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#29 b. memo	no title or correspondents 1 p. Secret	8/22/68	A
# 29c cable	Brussels 8914 Confidential 1 p.	8/23/66	A
# 29d cable	Bonn 15955 Confidential 2 p. <i>Exemption upheld NLJ 88-149 appeal</i>	8/23/68	A
# 29f cable	open 7-8-85 NLJ 85-03 Rostow to General Abrams Secret 1 p.	8/22/68	A
# 29g cable	Abrams to Rostow open 11-13-84 NLJ 85-01 Top Secret 2 p.	8/23/68	A
# 29h cable	open 11-13-84 NLJ 85-01 Abram Abrams to Rostow Top Secret 2 p. Section two of #29g MAC 11409	8/23/68	A
# 32 memo	Rostow for the President Secret 1 p. open 7-8-85 NLJ 85-03	8/23/68	A

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Meeting Notes File, Box 3

DCH 11/81

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SCENARIO FOR MEETING WITH CONGRESSIONAL LEADERS

Friday, August 23, 1968 - Cabinet Room

1. President makes opening remarks.
2. Richard Helms.
3. Leonard Marks.
4. Secretary Rusk.
5. Ambassador George Ball.
6. Secretary Clifford.
7. General Wheeler.
8. General Westmoreland.

INFORMATION

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

~~SECRET SENSITIVE~~

Thursday, August 22, 1968
3:40 p.m.

Mr. President:

I asked for this appraisal from
Dick Helms of a rather suspicious
message. Here are the facts and his
relatively reassuring judgment.

Determined to be an
administrative marking

By DCH On 11-6-81

W. Rostow

~~SECRET SENSITIVE~~

SERVICE SET

~~INFORMATION~~
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Friday, Aug. 23, 1968
11:30 a. m.

MR. PRESIDENT:

I have attached to the notes for the
1:00 p. m. meeting a summary of Gen.
Abrams' response to your questions.

Herewith the full text of the outgoing
and incoming.

Walt Rostow

Attachments

SERVICE SET

~~SECRET~~

August 22, 1968

29 f
CAP 82087

VIA CAS CHANNELS

FROM WALT ROSTOW TO GENERAL ABRAMS LITERALLY EYES ONLY

The President wishes to know urgently your personal best answer to the following questions:

1. What is the effect of our current bombing operations in North Vietnam?
2. What would be the military effect of a cessation of that bombing?
3. Since March 31 what is the average number of trucks destroyed and trucks damaged per week? What is the average number of trucks sighted in the Panhandle per week? We are aware of the difficulties, but what is your best estimate of the total number of trucks (sighted and unsighted) that flow through the Panhandle each week and the proportion of this total that we are now getting?
4. What is the estimate of military casualties we inflict on the enemy each week in the bombing of North Vietnam?
5. Is there any possibility of your providing for the President even an approximate estimate of the additional casualties we would take if we stopped the bombing of North Vietnam?

New subject: President also believes you should make sure that TV cameras and press cover to the maximum possible the ^{civilian} damage being done by the enemy in the new wave of rocket attacks on Saigon, the Delta, and elsewhere.

DECLASSIFIED

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Authority NLS 85-03

SERVICE SET

1-8-85

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FM GENERAL ABRAMS
TO MR ROSTON WHITE HOUSE
INFO GEN WHEELER CJCS
ADM MCCAIN CINCPAC
GEN BROWN CDR 7AF
AMB BUNKER AMEMB SAIGON
CEM

~~TOP SECRET~~ MAC 11409 EYES ONLY SECTION ONE OF TWO
THE QUESTIONS YOU HAVE POSED COME AT A VERY IMPORTANT
TIME. WE ARE CONVINCED THAT THE ENEMY HAS DETERMINED
TO MAKE, OVER THE NEXT DAYS AND WEEKS, THE MAXIMUM
MILITARY EFFORT OF WHICH HE IS CAPABLE AT THIS TIME.
BECAUSE THE BOMBING OVER THE NORTH VIETNAMESE PAN-
HANDLE IS SO LINKED TO THE MILITARY EFFORT HE CAN MAKE
IN SOUTH VIETNAM, I AM HAPPY THAT YOU HAVE POSED THE
QUESTIONS AND THAT I CAN ADDRESS THEM NOW.
QUESTION 1: WHAT IS THE EFFECT OF OUR CURRENT BOMBING
OPERATIONS IN NORTH VIETNAM?
SEVERAL EFFECTS ARE OF IMPORTANCE. ONE IS THE DESTRUCTION
OF MATERIEL ITSELF. WE BELIEVE WE ARE NOW DESTROYING
OR DAMAGING APPROXIMATELY 15 PER CENT OF THE TRUCKS BELIEVED
TO BE MOVING INTO SOUTH VIETNAM. THIS AMOUNTS TO AN
AVERAGE OF 90 TRUCKS PER WEEK. SECOND, AND OF GREATER
IMPORTANCE, IS THE REDUCTION WE HAVE CAUSED IN THE
NUMBER OF TRUCKS MOVING. WHILE OTHER FACTORS MAY ALSO
BE AT WORK, IT IS OUR CONVICTION THAT THE AIR INTERDICTION
PROGRAM IN THE NORTH VIETNAM PANHANDLE HAS BEEN THE
PRIMARY AGENT WHICH HAS REDUCED TRUCKS DETECTED FROM
A LEVEL OF 1000 A DAY IN MID JULY TO BETWEEN 150 AND 200
A DAY AT THE PRESENT TIME. A THIRD EFFECT IS TO PREVENT
THE ENEMY FROM MASSING ARTILLERY AND AIR DEFENSE MEANS
IN THE AREA TO THE NORTH OF THE DMZ FROM WHICH THEY CAN
ATTACK OUR FORCES. FURTHER, WE INTERFERE WITH HIS
ABILITY TO CONCENTRATE FORCES AND SUPPLIES FOR SUDDEN
ATTACKS THROUGH THE DMZ AGAINST OUR UNITS. THERE ARE,
OF COURSE, OTHER EFFECTS SUCH AS PINNING DOWN MANY
THOUSANDS OF ESSENTIAL AIR DEFENSE AND LOG SUPPORT
FORCES.

SERVICE SET

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Authority NLJ 85-01

By 18A

NARS. Date 11-13-84

XEROX FROM QUICK COPY

QUESTION 2. WHAT WOULD BE THE MILITARY EFFECT OF A CESSATION OF THE BOMBING? AGAIN, THERE ARE SEVERAL IMPORTANT EFFECTS. FIRST, MILITARY MATERIEL (MUCH OF IT POL AND AMMUNITION, AS FIRES AND SECONDARY EXPLOSIONS TESTIFY) WOULD BE ABLE TO REACH THE DMZ OR THE BORDERS OF LAOS UNIMPEDED. WE BELIEVE THE CURRENT ATTRITION FROM TRUCK DESTRUCTION ALONE, NOT TO MENTION TRUCK PARK STORAGE AREAS, IS RUNNING SEVERAL HUNDRED TONS PER DAY ON THE AVERAGE IN THE NVN PANHANDLE. SECOND, THE TRUCK FLOW COULD BE EXPECTED TO RETURN TO A LEVEL OF 1,000 A DAY OR EVEN HIGHER WITHIN AS LITTLE AS A WEEK. IF WE TAKE AVERAGE TRUCK LOADING AT 3 1/2 TONS, WE ARE TALKING ABOUT AN INCREASE, REPEAT INCREASE, IN SOUTHWARD MOVEMENT WHICH COULD AMOUNT TO 1,500 TONS PER DAY OR MORE. NEXT, THE ENEMY WOULD BE ABLE TO MASS ARTILLERY, AIR DEFENSE MEANS, AND GROUND UNITS FREELY NORTH OF THE DMZ FOR USE AGAINST OUR FORCES. HE COULD DEPLOY HIS AIR FORCE INTO AREAS NORTH OF 17 DEGREES FROM WHICH TO THREATEN OR ATTACK OUR FORCES AND INSTALLATIONS THROUGHOUT MUCH OF SOUTH VIETNAM. HE WOULD BE ABLE TO REOPEN HIS RAILROAD AS FAR SOUTH AS VINH AND SUBSEQUENTLY TO DONG HOI. HE WOULD THEREBY FREE ADDITIONAL NUMBERS OF TRUCKS TO SUPPORT HIS FORCES IN THE SOUTH. FINALLY, FREED FROM INTERDICTION NORTH OF 17 DEGREES, THE ENEMY COULD MOVE REINFORCEMENTS TO THE DMZ BY TRUCK OR RAIL THUS DRASTICALLY SHORTENING TRANSIT TIME.

SSO NOTE: DELIVER IMMEDIATELY TO MR ROSTOW, GEN WHEELER AND ADX MCCAIN; DELIVER DURING DUTY HOURS TO GEN BROWN AND AMB BUNKER
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~~TOP SECRET~~
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FM GENERAL ABRAMS
TO MR ROSTON WHITE HOUSE
INFO GEN WHEELER CJCS
ADM MCCAIN CINCPAC
GEN BROWN CDR 7AF
AMB BUNKER ANAMB SAIGON
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Authority NLS 85-01

By ms, NARS, Date 11-13-84

~~TOP SECRET~~ MAC 11409 EYES ONLY FINAL SECTION OF TWO.

QUESTION 3

SINCE MARCH 31 WHAT IS THE AVERAGE NUMBER OF TRUCKS DESTROYED AND TRUCKS DAMAGED PER WEEK? WHAT IS THE AVERAGE NUMBER OF TRUCKS SIGHTED IN THE PANHANDLE PER WEEK? WE ARE AWARE OF THE DIFFICULTIES, BUT WHAT IS YOUR BEST ESTIMATE OF THE TOTAL NUMBER OF TRUCKS (SIGHTED AND UNSIGHTED) THAT FLOW THROUGH THE PANHANDLE EACH WEEK AND THE PROPORTION OF THIS TOTAL THAT WE ARE NOW GETTING? AS INDICATED ABOVE, WE ARE CURRENTLY AVERAGING ABOUT 90 TRUCKS DESTROYED AND DAMAGED PER WEEK SINCE 31 MARCH. THE AVERAGE NUMBER OF TRUCKS DETECTED IN THE PANHANDLE PER WEEK HAS BEEN 1300. OUR BEST ESTIMATE OF TOTAL NUMBER FLOWING INTO THE PANHANDLE EACH WEEK DURING THAT PERIOD IS 620. WE ESTIMATE THAT WE ARE DESTROYING OR DAMAGING 15 PER CENT OF THESE. I WOULD LIKE TO EMPHASIZE HOWEVER THAT, AS INDICATED ABOVE, WE BELIEVE THE MAJOR IMPACT OF OUR BOMBING EFFORT IS FOUND IN THE REDUCTION OF TRUCK FLOW, RATHER THAN IN THE NUMBERS ACTUALLY DESTROYED.

QUESTION 4: WHAT IS THE ESTIMATE OF MILITARY

CASUALTIES WE INFLICT ON THE ENEMY EACH WEEK IN THE BOMBING OF NORTH VIETNAM?

THE MILITARY CASUALTIES RESULTING FROM OUR BOMBING EFFORTS ARE OBVIOUSLY EXTREMELY DIFFICULT TO ESTIMATE WITH ANY CONFIDENCE. DESTROYED AND DAMAGED TRUCKS PROBABLY ACCOUNT FOR EFME 200 CASUALTIES (KIA AND WIA) WEEKLY. ALSO, NEARLY ONE-HALF OF THE 235 WEEKLY ROAD INTERDICTIONS WE ARE AVERAGING OCCUR AT NIGHT WHEN ROAD CREWS ARE PRESENT. THERE ARE UNDOUBTEDLY SUBSTANTIAL CASUALTIES AMONG ROAD REPAIR/MAINTENANCE CREWS AND ALSO AMONG AIR DEFENSE CREWS, BUT ANY ESTIMATE WOULD BE EXTREMELY SPECULATIVE. A FIGURE OF 5 TO 10 THOUSAND PER MONTH DOES NOT SEEM UNREASONABLE. HOWEVER, MILITARY CASUALTIES IN NORTH VIETNAM ARE NOT, IN MY JUDGMENT, THE MOST SIGNIFICANT MEASURE OF THE EFFECTIVENESS OF OUR BOMBING AS INDICATED ABOVE. ITS MAJOR EFFECTS LIE IN REDUCING THE WEIGHT OF EFFORT THAT CAN BE DIRECTED AGAINST OUR FORCES.

SERVICE SET

QUESTION 5. IS THERE ANY POSSIBILITY OF YOUR PROVIDING FOR THE PRESIDENT EVEN AN APPROXIMATE ESTIMATE OF THE ADDITIONAL CASUALTIES WE WOULD TAKE IF WE STOPPED THE BOMBING OF NORTH VIETNAM?

DURING THE PERIOD MAY THROUGH JULY THIS YEAR WE HAVE BEEN SUSTAINING IN THE FIGHTING IN I CORPS LOSSES AMOUNTING TO AN AVERAGE OF 240 KILLED IN ACTION EACH WEEK. APPROXIMATELY 70 PERCENT OF THESE HAVE BEEN U.S. THE INTENSITY OF ENEMY ACTION, I.E. THE SCALE AND DURATION OF COMBAT IN WHICH HIS UNITS ARE INVOLVED, IS A DIRECT DETERMINANT OF THE MAGNITUDE OF OUR LOSSES. ASSUMING THAT THE ACTION OF BOMBING WOULD BE REFLECTED IN A SEVERAL-FOLD INCREASE IN HIS LOGISTIC CAPABILITY TO SUPPORT COMBAT, AND IN THE INTENSITY OF COMBAT, WE WOULD HAVE TO EXPECT A SEVERAL-FOLD INCREASE IN U.S. AND ALLIED CASUALTIES IN I CORPS. WITH THE BOMBING AUTHORITY NOW IN EFFECT, I AM ABLE WITH FORCES AVAILABLE TO LIMIT THE ENEMY'S CAPABILITY IN SOUTH VIETNAM BY INTERDICTING HIS ROADS AND DESTROYING SUBSTANTIAL AMOUNTS OF HIS MUNITIONS AND SUPPLIES BEFORE THEY REACH SOUTH VIETNAM. IN ADDITION, I AM ABLE TO SUPPRESS HIS ARTILLERY AND AIR DEFENSE NORTH OF THE BEN HAI SO THAT OUR POSITIONS JUST SOUTH OF THE DMZ ARE SECURE. IF THE BOMBING IN NORTH VIETNAM NOW AUTHORIZED WERE TO BE SUSPENDED, THE ENEMY, IN 10 DAYS TO TWO WEEKS, COULD DEVELOP A CAPABILITY IN THE DMZ AREA IN TERMS OF SCALE, INTENSITY AND DURATION OF COMBAT ON THE ORDER OF FIVE TIMES WHAT HE NOW HAS. IF HE SHOULD DEVELOP THIS, IT WOULD, IN MY JUDGMENT, MAKE OUR POSITIONS IN NORTHERN QUANG TRI (TO INCLUDE DONG HA AND THE CUA VIET) UNTENABLE. I CANNOT AGREE TO PLACE OUR FORCES AT THE RISK WHICH THE ENEMY'S CAPABILITY WOULD THEN POSE.

SSO NOTE: DELIVER IMMEDIATELY TO MR ROSTOW, GEN WHEELER AND ADM MCCAIN; DELIVER DURING DUTY HOURS TO GEN BROWN AND AMB BUNKER
SSO

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~EYES ONLY~~

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SERVICE

Foreign crises must be met swiftly but with wisdom. A misstep in Cyprus, a rash ³⁰ moment in Korea, or a careless word on the hot line can condemn mankind to the final tragedy his science now permits. We have to be ever vigilant in our dealings with other nations and particularly Communist nations.

SERVICE SET

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

(15)

August 22, 1968

Rec'd 6:10p

Mr. President,

Congressional comments on the first day of the Czech occupation included the following comments from Press accounts. All except Senator McCarthy treated the events as a very serious and highly deplorable matter.

DEMOCRATSSenator Eugene McCarthy

- "I do not see this as a major world crisis."
- "There is little the U.S. could have done."
- Calling an NSC meeting was "out of proportion" to events.
- "If you want to play games at the U.N., go ahead."
- Vietnam, Dominican Republic and Bay of Pigs make it "harder for us to raise serious moral and diplomatic protests. We certainly could not use force in view of President Johnson's recent statement on the bombing of North Vietnam."

Senator George McGovern

- "I view this as a serious matter."
- "The United States is certainly not going to get involved in this matter."
- "The United Nations ought to be the forum where these things are settled."
- Because of Vietnam "our capacity to protest the Soviet intervention is weakened."
- The occupation reflects "fundamental division in the Red Bloc," but the "force of nationalism" will in long run prevail.

Senator Edward Kennedy

- "The entry of Russian troops in Czechoslovakia is a retrogression into an age we had all hoped was passed. I will not comment in detail, but these events are an affront to decency and especially to the brave people who have demonstrated that they seek to be independent of the Soviet Union."

SERVICE SET

Senator Thomas Dodd

- "The Soviet military occupation of Czechoslovakia is an act of infamy which will go down in history with the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. I hope that the tragedy in Czechoslovakia will be a lesson to those who have urged appeasement or conciliation on Communism in Europe, in Vietnam, in Latin America and throughout the world, or who have engaged in pipedreams about a softening in Soviet policies."
- U.S. should invoke an emergency session of the U.N. General Assembly.

Senator William Fulbright

- "A very tragic development" which in the long run "will prove to be a great mistake on the part of the Russians." Shows "that communism as such -- the Russian variety at least -- does not appeal to the Czechs."
- Fulbright has offered no advice on U.S. course of action. "It's too new."

Senator Mike Mansfield

- "There is nothing that the U.S. can do. Our over-involvement in Vietnam would prevent us from doing anything even if there was anything we could do -- which we cannot at this time."
- "All the United Nations can do is to debate and deplore the situation..."

Senator Wayne Morse

- "...demonstrated again that a totalitarian state fears freedom of expression more than it fears anything else... The Communist parties of Russia, Poland, East Germany and Bulgaria knew that their own doctrinaire way of life could not withstand freedom of expression, should it prove contagious."

Senator William Proxmire

- "The invasion means higher taxes for Americans. Now the defense budget could be higher than ever."
- "Any prospect for reducing American troops in Western Europe is now gone for the indefinite future. The prospect of an additional, expensive U.S. buildup in Europe seems very real."

Senator Ralph Yarborough

- "We are weak over the rest of the world because we have all of our forces pinned down in Southeast Asia."
- The Czech events raised "a very definite possibility" that President Johnson might re-enter the Presidential contest.

SERVICE SET

REPUBLICANS

Senator George Aiken

- "Some of the Eastern European nations have been trying to get out from under Russian domination for a long time. Unfortunately, the U.S. has not given them any encouragement, but apparently will go along with whatever Russia wants to do there. It's disgusting."
- The Russian invasion was not fully unexpected.

Senator Frank Carlson

- The situation is "extremely grave with far-reaching implications. The intrusion of foreign troops into that country proves once again the foundation upon which we had hoped to build better East West relations is merely a Communist facade. What they really mean is peaceful coexistence on their terms only."
- "The reversion to the strong-arm police-state tactics similar to the Hungarian revolt is a brutal shock to the hopes and desires of citizens throughout Europe."

Representative Paul Findley

- The NATO Council should be convened immediately and U.S. ratification of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty should be suspended indefinitely.
- U.N. Security Council should be called quickly.

Representative Gerald Ford

- The sympathies of all Americans "are with the freedom-loving Czechs so crudely suppressed by Soviet military might, but the U.S. should not become involved in this Communist family fight."
- Soviet invasion is "a clear violation of Czech sovereignty," but U.S. should "move with extreme caution in this situation."
- Soviet Union should be required to explain its actions before the United Nations.

Senator Thomas Kuchel

- "Brutal Soviet aggression against a liberal neighbor" poses "a grave warning to the Atlantic Alliance nations" -- "the flames could easily spread."
- "A terrible blow to our prayers for a durable peace. The entire world has a vital stake in this tragedy. Therefore there is an urgent need to convene the U.N. Security Council at once."

SERVICE SET

Senator Jack Miller

- The Senate should seriously consider postponing ratification with Russia of the pending non-proliferation treaty.
- "This resort to the same type of naked military power as was used in Hungary clearly demonstrates that the leaders of the Soviet Union have not changed their philosophy or strategy."

Representative William Minshall

- "...greatly disturbed by the apparent failure of our intelligence services to provide our government with any advance notice of the invasion."
- Called for an immediate emergency meeting of the House Defense Appropriations Subcommittee with Pentagon and State Department officials to consider what can be done "to shape up and sharpen up our intelligence agencies both in the military and the CIA?"

Senator Strom Thurmond

- "Demonstrates once again, as did the murder of Hungarian citizens in the 1950's, that Soviet Communism is the same under Soviet Party Chief Brezhnev as it was under the tyrannical dictatorship of Khrushchev and Stalin. -- There is once again blood on the Iron Curtain and another nation's death piled on the debris of history which cries for strong foreign policy leadership from America." The goals of world communism remain "totalitarian, monolithic, expansionistic and dependent upon military power and brute force to exercise its will."

Representative Bob Wilson

- The Russians "have reverted to their true colors."

Walt R.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

~~SECRET~~

Friday, August 23, 1968

Reid
1.06p

Mr. President:

The day before yesterday the city of Saigon received about 20 rocket rounds. Of these, some 15 impacted in the east central portion of the city. The Government Assembly Building was hit by two rounds. Five rounds struck in the Cholon section. Initial reports indicate 17 persons were killed and 69 wounded.

Beginning at noon, Washington time, yesterday the Danang Airbase and Marble Mountain facilities came under ground and artillery attack. Unsuccessful attempts were made to "liberate" a prisoner of war compound. US casualties were 16 killed and 125 wounded. Enemy casualties were 32 killed.

A company size enemy unit has continued the battle three kilometers south of Danang at the Cam Le Bridge. The action continued through the daylight hours and heavy casualties are expected.

W. W. Rostow
W. W. Rostow

DECLASSIFIED

Authority *NLS 85-03*By *123*, H&P, Inc. *7-8-85*~~SECRET~~

SERVICE SET

Summary of Gen. Abrams' Views

What is the effect of our current bombing operations in North Vietnam?

First, we believe we are now destroying or damaging approximately 15% of the trucks believed to be moving into South Vietnam. This amounts to an average of 90 trucks per week.

Second, it is our conviction that the air interdiction program in the North Vietnam panhandle has been the primary agent which has reduced trucks detected from a level of 1000 a day in mid-July to between 150 and 200 a day at the present.

A third effect is to prevent the enemy from massing artillery and air defense means in the area to the north of the DMZ from which they can attack our forces. Further, we interfere with his ability to concentrate forces and supplies for sudden attacks through the DMZ against our units.

What would be the military effect of a cessation of that bombing?

First, military materiel would be able to reach the DMZ or the borders of Laos unimpeded. We believe the current attrition from truck destruction alone, not to mention truck park storage areas, is running several hundred tons per day on the average in the NVN panhandle. The truck flow could be expected to return to a level of 1,000 a day or even higher within as little as a week. If we take average truck loading at 3-1/2 tons, we are talking about an increase, repeat increase, in southward movement which could amount to 1,500 tons per day or more. Next, the enemy would be able to mass artillery, air defense means, and ground units freely north of the DMZ for use against our forces. Finally, freed from interdiction north of 17 degrees, the enemy could move reinforcements to the DMZ by truck or rail, thus drastically shortening transit time.

Is there any possibility of your providing even an approximate estimate of the additional casualties we would take if we stopped the bombing of North Vietnam?

We would have to expect a several-fold increase in U.S. and allied casualties in the First Corps. With the bombing authority now in effect, I am able with forces available to limit the enemy's capability in South Vietnam by interdicting his roads and destroying substantial amounts of his munitions and supplies before they reach South Vietnam. In addition, I am able to suppress his artillery and air defense north of the Ben Hai so that our positions just south of the DMZ are secure. If the bombing in North Vietnam now authorized were

-2-

to be suspended, the enemy, in 10 days to two weeks, could develop a capability in the DMZ area in terms of scale, intensity and duration of combat on the order of five times what he now has. If he should develop this, it would, in my judgment, make our positions in northern Quang Tri (to include Dong Ha and the Cua Viet) untenable. I cannot agree to place our forces at the risk which the enemy's capability would then pose.

SERVICE SET

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Friday, August 23, 1968 -- 11:00 a.m.

Mr. President:

Herewith a proposed opening statement by the President for the Leadership meeting at 1:00 p.m. today, and a proposed agenda to follow.

1. Statement by the President.

I have asked you to meet with us today because I believe our political leaders should know what the world looks like. We are conducting our political campaign and these matters must be discussed; but they should be discussed against a background of knowledge.

The Czech crisis in all its ramifications and situations in South-East Asia and the Middle East add up to one of the major moments of international crisis since 1945... calling for alertness and calm, confidence and national unity.

-- There is the unresolved crisis in Czechoslovakia itself with consequences that none of us can fully now predict;

-- There are the implications in the crisis for the posture of NATO;

-- There is great anxiety in Rumania and partial mobilization;

-- the Cubans and ^{the} North Korean ^{Navy} have gone on a military alert posture, probably out of anxiety that, with the Soviet Union distracted, we might move against them;

-- Military activity in South Vietnam is building up with every indication from intelligence that we shall have very heavy fighting in the weeks ahead;

-- The Middle East situation remains unresolved, with Arab terrorists and Israeli counter blows continuing to make that part of the world potentially explosive;

-- There is an interruption -- for how long none of us can now predict -- of constructive movement between East and West in Europe and between the United States and the Soviet Union, at a time when we were about to come to grips with the great issue of the strategic arms race and possibilities of containing it.

I have no new policies to lay before you today. These are fast-moving events which we shall be weighing carefully and assessing before we make any new decisions about our own policy and action. But I did think it important and right that we should share with you our information on the international scene. After the briefing is completed, we shall answer your questions as best we can; and receive any suggestions or observations you may care to make.

I think it best if we proceed by major areas of the world. We might begin with Europe and then go to Southeast Asia and, finally, have a few words on the Middle East.

2. Europe. (The President)

With respect to Europe: First, Director Helms will tell us what we knew and did not know about Soviet intentions before they moved into Czechoslovakia. Then Mr. Marks will give us a brief picture of the world reaction to the Soviet move. Secretary Rusk will analyze the events in Czechoslovakia and we shall also have Ambassador Thompson's evaluation of Soviet motives and objectives there. Ambassador Ball will tell us what has been going on in New York and what the prospects are at the United Nations for further debate and action. Finally, I want Secretary Clifford and General Wheeler to explain to us the military implications of the crisis, including its implications for our posture in NATO, as they see it.

Secretary Rusk
Director Helms
Director Marks
Ambassador Thompson
Ambassador Ball
Secretary Clifford
General Wheeler

3. Southeast Asia. (The President)

As you know, military activity has increased in recent days in Vietnam and all our intelligence indicators suggest that we face heavy fighting in the weeks ahead. I should first like General Westmoreland to give us his evaluation of the latest reports coming from General Abrams in Saigon. Then I shall call on Secretary Rusk briefly to describe the political evolution of the new government there and the state of the Paris talks. Finally, Secretary Clifford will tell us about the South Vietnamese mobilization of the armed forces, our modernization program, and the performance in the field of the ARVN in recent days.

General Westmoreland
Secretary Rusk
Secretary Clifford

SERVICE SET

It may interest you that I put to General Abrams yesterday a series of searching questions about the military effects of the bombing we are doing against North Vietnam. He replied this morning at great length. Here are the questions I put and a summary of his answers in his own words. (Summary attached for the President to read.)

It is against the background of this and other military evaluations that we have had to insist on some reciprocity for a total bombing cessation and have attached such importance to the de-militarization of the DMZ in our contacts in Paris. You can also see, from General Abrams' assessment, some strictly military reasons Hanoi would wish to press us hard for a total bombing cessation.

4. Middle East. (The President)

As you know, I have always regarded the potential danger in the Middle East as at least as great -- if not greater -- than in Southeast Asia, because of the potentiality of a U.S.-Soviet direct confrontation. We had a good, strong smell of that confrontation in the war of last June. Therefore, I shall ask Secretary Rusk to give us his evaluation of where the Middle East now stands and what the prospects are -- if any -- for forward movement towards peace in the weeks ahead, including especially the meeting of the General Assembly in September when the Foreign Ministers will all be present in New York City, as well as Ambassador Jarring.

W. Rostow

WA1/22ND STATE

UNY IS TEXT OF SECOND STATEMENT BY AMB. BALL IN SECURITY COUNCIL

2nd Statement

UNITED NATIONS, AUG. 21--FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF THE
SECOND STATEMENT BY AMBASSADOR GEORGE W. BALL, UNITED STATES
REPRESENTATIVE TO THE UNITED NATIONS, IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL,
ON THE SITUATION IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

1968 AUG 22 AM 2 04

MR. PRESIDENT:

THE STATEMENTS READ HERE JUST NOW BY THE ACTING PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA, THE STATEMENTS OF THE AUTHORITY LEADERS AND ORGANS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA, SPEAK MORE ELOQUENTLY THAN CAN ANY OF US OF THE SITUATION THAT EXISTS THERE AND OF THE NEED FOR THIS COUNCIL TO TAKE APPROPRIATE ACTION TO TRY TO BRING ABOUT A RETURN TO A CONDITION OF PEACE AND TO REDRESS SO FAR AS WE CAN THE VIOLATIONS OF THE CHARTER WHICH HAVE OCCURRED. THEY MAKE CLEAR MORE ELOQUENTLY ALSO THAN ANY OF US--THEY MAKE CLEAR BEYOND ANY MISUNDERSTANDING THE CYNICISM AND THE PERFDY THAT SURROUNDED THE SNEAK MILITARY ATTACK WHICH IS THE SUBJECT OF OUR PROCEEDINGS HERE THIS EVENING. FOR WE MEET HERE ON A GRIM AND ANXIOUS MOMENT.

SERVICE SET

ONCE AGAIN, AS ALL TOO OFTEN IN HISTORY, A SMALL NATION, SEEKING ONLY TO LIVE IN PEACE AND FREEDOM, HAS BEEN BRUTALLY ATTACKED BY MORE POWERFUL NEIGHBORS. ONCE AGAIN THIS HAS HAPPENED IN THE CENTER OF EUROPE--THAT HISTORY-HAUNTED HEARTLAND OF GREATNESS AND TRAGEDY. ONCE AGAIN THE VICTIM OF THIS PRIMITIVE ACT IS THAT UNFORTUNATE COUNTRY, WHOSE NAME WAS ONCE THE SHINING SYMBOL OF THE PRINCIPLE OF SELF-DETERMINATION, CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

THE NAME CZECHOSLOVAKIA HAS FOR GENERATIONS HELD A SPECIAL PLACE IN THE AFFECTIONS OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. NOT ONLY HAS IT SENT MANY OF ITS SONS TO OUR SHORES, BUT, DURING THE FIRST WORLD WAR IT WAS PRESIDENT WOODROW WILSON WHO GAVE THE MOST ENERGETIC SUPPORT TO THE ASPIRATIONS OF THE CZECH AND SLOVAK PEOPLES FOR INDEPENDENCE AND--FOR ALL TOO BRIEF A TIME--THEY ACHIEVED IT. WITH LOVERS OF FREEDOM THROUGHOUT THE WORLD, AMERICANS REJOICED WHEN THE PEACE SETTLEMENT AFFIRMED THE CREATION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA AS A NEW REPUBLIC.

BUT LITTLE DID WE THEN KNOW WHAT TRAGIC DAYS LAY IN STORE FOR THIS NEW NATION. FIRST CAME THE SUBVERSION AND MILITARY PRESSURE OF HITLER, LEADING TO THE PARTITION AND RUTHLESS SUBJUGATION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA IN 1938 AND 1939--AND FINALLY TO THE HOLOCAUST OF WORLD WAR II.

THEN, FOLLOWING THAT WAR, WHEN MEN HAD HIGH HOPES THAT THE CZECHOSLOVAK REPUBLIC WOULD ONCE AGAIN BE RESTORED TO INDEPENDENCE AND GIVEN THE GUARANTEES OF SECURITY IMPLICIT IN THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER, NEW PRESSURE AND NEW SUBVERSION CAME FROM ANOTHER QUARTER. A CAMPAIGN OF SUBVERSION SYSTEMATICALLY MOUNTED FROM

MOSCOW LED TO THE OVERTHROW OF THE FREE GOVERNMENT OF CZECHOSLOVAK. FREEDOM WAS BANISHED AS THE NATION WAS TRANSFORMED INTO WHAT HAS COME TO BE KNOWN, IN THE UPSIDE-DOWN VOCABULARY OF COMMUNISM, AS A "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY." NO ONE WHO LIVED THROUGH THAT PERIOD CAN FORGET THE SINISTER CHILL OF THE SUDDEN DEATH IN 1948 OF THE DISTINGUISHED AND BELOVED CZECH FOREIGN MINISTER, JAN MASARYK. IS A LITTLE IRONIC THAT ONLY IN RECENT WEEKS, WHEN FREEDOM ONCE AGAIN BEGAN TO REFLECT ITSELF IN THE CZECHOSLOVAK PRESS, HAS THERE APPEARED FOR THE FIRST TIME WITHIN THAT COUNTRY PUBLISHED EVIDENCE THAT JAN MASARYK WAS MURDERED.

THUS CZECHOSLOVAKIA, WEDGED BETWEEN MORE POWERFUL STATES, HAS BEEN THE VICTIM OF TWO FOREIGN TYRANNIES IN SUCCESSION: FIRST THAT OF HITLER AND THEN THAT OF THE SOVIET UNION. HITLER'S OPPRESSION, SAVAGE THOUGH IT WAS, LASTED FOR THE COMPARATIVELY BRIEF SPAN OF SEVEN YEARS AND ENDED WITH THE DOWNFALL OF THE TYRANT HIMSELF. BUT THE SOVIET TYRANNY THAT FOLLOWED HAS LASTED FROM 1948 TO THE PRESENT TWENTY YEARS. AND IN THIS YEAR, 1968, WHEN AT LAST THE NATIONAL SPIRIT OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK PEOPLE BEGAN TO FLAME ANEW, THE WORLD WAITED THROUGH ANXIOUS WEEKS TO SEE WHETHER THESE FEW MODEST MANIFESTATIONS OF FREEDOM COULD BE ACCEPTED IN MOSCOW. NOW WE KNOW THE ANSWER, WHICH IS WRITTEN NOT IN WORDS BUT IN THE STREETS OF PRAGUE BY THE TREADS OF SOVIET TANKS FOR ALL THE WORLD TO READ.

LAMENTABLY, MR. PRESIDENT, THIS IS NOT THE FIRST TIME THAT THE SECURITY COUNCIL HAS BEEN OBLIGED TO CONSIDER AN ACT OF NAKED FORCE BY THE SOVIET UNION AGAINST A WEAKER STATE IN EUROPE. IN 1956 THE PEOPLE OF HUNGARY SOUGHT TO LOOSEN THE

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AND NATIONS BE GOVERNED BY THE RULE OF MAIN FORCE AND OF RIGID IDEOLOGICAL CONFORMITY--OR WILL THEY BE GOVERNED BY RULES OF FAIR PLAY AND TOLERANCE WHICH FIND THEIR HIGHEST EXPRESSION IN THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER?

THIS IS ALL THAT THE PEOPLE OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA, AND THEIR GOVERNMENT, HAVE BEEN SEEKING IN THESE PAST MONTHS. WHAT WE HAVE WITNESSED, AS THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES PUT IT TODAY, IS "A RESURGENCE OF ORDINARY HUMAN FREEDOM." IT IS WHAT EVERY NATION AND PEOPLE HAVE A RIGHT TO. WHAT IS EXTRAORDINARY, AND INDEED REPUGNANT TO CIVILIZED STANDARDS OF INTERNATIONAL CONDUCT, IS THE INVASION OF A SOVEREIGN NATION, HOWEVER SMALL, BY ANOTHER SOVEREIGN NATION, HOWEVER STRONG, TO IMPOSE AN ORDER OF THINGS WHICH THE PEOPLE OF THE INVADDED NATION ABHOR.

MR. PRESIDENT, IT IS INSTRUCTIVE TO NOTE CERTAIN OF THE EVENTS THAT LED TO THIS TRAGIC DEMISEMENT; FOR THE SEQUENCE SPELLS OUT UNMISTAKABLY A LESSON IN SOVIET PERFDY. FROM JULY 25 TO AUGUST 1, 1968, AT THE REQUEST OF THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP, THE TOP LEADERS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES OF THE SOVIET UNION AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA MET AT THE CZECHOSLOVAK TOWN OF CIERNA NAD TISOU. ON AUGUST 1 THEIR MEETING ENDED WITH THE ISSUANCE OF A COMMUNIQUE, WHICH REPORTED THOROUGH AND FRANK DISCUSSION OF "QUESTIONS INTERESTING BOTH SIDES" AND OF "DETAILED INFORMATION ON THE SITUATION IN THEIR COUNTRIES." BOTH PARTICIPANTS AGREED ON A FURTHER MEETING TO BE ATTENDED ALSO BY PARTY LEADERS OF BULGARIA, HUNGARY, EAST GERMANY AND POLAND.

THIS FURTHER MEETING WAS HELD AT BRATISLAVA, CZECHOSLOVAKIA, ON AUGUST 3. IT RESULTED IN A COMMUNIQUE ON THAT DATE WHICH CONTAINED NOT THE SLIGHTEST HINT OF DISAGREEMENT BETWEEN THE LEADERS OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND THOSE OF THE SOVIET UNION AND ITS OTHER WARSAW PACT ALLIES. INDEED, IT CONTAINED A COMMON EXPRESSION OF RESOLVE BY ALL PARTICIPANTS "TO DO EVERYTHING IN

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SHACKLES OF MOSCOW-STYLE DICTATORSHIP AND TO FIND A NEW FREEDOM; AND THEY OBTAINED A NEW HUNGARIAN LEADERSHIP WHICH APPEARED DISPOSED TO HELP THEM FIND IT. IMMEDIATELY FROM MOSCOW CAME A RESPONSE COMPOUNDED OF TROOP MOVEMENTS, DARK ACCUSATIONS, AND STILL DARKER THREATS--THEN, AT THE LAST MOMENT, SEEMING CONCILIATION. THE WORLD BREATHED MORE EASILY IN THE LAST DAYS OF OCTOBER AND THE BEGINNING OF NOVEMBER 1956. THEN, IN THE MIDDLE OF THE NIGHT OF NOVEMBER 3 TO 4, SOVIET FORCES POURED ACROSS THE BORDER AND HUNGARY'S FEW FLEETING DAYS OF FREEDOM WERE ENDED BY SOVIET GUNS. THIS ACT OF INTERNATIONAL TREACHERY AND LAWLESSNESS WAS RIGHTLY CONDEMNED BY THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY ON SEPTEMBER 13, 1957.

PAGE TWO BALL SECOND

THE GRIM PARALLEL BETWEEN BUDAPEST IN 1956 AND PRAGUE IN 1968 IS ONLY TOO APPARENT. WHO AMONG US HAD NOT HOPED AGAINST HOPE THAT THESE TWELVE YEARS HAD WORKED A CHANGE FOR THE BETTER IN THE MINDS OF THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP? SURELY THERE WERE GROUNDS FOR HOPE THAT, AS THE STALIN ERA RECEDED YEAR BY YEAR, THE LEADERS IN MOSCOW WOULD SHAKE OFF THE POLITICAL FEARS AND FRENZIES OF THE PAST, WOULD CEASE TO HEAR THE VOICE OF THE ENEMY IN EVERY FREE EXPRESSION OF OPINION, AND WOULD STOP DEMANDING SLAVISH CONFORMITY AS THE PRICE OF FRIENDSHIP. BUT ALL THESE HOPES NOW APPEAR SHATTERED BY THE INVASION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA BY HER OWN WARSAW PACT ALLIES, LED BY THE SOVIET UNION.

CLEARLY ALLIES OF THE SOVIET UNION LIVE UNDER A HARSH AND SIMPLE CODE: "CONFORM OR PERISH."

THE QUESTION BEFORE US, MR. PRESIDENT, IS A VITAL ONE THAT HAS HAUNTED MANKIND THROUGH THE AGES. ALL THE RELATIONS BETWEEN MEN

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THEIR POWER TO DEEPEN THE ALL-AROUND COOPERATION OF THEIR COUNTRIES ON THE BASIS OF THE PRINCIPLES OF EQUALITY, RESPECT FOR SOVEREIGNTY AND NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE, TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY, AND FRATERNAL MUTUAL ASSISTANCE AND SOLIDARITY." THAT DOES NOT SOUND LIKE THE LANGUAGE OF COUNTRIES THAT ARE ABOUT TO ENGAGE IN ARMED INVASION.

FOLLOWING THE BRATISLAVA MEETING, NOTHING EXTRAORDINARY TOOK PLACE FOR NINETEEN DAYS. THEN, LAST NIGHT, THE BLOW FELL.

ARMED FORCES OF THE SOVIET UNION, BULGARIA, EAST GERMANY, HUNGARY, AND POLAND STREAMED ACROSS THE CZECH BORDERS IN A DISPLAY OF MASSIVE AND INDEED OVERWHELMING POWER. MILLIONS OF LEAFLETS WERE DROPPED ON THE STREETS OF PRAGUE AND OTHER CZECHOSLOVAK CITIES. A DUMMY CZECHOSLOVAK RADIO STATION AND EVEN A PUPPET NEWSPAPER NAMED VLTAVA SUDDENLY SPRANG INTO ACTION. IT WAS A TEXTBOOK EXERCISE IN STEALTH AND SNEAK ATTACK, COMPLETE WITH THE TRAPPINGS OF PSYCHOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL WARFARE.

IT MUST CERTAINLY HAVE TAKEN WEEKS TO PREPARE THIS LARGE-SCALE OPERATION AND TO SET IT INTO MOTION. THIS WOULD INDICATE THAT THE SOVIET LEADERS WHO MET AND EMBRACED THEIR CZECHOSLOVAK PARTY COMRADES AT CIERNA AND BRATISLAVA IN THE LAST DAYS OF JULY AND THE FIRST DAYS OF AUGUST WERE PROBABLY ALREADY PLANNING THE INVASION AS A LAST RESORT IN CASE THE LEADERSHIP IN PRAGUE DID NOT YIELD TO BRUTAL THREATS. THE HAND THAT SO WARMLY EMBRACED THE CZECHOSLOVAK LEADERS CONCEALED A DAGGER--AND NOW THAT DAGGER HAS STRUCK.

NOW, OF COURSE, THERE IS A RATIONALE FOR WHAT THE SOVIET UNION HAS DONE. THERE ALWAYS IS A RATIONALE IN SUCH CASES. FOR MANY WEEKS THE SOVIET BLOC PRESS POURED FORTH EVIDENT FANTASIES, UNSUPPORTED BY A SINGLE FACT, TO THE EFFECT THAT CZECHOSLOVAKIA WAS THE TARGET OF DARK PLOTS FOR A COUNTER-

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REVOLUTION FROM THE WEST. WHEN THE SIGNAL FOR INVASION WAS GIVEN YESTERDAY, THE SOVIET PRESS AGENCY TASS PICKED UP THIS THEME IN ITS OFFICIAL STATEMENT, SAYING THAT THE THREAT IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA WAS ONE OF "COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY FORCES WHICH HAVE ENTERED INTO A COLLUSION WITH FOREIGN FORCES HOSTILE TO SOCIALISM." IT IS THE SAME OLD, STALE HOBGOBLIN OF COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA--THE ARCH-FIEND OF IMPERIALISM--AND I SUSPECT THE MOSCOW PROPAGANDISTS WHO HAVE HAD TO RESORT TO IT ONCE AGAIN MUST BLUSH WITH EMBARRASSMENT.

PAGE THREE BALL SECOND

BUT THERE IS MORE. WE FIND IN THIS SAME TASS STATEMENT AN ASSERTION THAT THE ARMED INVASION WAS CARRIED OUT BECAUSE "PARTY AND GOVERNMENT LEADERS OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK SOCIALIST REPUBLIC HAVE ASKED THE SOVIET UNION AND OTHER ALLIED STATES" FOR THIS KIND OF ASSISTANCE. IN SHORT, THIS IS NO INVASION, IT IS A FRATERNAL HELPING HAND--THAT IS WHAT MOSCOW SAYS.

THAT IS ALSO WHAT MOSCOW SAID IN NOVEMBER 1956, WHEN THE HUNGARIAN NATION WAS DRAGGED BACK INTO SUBJECTION BY SOVIET TANKS. BUT WHO ARE THESE "PARTY AND GOVERNMENT LEADERS" IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA? I THINK ANY OF US WHO HAVE LISTENED TO THE STATEMENTS WHICH HAVE BEEN READ BY THE ACTING PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA MUST REALIZE THAT THEY ARE EITHER FICTIONAL CHARACTERS OR NON-ENTITIES. THERE IS NOT A SINGLE NAME, UNLESS IT IS THE MOST DISCREDITED NAME OF ALL, THAT OF MR. NOVOTNY WHO WAS MOSCOW'S FAVORITE FRIEND IN PRAGUE UNTIL HE WAS REMOVED FROM THE LEADERSHIP BY HIS COMPATRIOTS LAST JANUARY.

SERVICE SET

THIS IS A VITAL POINT, MR. PRESIDENT. THE SOVIET ARMED FORCES WERE NOT INVITED INTO CZECHOSLOVAKIA BY ANYBODY IN A POSITION TO SPEAK FOR THE CZECH NATION OR THE CZECH PEOPLE. THEY ARE UNINVITED GUESTS. THIS FACT HAS BEEN MADE CLEAR BY THE BRAVE AND ELOQUENT STATEMENTS READ BY THE ACTING PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

THE SOVIET INVASION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA, SUPPORTED BY SEVERAL OF MOSCOW'S OBEDIENT WARSAW PACT SATELLITES--INCLUDING, WITH TRAGIC IRONY, HUNGARY HERSELF, WHICH SHOULD KNOW BETTER-- THIS ACT IS CONTRARY TO THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER AND TO ALL INTERNATIONAL LAW. IT IS LIKEWISE CONTRARY, I MIGHT ADD, TO THE TERMS OF A RESOLUTION OF THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY, RESOLUTION 2131 OF THE TWENTIETH REGULAR SESSION, ADOPTED DECEMBER 21, 1965, AND SPONSORED CHIEFLY BY THE SOVIET UNION ITSELF.

ALL THE INSTRUMENTS WHICH HAVE BEEN READ TONIGHT--RESOLUTION 2131 OF THE TWENTIETH REGULAR SESSION OF THE UNGA ADOPTED DECEMBER 21, 1965--AND SPONSORED CHIEFLY BY THE SOVIET UNION-- AND THE LANGUAGE OF THE WARSAW PACT HAVE BEEN OPENLY MOCKED TODAY BY THE ACTION OF THE SOVIET UNION AND ITS FOUR OBEDIENT WARSAW PACT ALLIES IN THEIR ARMED INVASION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA. A SMALL INDEPENDENT NATION, SEEKING ONCE AGAIN THE SIMPLE RIGHT TO ASSERT ITS OWN NATIONAL PERSONALITY IN FREEDOM, HAS BEEN SQUASHED UNDER THE HEEL OF MOSCOW. THIS HAS BEEN DONE WITHOUT THE KNOWLEDGE OF, AND AGAINST THE WILL OF, THE PEOPLE OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND THEIR GOVERNMENT. IT WAS PLANNED IN SECRET AT A TIME WHEN THE PUBLIC AIR WAS FULL OF SMILES AND EMBRACES. IT IS A GROSS ACT OF PERFIDY. IT IS CONTRARY TO EVERY CANON OF INTERNATIONAL LAW. IT WOULD BE UNIVERSALLY AND RIGHTLY CONDEMNED BY WORLD OPINION NO MATTER WHERE IN THE WORLD IT OCCURRED.

THE RAVAGING OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA WE HAVE WITNESSED IS NOT

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EVIDENCE THAT, BY NATURE, THE PEOPLE OF THE SOVIET UNION AND ITS FOUR EASTERN EUROPEAN ALLIES ARE AGGRESSIVE. IT IS IRREFUTABLE EVIDENCE, HOWEVER, THAT THE HARASSED AND NERVOUS LEADERS OF THE SOVIET UNION AND ITS FOUR EASTERN EUROPEAN ALLIES FULLY REALIZE THAT THE BRAND OF COMMUNISM THEY INSIST UPON MAINTAINING IN THEIR OWN TERRITORIES IS INCAPABLE OF SURVIVING IN AN ATMOSPHERE WHERE THERE IS EVEN THE MOST RUDIMENTARY OF FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN FREEDOMS. IT IS FURTHER EVIDENCE--REINFORCING THAT WHICH THE WORLD WITNESSED IN THE POZNAN RIOTS, THE HUNGARIAN REBELLION IN 1956, AND IN THE OBSCENE REALITY OF THE BERLIN WALL--THAT THEIR COMMUNIST SYSTEM IS, IN SHORT, A FUNGUS THAT WILL DIE ONCE IT IS EXPOSED TO THE SUNLIGHT OF FREEDOM. IT CAN LIVE ONLY IN THE DARK--THE DARKNESS OF IGNORANCE AND REPRESSION.

THIS IS A SAD CONCLUSION--SAD IN ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR THE FUTURE.

AS FAR AS MY COUNTRY AND PEOPLE ARE CONCERNED, THIS TRAGEDY IS PARTICULARLY GRIEVOUS, NOT ONLY IN ITSELF BUT FOR THE SHADOW IT CASTS ON THE FUTURE OF WORLD PEACE. MY GOVERNMENT HAS MADE CLEAR IN MANY WAYS, HERE IN THE UNITED NATIONS AND ELSEWHERE, IN RECENT YEARS AND MONTHS, ITS EARNEST DESIRE THAT GREAT-POWER TENSIONS SHOULD DIMINISH, THE ARMS RACE SHOULD BE BROUGHT UNDER CONTROL, AND THE FOUNDATIONS OF PEACE IN THE WORLD SHOULD BE MORE FIRMLY ESTABLISHED.

HOW SEVERE A BLOW TO THESE HOPES HAS BEEN DEALT IN THE PAST 24 HOURS IT IS TOO EARLY TO TELL. BUT MUCH MAY DEPEND ON DEVELOPMENTS IN THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE. PRESIDENT JOHNSON HAS ALREADY SPOKEN FOR THE UNITED STATES IN CALLING PUBLICLY ON THE SOVIET UNION AND ITS ASSOCIATES IN THESE EVENTS "TO WITHDRAW THEIR

SERVICE SET

TROOPS FROM CZECHOSLOVAKIA." AND HE ADDED, WHAT MUST SURELY BE IN ALL OUR MINDS AT THIS MOMENT: "IT IS NEVER TOO LATE FOR REASON TO PREVAIL."

THEREFORE, MR. PRESIDENT, THE UNITED STATES STRONGLY APPEALS FOR IMMEDIATE ACTION BY THE COUNCIL WHICH, UNDER THE CHARTER, IS THE BODY PRIMARILY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY. IT IS ALSO, AS A MATTER OF REALITY, A PRINCIPAL INSTRUMENT BY WHICH WORLD OPINION CAN BE GIVEN EXPRESSIO IN MOMENTS OF DANGER AND CRISIS. IN BOTH CAPACITIES, HE WHO SIT ON THIS COUNCIL HAVE A RESPONSIBILITY TO ACT QUICKLY. THE INVASION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA CASTS A SHADOW ACROSS THE WORLD. IT SAYS TO EVERY SMALL NATION WHICH HAS A BIG COMMUNIST NEIGHBOR: "WHEN NIGHT ALONE MAKES RIGHT, YOU TOO MAY BE IN DANGER."

LET US THEREFORE REASSERT THE LAW OF THE CHARTER, AND URGENTLY CALL UPON THE SOVIET UNION, IN THE INTEREST OF THAT WORLD PEACE TO WHICH IT SO FREQUENTLY APPEALS, TO REMOVE ITS TROOPS FROM CZECHOSLOVAK SOIL, AND TO CEASE INTERFERENCE IN THAT COUNTRY OR ANYWHERE ELSE IN A MANNER CONTRARY TO THOSE INTERNATIONAL PRINCIPLES OF FREEDOM, SOVEREIGNTY, AND SELF-DETERMINATION ON WHOSE INTEGRITY THE PEACE OF THE WORLD DEPENDS.

(END TEXT) ITEM

8/21/52

SERVICE SET

MR PRESIDENT -

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BALL'S PLANE

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RECOMMEND MEETING

WIND UP SOONEST POSSIBLE.

BAREFOOT

Office of the White House Press Secretary

THE WHITE HOUSE

SUMMARY OF GENERAL ABRAMS' VIEWS

What is the effect of our current bombing operations in North Vietnam?

First, we believe we are now destroying or damaging approximately 15% of the trucks believed to be moving into South Vietnam.

Second, it is our conviction that the air interdiction program in the North Vietnam panhandle has been the primary agent which has reduced trucks detected by about 80% between mid-July and the present time.

A third effect is to prevent the enemy from massing artillery and air defense means in the area to the north of the DMZ from which they can attack our forces. Further, we interfere with his ability to concentrate forces and supplies for sudden attacks through the DMZ against our units.

What would the the military effect of a cessation of that bombing?

First, military materiel would be able to reach the DMZ or the borders of Laos unimpeded. We believe the current attrition from truck destruction alone, not to mention truck park storage areas, is running several hundred tons per day on the average in the NVN panhandle. The truck flow could be expected to return to its mid-July level or even higher within as little as a week. We are talking about an increase, repeat increase, in southward movement which could amount to 1,500 tons per day or more. Next, the enemy would be able to mass artillery, air defense means, and ground units freely north of the DMZ for use against our forces. Finally, freed from interdiction north of 17 degrees, the enemy could move reinforcements to the DMZ by truck or rail, thus drastically shortening transit time.

Is there any possibility of your providing even an approximate estimate of the additional casualties we would take if we stopped the bombing of North Vietnam?

We would have to expect a several-fold increase in U.S. and allied casualties in the First Corps. With the bombing authority now in effect, I am able with forces available to limit the enemy's capability in South Vietnam by interdicting his roads and destroying substantial amounts of his munitions and supplies before they reach South Vietnam. In addition, I am able to suppress his artillery and air defense north of the Ben Hai so that our positions just south of the DMZ are secure. If the bombing in North Vietnam now authorized were to be suspended, the enemy, in 10 days to two weeks, could develop a capability in the DMZ area in terms of scale, intensity and duration of combat on the order of five times what he now has. I cannot agree to place our forces at the risk which the enemy's capability would then pose.

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SERVICE SET