM Records, Reading Files, NARA.
- 16 Ibid.
- 17 "Text of the Lovett Statement Defending Civilian Limitations upon the Military," *New York Times* (1962): 19.

- 18 James Reston, "On Getting Run Over by a Gravy Train," *New York Times* (March 15, 1963).
- 19 Henry Brandon, "Kennedy Fights the Generals," *Sunday Times* (May 27, 1962); Kraar, "Defense Dynamo."
- 20 Robert Kennedy's ninth child, born in January 1965, was named Matthew Maxwell Taylor.
- 21 Maxwell Taylor Oral History Interview by the Secretary of Defense Historical Office, October 18, 1983, Folder: In Retrospect, Background and research materials, misc., Box II:95, RSM Papers, LoC.
- 22 Jones, *Death of a Generation*, 114.
- 23 Robert McNamara OH Interview 1 by the Secretary of Defense Historical Office, April 23, 1986, Folder: OH 1 for OSD, Box I:109, RSM Papers, LoC.
- 24 David Callahan, *Dangerous Capabilities: Paul Nitze and the Cold War* (New York: Edward Burlingame, 1990), 198–199.
- 25 "Administration Appointments" Ormsby-Gore to FO, May 25, 1962, PREM 11/4574, National Archives, Kew.
- 26 Robert McNamara Oral History Interview 1 by the Secretary of Defense Historical Office, April 23, 1986, Folder: OH 1 for OSD, Box I:109, RSM Papers, LoC.
- 27 Robert S. McNamara Oral History Interview by Walt W. Rostow, January 8, 1975, LBJL.
- 28 Callahan, *Dangerous Capabilities*, 206, 248.
- 29 "President Kennedy's Appointments" American Department, Foreign Office to PM Macmillan, January 26, 1961, PREM 11/4574, National Archives, Kew.
- 30 Robert McNamara Oral History Interview 1 by the Secretary of Defense Historical Office, April 23, 1986, Folder: OH 1 for OSD, Box I:109, RSM Papers, LoC.
- 31 "McNamara Defines His Job," *New York Times* (April 26, 1964).
- 32 Chester L. Cooper OH Interview by Joseph E. O'Connor, June 9, 1966, JFKL.
- 33 Schlesinger, *A Thousand Days*, 421.
- 34 Robert A. Lovett Oral History Interview by Dorothy Foedlick, July 20, 1964, JFKL.
- 35 Schlesinger, *A Thousand Days*, 407.
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- 61 Among the more vocal opponents was Richard M. Nixon: the members of Kennedy's Council of Economic Advisers recalled that the President exclaimed, "God, look at what Nixon is doing to me on this whole question of fiscal responsibility!" Council of Economic Advisers Oral History Interview No. 1 by Joseph Pechman, August 1, 1964, JFKL, p. 217.
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- 64 Seymour E. Harris, *Economics and the Kennedy Years and a Look Ahead* (New York: Harper & Row, 1964), 27.
- 65 See, for instance, Morris J. MacGregor Jr., *Integration of the Armed Forces, 1940–1965* (Washington, DC: Department of the Army, 1985), chapter 20.
- 66 Council of Economic Advisers Oral History Interview No. 1 by Joseph Pechman, August 1, 1964, JFKL, p. 175.
- 67 Robert Kennedy later named one of his children after Dillon and Averell Harriman: Douglas Harriman Kennedy.
- 68 C. Douglas Dillon Oral History Interview No. 2 by Dixon Donnelley, November 10, 1964, JFKL, p. 26.
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- 70 Facts about the Budget and Debt, January 1963, Folder: Budget Federal, Box 29, Subject Files 1961–64, Sorensen Papers, JFKL.
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Chapter 3

- 1 Gaddis speaks vividly about this “break” and its political motives: “There was somehow the feeling that the promise – and indeed the legitimacy – of a new generation of national leadership would be called into question if its programs were not made to differ visibly and substantially from what had gone before.” Gaddis, *Strategies of Containment*, 197.
- 2 President John F. Kennedy, “Inaugural Address” (speech, Washington, DC, January 20, 1961). Retrieved online on November 2, 2014, JFKL: <http://googl/aAlb5O>.
- 3 Theodore H. White, *The Making of the President 1960* (New York: Atheneum, 1961), 382.
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- 6 On the relationship between the balance of payments deficit, gold outflow and the Kennedy administration’s foreign policy, see especially Gavin, *Gold, Dollars, and Power*, and Francis J. Gavin, “The Gold Battles within the Cold War: American Monetary Policy and the Defense of Europe,” *Diplomatic History* 26:1 (2002): 61–94.
- 7 Scott Farris, *Kennedy and Reagan: Why Their Legacies Endure* (Guilford, CT: Lyons Press, 2013), 221.
- 8 Kennedy later expanded on this idea in his first state of the union address when he said, “Our role is essential and unavoidable in the construction of a sound and expanding economy for the entire non-communist world, helping other nations build the strength to meet their own problems, to satisfy their own aspirations – to surmount their own dangers.” President Kennedy, “Annual Message to the Congress on the State of the Union” (Washington,

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 - 10 Yarmolinsky, "Civilian Control: New Perspectives for New Problems," 663.
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 - 15 White House Tapes: President Kennedy and Taylor, December 5, 1962. Retrieved online November 2, 2014, MC: <http://goo.gl/tTytNy>.
 - 16 Alain C. Enthoven, "Reason, Morality and Defense Policy," *America* (April 13, 1963): 494.
 - 17 Adam Yarmolinsky Oral History Interview No. 2 by Daniel Ellsberg, November 28, 1964, JFKL.
 - 18 Robert S. McNamara, "Address at Michigan University" (speech, Ann Arbor, MI, June 18, 1962), PREM 11/3709, National Archives, Kew.
 - 19 Although Kennedy's campaign alleged that Eisenhower had allowed a "missile gap" to widen between the United States and the Soviet Union, soon after coming to office, Gilpatric inadvertently made a public statement to the effect that none existed. The upheaval around his passing comment led to a Defense Department appraisal of relevant capabilities that essentially concluded that there never had been a gap, and in the longer term, led to the creation of a Defense Intelligence Agency that was designed to cross-check and centralize the services' intelligence efforts since the services were the only bodies who believed in a missile gap. "The Missile Gap Controversy," McNamara to President Kennedy, March 3, 1963, Folder: Statement file, Box 1:100, RSM Papers, LoC. For his part, according to Maxwell Taylor, Kennedy never believed there had been a missile gap. Maxwell Taylor Oral History Interview No. 1 by Elspeth Rostow, April 12, 1964, JFKL.
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- 23 Bird, *The Color of Truth*, 209–210; “SIOP 63 Briefing,” Lemnitzer to President Kennedy, September 22, 1962. Retrieved online November 2, 2014, GWU Online: <http://goo.gl/c9pGNh>.
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- 25 White House Tapes: John F. Kennedy and Taylor, December 5, 1962. Retrieved online November 2, 2014, MC: <http://goo.gl/EBDLkd>.
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- 27 Aaron L. Friedberg, *In the Shadow of the Garrison State: America’s Anti-Statism and Its Cold War Grand Strategy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000), 142.
- 28 Francis J. Gavin, *Nuclear Statecraft: History and Strategy in America’s Atomic Age* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2012), 33.
- 29 Gaddis, *Strategies of Containment*, 177–178.
- 30 Taylor, *The Uncertain Trumpet*.
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- 35 “Annual Review 1961” Ormsby-Gore to Home, January 1, 1962, Reel 12: FO 371/162583. FO: The USA, Series One: USA Politics and Diplomacy, Part I: The John F. Kennedy Years, 1960–1963, National Archives, Kew.
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- 42 Roswell Gilpatric Oral History Interview by Dennis J. O'Brien, May 27, 1970, JFKL.
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Chapter 4

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- 3 Roger Hilsman, *The Politics of Policy Making in Defense and Foreign Affairs* (New York: Harper & Row, 1971), 166–167.
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- 9 On Kennedy's rejection of proposals on neutralization, see especially Fredrik Logevall, *Choosing War: The Lost Chance for Peace and the Escalation of War in Vietnam* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 72.
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- 26 Preston, *The War Council*, 96.
- 27 *Pentagon Papers*, Part IV.B.1, p. 9, 31.
- 28 Callahan, *Dangerous Capabilities*, 180. Also, many of Kennedy's aides remember that Kennedy would cite General MacArthur's warnings against a

- land war in Southeast Asia and that “whenever he’d get this military advice from the Joint Chiefs . . . he’d say ‘Well, now, you gentlemen, you go back and convince General MacArthur, then I’ll be convinced.’” Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr., “What Would He Have Done?,” *New York Times* (March 29, 1992). Though he approved a substantial escalation in training and advisors, he never seemed to have detracted from his view that the United States should not apply direct force, that this would “return the situation in Vietnam to that which existed when the French were fighting a colonial war there.” Memorandum of Conference with the President, September 11, 1963, Folder: Meetings on Vietnam, 9/11/63–9/12/63, Box 316, NSF, M&M Series, JFKL.
- 29 Draft Letter from President Kennedy to President Diem, December 1961, Folder: Vietnam, General, 12/11/61–12/13/61, Box 195a, NSF, JFKL.
 - 30 Roswell Gilpatric Oral History Interview by Dennis J. O’Brien, May 5, 1970, JFKL.
 - 31 On Nolting’s isolation, see also Frederick Nolting, *From Trust to Tragedy: The Political Memoirs of Frederick Nolting, Kennedy’s Ambassador to Diem’s Vietnam* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1988); interview of Frederick Nolting, April 30, 1981. Retrieved online November 2, 2014, Open Vault Archives: <http://goo.gl/cHWDLE>.
 - 32 Roger Hilsman insisted that the choice was apolitical and that Lodge had been chosen for objective reasons. His Memcon of a conversation with a journalist reads: “As a matter of fact, if you are going to play that game, you would pick a liberal like Chet Bowles. Mr. Hilsman said that Mr. Lodge is bilingual in French; he has been interested in Vietnam. He is a Major General in the Army Reserve. Last year when he took his two weeks’ active duty he was in the Pentagon studying Vietnam and the tactics, and was fascinated with the place.” (Memorandum of Telecon between Mr. Bob Donovan of Herald Tribune and Mr. Hilsman, June 27, 1963, Folder: Chronological Files 6/63, Box 6, Hilsman Papers, Memoranda of Conversations, JFKL.) Later, Kennedy’s friends and advisors David Powers and Kenneth O’Donnell suggested the President was “astonished along with rest of the Boston Irishmen on the White House staff” by Rusk’s choice but that he nonetheless approved “because the idea of getting Lodge mixed up in such a hell of a mess as the one in Vietnam was irresistible.” Early drafts of *Johnny We Hardly Knew Ye*, Folder: Chapter 1, Box 12, O’Donnell Papers, JFKL.
 - 33 The notes were in respect of a discussion over what to do if the coup against Diem failed. Notes from a Meeting, August 28, 1963, Folder: Vietnam, General, 11/3/63–11/5/63, CIA Reports, Box 201, NSF, Countries Series, Vietnam, JFKL.
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 - 35 There is some debate about whether Rostow’s removal was a demotion, as John Newman suggests, or instead a promotion to something better fitted to his background as an economic historian, as Andrew Preston suggests. Newman, *JFK and Vietnam*, 140–141; Preston, *The War Council*, 62.
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- 44 JCS to President Kennedy (via Secretary of Defense McNamara), January 27, 1962, Folder: Southeast Asia, General 1/61–12/62, Box 231a, NSF, Regional Security Series, JFKL.
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Chapter 5

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- 78 This episode is also intriguing because several of Kennedy's advisors have suggested that Mansfield's report had a powerful impact on Kennedy and that it was on the basis of this report that he began the process of phased withdrawal. O'Donnell et al., *Johnny, We Hardly Knew Ye*, 16.
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- 94 USAM/Viet-Nam Director’s Staff Meeting, March 19, 1963, Folder: AID-7 Program Operations, Box 1, RG59 Vietnam Working Group, NARA.
- 95 President John F. Kennedy (press conference, Washington, DC, November 14, 1963), Box 140, McGeorge Bundy Papers, NYU Research and Reference Files, JFKL.
- 96 Notes for Senate Foreign Relations Committee Military Assistance Hearings, June 14, 1962, Folder: MAP Hearings, Box 15, RG200, RSM Records, Defense Programs and Operations, NARA.
- 97 “Senator Mansfield’s Report on Viet Nam” Ormsby-Gore to FO, February 27, 1962, Reel 27: FO 371/170110, FO: The USA. Series Two: Vietnam 1959–1975, National Archives, Kew.
- 98 “Statement by Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara,” 88th Congress 1 (May 15, 1963) (Subcommittee on Foreign Operations Appropriation). Hearing ID: HRG-1963-HAP-0043, US Congressional Hearings Digital Collection Historical Archives, 1824–2003.
- 99 *Ibid.*, p. 96.
- 100 *Ibid.*
- 101 This was a direct quote from the Clay Committee’s Report. *Ibid.*
- 102 “Report to the President of the United States from the Committee to Strengthen the Security of the Free World,” March 20, 1963. Folder: National Security S and O, Box 11, Neustadt Papers, JFKL.
- 103 Paul Samuelson quoted in Council of Economic Advisers Oral History Interview No. 1 by Joseph Pechman, August 1, 1964, JFKL, p. 255; on the bipartisan aspects of the Clay Committee, see also General Lucius D. Clay Oral History Interview by Richard Scammon, July 1, 1964, JFKL.
- 104 In an indication of how badly this exercise backfired, Kennedy himself apparently said, “That son of a bitch Clay. I should have known better.” Carl Kaysen Oral History Interview No. 1 by Joseph E. O’Connor, July 11, 1966, JFKL.
- 105 “Report to the President of the United States from the Committee to Strengthen the Security of the Free World,” March 20, 1963, Folder: National Security S and O, Box 11, Neustadt Papers, JFKL.
- 106 *Ibid.*
- 107 Dillon to Rusk, February 20, 1962, Douglas Dillon Oral History Interview No. 2 by Dixon Donnelley, November 10, 1964, JFKL, p. 149.
- 108 Although even colleagues at ISA raised questions about this assumption, suggesting, “There is no experience to show that mopping up in a CI

situation is appreciably cheaper than building up. The GVN may have to keep large number of forces in being for 5–10 years.” “Proposed FY65–69 MAP Projection for Far East,” Rear Admiral Heiz to ISA, December 28, 1962, Folder: December 1962, 7–31, Box 10, Newman Papers, Research Materials, JFKL.

109 *Pentagon Papers*, Vol.IV.B.4.

110 “Comprehensive Plan for South Vietnam,” Harkins to MAAG, September 8, 1962, Folder: September 1962 1–14, Box 8, Newman Papers, Research Materials, JFKL.

111 “Statement by Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara,” 88th Congress 1 (May 15, 1963) (Subcommittee on Foreign Operations Appropriation), p. 83. Hearing ID: HRG-1963-HAP-0043, US Congressional Hearings Digital Collection Historical Archives, 1824–2003.

112 Telephone conversation between President Kennedy and McNamara, May 7, 1963, Tape 85, Presidential Recordings, JFKL.

113 McNamara to William Bundy, September 4, 1963, Folder: Reading File, September 1963, Box 118, RG200, RSM Records, Reading Files, NARA.

114 Record of a Small Meeting with Secretary McNamara in Admiral Felt’s Office, October 8, 1962, Folder: Vietnam, General 1962, Box 519, Harriman Papers, LoC.

115 Leffingwell to McNamara, March 8, 1961, Folder: MAP FY1962–1966, Box 14, RG200, RSM Records, Defense Programs and Operations, 1961–67, NARA.

116 Kaplan et al., *The McNamara Ascendancy*, 429–431.

117 Report of the Military Assistance Steering Group Report, December 12, 1961, Folder: MAP – Six Country Studies, December 1961–January 1962, Box 9, RG200, RSM Records, Defense Programs and Operations, NARA.

118 Although McNamara knew the SFRC was highly critical of the dominant role of Asia on the MAP, in his testimony, he put the number even higher: he indicated that 70 percent of the FY64 MAP program went to nine countries in South Asia, the Far East and Near East, and he mentioned Vietnam first among those countries, even if it was not the largest recipient of MAP aid.

119 “Statement by Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara,” 88th Congress 1 (May 15, 1963) (Subcommittee on Foreign Operations Appropriation). Hearing ID: HRG-1963-HAP-0043, US Congressional Hearings Digital Collection Historical Archives, 1824–2003.

120 “McNamara Says Aid to Saigon Is at Peak and Will Level Off,” *New York Times* (1962), Folder: May 1962, 1–9, Box 8, Newman Papers, Research Materials, JFKL.

121 The OSD was clearly impatient with AID by December 1962 and suggested that they too should begin planning for long-term funding arrangements for these forces with the South Vietnamese Ministry of the Interior. “Comprehensive Plan for SVN,” Harkins to Felt, December 7, 1962, Folder: December 1962 1–4, Box 10, Newman Papers, Research Materials, JFKL.

122 Information Brief, “Comprehensive Plan for South VN (CPSVN),” August 27, 1963, Folder: August 1963 25–27, Box 13, Newman Papers, Research Materials, JFKL.

- 123 Harkins to Thuan, June 28, 1963, Folder: June 1963 21–28, Box 12, Newman Papers, Research Materials, JFKL.
- 124 Information Brief, “Comprehensive Plan for South VN (CPSVN),” August 27, 1963, Folder: August 1963 25–27, Box 13, Newman Papers, Research Materials, JFKL.
- 125 “Comprehensive Plan for SVN,” Harkins to Felt, December 7, 1962, Folder: December 1962 1–4, Box 10, Newman Papers, Research Materials, JFKL.
- 126 A Federal Reserve Board study commissioned by the State Department in April 1963 questioned the South Vietnamese government’s ability to cope with a reduction of US assistance and urged greater “self-help” and “buy American” measures to reduce the balance of payments impact of operations there. It was highly critical of AID and the government of South Vietnam; as a result, the State Department tried to have it reclassified. General Terms of Reference for Your Assignment in Vietnam, Stoneman to Kaufman (Federal Reserve Board), April 17, 1963, Folder: AID-7 Program Operations, Box 1, RG59 Vietnam Working Group, NARA.
- 127 Still his colleagues “felt the best course to follow would be to make an all-out effort between now and the end of the 1965, and then in 1966 work at stabilizing the economic situation.” USAM/Viet-Nam Director’s Staff Meeting, May 15, 1963, Folder: AID-7 Program Operations, Box 1, RG59 Vietnam Working Group, NARA.
- 128 “Economic Effects of Potential Decrease in Military Expenditures in Certain Selected Countries,” Gordon to Kaysen, July 11, 1962, Folder: 1962, Box 362, NSF, Kaysen Papers, JFKL.
- 129 Trueheart, Saigon to Hilsman and Janow, May 28, 1963, Folder: June 1963 1–2, Box 11, Newman Papers, Research Materials, JFKL.
- 130 “Annual Report for 1962,” Hohler, Saigon to Home, January 2, 1963, Reel 23: FO 371/166763. FO Files: The USA. Series Two: Vietnam 1959–1975, National Archives, Kew.
- 131 Transcript, NSC meeting, October 3, 1963: Tape 144/A49, Cassette 2/3, Folder: Fog of War, background and research materials, Box II:114, RSM Papers, LoC.
- 132 General Clay testimony in front of Senate Foreign Affairs Select Committee, April 25, 1963, Folder: President’s Message, Rusk Statement and Legislation, 1963, Box 29, RG200, RSM Records, Defense Programs and Operations, 1961–67, NARA.
- 133 “FY65–69 MAP Plan for Republic of Vietnam,” CINCPAC to Director of Military Assistance, OSD, July 31, 1963, Folder: July 1963 15–27, Box 13, Newman Papers, Research Materials, JFKL.
- 134 In a letter to State and AID, McNamara wrote that the “legal and practical feasibility of these transfers has not yet been fully considered with the Department of Defense.” McNamara to Department of State/AID Administrator Bell, November 14, 1963, Folder: Reading File, October 1963, Box 119, RG200, RSM Records, Reading Files, NARA.
- 135 “Revisions in the Military Assistance Program Budget Presentation,” McNamara to President Johnson, December 3, 1963, Folder: Defense Budget 1/2, Box 45, Sorensen Papers, Subject Files 1961–64, JFKL.

- 136 “Realignment of the MAP Program for FY1965,” William Bundy to Bureau of Budget, State, AID, White House, November 22, 1963, Folder: Defense Budget 1/2, Box 45, Sorensen Papers, Subject Files 1961–64, JFKL.
- 137 Ibid.

Chapter 6

- 1 Michael Forrestal said that “Kennedy never got too discouraged about Vietnam, and felt despite all the difficulties, we had a good chance of making.” (Research Notes for *A Thousand Days*, Folder: Vietnam, Research Notes and Memoranda, Box W-15, Schlesinger Papers, Memoranda to the President, JFKL.) In an oral history, William Bundy stated that “[withdrawal] was pegged to an optimistic view of the situation and I doubt very much that it was intended to apply if the situation had been going badly.” (William P. Bundy Oral History Interview by William W. Moss, April 25, 1972, JFKL.)
- 2 Transcript NSC meeting, October 3, 1963: Tape 144/A49, Cassette 2/3, Folder: Fog of War, background and research materials, Box II:114, RSM Papers, LoC.
- 3 Ibid.
- 4 *Pentagon Papers*, Part IV.B.3, p. 9.
- 5 Although, in a revealing side note, he added, “McCone feels that it may be that the discouragement is not about how the war is going but about the setup in the American Military setup there in Viet Nam and its relations to CINCPAC and the JCS.” Memorandum for the Record, Hilsman, April 27, 1962, Folder: April 1962, Box 6, Hilsman Papers, Memoranda of Conversations, JFKL.
- 6 “Status Report on Southeast Asia, Task Force Southeast Asia,” October 3, 1962, Folder: October 1962 1–10, Box 9, Newman Papers, Research Materials, JFKL; “Developments in Viet-Nam between General Taylor’s Visits: Oct 1961–Oct 1962” Brubeck to McGeorge Bundy, October 8, 1962, Folder: October 1962 1–10, Box 9, Newman Papers, Research Materials, JFKL.
- 7 Kattenburg to the Special Group (CI), October 22, 1963, Box 3, RG59 Vietnam Working Group, NARA; Honolulu Briefing Book (Part II), November 20, 1963, Folder: Vietnam, Honolulu Briefing Book, 11/20/62, Part II, Box 204, NSF, Countries Series, Vietnam, JFKL.
- 8 “US Policy on Viet-Nam: White House Statement,” October 2, 1963. Retrieved online November 2, 2014, Mt. Holyoke Documents Relating to American Foreign Policy, Vietnam: www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/state63.htm.
- 9 Report of the McNamara–Taylor Mission to South Vietnam, 24 September–1 October 1963, Folder: Vietnam, McNamara–Taylor Report, 10/1/63, Box 4, Hilsman Papers, Memoranda of Conversations, JFKL.
- 10 In his optimism, Harkins had a powerful ally in Admiral Felt, who was the other field commander in charge of drafting the withdrawal plans. In response to an article written by David Halberstam that suggested the situation in the Delta had seriously deteriorated and in defense of Harkins, writing to the JCS in March 1963, Felt effused: “I believe the reasons for Harkins’ optimism is: 1)

the inescapably evident fact of continuing US support and military aid; 2) the obvious fact that in both military and civilian efforts the people running things are getting organized and have gained a reasonably comprehensive understanding of the problem to be solved and have actually gone to work to solve the problem ... My overall comment is that improvement is a daily fact, thanks to the combined efforts of the RVN and the US the success of the counterinsurgency is attainable and we are confident of the outcome." CINCPAC to JCS, March 9, 1963, Folder: February 1963 9–20, Box 11, Newman Papers, Research Materials, JFKL. Also, shortly before McNamara's visit, Felt reported to the JCS that the foundations for a solid program in the Delta had been laid and so victory could also be carried there. McNamara's notes from the trip pointed specifically to numerous failures and weaknesses in the Delta region. (CINCPAC to JCS, August 18, 1963, Folder: August 1963, Box 13, Newman Papers, Research Materials, JFKL.) Moreover, even after the transition to the Johnson administration when the CP SVN was quietly dropped, Felt still "stood by predictions that the war against the Vietcong will be completed successfully in three years." US Embassy, Taipei to McGeorge Bundy, December 1963, Folder: 1 Vietnam General, 1963, Box 128a, POF, JFKL.

- 11 Robert S. McNamara Interview by Brian Vandemark for "In Retrospect," December 7, 1993, Folder: Drafts and Notes, Box II:100, RSM Papers, LOC.
- 12 "Report on Trip to Far East with General Taylor, August 31–September 21, 1962," Folder: September 1961 1, Box 8, Newman Papers, Research Materials, JFKL.
- 13 *Pentagon Papers*, Part IV.B4, p. 5.
- 14 Harkins to Taylor, January 1963, Folder: January 1963 3–4, Box 10, Newman Papers, Research Materials, JFKL.
- 15 Transcript, NSC meeting, October 3, 1963: Tape 144/A49, Cassette 2/3, Folder: Fog of War, background and research materials, Box II:114, RSM Papers, LoC.
- 16 Research Notes for *A Thousand Days*, Folder: Vietnam, Research Notes and Memoranda, Box W-15, Schlesinger Papers, Memoranda to the President, JFKL.
- 17 "Discussion about Senator Mansfield's Visit to Vietnam with the Director of the Vietnam Working Group in the State Department, Mr. Wood," Forster, Washington to Williams, FO, January 25, 1963, Reel 27: FO 371/170110, FO Files: The USA, Series Two: Vietnam 1959–1975, National Archives, Kew.
- 18 Robert McNamara draft of "In Retrospect" with comments from McGeorge Bundy, undated, Folder: In Retrospect, Comments and Criticisms (pre-publication reviews), Box II:95, RSM Papers, LoC.
- 19 Ibid.
- 20 Gilpatric left the Pentagon in January 1964, so this recollection would have been solely from impressions gleaned during the Kennedy administration. (Roswell Gilpatric Oral History Interview by Ted Gittinger No. 1, November 12, 1982, LBJL.)
- 21 Transcript, NSC meeting, October 3, 1963: Tape 144/A49, Cassette 2/3, Folder: Fog of War, background and research materials, Box II:114, RSM Papers, LoC.

- 22 RGK Thompson, Report on Visits to Delta Provinces to Anderson, USMC, September 21, 1963, Folder: Vietnam Trip, Box 63, RG200, RSM Records, Defense Programs and Operations, NARA.
- 23 “Vietnam: Review of United States Aid and Policy towards Vietnam Following Senator Mansfield’s Report” by Warmer, FO, April 3, 1963, Reel 27: FO 371/170110, FO Files: The USA, Series Two: Vietnam 1959–1975, National Archives, Kew.
- 24 “Thompson Visit,” CINCPAC to JCS, March 26, 1963, Folder: March 1963 23–30, Box 11, Newman Papers, Research Materials, JFKL.
- 25 Revised Report from Thompson to Peck, FO, October 30, 1963, Reel 25: FO 371/170102, FO Files: The USA, Series Two: Vietnam 1959–1975, National Archives, Kew.
- 26 Harkins and most other military officers McNamara met during his visit to Vietnam in September 1963 insisted (despite receiving contradicting reports) that the Buddhist crisis had “not had an appreciable impact on the military situation to date.” USMACV Headway Addenda to JCS et al., July 10–17, 1963, Folder: July 1963 15–27, Box 13, Newman Papers, Research Materials, JFKL.
- 27 “Report on Visits to the Delta Provinces over the Last 3 Months, and Interview with Cabot Lodge, United States Ambassador” Thompson to FO, September 18, 1963, Reel 25: FO 371/170102, FO Files: The USA, Series Two: Vietnam 1959–1975, National Archives, Kew.
- 28 McNamara handwritten notes, September 25, 1963, Folder: Trip Notes, Box 63, RG200, RSM Records, Defense Programs and Operations, NARA.
- 29 Peter Busch, “Killing the ‘Vietcong’: The British Advisory Mission and the Strategic Hamlet Programme,” *Journal of Strategic Studies* 25:1 (2002): 152.
- 30 Ibid.
- 31 “Report on Visits to the Delta Provinces over the Last 3 Months, and Interview with Cabot Lodge, United States Ambassador” Thompson to FO, September 18, 1963, Reel 25: FO 371/170102, FO Files: The USA, Series Two: Vietnam 1959–1975, National Archives, Kew.
- 32 Report of the McNamara–Taylor Mission to South Vietnam, 24 September–1 October 1963, Folder: Vietnam, McNamara–Taylor Report, 10/1/63, Box 4, Hilsman Papers, Memoranda of Conversations, JFKL.
- 33 Robert S. McNamara Oral History Interview No. 2 by the OSD Historical Office, May 22, 1986, Folder: OSD OH 2, Box 1:109, RSM Papers, LoC.
- 34 It saw “clear differences of opinion about the extent of GVN control” and complained that “Lodge has been told quite a different situation exists shown by MACV reports.” McNamara handwritten notes, September 25, 1963, Folder: Trip Notes, Box 63, RG200, RSM Records, Defense Programs and Operations, NARA.
- 35 Report of the McNamara–Taylor Mission to South Vietnam, 24 September–1 October 1963, Folder: Vietnam, McNamara–Taylor Report, 10/1/63, Box 4, Hilsman Papers, Memoranda of Conversations, JFKL.
- 36 Also, McNamara’s team on the trip reflected biases: William Bundy, the head of ISA, also oversaw the struggling MAP that financed operations; Forrestal had expressed anger at air power and the “militarization” of policy; Colby

had worried about the proliferation of militias; Krulak had complained of the military's inability to integrate counterinsurgency theory; and William Sullivan, the former Deputy Head of Mission in South Vietnam, had criticized Diem's leadership. Secretary McNamara's Instructions to Party Delivered aboard Plane, September 23, 1963, Folder: South Vietnam Trip, Box 63, RG200, RSM Records, Defense Programs and Operations, NARA.

- 37 McNamara handwritten notes, September 25, 1963, Folder: Trip Notes, Box 63, RG200, RSM Papers, Defense Programs and Operations, NARA.
- 38 Lodge to Rusk, September 30, 1963, Folder: South Vietnam Trip, Box 63, RG200, RSM Records, Defense Programs and Operations, NARA.
- 39 McNamara handwritten notes, undated, Folder: Trip Notes, Box 63, RG200, RSM Records, Defense Programs and Operations, NARA.
- 40 Victor H. Krulak Oral History Interview by William W. Moss, November 19, 1970, JFKL.
- 41 Research Notes for *A Thousand Days*, Folder: Vietnam, Research Notes and Memoranda, Box W-15, Schlesinger Papers, Memoranda to the President, JFKL.
- 42 *Pentagon Papers*, Part IV.B.4, p. 42.
- 43 William Knighton Jr., "McNamara and Taylor Feel US Can Withdraw Most of Troops from Vietnam by End of 1965," *Baltimore Sun* (October 3, 1963).
- 44 Tad Szulc, "Vietnam Victory by the End of '65 Envisaged by US"; "Officials Say War May Be Won if Political Crisis Does Not Hamstring Effort," *New York Times* (October 3, 1963): 1; "Text of Statement on Vietnam," *New York Times* (October 3, 1963): 4.
- 45 Logevall, for instance, has written that these plans were "primarily to pressure Diem." Logevall, *Choosing War*, 69.
- 46 NSC meeting, October 2, 1963, 6:05 p.m. meeting, Tape 144, Cassette 3, Presidential Recordings, JFKL.
- 47 *Pentagon Papers*, Part IV.B.4, p. 5.
- 48 Ledward, Washington to Warmer, FO, April 8, 1962, Reel 19: FO 371/166733, FO Files: The USA, Series Two: Vietnam 1959–1975.
- 49 "Record of a Meeting with General Maxwell Taylor on September 12," Thompson to Warmer, FO, October 9, 1962, Reel 17: FO 371/166723, FO Files: The USA, Series Two: Vietnam 1959–1975, National Archives, Kew.
- 50 "Mr. Thompson's Visit to Washington to Consult with US Officials: Report on His Discussions" Ledward, Washington, April 6, 1963, Reel 27: FO 371/170111, FO Files: The USA, Series Two: Vietnam 1959–1975, National Archives, Kew.
- 51 Telephone conversation between President Kennedy and McNamara, May 7, 1963, Tape 85, Presidential Recordings, JFKL.
- 52 "Public Affairs Plan for Reduction in Force," MACV to CINCPAC, September 15, 1963, Folder: September 1963 13–15, Box 14, Newman Papers, Research Materials, JFKL.
- 53 JCS to CINCPAC and MACV, October 5, 1963, Folder: Vietnam, General, September–November 1963, Box 519, Harriman Papers, LoC.

- 54 Memorandum for the Files of a Conference with the President, October 5, 1963, *FRUS, Vietnam August–December 1963*, vol. 4, doc. 179.
- 55 Transcript, NSC meeting, October 3, 1963; Tape 144/A49, Cassette 2/3, Folder: Fog of War, background and research materials, Box II:114, RSM Papers, LoC.
- 56 Memorandum for the Record, Meeting on McNamara–Taylor Mission to South Vietnam, September 23, 1963, Folder: September 1963 21–25, Box 15, Newman Papers, Research Materials, JFKL.
- 57 Memorandum of Conference with the President, September 11, 1963, Folder: Meetings on Vietnam, 9/11/63–9/12/63, Box 316, NSF, M&M Series, JFKL.
- 58 Memorandum for the Record, Meeting on McNamara–Taylor Mission to South Vietnam, September 23, 1963, Folder: September 1963 21–25, Box 15, Newman Papers, Research Materials, JFKL.
- 59 McNamara handwritten notes, September 25, 1963, Folder: Trip Notes, Box 63, RG200, RSM Records, Defense Programs and Operations, NARA.
- 60 Minutes of a Meeting in the Situation Room (without the President), October 3, 1963, Folder: October 1963 2–3, Box 15, Newman Papers, Research Materials, JFKL. Hilsman and Rufus Phillips were pushing the idea of a “psychological warfare campaign” most aggressively. Coming out of the NSC meetings, Hilsman wrote that the policy that had been “agreed upon” was “a policy of graduated pressure on the GVN.” Neubert to Hilsman, October 18, 1963, Folder: Vietnam 10/6/63–10/31/63, Box 4, Hilsman Papers, Memoranda of Conversations, JFKL.
- 61 Report of the McNamara–Taylor Mission to South Vietnam, 24 September–1 October 1963, Folder: Vietnam, McNamara–Taylor Report, 10/1/63, Box 4, Hilsman Papers, Memoranda of Conversations, JFKL.
- 62 Memorandum for the Record, Meeting on McNamara–Taylor Mission to South Vietnam, September 23, 1963, Folder: September 1963 21–25, Box 15, Newman Papers, Research Materials, JFKL.
- 63 Proposal for a Memorandum from the South Vietnam Working Group to the Director of the CIA, September 30, 1963, Folder: Vietnam III, Box 4, Hilsman Papers, Memoranda of Conversations, JFKL.
- 64 Report of the McNamara–Taylor Mission to South Vietnam, 24 September–1 October 1963, Folder: Vietnam, McNamara–Taylor Report, 10/1/63, Box 4, Hilsman Papers, Memoranda of Conversations, JFKL.
- 65 Ibid.
- 66 Ibid.
- 67 Cooper, *The Lost Crusade*, 215–216.
- 68 *Pentagon Papers*, Part IV.B.4, p. 42.
- 69 Forrestal to McGeorge Bundy, November 7, 1963, Folder: Vietnam, General, 11/6/63–11/15/63, Memos and Miscellaneous, Box 202, NSF, JFKL.
- 70 US Embassy, Saigon to Rusk, November 7, 1963, Folder: Vietnam, General 11/3/63–11/5/63, State Cables, Box 201, NSF, Countries Series, Vietnam, JFKL.
- 71 McNamara and VanDeMark, *In Retrospect*, 79–80.
- 72 State Department to US Embassy, Saigon, October 4, 1963, Folder: Vietnam, Top Secret Cables, 10/63, Box 204, NSF, Countries Series, Vietnam, JFKL.

- 73 Hilsman to McNamara, October 3, 1963, Folder: October 1963, Box 6, Hilsman Papers, Memoranda of Conversations, JFKL.
- 74 Forrestal to McGeorge Bundy, November 7, 1963, Folder: Vietnam, General, 11/6/63–11/15/63, Memos and Miscellaneous, Box 202, NSF, JFKL.
- 75 Robert S. McNamara Oral History Interview No. 1 by Walt Rostow, January 8, 1975, LBJL.
- 76 McNamara and VanDeMark, *In Retrospect*, 80.
- 77 On this, see especially the following collection of recently declassified materials: John Prados, ed., “The Diem Coup after 50 Years,” *National Security Archive Electronic Briefing Book* 444 (November 1, 2013). Retrieved online December 13, 2014: <http://goo.gl/BCF2oq>.
- 78 “Notes of a Meeting with Professor Honey,” September 25, 1963, Folder: Trip Notes, Box 63, RG200, RSM Papers, Defense Programs and Operations, NARA.
- 79 “Memorandum of a Conference with the President,” August 29, 1963. Retrieved online November 4, 2014, GWU Online: <http://goo.gl/xCB1IC>.
- 80 David Kaiser, *American Tragedy: Kennedy, Johnson, and the Origins of the Vietnam War* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000), 262.
- 81 For a relevant example of counterfactual reasoning on the Kennedy administration, see James G. Blight et al., *Virtual JFK: Vietnam If Kennedy Had Lived* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2009).

Chapter 7

- 1 For a detailed analysis of Johnson’s decision-making style, his search for consensus, and the way it influenced the JCS recommendations to him, see especially McMaster, *Dereliction of Duty*; Logevall, *Choosing War*; Robert Dallek, “Lyndon Johnson and Vietnam: The Making of a Tragedy,” *Diplomatic History* 20:2 (April 1996): 147–162; Berman, *Planning a Tragedy*; George C. Herring, *LBJ and Vietnam: A Different Kind of War* (Austin: University of Texas, 1996).
- 2 David C. Humphrey, “Tuesday Lunch at the Johnson White House: A Preliminary Assessment,” *Diplomatic History* 8:1 (Winter 1984): 83.
- 3 George Herring in his seminal book on Vietnam, for instance, wrote: “The extent to which Kennedy was committed to withdrawal remains quite unclear, and there is not a shred of evidence to support the notion of a secret plan for extrication.” George C. Herring, *America’s Longest War: The United States and Vietnam*, 4th edn. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2002), 114.
- 4 In *Retrospect* first draft, Folder: In Retrospect Drafts and Notes, 1993–1994, Box II:100, RSM Papers, LoC.
- 5 VanDeMark, *Into the Quagmire*, 7.
- 6 Larry Berman, *Planning a Tragedy: The Americanization of the War in Vietnam* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1984), 30.
- 7 *Pentagon Papers*, Part IV.B.4, p. 42.
- 8 MC LBJ Presidential Recordings: President Johnson and McNamara, February 25, 1964, WH 6402.21, Conversation 2191.
- 9 *Pentagon Papers*, IV B.4.

- 10 Sorensen to President Johnson, January 14, 1964, Folder: Vietnam, 10/2/63–1/14/64, Subject Files 1961–64, Box 55, Sorensen Papers, JFKL.
- 11 “Last Will and Testament: South Viet-Nam and Southeast Asia,” Hilsman to Rusk, March 10, 1964, Folder: Chronological File – 1/64–3/64, Memoranda of Conversations, Box 6, Hilsman Papers, JFKL.
- 12 Lien Hang Nguyen, *Hanoi’s War: An International History of the War for Peace in Vietnam* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012), 63–65; Ang Cheng Guan, “The Vietnam War, 1962–64: The Vietnamese Communist Perspective,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 35:4 (October 2000): 612.
- 13 William Colby and Ellen Hammer, in particular, have emphasized Diem’s leadership qualities as a nationalist leader who, if the United States had continued to support him, could have provided the stability and unity that was needed to “win” in South Vietnam. Ellen J. Hammer, *A Death in November: American in Vietnam, 1963* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988); William C. Colby and James McCargar, *Lost Victory: A Firsthand Account of America’s Sixteen-Year Involvement in Vietnam* (Chicago, IL: Contemporary Books, 1989), chapter 10 especially. For a discussion on more recent scholarship, see also Gary R. Hess et al., “Jessica Chapman, *Cauldron of Resistance*: Ngo Dinh Diem, the United States, and 1950s Southern Vietnam,” *H-Diplo Roundtable Review* 15:12 (November 2013).
- 14 Colby, *Lost Victory*, 161.
- 15 “Vietnam Situation,” McNamara to President Johnson, December 21, 1963. *Pentagon Papers*, Gravel edn., vol. 4: 494–496.
- 16 McNamara handwritten notes, December 22, 1963, Folder: South Vietnam trip, Box 63, RG200, RSM Records, Defense Programs and Operations, NARA.
- 17 Highlights of Discussions in Saigon, December 18–20, 1963, Folder: South Vietnam trip, Box 63, RG200, RSM Records, Defense Programs and Operations, NARA.
- 18 Transcript NSC meeting, October 3, 1963: Tape 144/A49, Cassette 2/3, Folder: Fog of War, background and research materials, Box II:114, RSM Papers, LoC.
- 19 Ibid.
- 20 Wilson (MAAG) to Harkins (MACV), October 17, 1963, Folder: October 1963, Box 16, Newman Papers, Research Materials, JFKL.
- 21 “Interview with the President, Hyannis Port, Massachusetts on CBS,” September 2, 1963, *FRUS, Vietnam August–December 1963*, vol. 4, doc. 50.
- 22 Transcript, NSC meeting, October 3, 1963: Tape 144/A49, Cassette 2/3, Folder: Fog of War, background and research materials, Box II:114, RSM Papers, LoC.
- 23 This is not to say that this was a position shared by the entire administration. The sentence continues with: “It is also clear however that the elements of his position that a) the loss of SVN might not result in the loss of all SEA and the credibility of US guarantees elsewhere or b) if it would, after a reasonable effort, we could not be accused of preventing it at reasonable cost, had ever been explicitly countered and debated at the highest levels of government.

- Even today, among the serving senior members of the Kennedy administration, I believe that there are strong differences of opinion on many of these events.” McNamara handwritten notes for “In Retrospect,” Folder: 1993, Box II:100, RSM Papers, LoC.
- 24 Logevall, *Choosing War*, 98.
 - 25 Berman, *Planning a Tragedy*, 4.
 - 26 VanDeMark Interview of Robert S. McNamara, September 10, 1993, Folder: In Retrospect First Draft, Ch. 5–8, Box II:100, RSM Papers, LoC.
 - 27 MC LBJ Presidential Recordings: President Johnson and McNamara, March 2, 1964, WH 6403.01, Conversation 2301.
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- 83 Busch, *All the Way with JFK*, 169–170.

- 84 Robert Thompson, *No Exit from Vietnam* (New York: David McKay, 1969), 29.
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- 89 Caro, *The Passage of Power*, 397.
- 90 Harris, *Economics of the Kennedy Years*, 234.
- 91 C. Douglas Dillon Oral History Interview by Paige E. Mulhollan, June 29, 1969, LBJL, p. 7.
- 92 *Ibid.*, p. 14.
- 93 Report on the Balance of Payments to President Johnson, December 2, 1963, Folder: 2 of 2, November–December 1963, Box 35, Dillon Papers, JFKL.
- 94 On November 25, 1963, in a meeting with his top economic aides, the new President made clear that he wanted to reduce federal expenditures to around \$100 billion. As the official OSD history notes, “Had he lived, Kennedy probably would have done the same. Treasury Secretary Douglas Dillon had reached an understanding with Kennedy that the budget would be under \$100 billion, although Dillon thought that \$99.5 billion was as low as it could go.” On January 21, 1964, in his budget message to Congress, Johnson was able to announce planned federal expenditures for \$97.9 billion for FY65. Kaplan et al., *The McNamara Ascendancy*, 479–481. See also Caro, *The Passage of Power*, 393–397.
- 95 C. Douglas Dillon Oral History Interview by Paige E. Mulhollan, June 29, 1969, LBJL, p. 10.
- 96 MC LBJ Presidential Recordings: President Johnson and McNamara, December 7, 1963, K6312.05. Congressional passage on the Defense Department’s FY65 budget, coming in an election year, was particularly acrimonious with Democrats seeking to cut defense spending further and Republicans leveling a similar charge that Kennedy had against Eisenhower, namely that the administration was putting fiscal concerns ahead of national security. On this, see Kaplan et al., *The McNamara Ascendancy*, 487–489.
- 97 Harris, *Economics of the Kennedy Years*, 234.
- 98 James Reston in the *New York Times*, quoted in Kaiser, *American Tragedy*, 284.
- 99 Going against his CEA’s Keynesian economic advice, Dillon recalled that Kennedy feared the inflationary pressures that might come with a tax cut and increased expenditures and that defense expenditures, which had formed the bulk of federal expenditure rises in the Kennedy administration, were due to level off by FY64 and then reduce moving into FY65. C. Douglas Dillon Oral History Interview No. 7 by Harvey Brazier, September 22, 1964, JFKL;

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 - 104 Carl Vinson to McNamara, May 13, 1964, Folder: Vietnam Book May 1964, Box 62, RG200, RSM Records, Defense Programs and Operations, NARA.
 - 105 On Lodge as a political threat to Johnson and his campaign, see especially Anne E. Blair, *Lodge in Vietnam: A Patriot Abroad* (New Haven, CT, Yale University Press, 1995); Eugene Vasilew, “The New Style in Political Campaigns: Lodge in New Hampshire, 1964,” *Review of Politics* 30:2 (April 1968): 131–152.
 - 106 President Johnson press conference, February 28, 1964, Folder: SVN Feb–March 1964, Box 64, RG200, RSM Records, Defense Programs and Operations, NARA.
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 - 108 MC LBJ Presidential Recordings: President Johnson and McNamara, April 30, 1964, WH 6404.16, Conversation 3220. This is a recurring theme in the tapes. For instance, on the eve of the decision to send Marine forces to Da Nang, Johnson told McNamara to involve General Wheeler and the Joint Chiefs of Staff, adding, “I believe we haven’t had enough of them and I’m worried that they’re going to feel left out.” MC LBJ Presidential Recordings: President Johnson and McNamara, February 26, 1965, WH 6502.06, Conversation 6887.
 - 109 Robert Caro, in particular, has made a significant contribution to understanding Johnson’s views on masculinity and how this contributed to him favoring “strong” positions on Vietnam but also during the Cuban Missile Crisis. During the Cuban Missile Crisis and throughout his career, Johnson regularly criticized President Kennedy specifically for his “weakness.” In one particularly harsh line from their senator days, Caro quotes Johnson as describing Kennedy as “weak and pallid – a scrawny man with a bad back, a weak and indecisive politician, a nice man, a gentle man, but not a man’s man.” Caro, *The Passage of Power*, 33. See also Robert D. Dean, *Imperial Brotherhood: Gender and the Making of Cold War Policy* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002).
 - 110 In a tape dated September 8, 1964, President Johnson quipped, “If there are any bigger fools than damn military men, I don’t know who.” MC LBJ

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- 111 As early as February 1964, Johnson was considering “send[ing] the Marines in there” and suggested that McNamara bring David Shoup, the Commander of the Marine Corps, with him to Vietnam and to the hearings in front of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. He indicated that this would have value “from a psychological standpoint and from a political standpoint,” that Shoup was “worth a dozen Averell Harrimans.” MC LBJ Presidential Recordings: President Johnson and McNamara February 25, 1964, WH 6402.21, Conversation 2191.
- 112 MC LBJ Presidential Recordings: President Johnson and McNamara, April 30, 1964: WH640.4.16, Conversation 3220.
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- 114 Draft memorandum DOD to President, May 24, 1964, *FRUS, Vietnam 1964*, vol. 1, doc. 171.
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Chapter 9

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- 26 “Foreign Assistance Act, 1966,” Robert S. McNamara hearings in front of Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, April 6, 1966, p. 183. Hearing ID: HRG-1966-FOR-0009, US Congressional Hearings Digital Collection Historical Archive, 1824–2003.
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- 28 McNaughton to McNamara, April 5, 1966, Folder: In Retrospect Declassified Documents 1963–1967, Box II:100, RSM papers, LoC.
- 29 John T. McNaughton diary, April 4, 1966.
- 30 Ibid., May 22, 1966.
- 31 McNaughton to McNamara, April 12, 1966, Folder: In Retrospect Declassified Documents 1963–1967, Box II:100, RSM papers, LoC. McNaughton also appended a memo to McNamara where he repeated an observation that he had made to him in private in January: “I referred to Kennedy's distinguishing of Cuba – where Soviet vital interests were not involved, where we had conventional supremacy, and where even they recognized that the equities favored us. In Vietnam, I told McNamara, all 3 are by no means clear – indeed, to me it seems that some of the three, in open minds, may tip the other way.” John T. McNaughton diary, January 18, 1966. He now concluded that all three “equities” were not in fact in the United States' favor and it should therefore withdraw.

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