

# The New York Times

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The Times Building, 1221 Avenue of the Americas, New York, N.Y. 10020

## Vows House CITY TO DISCLOSE BUDGETARY TRIMS FOR DEPARTMENTS

Mayor's Aides Make Decision  
on Final Figures Scheduled  
to Be Announced Today

By MAURICE CARROLL

Mayor Lindsay has summoned his supercabinet, the heads of all major city departments, to Grace Mansion this morning to tell them the cuts that their departments face in his revised budget.

"All of them made their pitch to the Mayor within the last 48 hours," a mayoral aide said yesterday. "Sunday they get the word."

The \$9.12-billion budget originally made public by the Mayor must be trimmed by a few hundred million dollars to reflect the revenue package he extracted from Albany, which

## Vietnam Archive: Pentagon Study Traces 3 Decades of Growing U. S. Involvement

By NEIL SHEEHAN

A massive study of how the United States went to war in Indochina, conducted by the Pentagon three years ago, demonstrates that four administrations progressively developed a sense of commitment to a non-Communist Vietnam, a readiness to fight the North to protect the South, and an ultimate frustration with this effort—to a much greater extent than their public statements acknowledged at the time.

The 3,000-page analysis, to which 4,000 pages of official documents are appended, was commissioned by Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara and covers the American involvement in Southeast Asia from World War II to mid-1968—the start of the peace talks in Paris after President Lyndon B. Johnson had set a limit on further military commitments and revealed his intention to retire. Most of the study and many of the appended documents have been obtained by The New York Times and will be described and presented in a series of articles beginning today.

Three pages of documentary material from the Pentagon study begin on Page 34.

Though far from a complete history, even at 3.5 million words, the study forms a great archive of government decision-making on Indochina over three decades. The study led its 30 to 40 authors and researchers to many broad conclusions and specific findings, including the following:

¶That the Truman Administration's decision to give military aid to France in her colonial war against the Communist-led Vietnamese "directly involved" the United States in Vietnam and "set" the course of American policy.

¶That the Eisenhower Administration's decision to rescue a fledgling South Vietnam from a Communist takeover and attempt to undermine the new Communist regime of North Vietnam gave the Administration a "direct role in the ultimate breakdown of the Geneva settlement" for Indochina in 1954.

¶That the Kennedy Administration, though ultimately spared from major escalation decisions by the death of its leader, transformed a policy of "limited-risk gambles," which it inherited, into a "broad commitment" that left President Johnson with a choice between more war and withdrawal.

¶That the Johnson Administration, though the President was reluctant and hesitant to take the final decisions, intensified the covert warfare against North Vietnam and began planning in the spring of 1964 to wage overt war, a full year before it publicly revealed the depth of its involvement and its fear of defeat.

¶That this campaign of growing clandestine military pressure through 1964 and the expanding program of bombing North Vietnam in 1965 were begun despite the judgment of the Government's intelligence community that the measures would not cause Hanoi to cease its support of the Vietcong insurgency in the South, and that the bombing was

Continued on Page 38, Col. 1

# The Pentagon Papers As Published By The New York Times

**John Prados, Margaret Pratt Porter**



## **The Pentagon Papers As Published By The New York Times:**

*The Pentagon Papers: as Published by the New York Times* Neil Sheehan, 1971 A report on the government sponsored top secret history of the United States relations with Indochina first published in the New York Times     *The American Experiment* James MacGregor Burns, 2013-05-21 The Pulitzer Prize winning author s stunning trilogy of American history spanning the birth of the Constitution to the final days of the Cold War In these three volumes Pulitzer Prize and National Book Award winner James MacGregor Burns chronicles with depth and narrative panache the most significant cultural economic and political events of American history In *The Vineyard of Liberty* he combines the color and texture of early American life with meticulous scholarship Focusing on the tensions leading up to the Civil War Burns brilliantly shows how Americans became divided over the meaning of Liberty In *The Workshop of Democracy* Burns explores more than a half century of dramatic growth and transformation of the American landscape through the addition of dozens of new states the shattering tragedy of the First World War the explosion of industry and in the end the emergence of the United States as a new global power And in *The Crosswinds of Freedom* Burns offers an articulate and incisive examination of the US during its rise to become the world s sole superpower through the Great Depression the Second World War the Cold War and the rapid pace of technological change that gave rise to the American Century     *Inside the Pentagon Papers* John Prados, Margaret Pratt Porter, 2004 *Inside the Pentagon Papers* addresses legal and moral issues that resonate today as debates continue over government secrecy and democracy s requisite demand for truthfully informed citizens In the process it also shows how a closer study of this signal event can illuminate questions of government responsibility in any era When Daniel Ellsberg leaked a secret government study about the Vietnam War to the press in 1971 he set off a chain of events that culminated in one of the most important First Amendment decisions in American legal history That affair is now part of history but the story behind the case has much to tell us about government secrecy and the public s right to know Commissioned by Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara the Pentagon Papers were assembled by a team of analysts who investigated every aspect of the war Ellsberg a member of the team was horrified by the government s public lies about the war discrepancies with reality that were revealed by the report s secret findings His leak of the report to the New York Times and Washington Post triggered the Nixon administration s heavy handed attempt to halt publication of their stories which in turn le     **The Crosswinds of Freedom, 1932-1988** James MacGregor Burns, 2012-04-10 A Pulitzer Prize winner s immensely readable history of the United States from FDR s election to the final days of the Cold War Publishers Weekly *The Crosswinds of Freedom* is an articulate and incisive examination of the United States during its rise to become the world s sole superpower Here is a young democracy transformed by the Great Depression the Second World War the Cold War the rapid pace of technological change and the distinct visions of nine presidents Spanning fifty six years and touching on many corners of the nation s complex cultural tapestry Burns s work is a remarkable look at the forces that gave rise to the American Century

Crimes against the State James A. Beckman, Eric Merriam, 2024-08-08 This work provides an authoritative survey of America's long and turbulent history of rebellions against laws and institutions of the state ranging from violent acts of sedition and terrorism to acts of nonviolent civil disobedience against discriminatory or unjust laws Crimes against the State is an evenhanded and illuminating one stop resource for understanding acts of rebellion against legal authorities and institutions and the motivations goals driving them Special care is taken to differentiate between hostile acts and actors that seek to overthrow or otherwise damage the state and or targeted demographic groups through violence such bad actors as the January 6 Capitol mob and bombers of abortion clinics and acts and actors that seek to defy reform or improve laws and institutions of the state through nonviolent action such good actors as activists in the civil rights movement Within these pages readers will 1 learn how to differentiate between sedition insurrection treason domestic terrorism espionage and other acts meant to injure or overthrow the government 2 gain a deeper understanding of laws policies and events that have aroused violent or nonviolent opposition 3 gain a deeper understanding of the perspectives and motivations of both good actors and bad actors and 4 learn about state responses to these challenges and threats from martial law style crackdowns to new laws and reforms     *The Marine Corps Gazette* ,1972     **The Pentagon Papers** ,1971     **Princeton Review AP U.S. Government & Politics Prep, 2023** The Princeton Review, 2022-08-02 Make sure you're studying with the most up to date prep materials Look for the newest edition of this title The Princeton Review AP U S Government Politics Prep 22nd Edition ISBN 9780593517277 on sale August 2023 Publisher's Note Products purchased from third party sellers are not guaranteed by the publisher for quality or authenticity and may not include access to online tests or materials included with the original product     *Princeton Review AP U.S. Government & Politics Premium Prep, 2023* The Princeton Review, 2022-11-08 Make sure you're studying with the most up to date prep materials Look for the newest edition of this title The Princeton Review AP U S Government Politics Premium Prep 22nd Edition ISBN 9780593517253 on sale August 2023 Publisher's Note Products purchased from third party sellers are not guaranteed by the publisher for quality or authenticity and may not include access to online tests or materials included with the original product     **New York Magazine** ,1973-05-14 New York magazine was born in 1968 after a run as an insert of the New York Herald Tribune and quickly made a place for itself as the trusted resource for readers across the country With award winning writing and photography covering everything from politics and food to theater and fashion the magazine's consistent mission has been to reflect back to its audience the energy and excitement of the city itself while celebrating New York as both a place and an idea     The New York Times Guide to Essential Knowledge The New York Times, 2004-11-05 From the New York Times comes a thorough authoritative easy to use guide to a broad range of essential subjects     **New York Magazine** ,1974-05-13 New York magazine was born in 1968 after a run as an insert of the New York Herald Tribune and quickly made a place for itself as the trusted resource for readers across the country With award winning writing and photography covering everything from politics and food to

theater and fashion the magazine's consistent mission has been to reflect back to its audience the energy and excitement of the city itself while celebrating New York as both a place and an idea

**Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists**, 1971-10 The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists is the premier public resource on scientific and technological developments that impact global security Founded by Manhattan Project Scientists the Bulletin's iconic Doomsday Clock stimulates solutions for a safer world

Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, 1971-09 The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists is the premier public resource on scientific and technological developments that impact global security Founded by Manhattan Project Scientists the Bulletin's iconic Doomsday Clock stimulates solutions for a safer world

*Witness to the Revolution* Clara Bingham, 2016-05-31 The electrifying story of the turbulent year when the sixties ended and America teetered on the edge of revolution NAMED ONE OF THE BEST BOOKS OF THE YEAR BY THE ST LOUIS POST DISPATCH As the 1960s drew to a close the United States was coming apart at the seams From August 1969 to August 1970 the nation witnessed nine thousand protests and eighty four acts of arson or bombings at schools across the country It was the year of the My Lai massacre investigation the Cambodia invasion Woodstock and the Moratorium to End the War The American death toll in Vietnam was approaching fifty thousand and the ascendant counterculture was challenging nearly every aspect of American society *Witness to the Revolution* Clara Bingham's unique oral history of that tumultuous time unveils anew that moment when America careened to the brink of a civil war at home as it fought a long futile war abroad Woven together from one hundred original interviews *Witness to the Revolution* provides a firsthand narrative of that period of upheaval in the words of those closest to the action the activists organizers radicals and resisters who manned the barricades of what Students for a Democratic Society leader Tom Hayden called the Great Refusal We meet Bill Ayers and Bernardine Dohrn of the Weather Underground Daniel Ellsberg the former Defense Department employee who released the Pentagon Papers feminist theorist Robin Morgan actor and activist Jane Fonda and many others whose powerful personal stories capture the essence of an era We witness how the killing of four students at Kent State turned a straitlaced social worker into a hippie how the civil rights movement gave birth to the women's movement and how opposition to the war in Vietnam turned college students into prisoners veterans into peace marchers and intellectuals into bombers With lessons that can be applied to our time *Witness to the Revolution* is more than just a record of the death throes of the Age of Aquarius Today when America is once again enmeshed in racial turmoil extended wars overseas and distrust of the government the insights contained in this book are more relevant than ever Praise for *Witness to the Revolution* Especially for younger generations who didn't live through it *Witness to the Revolution* is a valuable and entertaining primer on a moment in American history the likes of which we may never see again Bryan Burroughs *The Wall Street Journal* A rich tapestry of a volatile period in American history *Time* A gripping oral history of the centrifugal social forces tearing America apart at the end of the 60s This is rousing reportage from the front lines of US history *O The Oprah Magazine* The familiar voices and the unfamiliar ones are woven together with documents to make this a

surprisingly powerful and moving book New York Times Book Review An Enthralling and brilliant chronology of the period between August 1969 and September 1970 Buffalo News Bingham captures the essence of these fourteen months through the words of movement organizers vets students draft resisters journalists musicians government agents writers and others This oral history will enable readers to see that era in a new light and with fresh sympathy for the motivations of those involved While Bingham s is one of many retrospective looks at that period it is one of the most immediate and personal

Booklist *Into the Quagmire* Brian VanDeMark,1995-05-18 In November of 1964 as Lyndon Johnson celebrated his landslide victory over Barry Goldwater the government of South Vietnam lay in a shambles Ambassador Maxwell Taylor described it as a country beset by chronic factionalism civilian military suspicion and distrust absence of national spirit and motivation lack of cohesion in the social structure lack of experience in the conduct of government Virtually no one in the Johnson Administration believed that Saigon could defeat the communist insurgency and yet by July of 1965 a mere nine months later they would lock the United States on a path toward massive military intervention which would ultimately destroy Johnson s presidency and polarize the American people *Into the Quagmire* presents a closely rendered almost day by day account of America s deepening involvement in Vietnam during those crucial nine months Mining a wealth of recently opened material at the Lyndon Baines Johnson Library and elsewhere Brian VanDeMark vividly depicts the painful unfolding of a national tragedy We meet an LBJ forever fearful of a conservative backlash which he felt would doom his Great Society an unsure and troubled leader grappling with the unwanted burden of Vietnam George Ball a maverick on Vietnam whose carefully reasoned and in retrospect strikingly prescient stand against escalation was discounted by Rusk McNamara and Bundy and Clark Clifford whose last minute effort at a pivotal meeting at Camp David failed to dissuade Johnson from doubling the number of ground troops in Vietnam What comes across strongly throughout the book is the deep pessimism of all the major participants as things grew worse neither LBJ nor Bundy nor McNamara nor Rusk felt confident that things would improve in South Vietnam that there was any reasonable chance for victory or that the South had the will or the ability to prevail against the North And yet deeper into the quagmire they went Whether describing a tense confrontation between George Ball and Dean Acheson You goddamned old bastards Ball said to Acheson you remind me of nothing so much as a bunch of buzzards sitting on a fence and letting the young men die or corrupt politicians in Saigon VanDeMark provides readers with the full flavor of national policy in the making More important he sheds greater light on why America became entangled in the morass of Vietnam

**Vietnam War** James H. Willbanks,2017-11-16 This detailed two volume set considers the Vietnam War one of America s longest and bloodiest wars from a topical perspective addressing the main characters and key events of the war and supplying many relevant primary source documents The Vietnam War not only claimed the lives of nearly 60 000 Americans and more than a million Vietnamese but the prolonged conflict also resulted in a firestorm of protest at home that shook the foundations of the country and made U S citizens question the moral principles and

motivations behind our foreign policy and military actions Written in a very accessible style by recognized authorities on the war Vietnam War A Topical Exploration and Primary Source Collection provides students and general readers with a complete overview of the conflict in Vietnam a broad topic that remains an important part of the American history and world history curriculum Using a topical approach to cover all aspects of the war the set enables students to see the complete picture of the conflict through its presentation of reference entries and documents arranged in cohesive compelling chapters Examples of the primary documents in the set include Communist Party Evaluation of the Tet Offensive 1968 and President Richard Nixon s Speech on Vietnamization 1969 These primary sources are augmented by oral histories of soldiers who fought in the Tet Offensive Additionally maps and images in each section enhance the aesthetic appeal of the book and heighten students understanding of the material Readers will come away with both a strong comprehension of the Vietnam War as well as an appreciation for how significant this proxy conflict was as a lead up event to the global Cold War

Encyclopedia of Journalism Christopher H. Sterling, 2009-09-23 Written in a clear and accessible style that would suit the needs of journalists and scholars alike this encyclopedia is highly recommended for large news organizations and all schools of journalism Starred Review Library Journal Journalism permeates our lives and shapes our thoughts in ways we ve long taken for granted Whether we listen to National Public Radio in the morning view the lead story on the Today show read the morning newspaper headlines stay up to the minute with Internet news browse grocery store tabloids receive Time magazine in our mailbox or watch the nightly news on television journalism pervades our daily activities The six volume Encyclopedia of Journalism covers all significant dimensions of journalism including print broadcast and Internet journalism U S and international perspectives history technology legal issues and court cases ownership and economics The set contains more than 350 signed entries under the direction of leading journalism scholar Christopher H Sterling of The George Washington University In the A to Z volumes 1 through 4 both scholars and journalists contribute articles that span the field s wide spectrum of topics from design editing advertising and marketing to libel censorship First Amendment rights and bias to digital manipulation media hoaxes political cartoonists and secrecy and leaks Also covered are recently emerging media such as podcasting blogs and chat rooms The last two volumes contain a thorough listing of journalism awards and prizes a lengthy section on journalism freedom around the world an annotated bibliography and key documents The latter edited by Glenn Lewis of CUNY Graduate School of Journalism and York College CUNY comprises dozens of primary documents involving codes of ethics media and the law and future changes in store for journalism education Key Themes Consumers and Audiences Criticism and Education Economics Ethnic and Minority Journalism Issues and Controversies Journalist Organizations Journalists Law and Policy Magazine Types Motion Pictures Networks News Agencies and Services News Categories News Media U S News Media World Newspaper Types News Program Types Online Journalism Political Communications Processes and Routines of Journalism Radio and Television Technology The Complete History of the

Vietnam Conflict (Le Comédie Vietnamien) V. I. Brown, 2011-03-18 SUMMATION OF A POPULAR WAR Author V I Brown wrote this memoir from authority He grew up with the war participated as a member of the military and then observed its aftermath He provides a penetrating chronological examination of the wars policies politics judicial decisions public opinion and reflection in the popular culture As he examines such complex topics as anti war sentiment dissent within the military and the galvanizing of the clergy against the war Brown offers an in depth glimpse into the turmoil and emotions spawned by the war that gripped the nation for over a decade Herein one will find a more complete chronological examination of the Vietnam Conflict than has previously been available All of the factors which compelled the U S to intervene in a foreign civil war are spelled out in vivid detail from the wars inception to its termination Also examined is the climate within the national and international communities which led up to the conflict This book details how the war was an exercise in deception in futility in the power of ego and also a lesson in how the U S contradicted its own ideals Further the author affirms what others including CBS News and The New York Times contended during and after the conflict that the government almost continually promulgated deceptive information in order to justify continued pursuit of the war In the end the reader will comprehend that it was all for nothing and indeed that the former enemy earned what a U S President wanted for Vietnam Herein one will further observe the wars impact on the lives of the many players in the comdie both major and minor who were elevated to the stage of one of the great events of history The degree to which the war reverberates in U S society is also examined in detail As of this writing the war is still in the national consciousness      The Fight for Free Speech Ian Rosenberg, 2023-05-16 Media lawyer Ian Rosenberg distills the spectrum of free speech law down to ten critical issues Each chapter in this book focuses on a contemporary free speech question from student walkouts for gun safety to Samantha Bee s expletives from neo Nazis marching in Charlottesville to the muting of adult film star Stormy Daniels and then identifies unpacks and explains the key Supreme Court case that provides the answers Provided by the publisher



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