

CHAPTER
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Section 1

GUIDED READING *Moving Toward Conflict*

- A.** As you read this section, take notes to answer questions about how the United States slowly became involved in a war in Vietnam.

1941	Vietminh is formed.	→	1. What did the Vietminh declare as its main goal?	
1945	Japan is forced out of Vietnam.	→	2. What did Ho Chi Minh declare after Japan was forced out?	
1946	French troops return to southern Vietnam.	→	3. How did Ho Chi Minh respond to the return of the French?	
1950	U.S. begins its involvement in the Vietnam struggle.	→	4. Whom did the U.S. support?	5. What aid did the U.S. provide?
			6. Why did the U.S. get involved in the struggle?	
1954	Eisenhower introduces domino theory.	→	7. What did Eisenhower compare to a row of dominoes?	
	Vietminh over-runs Dien Bien Phu.	→	8. What did this Vietminh victory cause the French to do?	
	Geneva Accords are reached.	→	9. How did the Geneva Accords change Vietnam?	
1956	Elections are canceled.	→	10. Who canceled the Vietnamese elections? Why?	
1957	Vietcong begins attacks on Diem government.	→		
1963	Diem is overthrown.	→	11. What authority did the Tonkin Gulf Resolution grant to the U.S. president?	
1964	U.S. Congress adopts Tonkin Gulf Resolution.	→		
1965	Operation - Rolling Thunder is launched.	→	12. What did Operation Rolling Thunder do in North Vietnam?	

- B.** On the back of this paper, explain the importance of the **Ho Chi Minh Trail** in the Vietnam War.

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Section 2

GUIDED READING *U.S. Involvement and Escalation*

As you read about the escalation of the war, take notes to answer the questions.

1. What role did each of the following play in the decision to escalate U.S. military involvement in Vietnam?
Lyndon B. Johnson
Robert McNamara
Dean Rusk
William Westmoreland
U.S. Congress
American public opinion

U.S. military strategies result in a bloody stalemate.

2. What military advantages did the Americans have over the Vietcong?	3. What military advantages did the Vietcong have over the Americans?
4. What military strategies did the Americans use against the Vietcong?	5. What military strategies did the Vietcong use against the Americans?

Public support for the war begins to waver as a "credibility gap" grows.

6. What role did each of the following play in this change of public support?
The U.S. economy
Television
The Fulbright hearings

CHAPTER
30**Section 3****GUIDED READING** *A Nation Divided*

As you read this section, take notes to answer the questions.

Avoiding the War

1. What were some of the ways that young American men avoided military service in Vietnam?
2. In what sense was the Vietnam War a "working-class" war? How did it become one?

Opposing the War

3. What organizations and groups of Americans tended to oppose the war?
4. What were some of the reasons that "doves" opposed the war?
5. In what ways did they show their opposition to the war?

Defending the War

6. By 1967, how did most Americans feel about U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War?
7. Why did "hawks" criticize the Johnson administration's policies in Vietnam?

CHAPTER
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Section 4

GUIDED READING *1968: A Tumultuous Year*

A. As you read this section, note some of the causes and effects of the events of 1968.
Leave the shaded box blank.

Causes	Events of 1968	Effects
	1. Tet Offensive	
	2. Johnson's poor showing in the New Hampshire primary	
	3. Assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.	
	4. Assassination of Robert Kennedy	
	5. Disorder at the Democratic National Convention	
	6. Richard M. Nixon's presidential election victory	

B. On the back of this paper, note the political party of each of the following and describe the position that each held or sought in 1968: **Clark Clifford, Eugene McCarthy, Hubert Humphrey, and George Wallace.**

CHAPTER
30**Section 5****GUIDED READING***The End of the War
and Its Legacy*

A. As you read about President Nixon's Vietnam policy and the end of the war, note one or more reasons for each of the following developments during the war.

1. Nixon adopts a policy of Vietnamization.	2. My Lai massacre shocks Americans.
3. Nixon orders invasion of Cambodia.	4. First student strike in U.S. history occurs.
5. Congress repeals the Tonkin Gulf Resolution.	6. The "Christmas bombings" take place.
7. South Vietnam surrenders to North Vietnam.	8. Vietnam veterans receive a cold homecoming.
9. Cambodia erupts in civil war.	10. Congress passes the War Powers Act.
11. The draft is abolished.	12. Many Americans lose faith in their government.

B. On the back of this paper, explain the significance of each of the following terms in relation to the Vietnam War:

silent majority Pentagon Papers Henry Kissinger Khmer Rouge

**BUILDING VOCABULARY** *The Vietnam War Years*

A. Multiple Choice Circle the letter before the term or name that best completes the sentence.

1. The Vietcong was the name given to the (a) North Vietnamese Army (b) Army of the Republic of Vietnam (c) Communist opposition group in South Vietnam.
2. The gasoline-based bomb used to destroy the dense jungles of Vietnam was called (a) napalm (b) Agent Orange (c) Mace.
3. The event that convinced many Americans that the war in Vietnam was unwinnable was the (a) My Lai massacre (b) Tet Offensive (c) Christmas bombings.
4. The leader of North Vietnam was (a) Ngo Dinh Diem (c) Nguyen Cao Ky (b) Ho Chi Minh.
5. The candidate who nearly upset President Lyndon Johnson in the New Hampshire Democratic primary in 1968 was (a) Eugene McCarthy (b) Robert Kennedy (c) Hubert Humphrey.

B. Completion Select the term or name that best completes the sentence.

domino theory	Free Speech Movement	War Powers Act
Henry Kissinger	Pentagon Papers	Geneva Accords
Dean Rusk	William Westmoreland	New Left

1. The _____, passed by Congress in the wake of Vietnam, sought to curb the president's war-making powers.
2. The American Commander in South Vietnam was _____.
3. The _____ described the belief that if Vietnam succumbed to communism, the other nations of Asia also would fall to the Communists.
4. The growing youth movement of the 1960s became known as the _____.
5. The _____ revealed that the government had been less than truthful to the American people about its Vietnam policies.

C. Writing Write a paragraph about the turmoil on the home front during the Vietnam War using the following terms.

hawk dove credibility gap

CHAPTER
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Section 2

SKILLBUILDER PRACTICE

Distinguishing Fact from Opinion

In his State of the Union Address of 1966, President Johnson spoke of the course of the war in Vietnam and U.S. efforts for peace there. Read the portion of his speech presented below. Then, beside each number at the bottom of the page, write "fact" if the underlined phrase with that number is a fact, or "opinion" if the phrase is an opinion. (See Skillbuilder Handbook, p. R9.)

[O]ur choice gradually became clear. We could leave, abandoning South Vietnam to its attackers and to certain conquest—or we could stay and fight beside the people of South Vietnam.

[1] We stayed, and we will stay until aggression has stopped.

We will stay there because [2] a just nation cannot leave to the cruelty of its enemies a people who have staked their lives and independence on America's solemn pledge, a pledge which has grown through the commitments of three American Presidents. . . .

We will stay because in Asia, and around the world, are countries whose independence rests in large measure on confidence in America's word and in America's protection.

To yield to force in Vietnam would weaken that confidence; would undermine the independence of many lands, and would whet the appetite of aggression. [3] We would have to fight in one land, and then we'd have to fight in another—or abandon much of Asia to the domination of the Communists. . . .

And we do not intend to abandon Asia to conquest.

[4] Last year, the nature of the war in Vietnam changed again. Swiftly increasing numbers of [5] armed men from the north crossed the borders to join forces that were already in the south; attack and terror increased, spurred and encouraged by the belief that [6] the United States lacked the will to continue and that their victory was near.

Despite our desire to limit conflict, [7] it was necessary to act to hold back the mounting aggression, to give courage to the people of the south, and to make our firmness clear to the north.

Thus, [8] we began limited air action against military targets in North Vietnam; [9] we increased our fighting force to its present strength tonight of 190,000 men.

These moves have not ended the aggression. But they have prevented its success. . . .

We seek neither territory nor bases, economic domination or military alliance in Vietnam. We fight for the principle of self-determination, that [10] the people of South Vietnam should be able to choose their own course—choose it in free elections, without violence, without terror and without fear.

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

4. _____

5. _____

6. _____

7. _____

8. _____

9. _____

10. _____

CHAPTER
30**Section 1****RETEACHING ACTIVITY** *Moving Toward Conflict***Summarizing**

- A.** Complete the chart below by explaining how each administration increased America's involvement in Vietnam.

Administration	Action
Truman	
Eisenhower	
Kennedy	
Johnson	

Finding Main Ideas

- B.** Answer the following questions in the space provided.

1. What prompted the war between the Vietminh and the French?

2. What were the terms of the Geneva Accords?

3. What was the Tonkin Gulf Resolution?

CHAPTER
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Section 2

RETEACHING ACTIVITY *U.S. Involvement and Escalation*

Finding Main Ideas

The following questions deal with America's entry into the Vietnam War. Answer them in the space provided.

1. How did most Americans react to President Johnson's decision to commit troops to the war in Vietnam? Why?

2. What difficulties did U.S. troops encounter in Vietnam?

3. What actions by U.S. troops hindered the effort to win the support of Vietnamese villagers?

4. What factors led to a decline in the morale of many U.S. soldiers?

5. How did the Vietnam War affect President Johnson's Great Society?

6. What role did television play in increasing Americans' doubts about the war effort?

CHAPTER
30**Section 3****RETEACHING ACTIVITY** *A Nation Divided***Matching**

A. Match the description in the second column with the term or name in the first column. Write the appropriate letter next to the word.

- | | |
|----------------------------|---|
| _____ 1. hawk | a. led Free Speech Movement |
| _____ 2. college deferment | b. left Johnson administration to head World Bank |
| _____ 3. Tom Hayden | c. served in disproportionate numbers in Vietnam |
| _____ 4. dove | d. system that calls up citizens for military service |
| _____ 5. draft | e. founded Students for a Democratic Society |
| _____ 6. Mario Savio | f. favored stronger military force in Vietnam |
| _____ 7. African Americans | g. allowed students to put off military duty |
| _____ 8. Robert McNamara | h. advocated U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam |

Evaluating

B. Write *T* in the blank if the statement is true. If the statement is false, write *F* in the blank and then write the corrected statement on the line below.

- _____ 1. During the years of antiwar protest, no Americans fled the country in order to escape military service.

- _____ 2. The most common reason for opposition to the war was the belief that it was a civil conflict in which the United States had no business fighting.

- _____ 3. Women joined in the war effort by volunteering their services to relief and hospitality groups such as the American Red Cross and the United Services Organization.

- _____ 4. Martin Luther King, Jr. supported the war in Vietnam because it gave African Americans the chance to demonstrate their valor and patriotism.

- _____ 5. Many of the men who fought in Vietnam were from the ranks of America's upper-class white citizens.

CHAPTER
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RETEACHING ACTIVITY *1968: A Tumultuous Year*

Section 4

Sequencing

A. Put the events below in the correct chronological order.

- _____ 1. President Johnson announces he will not seek a second term.
- _____ 2. Robert Kennedy is assassinated.
- _____ 3. The Tet Offensive shocks America.
- _____ 4. Richard Nixon is elected as president.
- _____ 5. President Johnson narrowly wins the New Hampshire primary.
- _____ 6. Riots mar the Democratic National Convention in Chicago.

Completion

B. Select the term or name that best completes the sentence.

- | | | |
|---------------|----------------|---------------------|
| domino theory | Israel | Walter Cronkite |
| doves | Kent State | Yippies |
| law and order | Clark Clifford | Columbia University |

1. After the Tet Offensive, the renowned journalist _____ declared that the Vietnam War seemed destined "to end in a stalemate."
2. Robert Kennedy was assassinated by a Palestinian immigrant who said he was angered by Kennedy's support of _____.
3. In April 1968, the students at _____ held a massive protest over the school's community policies.
4. Richard Nixon won support during the presidential race by vowing to restore _____ to the country.
5. The group of antiwar protesters who many believe had come to the Democratic National Convention to provoke violence and chaos were called the _____.



Section 5

RETEACHING ACTIVITY *The End of the War
and Its Legacy***Multiple Choice**

Choose the best answer for each item. Write the letter of your answer in the blank.

- _____ 1. The event that in the spring of 1970 stirred a new round of antiwar protests was the
a. My Lai massacre.
b. invasion of Cambodia.
c. release of the Pentagon Papers.
d. Christmas bombings.
- _____ 2. The Pentagon Papers were leaked by former Defense Department worker
a. Henry Kissinger.
b. H. R. Haldeman.
c. William Calley, Jr.
d. Daniel Ellsberg.
- _____ 3. The number of Americans killed in Vietnam was roughly
a. 10,000.
b. 25,000.
c. 58,000.
d. 96,000.
- _____ 4. After the United States withdrew from the Vietnam War, North and South Vietnam
a. agreed to exist as separate nations.
b. continued fighting until North Vietnam emerged victorious.
c. continued fighting until South Vietnam emerged victorious.
d. fought to a stalemate and signed a cease-fire that exists today.
- _____ 5. In the wake of the Vietnam War, Cambodia fell to the brutal Communist regime known as the
a. Khmer Rouge.
b. Vietcong.
c. Vietminh.
d. Bolsheviks.
- _____ 6. According the War Powers Act, Congress must give its consent for U.S. troops to remain in
a hostile region any longer than
a. 30 days.
b. 90 days
c. six months.
d. one year.

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Section 4

GEOGRAPHY APPLICATION: LOCATION

The Ho Chi Minh Trail

Directions: Read the paragraphs below and study the map carefully. Then answer the questions that follow.

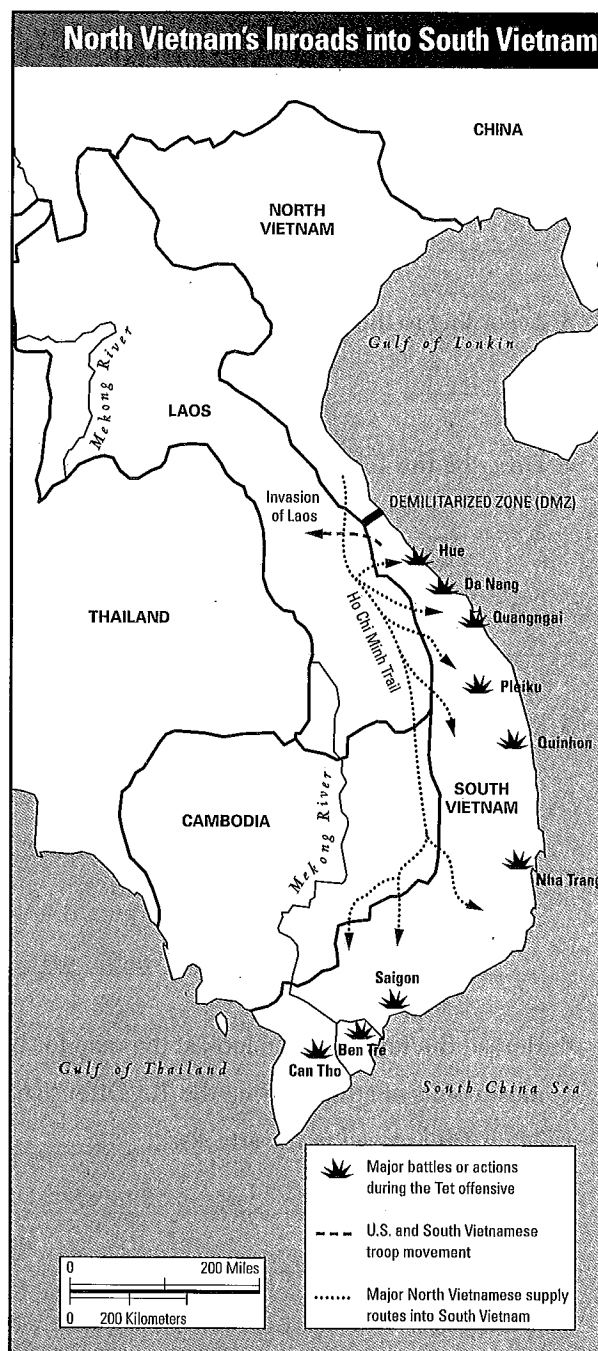
The Ho Chi Minh Trail developed from a network of existing hidden jungle paths. During the 1960s, it became the main route used by North Vietnam to get troops and supplies into South Vietnam in support of the Vietcong's fight against South Vietnamese troops and their U.S. allies. The trail was named for Ho Chi Minh, the leader of North Vietnam at the time. When North Vietnamese soldiers were wounded, they were transported up the trail for treatment.

U.S. and South Vietnamese troops tried repeatedly to cut or destroy this lifeline. They drenched the surrounding jungle with defoliants to kill trees and other vegetation. This effort failed, and North Vietnam continued to use the trail.

The Tet Offensive of early 1968 showed how determined North Vietnam was. The North Vietnamese and the Vietcong launched simultaneous raids on provincial capitals and major cities throughout South Vietnam at the beginning of Tet, the lunar new year celebration. The U.S. Embassy in Saigon was attacked, as were many other supposedly secure sites. The planning and coordination needed to carry out such an action stunned Americans in Vietnam and in the United States. The Tet Offensive, though not a North Vietnamese victory in the sense that it captured territory or inflicted great casualties, still caused many Americans to rethink their nation's involvement in the Vietnam War.

In 1971, South Vietnamese troops invaded Laos in an attempt to cut off the flow of men and supplies along the trail. Despite American air support, the invasion was a disaster, and the South Vietnamese army was defeated by North Vietnamese forces.

The Ho Chi Minh Trail, along which more than 20,000 troops a month could be moved by 1967, was the key to keeping North Vietnam in the war until the United States tired of battle and controversy and pulled out.



Interpreting Text and Visuals

1. Describe the path of the Ho Chi Minh Trail. _____

2. What was the purpose of the Ho Chi Minh Trail? _____

3. According to the map, about how many miles long was the Ho Chi Minh Trail? _____

4. Describe the 1971 operation directed at interrupting the Ho Chi Minh Trail. _____

5. What might have been the outcome of a successful invasion of Laos in 1971? _____

6. Reread the text and then look at the map for the northernmost and southernmost points of attack during the Tet Offensive. What part do you think the Ho Chi Minh Trail played in the attacks? _____

CHAPTER
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OUTLINE MAP *The Vietnam War*

Section 5

- A.** Review the maps "Indochina, 1959" and "Tet Offensive, Jan. 30–Feb. 24, 1968" on pages 939 and 955 of your textbook. Then, on the accompanying outline map, label the following bodies of water, countries, and cities. Finally, draw a line to mark the DMZ, the Demilitarized Zone that separated North and South Vietnam.

Bodies of Water		Countries		Cities	
Gulf of Tonkin	Red River	South Vietnam	Thailand	Hanoi	Can Tho
South China Sea	Gulf of Thailand	North Vietnam	Laos	Hue	
Mekong River		Cambodia	China	Saigon	

- B.** After completing the map, use it to answer the following questions.

1. Which natural feature forms much of the border between Laos and Thailand?

2. Why might the United States have been concerned early in the war about China's attitude toward U.S. involvement on the side of South Vietnam?

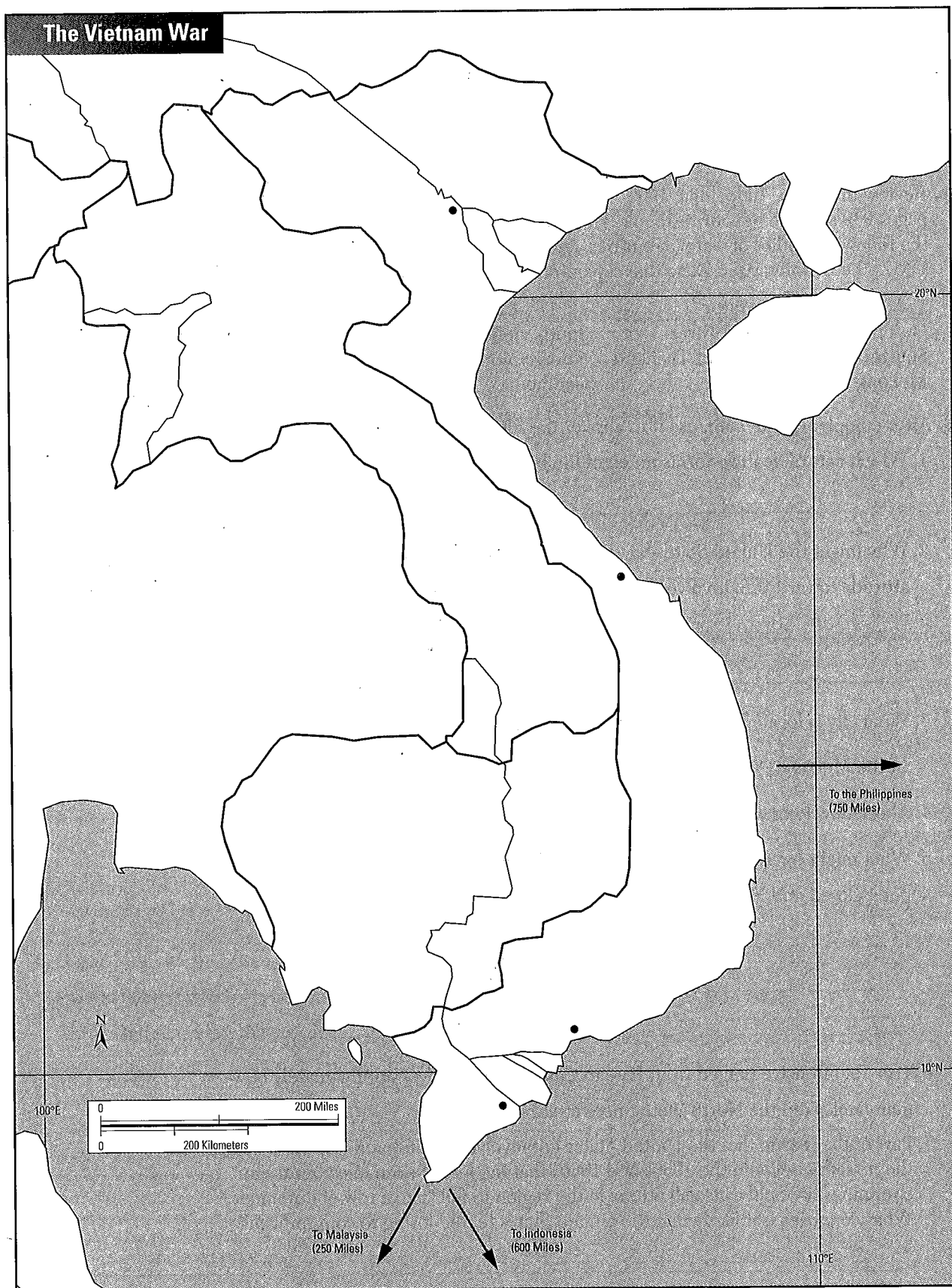
3. What city is located in the delta of the Red River?
in the Mekong Delta area?

4. About how long was the DMZ that separated North from South Vietnam?

5. What might have been the effect on the Vietnam War if the border of Laos had been closed and North Vietnam had not been able to operate in the country?

6. The Tet offensive ranged from Hue to Can Tho. Thus, over approximately how many miles did the North Vietnamese attacks stretch?

7. Part of the reason that the United States got involved in Vietnam was the domino theory—the belief in the 1950s and 1960s that the loss of even one country to communism would cause all others in the region to fall “like a row of dominoes.” What countries is it likely that the United States feared losing to communism?



CHAPTER
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Section 2

PRIMARY SOURCE Letter from a Soldier in Vietnam

Marine Second Lieutenant Marion Lee "Sandy" Kempner from Galveston, Texas, arrived in Vietnam in July 1966 and was killed four months later by shrapnel from a mine explosion near Tien Phu. He wrote the following letter to his great-aunt less than three weeks before his death at the age of 24.

October 20, 1966

Dear Aunt Fannie,

This morning, my platoon and I were finishing up a three-day patrol. Struggling over steep hills covered with hedgerows, trees, and generally impenetrable jungle, one of my men turned to me and pointed a hand, filled with cuts and scratches, at a rather distinguished-looking plant with soft red flowers waving gaily in the downpour (which had been going on ever since the patrol began) and said, "That is the first plant I have seen today which didn't have thorns on it." I immediately thought of you.

The plant, and the hill upon which it grew, was also representative of Vietnam. It is a country of thorns and cuts, of guns and marauding, of little hope and of great failure. Yet in the midst of it all, a beautiful thought, gesture, and even person can arise among it waving bravely at the death that pours down upon it. Some day this hill will be burned by napalm, and the red flower will crackle up and die among the thorns. So what was the use of it living and being a beauty among the beasts, if it must, in the end, die because of them, and with them? This is a question which is answered by Gertrude Stein's "A rose is a rose is a rose." You are what you are what you are. Whether you believe in God, fate, or the crumbling cookie, elements are so mixed in a being that make him what he is; his salvation from the thorns around him lies in the fact that he existed at all, in his very own personality. There was once a time when the Jewish idea of heaven and hell was the thoughts and opinions people had of you after you died. But what if the plant was on an isolated hill and was never seen by anyone? That is like the question of whether the falling tree makes a sound in the forest primeval when no one is there to hear it. It makes a sound, and the plant was beautiful and the thought was kind, and the person was humane, and distinguished and brave, not merely because other people recognized it as such, but because it is, and it is, and it is.

The flower will always live in the memory of a tired, wet Marine, and has thus achieved a sort of immortality. But even if we had never gone on that hill, it would still be a distinguished, soft, red, thornless flower growing among the cutting, scratching plants, and that in itself is its own reward.

Love,
Sandy

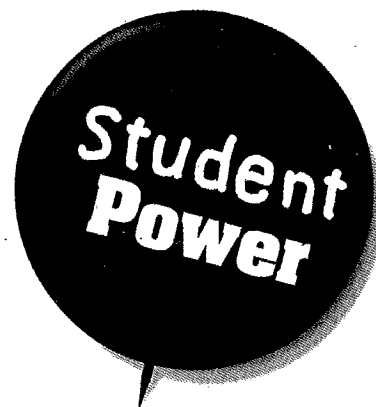
from Bernard Edelman, ed., Dear America: Letters Home from Vietnam (New York: Norton, 1985), 137-138.

Discussion Questions

1. In this letter, Lieutenant Kempner describes a plant. What does the plant look like?
2. What does this plant represent to Kempner?
3. Based on your reading of this letter, what qualities or traits do you think might have helped Kempner cope with the trials of war in Vietnam?

CHAPTER
30**Section 3****PRIMARY SOURCE** Protest Buttons

These protest buttons from the antiwar movement in the 1960s were worn by Americans who opposed the war in Vietnam. What different views do the images and slogans on these buttons express?



Photos by Sharon Hoogstraten
Out Now Button: Archive Photos/Blank Archives

Activity Options

1. With a small group of classmates, discuss the slogans and symbols used in these buttons. Then choose two buttons that you think are most effective and explain your choices to the class.
2. Design your own protest button to express your view on the war in Vietnam, on war in general, or on a more recent controversial issue. Borrow symbols and slogans from those depicted on this page or invent your own.

CHAPTER
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Section 3

PRIMARY SOURCE *The New Left*

Active in the New Left from the time of the Cuban missile crisis through the end of U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War, Dick Cluster was a member of the Harvard-Radcliffe chapter of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). As you read this excerpt from Cluster's essay about student protest, consider his views on being part of the New Left.

An early memory . . . is the first national demonstration against the war—the SDS April 17, 1965, March on Washington to End the War in Vietnam. The speakers stormed and droned on for too long, the White House sat behind us apparently deaf. But there below the Washington Monument were more people than I had ever seen together except at baseball games.

Then someone at a microphone repeated a couple of times, “If Judy Collins or Joan Baez is in the crowd, could you please come to the microphone.” In 1965, folk music was in, and these were Big Stars; I took the announcement for a joke. But sure enough, Joan Baez came to the microphone and as she sang “We Shall Overcome,” 25,000 of us moved down the Mall to the Capitol, through the line of police who ordered us to stop. The only thing I could think was, “This is a Movement!”

The choice which that movement presented was: “Okay, be out there isolated, competing for things you don’t want; or be in here, making history, here with us.”

We were not afraid to experiment, and we were making something new. For myself, writing leaflets and newspapers, one thing that was particularly important was making a new vocabulary and (though we didn’t call it that) a new ideology. But for most of us, I think, this new language was a part of what made us feel powerful and useful, not isolated and worthless.

“Participatory democracy” said what we felt we were lacking—participation in and control over what was happening to us. “The war machine” summed up both our political enemy and our feeling about what was wrong with the culture. “Corporate liberalism”—our attempt to define the outlook of the Johnson administration—spoke to our confusion about both *who* ran the country and to what end. Even a tactical gem like “the streets belong to the people” (chanted when we defied police orders to stick to planned march routes, or to disperse) compressed a lot into itself: a breakthrough into disruptive action as well as a growing awareness that our goal was to put the

products the people sweat and pay for into the hands of the people.

All this language grew out of our trying to understand what we had done and what we were up against. That’s why it spoke to so many people facing the same dilemmas, the same questions about the possibility of accomplishing any change.

Proof that we were really reaching people, really building something, was the Movement’s growth. All around us we saw people joining and changing. Young people looked to us to tell them about themselves and their society. Suddenly we found a demand for radical “products.” Radical courses flourished on campuses, radical newspapers off-campus.

So the Movement offered meaning and purpose, in a society that offered very little of either. Just as important, it offered community. . . .

I’m not saying that getting into a community like the *Old Mole* [a radical newspaper] collective was an easy task. The New Left was often cliquish. “There is no Movement outside our friends’ living rooms,” was a frequent self-criticism. Joining the Movement often meant feeling pulled away from old friends but unable to break into an inner circle of long-time activists.

But in comparison to mainstream America, the Movement offered a pretty good shot at a meaningful community. If you weren’t as in as you wanted to be, still you felt a lot closer to what you were looking for. And the Movement, though cliquish, had a significant ability to inspire by example.

from Dick Cluster, ed., They Should Have Served That Cup of Coffee: 7 Radicals Remember the 60s (Boston: South End Press, 1979), 117–120.

Discussion Questions

1. According to Cluster, what were some of the advantages of being involved in the New Left?
2. In Cluster’s opinion, what were some of the disadvantages of the New Left?
3. Why do you think many young people in the 1960s were drawn to the New Left?

CHAPTER
30**PRIMARY SOURCE****Lyndon B. Johnson on Vietnam and Reelection****Section 4.**

In a televised address to the nation on March 31, 1968, President Johnson outlined changes in Vietnam policy and concluded with the surprise announcement that he would not run for reelection. As you read part of Johnson's speech, consider what he offered to North Vietnam and why he decided not to seek the Democratic nomination.

Tonight I want to speak to you on peace in Vietnam and Southeast Asia.

No other question so preoccupies our people. No other dream so absorbs the 250 million human beings who live in that part of the world. No other goal motivates American policy in Southeast Asia.

For years, representatives of our government and others have traveled the world—seeking to find a basis for peace talks. Since last September, they have carried the offer I made public at San Antonio.

It was this: that the United States would stop its bombardment of North Vietnam when that would lead promptly to productive discussions—and that we would assume that North Vietnam would not take military advantage of our restraint. . . .

Tonight, I renew the offer I made last August—to stop the bombardment of North Vietnam. We ask that talks begin promptly and that they be serious talks on the substance of peace. We assume that during those talks Hanoi would not take advantage of our restraint. We are prepared to move immediately toward peace through negotiations.

Tonight, in the hope that this action will lead to early talks, I am taking the first step to deescalate the conflict. We are reducing—substantially reducing—the present level of hostilities. And we are doing so unilaterally, and at once.

Tonight, I have ordered our aircraft and naval vessels to make no attacks on North Vietnam, except in the area north of the Demilitarized Zone (DMZ) where the continuing enemy build-up directly threatens allied forward positions and where movements of troops and supplies are clearly related to that threat. . . .

I call upon President Ho Chi Minh to respond positively and favorably to this new step toward peace.

But if peace does not come now through negotiations, it will come when Hanoi understands that our common resolve is unshakable and our common strength is invincible. . . .

In these times, as in times before, it is true that a house divided against itself—by the spirit of faction, of party, of region, of religion, of race—is a house that cannot stand. There is divisiveness in the American house now. . . .

What we won when all our people united must not now be lost in suspicion, distrust, and selfishness or politics among any of our people.

Believing this as I do, I have concluded that I should not permit the presidency to become involved in the partisan divisions that are developing in this political year. With America's sons in the field far away, with America's future under challenge here at home, with our hopes and the world's hopes for peace in the balance every day, I do not believe that I should devote an hour or a day of my time to any duties other than the awesome duties of this office, the presidency of your country.

Accordingly, I shall not seek and I will not accept the nomination of my party for another term as your President. But, let men everywhere know, however, that a strong and confident, a vigilant America stands ready to seek an honorable peace and stands ready to defend an honored cause, whatever the price, whatever the burden, whatever the sacrifice that duty may require.

Thank you for listening. Goodnight, and God bless all of you.

from *Chicago Sun-Times*, April 1, 1968. Reprinted in *Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1961–1968: The Burdens of World Power*, vol. 18 of *The Annals of America* (Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1968), 613–616.

Discussion Questions

1. What offer did President Johnson make to North Vietnam?
2. Why did he decide not to seek the Democratic nomination for president?
3. How do you think antiwar activists responded to Johnson's speech?

CHAPTER

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Section 5

LITERATURE SELECTION *from In Country*
by Bobbie Ann Mason

In the summer of 1984, Sam Hughes wants to learn more about her father who was killed in Vietnam before she was born. In this excerpt, Sam, her grandmother, and her uncle Emmett—himself a Vietnam veteran—make a pilgrimage to Washington, D.C., where they visit the Vietnam Veterans Memorial.

Emmett holds Mamaw's arm protectively and steers her across the street. The pot of geraniums hugs his chest.

"There it is," Sam says.

It is massive, a black gash in a hillside, like a vein of coal exposed and then polished with polyurethane. A crowd is filing by slowly, staring at it solemnly.

"Law," says Sam's grandmother quietly. "It's black as night."

"Here's the directory," Emmett says, pausing at the entrance. "I'll look up his name for you, Mrs. Hughes."

The directory is on a pedestal with a protective plastic shield. Sam stands in the shade, looking forward, at the black wing embedded in the soil, with grass growing above. It is like a giant grave, fifty-eight thousand bodies rotting here behind those names. The people are streaming past, down into the pit.

"It don't show up good," Mamaw says anxiously. "It's just a hole in the ground."

The memorial cuts a V in the ground, like the wings of an abstract bird, huge and headless. Overhead, a jet plane angles upward, taking off.

"It's on Panel 9E," Emmett reports. "That's on the east wing. We're on the west."

At the bottom of the wall is a granite trough, and on the edge of it the sunlight reflects the names just above, in mirror writing, upside down. Flower arrangements are scattered at the base. A little kid says, "Look, Daddy, the flowers are dying." The man snaps, "Some are and some aren't."

The walkway is separated from the memorial by a strip of gravel, and on the other side of the walk is a border of dark gray brick. The shiny surface of the wall reflects the Lincoln Memorial and the Washington Monument, at opposite angles.

A woman in a sunhat is focusing a camera on the wall. She says to the woman with her, "I didn't think it would look like this. Things aren't what you think they look like. I didn't know it was a wall."

A spraddle-legged guy in camouflage clothing walks by with a cane. Probably he has an artificial leg, Sam thinks, but he walks along proudly, as if he has been here many times before and doesn't have any particular business at that moment. He seems to belong here, like Emmett hanging out at McDonald's.

A group of schoolkids tumble through, noisy as chickens. As they enter, one of the girls says, "Are they piled on top of each other?" They walk a few steps farther and she says, "What are all these names anyway?" Sam feels like punching the girl in the face for being so dumb. How could anybody that age not know? But she realizes that she doesn't know either. She is just beginning to understand. And she will never really know what happened to all these men in the war. Some people walk by, talking as though they are on a Sunday picnic, but most are reverent, and some of them are crying.

Sam stands in the center of the V, deep in the pit. The V is like the white wings of the shopping mall in Paducah. The Washington Monument is reflected at the center line. If she moves slightly to the left, she sees the monument, and if she moves the other way she sees a reflection of the flag opposite the memorial. Both the monument and the flag seem like arrogant gestures, like the country giving the finger to the dead boys, flung in this hole in the ground. Sam doesn't understand what she is feeling, but it is something so strong, it is like a tornado moving in her, something massive and overpowering. It feels like giving birth to this wall.

"I wish Tom could be here," Sam says to Emmett. "He needs to be here." Her voice is thin, like smoke, barely audible.

"He'll make it here someday. Jim's coming too. They're all coming one of these days."

"Are you going to look for anybody's name besides my daddy's?"

"Yeah."

"Who?"

"Those guys I told you about, the ones that died

all around me that day. And that guy I was going to look up—he might be here. I don't know if he made it out or not."

Sam gets a flash of Emmett's suffering, his grieving all these years. He has been grieving for fourteen years. In this dazzling sunlight, his pimples don't show. A jet plane flies overhead, close to the earth. Its wings are angled back too, like a bird's.

Two workmen in hard hats are there with a stepladder and some loud machinery. One of the workmen, whose hat says on the back NEVER AGAIN, seems to be drilling into the wall.

"What's he doing, hon?" Sam hears Mamaw say behind her.

"It looks like they're patching up a hole or something." *Fixing a hole where the rain gets in.*

The man on the ladder turns off the tool, a sander, and the other workman hands him a brush. He brushes the spot. Silver duct tape is patched around several names, leaving the names exposed. The names are highlighted in yellow, as though someone has taken a Magic Marker and colored them, the way Sam used to mark names and dates, important facts, in her textbooks.

"Somebody must have vandalized it," says a man behind Sam. "Can you imagine the sicko who would do that?"

"No," says the woman with him. "Somebody just wanted the names to stand out and be noticed. I can go with that."

"Do you think they colored Dwayne's name?" Mamaw asks Sam worriedly.

"No. Why would they?" Sam gazes at the flowers spaced along the base of the memorial. A white carnation is stuck in a crack between two panels of the wall. A woman bends down and straightens a ribbon on a wreath. The ribbon has gold letters on it, "VFW Post 7215 of Pa."

They are moving slowly. Panel 9E is some distance ahead. Sam reads a small poster propped at the base of the wall: "To those men of C Company, 1st Bn. 503 Inf., 173rd Airborne who were lost in the battle for Hill 823, Dak To, Nov. 11, 1967. Because of their bravery I am here today. A grateful buddy."

A man rolls past in a wheelchair. Another jet plane flies over.

A handwritten note taped to the wall apologizes to one of the names for abandoning him in a fire-fight.

Mamaw turns to fuss over the geraniums in Emmett's arms, the way she might fluff a pillow.

The workmen are cleaning the yellow paint from the names. They sand the wall and brush it carefully, like men polishing their cars. The man on the ladder sprays water on the name he has just sanded and wipes it with a rag.

Sam, conscious of how slowly they are moving, with dread, watches two uniformed marines searching and searching for a name. "He must have been along here somewhere," one says. They keep looking, running their hands over the names.

"There it is. That's him."

They read his name and both look abruptly away, stare out for a moment in the direction of the Lincoln Memorial, then walk briskly off.

"May I help you find someone's name?" asks a woman in a T-shirt and green pants. She is a park guide, with a clipboard in her hand.

"We know where we are," Emmett says. "Much obliged, though."

At panel 9E, Sam stands back while Emmett and Mamaw search for her father's name. Emmett, his gaze steady and intent, faces the wall, as though he were watching birds; and Mamaw, through her glasses, seems intent and purposeful, as though she were looking for something back in the field, watching to see if a cow had gotten out of the pasture. Sam imagines the egret patrolling for ticks on a water buffalo's back, ducking and snaking its head forward, its beak like a punji stick.

"There it is," Emmet says. It is far above his head, near the top of the wall. He reaches up and touches the name. "There's his name, Dwayne E. Hughes."

"I can't reach it," says Mamaw. "Oh, I wanted to touch it," she says softly, in disappointment.

"We'll set the flowers here, Mrs. Hughes," says Emmett. He sets the pot at the base of the panel, tenderly, as though tucking in a baby.

"I'm going to bawl," Mamaw says, bowing her head and starting to sob. "I wish I could touch it."

Sam has an idea. She sprints over to the workmen and asks them to let her borrow the stepladder. They are almost finished, and they agree. One of them brings it over and sets it up beside the wall, and Sam urges Mamaw to climb the ladder, but Mamaw protests. "No, I can't do it. You do it."

"Go ahead, ma'am," the workman says.

"Emmett and me'll hold the ladder," says Sam. "Somebody might see up my dress."

"No, go on, Mrs. Hughes. You can do it," says Emmett. "Come on, we'll help you reach it."

He takes her arm. Together, he and Sam steady her while she places her foot on the first step and swings herself up. She seems scared, and she doesn't speak. She reaches but cannot touch the name.

"One more, Mamaw," says Sam, looking up at her grandmother—at the sagging wrinkles, her flab hanging loose and sad, and her eyes reddened with crying. Mamaw reaches toward the name and slowly struggles up the next step, holding her dress tight against her. She touches the name, running her hand over it, stroking it tentatively, affectionately, like feeling a cat's back. Her chin wobbles, and after a moment she backs down the ladder silently.

When Mamaw is down, Sam starts up the ladder, with the record package in her hand.

"Here, take the camera, Sam. Get his name." Mamaw has brought Donna's Instamatic.

"No, I can't take a picture this close."

Sam climbs the ladder until she is eye level with her father's name. She feels funny, touching it. A scratching on a rock. Writing. Something for future archaeologists to puzzle over, clues to a language.

"Look this way, Sam," Mamaw says. "I want to take your picture. I want to get you and his name and the flowers in together if I can."

"The name won't show up," Sam says.

"Smile."

"How can I smile?" She is crying.

Mamaw backs up and snaps two pictures. Sam feels her face looking blank. Up on the ladder, she feels so tall, like a spindly weed that is sprouting up out of this diamond-bright seam of hard earth. She sees Emmett at the directory, probably searching for his buddies' names. She touches her father's name again.

"All I can see here is my reflection," Mamaw says when Sam comes down the ladder. "I hope his name shows up. And your face was all shadow."

"Wait here a minute," Sam says, turning away her tears from Mamaw. She hurries to the directory on the east side. Emmett isn't there anymore. She

sees him striding along the wall, looking for a certain panel. Nearby, a group of marines is keeping a vigil for the POWs and MIAs. A double row of flags is planted in the dirt alongside their table. One of the marines walks by with a poster: "You Are an American, Your Voice Can Make the Difference." Sam flips through the directory and finds "Hughes." She wants to see her father's name there too. She runs down the row of Hughes names. There were so many Hughes boys killed, names she doesn't know. His name is there, and she gazes at it for a moment. Then suddenly her own name leaps out at her.

SAM ALAN HUGHES PFC AR 02 MAR
49 02 FEB 67 HOUSTON TX 14E 104

Her heart pounding, she rushes to panel 14E, and after racing her eyes over the string of names for a moment, she locates her own name.

SAM A HUGHES. It is the first on a line. It is down low enough to touch. She touches her own name. How odd it feels, as though all the names in America have been used to decorate this wall.

Mamaw is there at her side, clutching at Sam's arm, digging in with her fingernails. Mamaw says, "Coming up on this wall of a sudden and seeing how black it was, it was so awful, but then I came down in it and saw that white carnation blooming out of that crack and it gave me hope. It made me know he's watching over us." She loosens her bird-claw grip. "Did we lose Emmett?"

Silently, Sam points to the place where Emmett is studying the names low on a panel. He is sitting there cross-legged in front of the wall, and slowly his face bursts into a smile like flames.

Research Option

Find out the dimensions of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial, how many visitors come visit it annually, and other facts about the memorial.

CHAPTER
30**Section 2****AMERICAN LIVES****Robert McNamara**
The Legacy of Vietnam

"Looking back, I clearly erred by not forcing . . . a knock-down, drag-out debate over the loose assumptions, unasked questions, and thin analyses underlying our military strategy in Vietnam."—Robert McNamara, In Retrospect (1995)

Robert McNamara made the U.S. Defense Department more organized and efficient. Later he led an aid agency that funded programs to help poor people around the world improve their lives. However, he will probably be remembered most for his role in the Vietnam War.

McNamara (b. 1916) graduated from college with honors and attended the famous Harvard Business School. During World War II, he trained officers in the Army Air Corps in management techniques. After the war, he and a team of other managers joined the Ford Motor Company. These "Whiz Kids" led Ford out of difficulty and into new success. McNamara was named president of Ford—the first to come from outside the family. In 1961 he left that post to become President Kennedy's secretary of defense.

McNamara reformed the Defense Department and tightened control of the armed services. He joined in the planning that helped resolve the Cuban Missile Crisis. He also won Kennedy's approval of the new doctrine of "flexible response." This idea reduced the nation's heavy reliance on nuclear weapons. Instead, it based U.S. security on large conventional troop forces that could respond quickly to international crises.

The central issue of McNamara's time in office, though, was the Vietnam War. McNamara visited Vietnam in 1962, talking to leaders and American officers there. He backed the idea of using American troops as advisors and believed that with American help, the war could be over by 1965. After Kennedy was assassinated, he stayed as defense secretary under Lyndon Johnson, who came to rely on McNamara greatly.

McNamara supported the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, which gave Johnson sweeping power in Vietnam. When administration planners debated whether to start bombing North Vietnam, McNamara thought it would not work, but he went along with the decision. He agreed with the policy of sending more troops.

As time went on, though, McNamara grew to

believe that the Vietnam War could not be won. In meetings with Johnson and other top advisors, he expressed these doubts. In public, however, McNamara never voiced these concerns.

He became so identified with Vietnam policy that war critics often attacked him personally. They called the fight "McNamara's war" and branded him a "baby burner" for air attacks that resulted in the deaths of children. McNamara persuaded Johnson to halt the bombing at the end of 1965, hoping for a peaceful gesture in return from the other side. There was no response. In 1966, a McNamara peace proposal was secretly sent to North Vietnam. Again, there was no response.

In 1968, McNamara felt he could not continue in the administration. He left the Defense Department to become president of an international aid agency. He served as chief of the World Bank for fifteen years. Before him, that agency concentrated on funding large industrial projects around the world. McNamara shifted the focus. Under him, the bank concentrated on funding programs that worked to help the poorest people in the world more directly.

In 1995, McNamara published his memoirs—*In Retrospect: The Tragedy and Lessons of Vietnam*. The book revealed his earlier doubts that the war could be won. He said loyalty to Johnson prevented him from saying anything, even after he left office. Many reviewers criticized him for remaining quiet for so long and not having the courage of his convictions and speaking out at the time of the war.

Questions

1. Would you say that McNamara was effective at leading organizations? Why or why not?
2. Why did McNamara come to believe that fighting the Vietnam War was a mistake?
3. Do you agree that McNamara should have spoken out against the war when he left the Defense Department?

CHAPTER
30

AMERICAN LIVES

John Lewis

Moral Force for Nonviolence

Section 4

"We got arrested for the first time and I felt good about it. We felt we were involved in a crusade and, in order to do something about it, you had to put your body on the line. We felt we could bring about change in the South."

—John Lewis, recalling his feelings after joining in his first sit-in, 1973

John Lewis (b. 1940) has worked outside the system in the civil rights movement. He has worked inside the system as the head of a federal agency and as a member of the U.S. House of Representatives. Wherever he has worked, Lewis has urged the nonviolent pursuit of equal rights.

Lewis was born to an Alabama farm family. He hoped to become a minister one day and listened on the radio to the speeches and sermons of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., who became his model. At college in Nashville, Tennessee, he joined workshops to learn the principles of nonviolent protest. These principles appealed to his deep faith.

In 1960, Lewis and other students heard about successful sit-ins being staged in North Carolina. They decided to stage similar protests. Over the next few weeks, they were arrested many times for breaking the city's segregation laws. That spring, Lewis and other students from across the South organized the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).

In 1961, Lewis joined in the freedom rides. In the beatings that took place in Montgomery, Alabama, Lewis was knocked unconscious. Nevertheless, he continued with the freedom rides throughout the summer. That fall the Interstate Commerce Commission ruled that segregation was illegal on interstate buses.

In 1963, Lewis was voted chairman of SNCC. He left school to devote himself full time to the movement. In the 1963 march on Washington, the young Lewis joined veteran civil rights leaders King and Roy Wilkins of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) as one of the principal sponsors and speakers. The next year, he organized the voter registration drive called Mississippi Freedom Summer. In 1965, Lewis and King organized the march from Montgomery to Selma, Alabama. In the clubbings that took place on the Edmund Pettus Bridge, Lewis's skull was fractured. He recovered enough to help lead the second march two weeks later.

Lewis was feeling increasing frustration. He was tired of being beaten, and the growing war in Vietnam disturbed him. An advocate of nonviolence, he was a conscientious objector—someone who opposed all war on principle. An opponent of racism, he urged African Americans to resist the draft until they had won equal rights.

During this time, Lewis continued to serve as chairman of SNCC. However, many members now wanted a more radical approach to the struggle for rights. In 1966, one of these radicals was elected chairman, defeating Lewis. A few months later, Lewis resigned from the organization he had helped found and had led for three years.

In the next few years, Lewis continued his civil rights work in various organizations. Most noteworthy was his work in a project that helped register a million new African-American voters. In 1978, President Carter named him to head ACTION. This agency had responsibility for such volunteer programs as the Peace Corps and Vista. Lewis changed policy to put the agencies in closer touch with community groups.

In 1986, Lewis won election to the House of Representatives from Georgia. He has been reelected every two years since then, winning his sixth term in 1996. House colleagues have given him great respect due to the sacrifices he made in the civil rights movement and his principled stands on current issues.

Questions

1. How was Lewis's commitment to nonviolence tested in his life?
2. Lewis said he left SNCC when radicals took control because "violence . . . might deliver some quick solutions, but in the long run it debases you." What did he mean?
3. In 1991, Lewis opposed the use of force against Iraq. How is this stand—even if it was unpopular—not surprising?