

CROSS-EDITION INDEX TO THE PENTAGON PAPERS

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The purpose of this Index is to supply a framework that enables the user to quickly navigate this publication and also provide information regarding the discrepancies between the volumes. The newly-declassified version of the papers from the Department of Defense is identical to the House Armed Services Committee edition, and so here they are both listed as 'DOD edition'. Therefore, this index serves to compare the Gravel edition with this DOD/ HASC edition.

In the left-hand column of the Index the reader will find a title abbreviated from the original. Our presentation follows the organization of the actual (DOD) Pentagon Papers. Entries in the center column pertain to the DOD/HASC version of the Papers, those in the right-hand column to the Gravel edition.

The pdf page numbers refer to the page numbers from the electronic file, while the doc. page numbers refer to page numbers from the source text. The doc. listings of pagination follow the exact practice of the Pentagon Papers analysts, which varied quite a lot from component study to study; or they refer to the volume and page numbers of the Gravel edition. "Book" numbers specify the volume of the printed HASC edition which contains the corresponding Pentagon Papers study. Where numbers appear separated by a slash mark ("/") in listing the pagination of studies in the DOD/HASC edition (e.g. "I.A, i-ii, A1-A62/68"), they refer to places where the newly declassified DOD edition has added pages, usually footnotes, to the content printed in the HASC version. For the convenience of users of the printed HASC edition, the listings below also indicate where one Book (volume) ends and another begins by additional spacing in our Index text.

Besides adding pdf page numbers for our electronic presentation, this Index displays the places where content appears in one version and not the other. Each such entry briefly identifies the material concerned. The details are noted in the column of the edition/volume where the material *does* appear, with the corresponding page number/s for where it would be located in the other version. For example, were an item not included in Gravel, the text indicating this will be shown in the column for the DOD edition, specifying its location in that version. Under the matching column for the Gravel edition you will find the simple page reference where you would expect to find that content. For each entry our Index notes both the pdf and doc. page numbers.

It is important to note that the references here *do not* include those places where the Gravel edition recognizes that content is missing or illegible. We present only references to text that is *not* mentioned as missing in Gravel. This Index also incorporates references to other oddities found when comparing the volumes, such as sentences reworded or paragraphs missing or incomplete. Such oddities are listed in the column of the version in which the full content was encountered.

Abbreviated Title	DOD edition	Gravel edition
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(Page numbers are prefixed by a letter in the HASC/NARA (DOD) editions; a slash (“/”) following the last page number indicates additional pages in the NARA edition. These are usually footnotes or bibliography. The Gravel edition is not footnoted.)

Part I. *Vietnam and the U.S., 1940-1950*

U.S. Policy, 1940-1950	Book 1, I.A: i-ii, A1-A62/68	I, 1-52
Character of the Viet Minh	Book 1, I.B: B1-B69/73	I, 42-47
Ho Chi Minh	Book 1, I.C: C1-C104	I, 47-52

Part II. *U.S. Involvement in the Franco-Viet Minh War, 1950-1954*

U.S., France, and Vietnam	Book 1, II.A: i, A1-A53/54	I, 53-88
	pdf page 8, doc. Page A-3	pdf pages 3-4, doc. pages 55-57 Last para. seems to be added, along with sections titled “THE INTERAGENCY DEBATE OVER U.S. INTERVENTION IN INDOCHINA” and “THE ATTEMPT TO ORGANIZE “UNITED ACTION”
	pdf pages 63- 65, doc. Pages B-1-B-3 Section II b. “TOWARD A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT: SUMMARY” not included in Gravel	pdf page 36, doc. Page 88
Toward Negotiations	Book 1, II.B: B1-B31/36	I, 88-107

Part III. *The Geneva Accords*

	In full	Gravel seems to summarize the entire section.
U.S. Planning and Diplomacy	Book 1: III.A: i, A1-A42/A44	Mixed Together, I, 108-178, 270-284
Role of State of Vietnam	Book 1: III.B: B1-B28	
Viet Minh and Sino-Soviet	Book 1: III.C: C1-C26/28	
Intent of the Geneva Accords	Book 1: III.D: D1-D26/27	

Part IV. *Evolution of the War*

(General Section A) Eisenhower Commitments: Military Aid for Diem, 1954-1960

NATO/SEATO Comparison	Book 1: IV.A.1: i, A1-A51	Does Not Appear in Gravel
Aid for France 1950-1954	Book 1: IV.A.2: i-iv, 1-24	I, 179-204
U.S. and French Withdrawal	Book 1: IV.A.3: i-xviii, 1-40/51	I, 204-241

(Through the remainder of the study the handling of page numbers varies, sometimes prefixed by a letter, sometimes not; at times denominated as letters [eg “a-TT”] or number combinations [eg “6.1”]. Pages containing footnotes added to the text continue to be denoted by the slash mark.)

U.S. Training of Vietnamese	Book 2: IV.A.4: 1.1-6.1, A-TT, i-ii, 1-31/52	Does Not Appear in Gravel
Origins of the Insurgency	Book 2: IV.A.5: i, 1-37 Tab 1: i-ii, 1-33/50 Tab 2: 1-71/82 Tab 3: i-ii, 1-71/89 Tab 4: i-ii, 1-99	I: 242-269, 284-346

(General Section B) Counterinsurgency: The Kennedy Commitments, 1961-1963

Kennedy Programs, 1961	Book 2: IV.B.1: i-vi, 1-22, Two unpaginated (contents), 1-148/159	II: 1-127
	pdf page 63, doc. Page26 Map not included in Gravel	pdf page 36, doc. page 36

Strategic Hamlets 1961-1963	Book 3: IV.B.2: i-ix, 1-36/43 pdf page 24, doc. page 9 Map not included in Gravel	II: 128-159 pdf page 11, doc. page 138
	pdf pages 38-42, doc. pages 23-27 Maps not included in Gravel	pdf page 24, doc. page 151

The Advisory Buildup (to 1967)	Book 3: IV.B.3: i-x, 1-23, 1-112/124	III: 408-514
Phased U.S. Withdrawal	Book 3: IV.B.4: i-vii, a-g, 1-40/44	II: 160-200
	pdf page 28, doc. page 8 Graph not included in Gravel	pdf page 19, doc. page 178
	pdf page 47-49, doc. pages 27-29 Graphs not included in Gravel	pdf page 32, doc. page 191

Diem's Overthrow, 1963	Book 3: IV.B.5: i-xxxiii, 1-68/84	II: 201-276
(General Section C: Direct Action: The Johnson Commitments, 1964-1968)		
U.S. Programs 1963-1965	Book 3: IV.C.1: i-vii, a1-a16, 1-120/128	III: 1-105
Military Pressure, Feb-June 1964	Book 3: IV.C.2 (a): i-xxvii, 1-40/48	III: 106-107, 117-182
Military Pressure, July-October	Book 4: IV.C.2 (b): i-vii, 1-10, 1-42/52 (plus 24 pages of documents)	III: 107-111, 182-206
	pdf page 58. Doc. page 35 Para. "In the analysts' view... condition holds" Not included in Gravel	pdf page 25, doc. page 201
Military Pressure, November- December 1964	Book 4: IV.C.2 (c): i-xvii, a-b, 1-80/94	III: 111-117, 206-268
	pdf page 54, doc. page 29 Body of Paragraph starting "option C" not included in Gravel	pdf page 32, doc. page. 230
	pdf pages 80-81, doc. pages 55-56 Para. "The statement ...pattern of operations" Not included in Gravel	pdf page 51, doc. page 249
	pdf page 82, doc. 57 Phrase "After the meeting" not included in Gravel	pdf page 52, doc. page 250
	pdf page 97, doc page 72 bottom, sentence "However, cabling... covered above" not included and changed from "recommendations to take" to "calls for"	pdf page 64, doc page 262
	pdf pages 98-99, doc. pages 73-73 Para. "Public Debate" not complete in Gravel including beginning of following para.	pdf page 65, doc. page 263
	pdf page 102, doc page 77 Para. starting "the reasons" first sentence re-worded in Gravel	pdf page 67, doc. page 265

pdf page 103, doc. page 78
word change from “underlying” to
“high among”

pdf page 68, doc page 266

ROLLING THUNDER Begins Book 4: IV.C.3: i-xxvii, a-c,
1-149

III: 269-388

pdf page 43, doc page 8
Para. “Ominous Developments” not
complete in Gravel

pdf page 24, doc page 292

pdf page 45, doc. page 10
Phrase “‘Bien Hoas’ cannot be prevented”
not included in Gravel

pdf page 25, doc. page 293

pdf page 54, doc. page 19
para. “To gain an impression” not included
in Gravel as well as attached chart

pdf page 32, doc. page 300

pdf pages 59-60, doc pages 24-25
Para. “It is worth noting” not complete
in Gravel

pdf page 35, doc. page 304

pdf page 65, doc. page 30
Para. “Officially, Hanoi” not complete
in Gravel

pdf page 40, doc page. 308

pdf page 67, doc. page 32
Para. “The mood of the mission”
not included in Gravel

pdf page 42, doc. page 310

pdf pages 68-69, doc. pages 32-33
Para. “...Vietnamese talk is full of”
not complete in Gravel

pdf page 43, doc. page 311

pdf page 76, doc. page 41
Phrase “as it unfolds” from para.
“we do not believe” Not included in Gravel

pdf page 49, doc. page 317

pdf page 85, doc. page 50
Para. “As I have said” not complete in Gravel

pdf page 55, doc. page 323

pdf page 87, doc. page 52
Para. “Addressees should inform”
not complete in Gravel

pdf page 56, doc. page 324

pdf page 88, doc. page 53 Para. "Political Turbulence" not complete in Gravel	pdf page 57, doc. page 325
pdf pages 89-90, doc. pages 54-55	pdf page 58, doc. page 327 References [words missing] but nothing is missing from this section
pdf page 94, doc. page 59 Para "Over the weekend" final sentence not included in Gravel	pdf page 62, doc. page 330
pdf page 95, doc. page 60 Para. "We have talked over" not complete in Gravel	pdf page 63, doc. page 331
pdf page 106, doc. page 71 Word "features" switched for "ideas" of para. "the March 15"	pdf page 71, doc. page 339
pdf page 122, doc. page 87 "d. red 'flash points'" point #11 not included in Gravel	pdf page 82, doc. page 350
pdf page 129, doc. page 94 Para. "To illustrate his caution" not complete in Gravel	pdf page 86, doc. page 354
pdf page 132, doc. page 96 End of para. "It is worth noting" and speech from the President not included in Gravel	pdf page 88, doc. page 356
pdf page 133, doc. page 97 Para. "The window to peace is still open" not included in Gravel	pdf page 89, doc. page 357
pdf page 158, doc. page 122 Para. "Any success in carrying out" not complete in Gravel	pdf page 107, doc. page 375
pdf pages 130-131 doc. page 95 Page 95 has been repeated	

Marines to Da Nang

Book 4: IV.C.4: i-xvi, 1-25

III: 389-390, 398-404,
417-433

Initial U.S. Buildup

Book 4: IV.C.5: 1-135

III: 390-398, 404-417,
433-485

pdf pages 81-85, doc. pages 72-76

pdf pages 47-48,
doc. pages 456-457

Department of Defense Cables not included
in Gravel

pdf pages 106-113, doc. pages 96-103 pdf page 62

Department of Defense cables not included
in Gravel

U.S. Ground Strategy (I)	Book 5: IV.C.6 (a): i-xviii, i-ii, 1-127/133	IV: 290-387
U.S. Ground Strategy (II)	Book 5: IV.C.6 (b): i-ii, 1-235	IV: 387-538
U.S. Ground Strategy (III)	Book 5: IV.C.6 (c): i, 1-93/100	IV: 538-604

Air War in the North (I)	Book 6: IV.C.7 (a): 1-180/186	IV: 1-138
Air War in the North (II)	Book 6: IV.C.7 (b): i-ii, 1-204/208	IV: 138-276

pdf page 132, doc. page 125
Entire page not included in Gravel

pdf page 86, doc. page 223

pdf pages 135-136, doc. pages 128-129

pdf page 89, doc. page 226
After para. "In addition to the loss"
until para. "It is not certain that
Russia and China", content appears
that does not appear in Pentagon
Papers

pdf page 166, doc. page 158
Para. "China would probably", phrase
"possibly including guided missile vessels"
not included in Gravel

pdf page 108, doc. page 245

Pacification	Book 6: IV.C.8: i-ix, 1-137/144	II: 515-623
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U.S.-Saigon 1963-1965	Book 7: IV.C.9 (a): i-xi, 1-75/85	II: 277-284, 290-296, 303-361
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[Note: The NARA edition is missing footnotes numbered 21 to 88 for Section 1, and all footnotes for Section 2 of IV.C.9 (a).]

U.S.-Saigon, 1965-1967	Book 7: IV.C.9 (b): i-xix, 1-61	II: 284-290, 297-303, 362-407
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Statistical Survey of the War	Book 7: IV.C.10: No pagination, 25 pages of charts	Does Not Appear in
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Gravel

(General Section V. Justification of the War)

Public Statements (A)

Truman Administration	Book 7: V.A: A1-A5	I: 584-591
Eisenhower Administration	Book 7: V.B: B1-B53	I: 587-588, 591-629
Kennedy Administration	Book 7: V.C: C1-C46	II: 794-831
Johnson Administration	Book 7: V.D: i, D, D1-D134 Doc. #1-33 for 1965, and #77-80 for 1967 Not included in Gravel	III: 707-743, IV: 626-684

Summaries and table of contents for 1965-1967 combined in second part of document rather than following the format of the Pentagon Papers

Internal Documents (B)

Roosevelt Administration	Book 7: V.B.1: i-vii, 1-72	Not in Gravel
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Truman Administration, v.I	Book 8: V.B.2 (a): i-xxvi, 1-272	Combined in
Truman Administration, v.II	Book 8: V.B.2 (b): 273-540	I: 347-391

(Only a small fraction of the documents appear in Gravel, but both sets are ordered chronologically, so the table of contents is useful)

Eisenhower Administration, v.I	Book 9: V.B.3 (a): i-Liv, 1-211 pdf pages 61-106, doc. pages 1-46 pdf pages 119-188, doc. pages 59-125 pdf pages 194-200, doc. pages 135-140 pdf pages 202-231, doc. pages 142-171 pdf pages 261- 266, doc. pages 201-206 None of these are included in Gravel	I: 391-433
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Eisenhower Administration, v.II	Book 9: V.B.3 (b): i-xxx, 212-675	I: 434-573
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(Only a small fraction of these documents appear in Gravel, but both sets are ordered chronologically, so the table of contents is useful)

Eisenhower Administration, v.III	Book 10: V.B.3 (c): i-xLiv, 676-1056	I: 573-583
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(Almost none of these documents appear in Gravel, but both sets are ordered chronologically, so the table of contents is useful)

Eisenhower Administration, v. IV	Book 10: V.B.3 (d): xLv-Liii, 1058-1364	Not in Gravel
Kennedy Administration, v.I (Only a fraction of these documents appear in Gravel, but both sets are ordered chronologically, so the table of contents is useful)	Book 11: V.B.4 (a): i-xxvii, 1-427	II: 624, 633-654
Kennedy Administration, v.II (Only a fraction of these documents appear in Gravel, but both sets are ordered chronologically, so the table of contents is useful)	Book 12: V.B.4 (b): i-xxvii, 428-605	II: 624-632, 654-793
Johnson Administration Documents	Not in HASC, Not in NARA	III: 486-606, IV: 605-625
(General Section VI. Settlement of the Conflict)		
Public Record 1965-1967	Book 12: VI.A: i, 1-78	Not in Gravel
Announced Positions 1965-1967	Book 12: VI.B: i-iii, 1-271	Not in Gravel
Histories of Contacts:		
1965-1968	Not in HASC (VI.C.1 in NARA)	Not in Gravel
Polish Track	Not in HASC (VI.C.2 in NARA)	Not in Gravel
Moscow-London Track	Not in HASC (VI.C.3 in NARA)	Not in Gravel
1967-1968	Not in HASC (VI.C.4 in NARA)	Not in Gravel