



helicopter pilot remembered a mission to evacuate

⁶⁶We landed in front of the Jeep, or what was left of it. It was twisted like a child's discarded toy. . . . A sergeant ran up to my door. He told me through my extended microphone that two of the guys in the back were still alive. . . . They started loading up. The two wounded were unconscious, torn and bloody and gray."

> -- Captain Robert Mason, First Air Cavalry Division, 1965

Listen to the Witness History audio to hear more about the Vietnam War Era.

■ U.S. troops evacuate a wounded American soldier from a firefight during the Vietnam War.

Ping-pong paddles commemorating Nixon's trip to China



Antiwar poster

Chapter Preview

Chapter Focus Question: How did the United States confront communism in East Asia after the Korean War?

Section 1

Origins of the Vietnam War

Section 2

U.S. Involvement Grows

Section 3

The War Divides America

Section 4

The War's End and Impact

Section 5

Nixon and the Cold War

Use the **Quick Study Timeline** at the end of this chapter to preview chapter events.

Land mine used against American soldiers

Note Taking Study Guide Online

For: Note Taking and American Issues Connector Web Code: nee-8901



WITNESS HISTORY (3) AUDIO



Hope for Independence

After World War II, a spirit of nationalism and revolution spread among European colonies around the world. As colonial peoples strived for independence, their struggles sometimes became mixed up with the Cold War conflict between communist states and western democracies. Such was the case in French Indochina, which consisted of the lands of Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam. Unaware of the long and bloody war that lie ahead, a Vietnamese communist named Ho Chi Minh dreamed of a Vietnam free from French rule:

The oppressed the world over are wresting back their independence. We should not lag behind. . . . Under the Vietminh banner, let us valiantly march forward!

-Ho Chi Minh, 1945

propaganda poster

Origins of the Vietnam War

Objectives

- Describe the reasons that the United States helped the French fight the Vietnamese.
- Identify ways in which the United States opposed communism in Southeast Asia.
- Analyze how the United States increased its involvement in Vietnam.

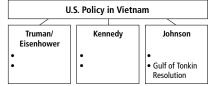
Terms and People

Ho Chi Minh domino theory **SEATO**

Vietcona Gulf of Tonkin Resolution

NoteTaking

Reading Skill: Summarize As you read, describe the Vietnam policies of Presidents Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson.

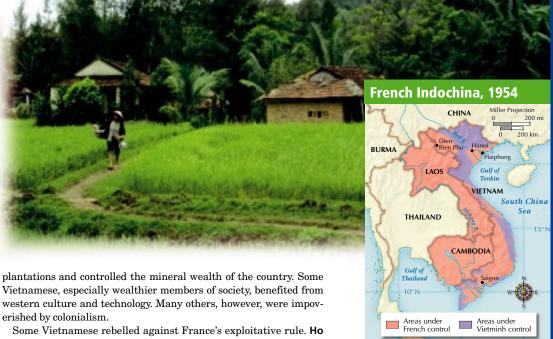


Why It Matters Presidents Kennedy and Johnson shared a vision for a better America in the 1960s. They also shared a vision for a better world in which America would emerge victorious from its Cold War struggle against global communism. As part of this strategic and ideological battle, the United States established a new line of defense against communism in Vietnam. The conflict in Southeast Asia would grow to be one of the costliest wars in American history. Section Focus Question: Why did the United States become involved in Vietnam?

America and the War in Indochina

Situated far away in Southeast Asia. Vietnam did not attract significant American attention until the 1960s. Television news shows rarely mentioned it, and most Americans could not locate it on a map. But over a span of more than ten years, the United States sent several million soldiers to fight in Vietnam. America's involvement in Vietnam had roots in European colonialism, Cold War politics, and Vietnamese calls for national independence.

France Rules Indochina in Southeast Asia In the 1800s, French military forces established control over Indochina, a peninsula in Southeast Asia that includes the modern countries of Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos. Slightly larger than the state of Texas, Indochina included almost 27 million people by the end of World War II. French colonial officials ruled Vietnam with an iron fist. They transplanted French laws into Vietnam and imposed high taxes. French business people acquired large rice and rubber



Chi Minh became the most important voice demanding independence for Vietnam. Born in 1890, Ho became involved in anti-French organizations as a young man and fled Vietnam in 1912. He traveled the world, visiting American ports and living periodically in London, Paris, and Moscow. During his 30-year absence, Ho constantly thought and wrote about Vietnam, and he searched for westerners who would support his plans for Vietnamese independence. Ho embraced communism, and eventually Soviet communists rallied to his cause.

The French Battle Nationalism and Communism During World War II, Japan had undermined French control over Vietnam. But when the conflict ended, France reasserted its colonial aims there. France's problem, however, was that colonialism was a dying institution. World War II had strengthened nationalist movements while weakening the economic and military positions of traditional European powers. In Vietnam, Ho Chi Minh clamored for independence as France struggled to maintain its dwindling global power.

Meanwhile, the United States faced a difficult decision. On the one hand, it supported decolonization. On the other hand, America wanted France as an ally in its Cold War effort to contain the Soviet Union. President Harry S. Truman believed that if he supported Vietnamese independence, he would weaken anticommunist forces in France. So, to ensure a strong, anticommunist Western Europe, Truman sacrificed his own anticolonial sentiments.

Vietnam thus became a pawn in Cold War politics. To <u>ensure</u> French support in the Cold War, Truman agreed to aid France's efforts to regain control over Vietnam. After communist forces won the civil war in China in 1949, America increased its aid to the French in Vietnam. Truman did not want to see another communist victory in Asia. Between 1950 and 1954, the United States contributed \$2.6 billion to France's war efforts. Containing Ho Chi Minh's communist Vietminh—an abbreviation of the League for the Independence of Vietnam—became a national priority.

Vietnam Under French Rule

During the French colonial era, rural villagers failed to see the same profits as French plantation owners. Ho Chi Minh found many supporters for his anticolonial efforts in villages like the one above. In 1954, what regions of Indochina were under communist control?

Vocabulary Builder $\underline{\text{ensure}}$ —(en SHOR) v. to $\overline{\text{guarantee}}$; secure



Dien Bien Phu Under Siege

For almost two months, Vietminh soldiers hammered at French military positions around Dien Bien Phu. At left, Vietnamese communists take cover in a trench during the siege. At right, French troops guard Vietminh soldiers taken captive during the fighting.

The Domino Theory and Dien Bien Phu When President Dwight D. Eisenhower took office in early 1953, he continued Truman's policies toward Vietnam. He sent monetary aid to the French, arguing that by battling Ho Chi Minh, they were containing the spread of communism. Eisenhower told a journalist that the fight in Vietnam involved more than the future of just one country:

Primary Source ⁶⁶You have a row of dominos set up, you knock over the first one, and what will happen to the last one is the certainty that it will go over very quickly. So you could have a beginning of a disintegration that would have the most profound influences.⁹⁷

—Dwight D. Eisenhower, 1954

The **domino theory** was the idea that if Vietnam fell to communism, its closest neighbors would follow. This in turn would threaten Japan, the Philippines, and Australia. In short, stopping the communists in Vietnam was important to the protection of the entire region.

In 1954, however, the French lost their eight-year struggle to regain Vietnam. The Vietminh trapped a large French garrison at Dien Bien Phu, a military base in northwest Vietnam, and laid siege to it for 55 days. During the siege, which one Frenchman described as "hell in a very small place," Vietminh troops destroyed the French airstrip, cut French supply lines, and dug trenches to attack key French positions. Finally, on May 7, 1954, after suffering some 15,000 casualties, the French surrendered.

The very next day at an international peace conference in Geneva, Switzerland, France sued for peace. According to the Geneva Accords, France granted independence to Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. The accords also divided Vietnam at the seventeenth parallel into two countries, North Vietnam and South Vietnam. Ho Chi Minh's communist forces ruled in North Vietnam, and an anticommunist government, supported by the United States, assumed power in South Vietnam. The accords also called for free elections in 1956 to unify Vietnam.

Checkpoint Why did Presidents Truman and Eisenhower support French efforts against Ho Chi Minh?

America Opposes Communism in Vietnam

During the Battle of Dien Bien Phu, France appealed to the United States for military support. President Eisenhower was willing to supply money but not soldiers. Ike would not commit American troops to defend colonialism in Asia. Nevertheless, the President firmly supported the new anticommunist government of South Vietnam.

The United States Aids South Vietnam America channeled aid to South Vietnam in different ways. In 1954, the United States and seven other countries formed the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO). Similar to NATO, SEATO's goal was to contain the spread of communism in Southeast Asia.

The United States provided economic and military aid to the South Vietnamese government led by Ngo Dinh Diem. Diem was an ardent nationalist and anticommunist. Although he lacked popular appeal, his anticommunism guaranteed American support. When it came time for the 1956 unification elections, American intelligence analysts predicted that Diem would lose to the more popular Ho Chi Minh. Rather than risk losing, Diem refused to participate in the elections, a move made under the auspices of the United States government.

Communist Opposition Grows By 1957, a communist rebel group in the South, known as the National Liberation Front (NLF), had committed themselves to undermining the Diem government and uniting Vietnam under a communist flag. NLF guerrilla fighters, called Vietcong, launched an insurgency in which they assassinated government officials and destroyed roads and bridges. Supplied by communists in North Vietnam, the Vietcong employed surprise hitand-run tactics to weaken Diem's hold on South Vietnam.

Diem's own policies also weakened his position in South Vietnam. A devout Roman Catholic in an overwhelmingly Buddhist nation, Diem did little to build a broad political base. Instead, he signed anti-Buddhist legislation and refused to enact significant land reforms. His lack of popular support hurt him in the civil war against North Vietnam. Only the support of the United States kept the unpopular leader in power.

Kennedy Sends U.S. Troops to Vietnam After his election in 1960, President John F. Kennedy took a more aggressive stand against the communists in Vietnam. Beginning in 1961, he sent Special Forces troops to South Vietnam to advise the Army of the Republic of Vietnam (ARVN) on more effective ways to fight the communist forces. By 1963, more than 15,000 American "advisers" were fighting in Vietnam.

Although U.S. advisers fought bravely and achieved some success, Diem continued to alienate South Vietnamese citizens. By late 1963, his regime was in shambles. Buddhists protested his restrictive policies, occasionally by setting themselves on fire. The Kennedy administration eventually concluded that South Vietnam needed new leadership. Working behind the scenes, Americans plotted with anti-Diem generals to overthrow Diem's government. On November 1, 1963, Diem was removed from power and later assassinated.

Checkpoint How did the United States help the South Vietnamese government resist communism?

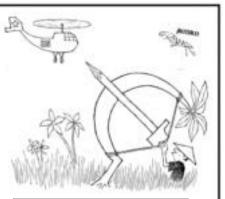
WITNESS HISTORY DVD

Watch Causes of the Vietnam War on the United States Witness History DVD to learn more about how the United States became involved in Vietnam.

Vocabulary Builder <u>auspices</u>—(AWS puh sihz) *n*. approval and support

 A Buddhist monk sets himself on fire in Saigon to protest the Diem regime.





Analyzing Political Cartoons

The Opposing Forces Early in the war, this American cartoon focused on the technological differences between the two opposing forces.

- Is the cartoon an accurate or exaggerated representation of the technological differences? Explain.
- 2. Who do you think the cartoonist expected to win the war? Why?

Johnson Leads the Nation Into War

Three weeks after Diem's fall, an assassin's bullet struck down President Kennedy. Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson was sworn in as the new President. Johnson was a Cold War traditionalist who held a monolithic view of communism. For this "Cold Warrior," communism in the Soviet Union, China, and Vietnam were all the same. He did not recognize subtle differences. He also knew that the American people expected victory in Vietnam.

North Vietnamese and U.S. Forces Clash In 1964, President Johnson faced his first crisis in Vietnam. On August 2, North Vietnamese torpedo boats fired on the American destroyer USS Maddox as it patrolled the Gulf of Tonkin off the coast of North Vietnam. The Maddox was not hit, and it returned fire on the North Vietnamese boat. Johnson promptly responded to the attack and to other North Vietnamese provocations. He announced that "aggression by terror against peaceful villages of South Vietnam has now been

joined by open aggression on the high seas against the United States of America." Troubled by increasing strikes against an American ally, Johnson ordered an airstrike against North Vietnam.

Congress Gives Johnson Broad Military Powers The President next asked Congress to authorize the use of force to defend American troops. With little debate and only two senators voting against it, Congress agreed to Johnson's request and passed the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution. The resolution authorized the President "to take all necessary measures to repel any armed attack against the forces of the United

States and to prevent further aggression." The resolution gave Johnson tremendous war powers. It allowed him to commit U.S. troops to South Vietnam and fight a war against North Vietnam without ever going back to Congress to ask for a declaration of war.



Checkpoint What was the significance of the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution?

SECTION

Assessment

Progress Monitoring Online

For: Self-test with vocabulary practice Web Code: nea-1602

Comprehension

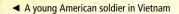
- Terms and People For each item below, write a sentence explaining its significance.
 - Ho Chi Minh
 - domino theory
 - Vietcong
 - Gulf of Tonkin Resolution
- NoteTaking Reading Skill: Summarize Use your flowchart to answer the Section Focus Question: Why did the United States become involved in Vietnam?

Writing About History

3. Quick Write: Generate an Argument Choose a topic from this section that could be the subject of a persuasive essay. For example, you might choose the domino theory. Then, write a thesis statement arguing in favor of or against U.S. intervention in Southeast Asia. Make sure that the argument clearly explains your opinion on the topic.

Critical Thinking

- Identify Central Issues Identify one argument for and one argument against Truman's decision to support the French rather than the Vietnamese nationalists.
- 5. Make Decisions What goals motivated President Kennedy's policy decisions regarding Vietnam?
- **6. Recognize Cause and Effect** How did the *Maddox* incident contribute to the outbreak of war? How did it lead to a change in the balance of power in the American government?



WITNESS HISTORY (1) AUDIO

American Soldiers on Patrol

The war in Vietnam was different from previous wars. There were no front lines—the enemy was everywhere. The terrain was difficult and littered with mines and booby traps. Drenched in sweat, the men waded through flooded rice paddies and along tangled paths, stopping occasionally to pick leeches out of their boots. One soldier recalled the difficulties of maneuvering in the overgrown and disorienting jungle during the war:

You carried 50 to 70 pounds of equipment, and it was tough going, particularly in forested areas. Often you'd have to pull yourself along from one tree branch to the next, or we'd have to help each other by gripping hands. And you couldn't see anything, so you didn't know what was there around you.

—Sergeant William Ehrhart, United States Marines



▲ Vietcong land mine used against American soldiers

U.S. Involvement Grows

Objectives

- Identify the factors that caused President Johnson to increase American troop strength in Vietnam.
- Assess the nature of the war in Vietnam and the difficulties faced by both sides.
- Evaluate the effects of low morale on American troops and on the home front.

Terms and People

William Westmoreland hawk napalm dove

NoteTaking

Reading Skill: Identify Supporting Details

As you read, fill in the outline with details about the escalation of the American war effort.

I. "Americanizing" the War A. 1. 2. Why It Matters After the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, President Johnson began to shift U.S. military efforts in Vietnam into high gear. But America's leaders and soldiers soon found themselves stuck in a deadly quagmire with no quick victory in sight. The war began to weaken the economy, divide the American people, and erode the nation's morale. Section Focus Question: What were the causes and effects of America's growing involvement in the Vietnam War?

"Americanizing" the War

In February 1965, President Johnson dramatically altered the U.S. role in the Vietnam War. In response to a Vietcong attack that killed American troops at Pleiku, Johnson ordered the start of Operation Rolling Thunder, the first sustained bombing campaign against North Vietnam. Johnson hoped that this new strategy of intensive bombing would convince North Vietnam to stop reinforcing the Vietcong in South Vietnam.

The bombs rained down destruction, but they failed to convince North Vietnam to make peace. As the communist forces continued to fight, the United States committed more troops to battle them on the ground. American soldiers moved beyond their adviser roles and assumed greater military responsibilities, while South Vietnamese troops accepted a secondary, more limited role in the war. U.S. military and civilian leaders hoped that American airstrikes, along with the troops on the ground, would eventually force the communists to the peace table.

American Assumptions and Strategies Johnson's change in strategy in 1965 stemmed primarily from the counsel of Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara and General William Westmoreland, the American commander in South Vietnam. These two advisers believed that the United States needed to increase its military presence in Vietnam and do more of the fighting in order to win the war. Operation Rolling Thunder and increased troop commitments fulfilled this need to "Americanize" the war effort.

Beginning in March 1965, U.S. airstrikes hammered North Vietnam and Vietcong strong points in South Vietnam. Between 1965 and 1973, American pilots dropped more than 6 million tons of bombs on enemy positions—almost three times the tonnage dropped by all the combatants during World War II. In addition to conventional bombs, American pilots dropped napalm and sprayed Agent Orange. Napalm is a jellied gasoline which was dropped in large canisters that exploded on impact, covering large areas in flames. It clung to anything it touched and was difficult to extinguish. Agent Orange is an herbicide meant to kill plant life. Almost half of South Vietnam's forested areas were sprayed at least once, and the ecological impact was devastating. U.S. forces used it to defoliate the countryside and disrupt the enemy's food supply. Many scientists believe that Agent Orange causes cancers and other physical problems.

As airstrikes intensified, American ground troops landed in South Vietnam. On March 8, 1965, U.S. Marines arrived to defend the airbase at Da Nang. They were soon followed by other troops. The soldiers accepted a wide range of missions. Some guarded bases. Others conducted search-and-destroy missions to kill as many Vietcong guerrillas as they could. Helicopters ferried commandos to and from remote locations for quick strikes against enemy positions.

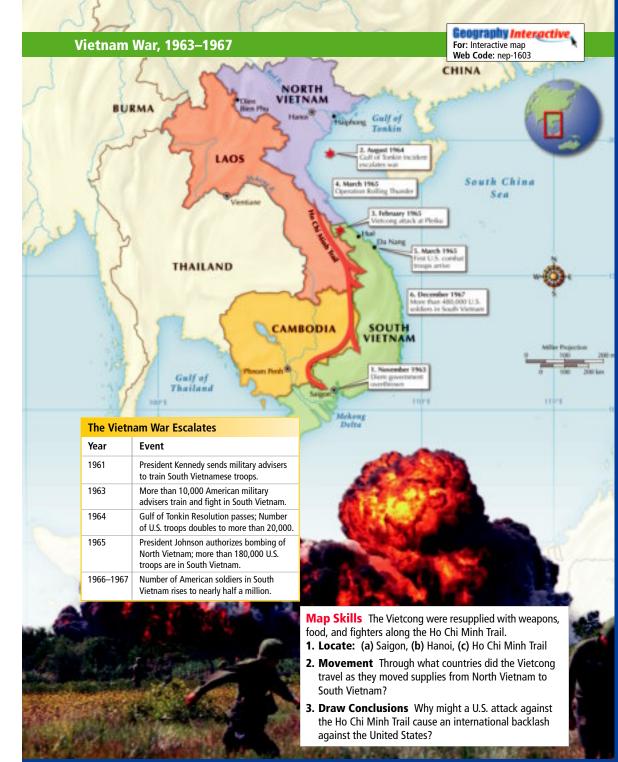
An Elusive and Determined Enemy Large-scale battles against Vietcong or North Vietnamese Army units were not typical of America's strategy in Vietnam. American soldiers generally fought lightly armed Vietcong guerrillas in small engagements. Ho Chi Minh's military doctrine hinged on fighting only when victory was assured, which meant never fighting on his opponents' terms. He compared his troops to a tiger, while the Americans were like an elephant. If the tiger stands still, the elephant will crush it. But if the tiger keeps moving and occasionally jumps on the elephant to take a bite out of it, the elephant will

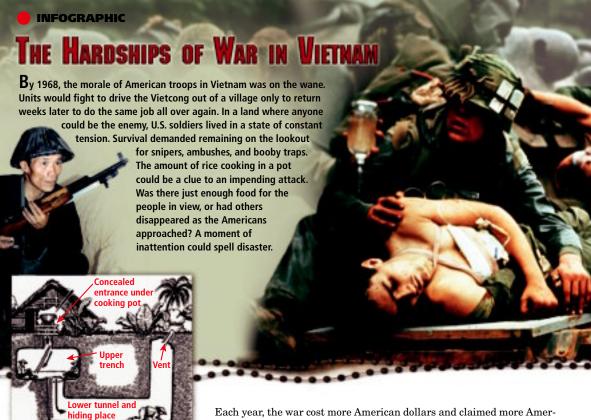
slowly bleed to death.

During the war, the Vietcong behaved like Ho's tiger. They traveled light, often carrying just a rifle and a few handfuls of rice. They dug tunnels to hide in during the day and emerged at night to ambush American patrols. They infiltrated American bases and set off explosives. They set booby traps that maimed and crippled American troops. Their strategy was to wear the American elephant down. The leaders of North Vietnam and the Vietcong remained convinced that if they could avoid losing the war, the Americans would eventually leave.

A Costly and Frustrating War American strategy during this stage of the war yielded limited results. U.S. bombers did disrupt North Vietnamese industry and slow the movement of supplies to the Vietcong. But when the communists did not sue for peace, American troop commitments and battlefield deaths escalated rapidly. By the end of 1965, there were 184,300 U.S. troops in Vietnam and only 636 American soldiers had died in the war. Three years later, there were more than half a million U.S. troops in Vietnam and the number of American dead had risen to more than 30,000.

Vocabulary Builder doctrine–(DAHK trihn) *n.* teachings





▲ Vietcong guerrillas relied on large tunnel networks to hide from—and launch surprise attacks against— American forces. Each year, the war cost more American dollars and claimed more American lives. But at the end of each year, the United States seemed no closer to success. America's mission was to help South Vietnam build a stable noncommunist nation and thereby win the "hearts and minds" of its citizens. But corruption plagued the South Vietnamese administrative structure. Outside of the major cities, the government enjoyed little real support. Although American forces won most of the larger battles, they did not achieve a successful end to the war. By 1967, the war had devolved into a stalemate. Some U.S. critics of the war compared it to a quagmire—muddy terrain that sinks underfoot and is difficult to exit.

V

Checkpoint What was the strategic aim of Operation Rolling Thunder?

Patriotism, Heroism, and Sinking Morale

For American soldiers in the field, the Vietnam War presented difficult challenges that demanded courage and patience. Unlike World War II, the Vietnam War did not emphasize territorial acquisition. The United States and its allies did not invade North Vietnam, march on Ho Chi Minh's capital of Hanoi, or attempt to destroy the communist regime. As in the Korean War, the United States was fearful of triggering both Chinese and Soviet entry into the conflict. Instead, American forces supported the survival and development of South Vietnam, which was besieged by the Vietcong and their North Vietnamese allies. In this fight, U.S. troops could never fully tell their friends from their enemies. Yet from the outset, they faced the dangers of Vietnam's battlefields with dedication and bravery.



Danger on a New Battlefield Although American troops won numerous battles, they could not win the war outright. The problem was that the Vietcong and North Vietnamese avoided significant engagements. Rather than expose themselves to superior American firepower, the communists fought smaller skirmishes where their small-unit abilities and their knowledge of the land-scape bettered their chances for victory.

U.S. forces often had no alternative but to fight indecisive battles in the jungles, rice paddies, and mountains of Vietnam. Most of these battlefields abounded with natural cover. Clad in black pajamas, Vietcong gunmen would spring out of the dense foliage, attack with automatic rifles and grenades, and disappear back into the landscape. Much of this fighting took place at night, which reduced the effectiveness of American planes, artillery, and troop tactics.

American Soldiers Fulfill Their Duty Despite the trials of war, American soldiers adapted to adverse conditions in Vietnam and fought with the same intensity that U.S. forces had shown in World Wars I and II. Many fought to prevent the spread of communism. Some fought to protect villagers in South Vietnam and win their trust and respect. Others fought because their country was at war and they felt it was their duty. A medic in the First Infantry Division explained his reason for going to Vietnam:

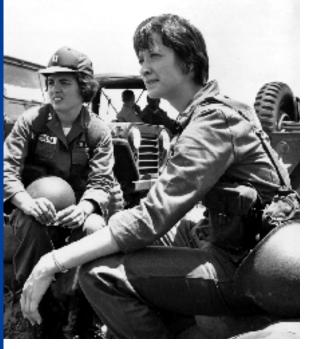
Primary Source "I volunteered. . . . Ever since the American Revolution my family had people in all the different wars, and that was always the thing—when your country needs you, you go. You don't ask a lot of questions. . . . ?"

—David Ross, United States Army medic

- Compare How were communist combat tactics different from those of American troops?
- 2. Draw Conclusions How did images such as these, shown on television news shows, affect the home front?

History Interactive *

For: To learn more about the hardships of the Vietnam War Web Code: nep-1606



Later, many did ask questions about America's involvement in the war, but overwhelmingly while they were in Vietnam, the soldiers met their duties with courage. More than 58,000 of them gave their lives for their country.

Women also displayed courage and valor. About 10,000 American military women served in Vietnam during the war. Most female military personnel were nurses. Not only did they face danger working close to the front, but they also had to cope with the emotional toll of constantly working with injured and dving soldiers and civilians.

Lynda Van Devanter volunteered to go to Vietnam and spent a year there as a nurse. Like other nurses, she confronted war and death on a daily basis. However, on one occasion she had to deliver a baby. She later recalled:

Primary Source "It was creation of life in the midst of all that destruction. And creation of life restored your sanity. . . . Those were the things that kept you going. That there was life coming. There was still hope."

-Lynda Van Devanter, United States Army nurse

Nurses in Vietnam

U.S. Army nurses Capt. Gladys E. Sepulveda, left, of Puerto Rico, and 2nd Lt. Lois Ferrari of Pittsburgh, rest on sandbags at Cam Ranh Bay in South Vietnam on July 14, 1965. They were awaiting transportation to Nha Trang where they were set to work in the 8th field hospital.

Morale Declines as War Wears On As the war lengthened, many Americans began to question U.S. involvement. The earliest soldiers in Vietnam had been volunteers, men committed to the fight against communism. But by the end of 1965, most American soldiers in Vietnam had been drafted into military service, and they were not as certain that preserving the government in South Vietnam was crucial to American interests. They sensed that many South Vietnamese people were indifferent—if not openly hostile—to their own nation. Increasingly, it seemed that Americans were dying to defend a nation whose people were unwilling to die to defend themselves.



Checkpoint Why did the morale of American troops decline as the war continued?

Doubt Grows on the Home Front

The lack of progress toward victory in Vietnam also led to doubt in the United States. When President Johnson had begun to send troops to war, Americans had expected a relatively quick victory. After all, the United States was a militarily powerful, technologically advanced country, and North Vietnam was a poor country with comparatively little technology. Over the next few years, the Johnson administration kept <u>asserting</u> that an American victory was close at hand. But when that did not come, many began to question the President's foreign policy.

The War Weakens the Economy The war strained government finances. President Johnson's Great Society plan called for enormous domestic spending to eliminate poverty, improve education and medical care, and fight racial discrimination. The costs of fighting a war on the other side of the world were just as mammoth. Although massive government spending lowered the unemployment rate, it also led to rising prices and inflation. The combination of heavy government spending, rising prices, and inflation forced Johnson to raise taxes.

Vocabulary Builder

<u>assert</u> – (uh SERT) *v.* to state positively; declare

Ultimately, Johnson had to cut back on his Great Society reform initiatives to help pay for the war.

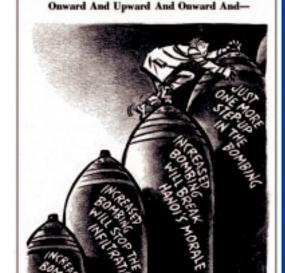
Antiwar Movement Begins to Emerge As long as America's involvement in Vietnam had been small and relatively inexpensive, few politicians voiced serious opposition. Despite its bipartisan support for the Vietnam policies of Johnson's predecessors, after the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, Congress soon split over the President's escalation of the war.

Beginning in 1967, Congress—and eventually most of America—divided into two camps: hawks and doves. The mostly conservative hawks supported Johnson's war policy. Believing strongly in the containment of communism and the domino theory, they accepted rising troop levels, escalating costs, and increasing numbers of battlefield deaths. For the hawks, Vietnam was a crucial front in the Cold War. **Doves**, however, broke with Johnson's war policy. A diverse group of liberal politicians, pacifists, student radicals, and civil rights leaders, doves questioned the war on both moral and strategic grounds. For them, the conflict was a localized civil war, not a vital Cold War battleground.

Senator J. William Fulbright, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, emerged as the early leader of the doves in Congress. A Democrat who had supported the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, Fulbright soon came to believe that the war in Vietnam was a national civil war, not a Cold War conflict whose shots were called in Moscow or Beijing. In 1967 and 1968, Fulbright held public hearings on the war, providing a platform for critics of the conflict.



Checkpoint What were the opposing viewpoints of hawks and doves?



Analyzing Political Cartoons

The Bombing Campaign U.S. officials promised that increased bombing would bring America closer to victory.

- 1. Does the emotion on the person's face suggest that the plan is working? Explain.
- 2. Do you think the cartoonist was a hawk or a dove? Explain.

SECTION 2 Assessment

Progress Monitoring Online For: Self-test with vocabulary practice

Web Code: nea-1604

Comprehension

- 1. Terms and People For each item below, write a sentence explaining its significance.
 - · William Westmoreland
 - napalm
 - dove
- 2. NoteTaking Reading Skill: **Identify Supporting Details** Use your outline to answer the Section Focus Ouestion: What were the causes and effects of America's growing involvement in the Vietnam War?

Writing About History

3. Quick Write: Support an Opinion With Evidence Consider the following topic from the section: America's escalation of the war in Vietnam. Gather and present evidence from the text that supports the Americanization of the war effort.

Critical Thinking

- 4. Evaluate Information What military strategies did the United States employ in Vietnam? How successful were these strategies?
- **5. Summarize** What difficulties did American soldiers face in Vietnam? What effect did these difficulties have?
- **6. Contrast** How did the disagreements between hawks and doves reflect different views about war and world politics?



■ A Vietnam veteran protests the war in 1970.

WITNESS HISTORY (1) AUDIO

The "Living-Room War"

Walter Cronkite, the anchor of the CBS Evening News, was the most respected television journalist of the 1960s. His many reports on the Vietnam War were models of balanced journalism and inspired the confidence of viewers across the United States. But during the Tet Offensive, Cronkite was shocked by the disconnect between Johnson's optimistic statements and the gritty reality of the fighting. After visiting Vietnam in February of 1968, he told his viewers:

66 We have been too often disappointed by the optimism of the American leaders, both in Vietnam and Washington, to have faith any longer in the silver linings they find in the darkest clouds. . . . [I]t seems now more certain than ever that the bloody experience of Vietnam is to end in stalemate.

-Walter Cronkite, 1968

▲ Walter Cronkite

The War Divides America

Objectives

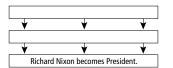
- Describe the divisions within American society over the Vietnam War.
- Analyze the Tet Offensive and the American reaction to it.
- Summarize the factors that influenced the outcome of the 1968 presidential election.

Terms and People

draftee SDS "credibility gap" Tet Offensive Eugene McCarthy Robert Kennedy

NoteTaking

Reading Skill: Recognize Sequence Note the events leading up to the 1968 election.



Why It Matters President Johnson sent more American troops to Vietnam in order to win the war. But with each passing year, casualty lists got longer and victory seemed further away. As soldiers died abroad and hawks and doves argued at home, the Vietnam War opened up a deep emotional rift in American society. After the war ended, it would take years for the country to heal itself. Section Focus Question: How did the American war effort in Vietnam lead to rising protests and social divisions back home?

Antiwar Protests Increase

The war in Vietnam divided Americans more deeply than any conflict since the Civil War. Although most Americans initially supported President Johnson's bombings and troop deployments, by 1966 critics began speaking out. Senator Fulbright's opposition to the war hurt Johnson in Congress, and the senator was soon joined by like-minded activists who believed that American soldiers were dying in a war that had little to do with American interests.

The Draft Becomes Increasingly Unpopular By 1965, most of the troops sent to Vietnam were no longer volunteers who had enlisted in the army. Instead, they were draftees—young men drafted into military service—who had been assigned a tour in Vietnam. In accordance with the Selective Service Act of 1948, the government drafted more than 1.5 million men into military service during the Vietnam War. All males had to register for the draft when they turned 18, and the Selective Service System called up draftees based on projected military needs.

Critics of the Selective Service System argued that the draft was not fair. The system gave local draft boards considerable influence in selecting men for service, and it also granted <u>deferments</u> to college students and men who worked in certain designated occupations. Most of the 2.5 million men who served in Vietnam came from working-class and poor backgrounds.

During the Johnson presidency, the number of African American troops fighting and dying in Vietnam was also disproportionately high. At the beginning of the war, African Americans suffered more than 20 percent of the total combat deaths, roughly twice their percentage of the U.S. population. Additionally, African American soldiers were more likely to serve in combat positions and less likely to become commissioned officers.

Civil rights leader Martin Luther King, Jr., spoke out against the added war burden shouldered by African American soldiers. Speaking at a New York church in 1967, King said that the war was hurting both poor blacks and whites. Vietnam was drawing human and economic resources away from America's other wars on poverty and discrimination. He added that it hindered poor Americans in other more direct ways:

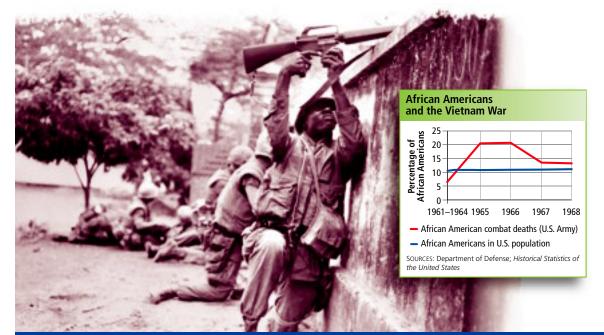
Primary Source "It was sending their sons and their brothers and their husbands to fight and to die in extraordinary high proportions relative to the rest of the population. . . . [W]e have been repeatedly faced with the cruel irony of watching Negro and white boys on TV screens as they kill and die together for a nation that has been unable to seat them together in the same schools."

—Martin Luther King, Jr., 1967

Perceived inequities in the draft led to widespread resistance. Antiwar advocates sponsored a Stop-the-Draft week in October 1967, and some draft-eligible males burned their draft cards in protest. Finally, in 1969, the Selective Service System adopted a lottery that was designed to eliminate deferment abuses and create a more diverse army of draftees. Vocabulary Builder deferment—(dee FER muhnt) n. postponement

African American Soldiers in Battle

The Vietnam War witnessed the highest proportion of African Americans ever to serve in an American war. Here, an African American Marine ducks behind a wall for cover while firing on an enemy position. Based on the line graph, why might African American recruits be unhappy with the draft?



Activism Spreads on College Campuses Across America, college campuses became centers of antiwar sentiment. Professors and students criticized the war for a variety of reasons, ranging from pacifism and the war's effects on the economy to a personal desire to avoid military service. Antiwar activity on college campuses did not, however, reflect the attitudes of Americans as a whole. In fact, many professors remained vocal in their defense of the war effort during lectures and at protest rallies. For the most part, though, colleges and universities represented the extreme antiwar opinion.

Antiwar activities were part of more significant changes taking place on college campuses. Never before the 1960s had so many Americans entered colleges and universities. Between 1946 and 1970, the number of students enrolled in institutions of higher education increased from 2 million to 8 million. Many college students became a class unto themselves—segregated from the workforce, free from many adult responsibilities, and encouraged by their professors to think critically. Most of the students who embraced the antiwar cause came from upper-middle-class families. Students from working-class families were less likely to protest against the war.

The University of Michigan and the University of California at Berkeley became important hubs of the antiwar movement. The **Students for a Democratic Society (SDS)** was founded in 1960 at the University of Michigan. Originally formed to campaign against racism and poverty, the SDS soon began campaigning to end the war in Vietnam. By 1964, SDS had organized campus "teach-ins" and demonstrations against the war and encouraged draft-age males to sign "We Won't Go" petitions.

Students Clash With Authorities Student activism led to a clash with administrators and police in 1964. Students at the University of California at Berkeley protested against the school's decision not to allow them to use university grounds to organize off-campus political activities. The students formed the Free Speech Movement to contest the decision. When protesters occupied a university building, the police arrested them. In response, students cut classes to march in support of the FSM. University officials eventually relented and allowed students to engage in free speech activities on school grounds. The victory by students at Berkeley led to challenges at other colleges and universities.

students to engage in free speech activities on school grounds. The victory by students at Berkeley led to challenges at other colleges and universities.

More and More Americans Oppose the War Outside college campuses, other Americans soon enlisted in the antiwar cause. The war in Vietnam was the first "living-room war." Americans watched the progress—or lack of it—in their living rooms on nightly newscasts. The intimacy of television made news

of the war unavoidable. But unlike World War II, there was no march to victory.

Americans could not put maps of Vietnam on their walls and trace
the routes the troops were taking to Hanoi.

Hawks and doves drifted farther apart. More groups organized against the war, their names corresponding with whom they represented—Vietnam Veterans Against the War, Catholic Peace Fellowship, Another Mother for Peace. Antiwar Americans—rich and poor, black and white—read reports from war correspondents who questioned U.S. progress in Vietnam. They watched government officials issue optimistic statement after optimistic statement. Soon, a "credibility gap" emerged between what the Johnson administration said and what many journalists reported. This gap referred to the American public's growing distrust of statements made by the government.



Checkpoint Why did the antiwar movement grow across the nation?

Hawks Respond to Protests

Despite doves' vocal opposition to the war, hawks organized their own demonstrations to support U.S. policy in Vietnam. Below, New York City union members rally behind the American war effort in 1967.

Tet Offensive Is the Turning Point

In November 1967, President Johnson brought General Westmoreland home from Vietnam to address the nation's concerns about the war. Westmoreland said that the Vietcong were declining in strength and could no longer mount a major offensive. As Westmoreland made his claims, however, the North Vietnamese and Vietcong were planning just such an attack.

Communist Assault Shocks Americans

In early 1968, U.S. officials anticipated a communist offensive. As expected, on January 21, the North Vietnamese Army hit Khe Sanh in northwest South Vietnam. However, nine days later, the communists expanded their attack by hitting U.S. and ARVN positions throughout South Vietnam. The Tet Offensive-named after the Vietnamese lunar new year-was a coordinated assault on 36 provincial capitals and 5 major cities, as well as the U.S. embassy in Saigon.

The communists planned to take and hold the cities until the urban population took up arms in their support. They thought the Tet Offensive had a good chance of ending the war. The fighting was fierce, but in the end, American and South Vietnamese forces repelled the offensive and there was no popular uprising against the government of South Vietnam. Although U.S. forces won a tactical victory by preventing the Vietcong and North Vietnamese Army from achieving their primary objectives, the Tet Offensive was a strategic blow to the Americans. It demonstrated that the communists had not lost the will or the ability to fight on.

Web Code: nep-1605 **Tet Offensive, 1968** CHINA NORTH VIETNAM Hanoi€ Gulf of Tonkin LAOS South China January-June 1968 Sea Battle of Khe Sanh THAILAND **CAMBODIA** SOUTH Gulf of VIETNAM Thailand January 31,1968 American embassy attacked Attack during Tet Offensive Miller Projection Ho Chi Minh Trail 100 Map Skills In launching the Tet Offensive, the Vietcong and North Vietnamese Army wanted to demoralize South Vietnam and deal American forces a devastating blow. 1. **Regions** Identify two regions of South Vietnam that were hard-hit by the Tet Offensive. 2. Draw Conclusions How do you think the Tet Offensive

affected the morale of North Vietnam? Explain.

War's End Is Nowhere in Sight After the Tet Offensive, American military leaders seemed less confident of a quick end to the war. When Westmoreland requested more troops, President Johnson asked his new Secretary of Defense Clark Clifford to take an objective look at the military and political situation in Vietnam. The deeper Clifford delved into the matter, the more pessimistic he became. Sending more troops would inevitably require raising taxes, increasing draft rolls, and calling up reserves. It would lead to increased casualties in the field and dissent at home. And it still might not lead to victory. Clifford concluded that the President should radically shift U.S. policy from one that pursued victory to one that pursued a negotiated peace.

Johnson Steps Down While Clifford deliberated, many Americans began to turn dramatically against the war. Some marched in protest and engaged in antiwar activities. Others registered their disapproval at the polls. In early **Vocabulary Builder** inevitable-(ihn EHV ih tuh buhl) adj. certain to happen

For: Interactive map

Can the United States Win the War in Vietnam?

Despite the war's growing unpopularity, Johnson was reluctant to withdraw from Vietnam. Some urged him to get out of "Kennedy's war." His own Cabinet was divided on the issue.

DEAN RUSK

Citing Chamberlain and Hitler as an example, Secretary of State Rusk opposed appeasement. He supported increased bombing and troops to force North Vietnam to negotiate a peace.

Primary Source

"If . . . North Vietnam will stop [its] campaign to destroy the Republic of Vietnam, the measures we are taking to assist South Vietnam . . . will no longer be necessary. . . . We see no necessity for international negotiations. . . . [W]e cannot [think of] any points that would be negotiable."

—Dean Rusk, 1963



GEORGE BALL

Undersecretary of State Ball urged President Johnson in 1965 to stop sending U.S. soldiers to Vietnam.

Primary Source

66No one can assure you that we can beat the Viet Cong . . . no matter how many . . . troops we deploy. No [ground forces] of whatever size can win a guerrilla war—which is at the same time a civil war . . . in jungle terrain in the midst of a population that refuses cooperation ??

—George Ball, 1965

Compare

- **1.** According to Rusk, when should the United States end its participation in the war?
- 2. Why does Ball think that Rusk's strategy will not work?

1968, Minnesota senator **Eugene McCarthy**, the antiwar candidate for the Democratic Party nomination, made a surprisingly strong showing in the New Hampshire primary. Sensing that Johnson was in a politically weakened position, New York's Democratic senator **Robert Kennedy** announced his candidacy for the presidency. Both McCarthy and Kennedy believed that the war had divided America and drained resources away from the fights against poverty and discrimination. What Johnson feared most was happening: The war was undermining his presidency.

On March 31, 1968, two months after the Tet Offensive, the President addressed the nation on television. He announced that America would limit its bombing of North Vietnam and seek a negotiated settlement to the war. Johnson then shocked the nation by announcing that he would not run for another term as President. The speech marked another turning point in the war. The fight for victory was over. Peace was now the official government policy.



Checkpoint How was the Tet Offensive both a victory and a defeat for the United States?

Violence Rocks 1968 Presidential Race

Johnson's decision not to seek reelection in 1968 threw the presidential race wide open. Many Americans believed it provided an opportunity to enact fundamental political and social changes. They argued that the future of the country was at stake. It was a time of new ideas and new plans. But the optimism and high hopes of the early campaign would soon die amidst political infighting, violence, and assassination.



Chicago 1968: Politics and Protest

INFOGRAPHIC N AUDIO

As Democrats prepared to select a new presidential candidate at their convention in Chicago (see campaign artifacts at left), antiwar activists converged on the city in August 1968. Inside the main hall, dissension between hawks and doves in the party sparked angry outbursts. On the streets outside, violent clashes broke out between antiwar protesters and the Chicago police. The crowds chanted, "The whole world is watching! The whole world is watching!" And indeed it was. Television viewers saw a vivid display of the political strife and social unrest besieging America.

 As U.S. combat deaths in Vietnam increased from roughly 5,000 in 1966 to more than 14,000 in 1968, American public opinion turned against the war.

▲ Chicago mayor Richard J. Daley shouts insults at Senator Abraham Ribicoff during the senator's speech criticizing the tactics of the Chicago police.

Opposition to the Vietnam War

In view of the developments since we entered the fighting in Vietnam, do you think the United States made a mistake sending troops to fight in Vietnam?

| | March 1966 | April 1967 | April 1968 |
|------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| Yes | 26% | 37% | 48% |
| No | 59% | 50% | 40% |
| Don't Know | 16% | 13% | 12% |

SOURCE: American Institute of Public Opinion (Gallup Poll)

Many protesters sought only ▶ to exercise their right to free speech. Others, eveing the ever-present television cameras, sought-and succeeded in attractinga police response. Here, a melee erupts outside a hotel where delegates are gathered.

Thinking Critically

- 1. Analyze Information How did American casualties in Vietnam affect public opinion back home?
- **2. Draw Conclusions** How do you think events in Chicago affected the U.S. soldiers in Vietnam?

Geography Interactive Presidential Election of 1968 For: Interactive map Web Code: nep-1607 WA МŢ ND SD ΝE UT 4 ćo ĶS ΝM AR ĻĄ TX 25 Electoral Vote Popular Vote % Electoral % Popular Vote** Candidate (Party) Richard M. Nixon 301 31,710,470 56 43.6 (Republican) Hubert H. Humphrey 191 30,898,055 36 42.5 (Democratic) George C. Wallace 8 46 9.906.473 13.6 (American Independent) *One Nixon elector voted outside the party's endorsement ** Minor parties received 0.3% of the popular vote

Map Skills In 1968, Richard Nixon defeated Vice President Hubert Humphrey and thirdparty candidate George Wallace, who had split from the Democratic Party.

- 1. Regions From where did Wallace draw most of his support?
- 2. Draw Conclusions What might have happened if Wallace had renounced his candidacy and rejoined the Democratic ranks?

Two Leaders Fall In the spring and summer of the campaign season, bullets struck down two Americans who spoke out eloquently for peace in Vietnam and peaceful change in American society. Martin Luther King, Jr., the most prominent leader of the civil rights movement, had publicly turned against the war in 1967. He contributed compelling social and moral reasons to the argument for peace. But his voice was tragically silenced on April 4, 1968, when a racist assassin shot and killed him in Memphis, Tennessee.

Robert Kennedy was the next leader to fall. He had based his campaign for the presidency on compassion and idealism, and millions of Americans rallied to his camp. On June 5, 1968, at a rally celebrating his victory in the California primary, Kennedy asserted that "we are a great country, an unselfish country, a compassionate country," and that he intended "to make that the basis of my running." Minutes later, a Palestinian immigrant named Sirhan Sirhan shot Kennedy in the head, killing him instantly. Sirhan may have wanted revenge for America's support for Israel in that country's war with Egypt the year before.

Protesters Disrupt Chicago Democratic Convention The murders of King and Kennedy cast a dark shadow over the election campaigns. In August 1968, the Democrats convened in Chicago to choose a presidential candidate to represent their party in the November election. As the delegates arrived, so too did antiwar protesters. Chicago's mayor deployed police and members of the National Guard to prevent any outbreaks of violence.

Inside the convention, the Democrats angrily debated placing an antiwar plank in the party platform. They chose Hubert Humphrey, Johnson's Vice President, over Eugene McCarthy, who had garnered support from many antiwar groups. As the delegates cast their votes, violence erupted outside the convention between police and protesters. After police beat activists with nightsticks, some protesters retaliated by throwing rocks and bottles at the onrushing tide of police.

The television coverage of the fierce fighting in the streets and bitter arguments on the convention floor shocked Americans. Chaos and civil disorder appeared to have replaced civil debate in the political arena. The divisions and violence in Chicago mirrored the deep divisions in American politics and the heartbreaking violence on the front lines in Vietnam.

Richard Nixon Wins the Presidency At a much more peaceful convention in Miami, Republicans nominated Richard M. Nixon, who promised if elected he would deliver "peace with honor." He wanted the United States out of Vietnam, but he also demanded honorable peace terms. He promised to listen to "the great, quiet forgotten majority—the nonshouters and the nondemonstrators." This large group of Americans, described by one commentator as "the young, the unblack, and the unpoor," was dubbed the "silent majority." Throughout his campaign, Nixon used a "southern strategy" of courting more conservative southern voters with appeals to law and order, striving to pull them away from their traditional support of the Democratic Party.

Alabama governor George Wallace also ran for the presidency on a thirdparty ticket. A lifelong Democrat prior to his entry into the race, Wallace said that neither of the traditional political parties represented southern voters who were unsettled by the cultural and social changes in the country. He had no sympathy for the demands of antiwar radicals, counterculture hippies, or African American militants. He represented the "white backlash" against the civil rights movement and the desire to press forward to victory in Vietnam.

The combination of Nixon's "southern strategy" and Wallace's third-party candidacy siphoned traditionally Democratic votes away from Humphrey. In a close election, Nixon captured victory by winning 43.6 percent of the popular vote and 301 electoral votes. Humphrey received 42.5 percent of the popular vote and Wallace 13.6 percent. The election marked the end of the Democratic "Solid South" and signaled significant changes in the nation's political landscape. Richard Nixon's ascendancy marked a new Republican domination of the American presidency.



Checkpoint What happened at the 1968 Democratic Convention in Chicago?



"Silent" Supporters

In 1969, President Nixon called his supporters the "silent majority." Especially strong in the South and West, the silent majority consisted of patriotic veterans of World War II and the Korean War, middle class blue-collar workers, conservative young Americans, and many others.

SECTION

Progress Monitoring Online For: Self-test with vocabulary practice

Comprehension

- 1. Terms and People For each item below, write a sentence explaining its significance.
 - draftee
 - "credibility gap"
 - Tet Offensive
 - Eugene McCarthy

2. NoteTaking Reading Skill:

Recognize Sequence Use your flowchart to answer the Section Focus Ouestion: How did the American war effort in Vietnam lead to rising protests and social divisions back home?

Web Code: nea-1608 **Writing About History**

3. Quick Write: Answer Opposing **Arguments** To write a strong persuasive essay, you need to address arguments that could be raised to refute your own position. Choose a topic from this section, such as whether Johnson made the right decision by withdrawing from the 1968 presidential race. Then, create a chart listing arguments on both sides of the

debate.

Critical Thinking

- 4. Evaluate Information Identify three factors that led to the growth of the antiwar movement. Which do you think was the most important?
- Identify Effects How did the military outcome of the Tet Offensive differ from its impact on the American people?
- 6. Draw Conclusions What were the chief weaknesses of the Democrats in the 1968 election? How did these weaknesses aid the election of Richard Nixon?



▲ Antiwar demonstrators march in Washington, D.C.

WITNESS HISTORY () AUDIO

Antiwar Protests Spread

As Richard Nixon entered the White House in January 1969, students across the country continued to protest the war. And their words were starting to reach ordinary Americans, not just "long-haired radicals." In late 1969, antiwar protesters organized a series of peaceful demonstrations called "moratoriums." On October 15, the mayor of New York City addressed a crowd of these protesters:

We cannot [accept] the charge from Washington that this peaceful protest is unpatriotic. We heard that charge five years ago and three years ago. . . . The fact is that this dissent is the highest form of patriotism. It is the peaceful American way to turn the nation away from a self-defeating course.

-New York mayor John Lindsay, 1969

The War's End and Impact

Objectives

- Assess Nixon's new approach to the war, and explain why protests continued.
- Explain what led to the Paris Peace Accords and why South Vietnam eventually fell to the communists.
- Evaluate the impact of the Vietnam War on the United States.

Terms and People

Vietnamization My Lai Pentagon Papers Paris Peace Accords War Powers Act

NoteTaking

Reading Skill: Compare and Contrast

Note the similarities and differences between Nixon's Vietnam policy and that of Lyndon Johnson.

Johnson

 Americanization and total victory

Nixon

 Vietnamization and "peace with honor" Why It Matters As a presidential candidate, Richard Nixon promised "peace with honor" and an end to a war that had fractured American society. Nixon did indeed withdraw American troops, and the Vietnam War finally ended. But the impact of the war endured. As the nation recovered from war, Americans reexamined the struggle against communism, the power of the presidency, and America's role in the world. Section Focus Question: How did the Vietnam War end, and what were its lasting effects?

Nixon Starts the Pullout

Nixon's defenders argued that he was a hard-working patriot with a new vision for America. His critics charged that he was a deceitful politician bent on acquiring power and punishing his enemies. There were elements of truth to both views. But defenders and critics alike agreed that Richard Nixon was a determined man with abundant political talent. From his first day in office, the new President realized that ending the Vietnam War was the key to everything else he hoped to achieve.

Peace Talks Stall Though formal peace talks between the warring parties had begun in May 1968, they were bogged down from the outset by disagreements and a lack of compromise. When Richard Nixon took office in January 1969, his peace delegation firmly believed they could break the impasse. The Americans and South Vietnamese wanted all communist troops out of South Vietnam.

They also wanted prisoners of war (POWs) returned. Meanwhile, the North Vietnamese demanded an immediate American withdrawal from Vietnam and the formation of a coalition government in South Vietnam that would include representatives from the Vietcong. Still hoping to win the war in the field, North Vietnam refused to budge from its initial position. And South Vietnam refused to sign any agreement that compromised its security.

Nixon's Plan: Vietnamization and Peace With Honor President Nixon refused to accept the North Vietnamese peace terms. He was committed to a policy of "peace with honor" and believed that there were still military options. He continued a gradual pullout of American troops, and expressed faith in the ability of the Army of the Republic of Vietnam to assume the burden of war. He called his approach Vietnamization—U.S. forces would withdraw as ARVN troops assumed more combat duties. The hope was that with continued American aid behind the front lines, the ARVN would fight its own battles to secure South Vietnam.

To reduce the flow of communist supplies to the Vietcong, Nixon ordered the secret bombing of the Ho Chi Minh Trail in Cambodia. This was a controversial move because it widened the scope of the war and helped to undermine the neutral government in Cambodia. In the end, neither Vietnamization nor secret bombings dramatically improved South Vietnam's chances of winning a war against the communists.



Checkpoint How did Vietnamization differ from the war policies of Nixon's predecessors?

Troubles on the Home Front Intensify

Nixon inherited two things from Lyndon Johnson: an unpopular war and a vocal American opposition to it. The new President wanted "peace with honor," security for America's ally South Vietnam, and international respect for U.S. foreign policy. Antiwar

activists wanted the war ended and American troops out of Vietnam—on any terms. Nixon found it increasingly difficult to achieve his goals and satisfy the snowballing antiwar movement.

American Troops in Cambodia More than a year into office, Nixon had grown impatient with the snail's pace of the peace negotiations. In 1970, he attempted to break the stalemate by ordering a ground attack on North Vietnamese Army and Vietcong bases in Cambodia. Nixon also hoped to aid the pro-American Cambodian government in its fight against the Khmer Rouge, a communist movement supported by North Vietnam.

On the evening of April 30, Nixon addressed the American people, informing them of his decision to carry the war into Cambodia. He stressed that the war had become a measure of how committed the United States was to preserving freedom around the world:

66If, when the chips are down, the world's most powerful Primary Source nation, the United States of America, acts like a pitiful, helpless giant, the forces of totalitarianism and anarchy will threaten free nations . . . throughout the world." -President Richard Nixon, 1970





Vietnamizing the War

The United States scaled back its commitment of around troops to Vietnam after 1968. However, while more American troops left for home, U.S. air forces dropped more bombs on communist targets in North Vietnam and along the Ho Chi Minh Trail. How did the shift in American tactics ensure Nixon's "peace with honor"?

The next morning, U.S. and ARVN forces crossed the border into Cambodia. These soldiers captured large stockpiles of weapons and supplies, but they did not break the stalemate. North Vietnam remained determined to have peace on its terms or no peace at all.

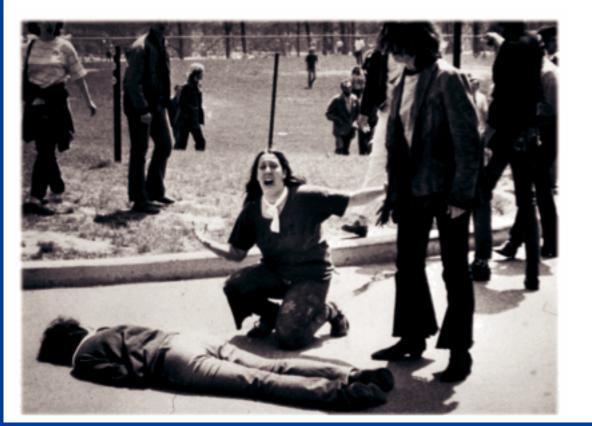
Violence Erupts at Kent State The Cambodian incursion had a profound impact on the peace movement at home. It stirred antiwar activists, who argued that Nixon had widened the war and made the world a more dangerous place. Throughout the country, college campuses erupted with protests. Several demonstrations prompted the police and National Guard to step in to preserve order.

On two campuses, confrontations between students and armed authorities led to deaths. Four days after Nixon's speech, demonstrators at Kent State University in Ohio threw rocks and bottles at members of the National Guard. When one guardsman thought he heard a sniper's shot, he fired his rifle. The shot prompted other National Guardsmen to discharge a volley of gunfire into a group of protesters, killing four youths. The Kent State killings led to demonstrations on other campuses. At Jackson State University, a traditionally African American college in Mississippi, a confrontation between students and police ended with two students dead.

College demonstrations against the war sometimes prompted counterprotests by Americans who supported the President. In response to a May 8, 1970, antiwar rally in downtown New York City, construction workers decided to demonstrate, carrying American flags and chanting "All the Way USA." Believing that some anti-

Protest and Death in Ohio

A student photographer at Kent State snapped this photograph moments after the Ohio National Guard opened fire on student protesters on May 4, 1970. How do you think people reacted to seeing this photograph in the newspaper?



war demonstrators had spit on the American flag, they pushed into the crowd and started hitting protesters. The clash drew national attention. Days later, thousands of construction workers, businessmen, secretaries, and housewives marched peacefully through Manhattan's streets in support of Nixon and the war effort. One man expressed his feelings about the march:

-Robert Geary, May 20, 1970

As the fighting continued in Vietnam, the American home front became its own physical and emotional battlefield.

American Soldiers Kill Civilians at My Lai In 1971, two events increased the pressure on Nixon to pull U.S. troops out of Vietnam. The first event had roots in a U.S. action in South Vietnam three years earlier. On March 16, 1968, American forces searching for enemy troops in an area with a strong Vietcong presence came upon the village of My Lai. By this point in the war, many American troops had been injured and killed by Vietcong fighters posing as civilians. It was a recipe for disaster at My Lai, where Lieutenant William Calley's unit began shooting and killing unarmed civilians. During the assault, U.S. soldiers killed between four and five hundred Vietnamese.

Lt. Calley later maintained that he was following orders, but many of the soldiers present did not participate in the massacre. At least one risked his own life to stop it. The tragedy was made even worse by an inadequate military investigation of the incident. *Life* magazine eventually published photos taken during the event, and in March 1971, a military court convicted Lt. Calley of his participation in the attack. News of the My Lai massacre, the coverup, and Calley's trial shocked many Americans and added fuel to the burning antiwar fire.

Pentagon Papers Undermine Public Trust On the heels of My Lai came the 1971 publication of the Pentagon Papers in The New York Times. The term referred to a classified government history of America's involvement in Vietnam. The study was leaked to The Times by one of its coauthors, Daniel Ellsberg. Nixon tried to block the full publication, but in New York Times v. United States, the Supreme Court ruled against the administration. The study revealed that American leaders involved the U.S. in Vietnam without fully informing the American people and occasionally even lied to Congress.



Checkpoint What happened at Kent State and Jackson State universities in 1970?

The War Finally Ends

The failings of Vietnamization and growing dissent at home forced President Nixon to search for some final way out of the conflict. A 1971 public-opinion poll revealed that two thirds of Americans favored withdrawing American troops, even if it meant a communist takeover of South Vietnam. Sensitive to the public mood, Congress pressed Nixon to bring the troops home. Many believed that to win reelection in 1972, he had to end the war.



Slaughter and Coverup in South Vietnam

A photographer captured the terror in the village of My Lai as American troops were killing hundreds of civilians. The massacre was followed by a military investigation, but only Lt. William Calley was convicted. Why were many Americans dissatisfied with the result of the military investigation?

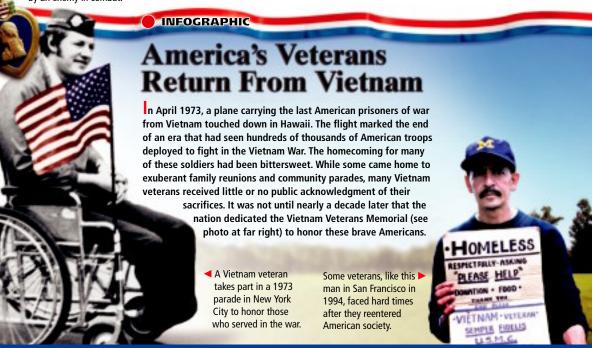
Vocabulary Builder <u>induce</u>—(ihn DOOS) v. to bring about; cause

◄ A Purple Heart is awarded to members of the U.S. armed forces who are wounded or killed by an enemy in combat. American Troops Leave Vietnam In October 1972, the United States and North Vietnam came to terms on a peace settlement. One month later, with lasting peace almost at hand, Nixon easily defeated the antiwar Democrat George McGovern for reelection. But Nixon's triumph was short-lived. The Vietnamese peace fell apart when North Vietnam refused to sign the agreement. Talks broke off, but renewed American bombing in North Vietnam finally induced the North Vietnamese to resume negotiations.

At last, in January 1973, the United States, South Vietnam, North Vietnam, and the Vietcong signed the Paris Peace Accords. The parties agreed to a cease-fire and a U.S. troop withdrawal from South Vietnam. POWs would be exchanged, but North Vietnamese troops would remain in South Vietnam. The National Liberation Front would become a legitimate political party in South Vietnam, and South Vietnam's noncommunist government would remain in power pending a political settlement. With the war ended, the last American troops came home. Among the returning soldiers were more than 550 POWs, most of whom were pilots shot down during the war.

Saigon Falls For the United States, the war in Vietnam was over. For the Vietnamese, however, it continued. Neither North nor South Vietnam honored the cease-fire or worked toward a diplomatic settlement of their differences. In the spring of 1975, minor fighting escalated when North Vietnam launched an offensive against the South. Without American aid and ground support, the ARVN was no match for the Soviet-supplied North Vietnamese Army. By the end of April, the communists had taken Saigon. After decades of fighting and millions of deaths, Vietnam was unified under one flag.

✓ Checkpoint What did the signing parties agree to in the Paris Peace Accords?



The Vietnam War Has a Lasting Impact

More than 58,000 American soldiers gave their lives serving their country in Vietnam; another 300,000 were wounded. Although figures are not exact, the Vietnamese death toll most likely exceeded 2 million. Peace, however, did not mean the end of pain and hardship. The end of the war created other problems in Southeast Asia. The war also affected American attitudes toward world affairs.

Southeast Asia Suffers Further Turmoil Many foreign-policy experts in the United States had predicted that if North Vietnam won the Vietnamese civil war, communism would spread to other nations in Southeast Asia. In a limited sense, they were right. Communist regimes eventually came to power in both Laos and Cambodia. In Cambodia, the ruling Khmer Rouge unleashed a genocide on the populace, killing everyone who had ties to the West or previous Cambodian governments. Between 1975 and 1979, upwards of 2 million Cambodians were executed or died in labor camps.

In an expanded sense, however, many American foreign-policy strategists misjudged the spread of communism. They concluded it was a monolithic global movement controlled by Moscow and Beijing. However, as the war's aftermath would attest, communist movements in Southeast Asia were nationalistic and intolerant of outside influences. After the Vietnam War ended, Vietnamese communists went to war against the Khmer Rouge, who in turn received help from Chinese communists to battle the Vietnamese. In this conflict, the United States supported the Chinese.

Veterans Return Home to Mixed Reactions The war and the peace divided Americans. Some argued that the United States should never have entered the war and that their leaders had lied to them. Others countered that the war was part of an ongoing struggle against communism and that in the

The families of Americans still missing after the Vietnam War hope that those prisoners and missing will one day be returned to them.





America and the World

TRACK THE ISSUE



What is America's role in the world?

At times throughout its history, the United States has tried to avoid getting involved in other countries' affairs. At other times, it has played an active part in world affairs. Today, America is deeply involved around the world. But what should its role be? Use the timeline below to explore this enduring issue.

1796 Washington's Farewell Address

President Washington warns against foreign alliances.

1823 Monroe Doctrine

President Monroe tells Europe to stay out of the Americas.

1898 Spanish-American War The United States defeats Spain and

The United States defeats Spain and expands overseas.

1940s-1980s Cold War

The United States tries to stop the spread of communism around the world.

2000s War on Terrorism

The United States works with other countries to fight global terrorism.



American soldiers fought in Vietnam during the Cold War.



Since 2001, Afghanistan has labored to remake its government into a stable democracy.

DEBATE THE ISSUE

Intervention and Democracy In 2001, the United States invaded Afghanistan. It toppled the Taliban government and ended its support for terrorism. Since then, the United States has helped to rebuild Afghanistan. Can intervention bring progress to a country?

66 The United States and Afghanistan have made great progress. . . . Together we have . . . worked to ensure that Afghanistan will never again be a safe haven for terrorists. The United States has supported the Afghan people as they have established a moderate, representative government. ??

— Joint Declaration of the United States-Afghanistan Strategic Partnership "The [George W.] Bush administration has consistently labeled the invasion of [Afghanistan] a success. But reports from humanitarian organizations, United Nations officials and Afghanis themselves paint a very different picture—warlords dominate much of the country, the Taliban is still a force in many parts, and the illegal drug trade is flourishing."

—Seymour Hersh, journalist for The New Yorker



TRANSFER Activities

- **1. Compare** What does the first quotation say about the results of intervention? What does the second quotation say?
- **2. Analyze** What kinds of challenges might leaders from both countries face as they work to create a functioning democratic government?
- Transfer Use the following Web site to see a video, try a WebQuest, and write in your journal. Web Code: neh-8902

end, the United States betrayed South Vietnam. An unfortunate result of the controversy was that the nation never fully expressed its appreciation to the returning veterans.

Overwhelmingly, the 2.5 million enlisted men who served in Vietnam did so with honor and distinction. Yet, unlike the soldiers that returned to the United States after World Wars I and II—the famed Doughboys and G.I. Joes—few Vietnam vets enjoyed the warmth and adulation of victory parades. In addition to the indifference that some veterans encountered, some also suffered from physical and psychological ailments for years when they returned home.

Not until almost a decade after the end of the war did Americans begin to fully honor the courage and sacrifice of these veterans. The Vietnam Veterans Memorial, dedicated in Washington, D.C., in 1982, stands as an eloquent testament to the men and women who served and died in Vietnam.

Vietnam Changes American Policies The war was costly both monetarily and in the human toll of shattered lives. The war also altered American domestic and foreign policies. Lyndon Johnson's Great Society campaign against poverty and racism fell victim to the conflict. Increasingly, between 1964 and 1968, Johnson could not pay for both the Vietnam War and the Great Society. Paying for more guns left less money to pay for textbooks, school lunches, and prenatal care.

Additionally, the war undermined Americans' trust in their leaders and fragmented the Cold War consensus on foreign affairs. In 1973, Congress passed the War Powers Act. The act restricted the President's war-making powers by requiring him to consult with Congress within 48 hours of committing American forces to a foreign conflict. The act was a congressional attempt to check the unilateral formation of American foreign policy and stop the growth of the "imperial presidency."

Finally, the Vietnam War made Americans more suspicious of foreign commitments and less likely to intervene in the affairs of other countries. For the next 30 years, many Americans would view conflicts in Central America, Africa, the Balkans, and the Middle East through a lens tinted by the Vietnamese quagmire. The fear of "another Vietnam" had profound effects on American foreign policy in the postwar world.



✓ Checkpoint What did the War Powers Act do?

SECTION

Assessment

For: Self-test with vocabulary practice Web Code: nea-1610

Progress Monitoring Online

Comprehension

- 1. Terms and People For each term below, write a sentence explaining its significance.
 - Vietnamization
 - Paris Peace Accords
 - War Powers Act
- 2. NoteTaking Reading Skill:

Compare and Contrast Use your Venn diagram to answer the Section Focus Ouestion: How did the Vietnam War end, and what were its lasting effects?

Writing About History

3. Quick Write: Choose Strongest **Argument** Consider this thesis statement: Richard Nixon won the Vietnam War. List possible arguments for a persuasive essay that supports this thesis. Review each argument and choose the strongest one. Make sure that factual points from the text support your argument.

Critical Thinking

- 4. Synthesize Information How did Nixon redirect the peace process when he became President? Did his plan have the desired result?
- 5. Explain Effects What impact did the events of 1970 and 1971 have on Nixon's actions in Vietnam?
- 6. Draw Conclusions Which two effects of the Vietnam War do you think had the biggest long-term impact? Explain.

NoteTaking

Vietnam War.

Reading Skill: Recognize **Effects** As you read, use a concept web to identify the effects of the

Effects of the War Congress passes War Powers Act



▲ Nixon and Zhou shake hands in China in 1972.

WITNESS HISTORY (3) AUDIO

A New Era Begins

When Richard Nixon visited the People's Republic of China in February of 1972, Premier Zhou Enlai greeted the President as he landed in Beijing. Once on the wind-swept tarmac, Nixon walked toward his host with his arm outstretched. Recalling John Foster Dulles's refusal to shake Zhou's hand at the Geneva Conference in 1954, Nixon made certain not to repeat the insult to the Chinese leader. Nixon remembered the occasion in his memoir:

When I reached the bottom step, therefore, I made a point of extending my hand as I walked toward him. When our hands met, one era ended and another began."

-Richard Nixon

Nixon and the Cold War

Objectives

- · Explain the thinking behind Richard Nixon's foreign policy.
- Define Nixon's foreign policy toward China and the Soviet Union.

Terms and People

Henry Kissinger realpolitik Zhou Enlai

Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty détente

NoteTaking

Reading Skill: Categorize As you read, describe Nixon's Cold War foreign policies in dealing with China and the Soviet Union.

| Nixon's Cold War Policies | | | |
|---|--|--|--|
| China | Soviet Union | | |
| Normalization of relations will drive wedge between China and Soviet Union. | Diplomacy with China will create Soviet fear of isolation. | | |

Why It Matters As a presidential candidate, Richard Nixon had promised to end U.S. military involvement in the Vietnam War. Recognizing the potency of Soviet power and the increasing unwillingness of many Americans to pay the costs of containing communism everywhere, Nixon developed a new approach to the Cold War. His bold program redefined America's relations with the two titans of global communism, China and the Soviet Union. Section Focus Question: How did Richard Nixon change Cold War diplomacy during his presidency?

Nixon Redefines American Foreign Policy

During his years in office, Richard Nixon fundamentally reshaped the way the United States approached the world. Before Nixon took office, most American leaders shared a common Cold War ideology. They stressed that there existed a basic conflict between democratic, capitalist countries and totalitarian, communist ones. They divided the world into "us" and "them," and they established policies based on an assumption commonly held that "the enemy of my enemy is my friend." Therefore, a country opposed to communism was, by this definition, a friend of the United States. Nixon and Henry Kissinger, his leading adviser on national security and international affairs, altered this Cold War policy approach.

At first glance, Richard Nixon's partnership with Henry Kissinger seemed improbable. Nixon was a conservative California Republican, suspicious of the more liberal East Coast Republicans and exhausted with the political and strategic theories of Ivy League intellectuals. Kissinger was a Harvard-educated Jewish émigré from Germany and a prominent figure in East Coast intellectual circles. In several prior presidential campaigns, Kissinger had actually worked against Nixon. However, both men were outsiders, equipped with an outsider's readiness to question accepted orthodoxy.

In foreign affairs, Nixon and Kissinger embraced the idea of realpolitik, a German word meaning "real politics." According to realpolitik, political goals should be defined by concrete national interests instead of abstract ideologies. The two statesmen argued that if Americans would put aside their Cold War biases and look at the world with fresh eyes, U.S. global interests could be surveyed not in black and white but in shades of gray. For example, China and the Soviet Union—America's ideological enemies—could actually become excellent trading partners. At the same time, West Germany and Japan—America's ideological friends—were fast developing into economic rivals.

Nixon and Kissinger also questioned some lingering Cold War assumptions. For instance, they concluded that there was no united worldwide communist movement, as Lyndon Johnson and other Presidents had believed. There were important differences between the unique ideologies of the Soviet Union and China and other communist countries, such as Yugoslavia, North Korea, and North Vietnam, which often behaved quite independently. As President, Nixon insisted on a flexible, pragmatic foreign policy that avoided ideological absolutes.



Checkpoint How did Nixon and Kissinger reshape America's approach to foreign affairs?

Vocabulary Builder

pragmatic-(prag MAT ihk) adj. practical; having to do with real actions and results rather than ideas and theories

Playing the China Card

From his first days in office, Nixon seemed determined to leave his mark on the nation's international affairs. Lyndon Johnson focused primarily on domestic affairs—the nuts and bolts of legislation and political deal-making. Nixon was more a man of the world, fascinated by global politics and shifting alliances. Johnson believed his Great Society would solidify his reputation as a great

President. In stark contrast, Nixon thought his reorientation of American foreign policy would cement his legacy in the annals of United States history.

Reasons for Reaching Out to China "You're not going to believe this," a Nixon aide told a journalist in 1969, "but Nixon wants to recognize China." It was an odd, almost unbelievable, statement. At the time, the communist People's Republic of China was the most populous country in the world, but it was not officially recognized by the United States. Nor had it been admitted to the United Nations. The China that the United States recognized as the official representative body of the Chinese people was the Nationalist Chinese government exiled on the island of Taiwan. Nixon built his impressive career as a hard-line "Cold Warrior," a vigilant opponent of communism. He was the last politician Americans could imagine to extend the olive branch of recognition—and thus peace—to the communists.

Ever the political realist, Nixon knew that the People's Republic of China could not be ignored forever. He recognized that establishing diplomatic relations with the Chinese communists would benefit the United States. From an economic standpoint, improved relations would

HISTORY MAKERS

Henry Kissinger (b. 1923)

Born in Germany, Henry Kissinger came to the United States in 1938 when his family decided to flee the Nazis' growing persecution of Jews. After serving in the United States Army during World War II, he went to college. A brilliant student, Kissinger earned his bachelor's degree with highest honors and gained a Ph.D. at Harvard in just four years. Kissinger became a

noted expert on national security and defense issues and soon impressed Richard Nixon with his foreign-policy analysis. When Nixon became President, he named Kissinger as his top national security adviser. The two worked closely together to end the Vietnam War, open relations with communist China. and shape the new diplomacy of détente with the Soviet Union. Nixon eventually named Kissinger his Secretary of State in 1973.





Ping-Pong Diplomacy Nine American table-tennis players journeyed to China in 1971 to play matches against Chinese competitors. Americans commemorated the event with special ping-pong paddles fashioned after Nixon and Chinese leader Mao Zedong.

bring significant trade agreements, especially benefiting California and the Pacific Coast. Politically, U.S. normalization would drive a wedge between China and the Soviet Union, who had strayed from their traditional alliance and become rivals for territory and diplomatic influence. Finally, if the United States forged stronger relations with the Chinese, they might pressure North Vietnam to accept a negotiated peace to end the conflict still raging at the time.

Nixon Normalizes Relations With China With so much to gain and so little to lose, Nixon quietly pushed ahead with his plans. In public, the Chinese made symbolic overtures toward a meeting. In April 1971, China invited an American table-tennis team to play against its athletes. This small action demonstrated China's willingness to talk. Henry Kissinger worked behind the scenes, talking with Chinese leaders and ironing out sensitive issues with Premier Zhou Enlai. Then, in July 1971, Nixon announced that he would make an official state visit to China.

In February 1972, the President made the trip and toured the Great Wall, the Imperial Palace, and other historic sites. Nixon sat down for lengthy talks with Zhou Enlai and Communist Party Chairman Mao Zedong. He even learned enough Chinese to make a toast in the language of his host country. The visit was a great success and an important step toward normalizing diplomatic relations with China. The following year, American tourists started visiting and American companies set up a thriving trade with China. Nixon's China trip was the high point of his presidency. It bridged, as Zhou Enlai said, "the vastest ocean in the world, twenty-five years of no communication." In 1979, the United States and China established full diplomatic relations.

Checkpoint Why did Nixon reach out to China?

Détente With the Soviet Union

Nixon's trip to the People's Republic of China prompted an immediate reaction from the Soviet Union, which had strained relations with both countries. Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev feared that improved U.S.-Chinese relations would isolate Russia. Therefore, he invited Nixon to visit Moscow. Nixon made the trip in May 1972. Afterward, the President reported to Congress that he and Brezhnev had reached agreements in a wide variety of areas:

Primary Source "Recognizing the responsibility of the advanced industrial nations to set an example in combating mankind's common enemies, the United States and the Soviet Union have agreed to cooperate in efforts to reduce pollution and enhance environmental quality. We have agreed to work together in the . . . conquest of cancer and heart disease."

—Richard Nixon, speech to Congress, June 1, 1972

Nixon also announced plans to conduct a joint U.S.-Soviet space mission.

However, by far the high point of the summit was the signing of the first Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty. Otherwise known as SALT I, the treaty froze the deployment of intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) and placed limits on antiballistic missiles (ABMs), but it did not alter the stockpiling of the more dangerous multiple independent reentry vehicles (MIRVs). SALT I did not end the arms race between the United States and the Soviet Union. But it was a giant step toward that goal.

The importance of SALT I stemmed first and foremost from U.S. and Soviet efforts to reduce tensions between them. A policy aimed at easing Cold War tensions, détente had replaced previous diplomatic efforts based on suspicion and



distrust. With his visits to China and the Soviet Union, coming within six months of each other, Richard Nixon dramatically altered America's global strategy. He relaxed the nation's inflexible stance toward communism and applied a more pragmatic approach to foreign policy. In the short term, the new relationships he forged helped the United States to end the Vietnam War. In the long term, Nixon's foreign-policy breakthroughs moved the world a step closer to the end of the Cold War.

Nuclear Arms Treaty

As Leonid Brezhnev (seated, right) looks on, President Nixon signs the SALT I treaty during his historic visit to Moscow.



Checkpoint How did SALT I support Nixon's new policy for dealing with the Soviet Union?

SECTION

Assessment

Progress Monitoring Online

For: Self-test with vocabulary practice Web Code: nea-1611

Comprehension

- 1. Terms and People For each item below, write a sentence explaining its significance.
 - Henry Kissinger
 - realpolitik
 - Zhou Enlai
 - détente

2. NoteTaking Reading Skill:

Categorize Use your table to answer the Section Focus Ouestion: How did Richard Nixon change Cold War diplomacy during his presidency?

Writing About History

3. Quick Write: Write the Essay **Body** Choose a topic from the section on which you might write a persuasive essay. For example, you might discuss whether Nixon was a better Cold War President than his predecessors. Write the body of your essay, using a list of points you have made to guide you. Remember to open and close the body of the essay with strong arguments.

Critical Thinking

- 4. Apply Information How did Nixon's policy toward China reflect the philosophy of realpolitik?
- 5. Draw Conclusions Why did Nixon and Kissinger believe détente was a beneficial foreign policy?
- 6. Predict Consequences Did Richard Nixon position the United States to win the Cold War? Why or why not?

Quick Study Guide

Progress Monitoring Online

For: Self-test with vocabulary practice Web Code: nea-1612

Roots of the U.S. Action in Vietnam

| French Surrender at Dien Bien Phu | | | | |
|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|--|--|--|
| Before | After | | | |
| French-Indochinese War: French | Geneva Accords: France grants | | | |
| forces battle Vietnamese | independence to former colonies; | | | |
| communists under Ho Chi Minh. | Vietnam divided. | | | |
| Cold War: Truman helps France in | SEATO: U.S. assembles coalition to | | | |
| order to maintain Cold War | oppose spread of communism in | | | |
| alliance against the Soviets. | Southeast Asia. | | | |
| Domino Theory: Eisenhower | U.S. Intervention: U.S. supports | | | |
| continues aid to French to prevent | anticommunist Diem regime and | | | |
| communist victory. | sends troops to Vietnam. | | | |

Arms Control Agreements

| Year | Agreement | Effect | |
|------|---|---|--|
| 1963 | Nuclear Test Ban Treaty | Banned testing of nuclear weapons in the atmosphere | |
| 1972 | SALT I Interim Agreement | Froze existing number of weapons held by each side | |
| 1972 | SALT I Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty | Set strict limits on missiles that could shoot down missiles from the other side | |
| 1979 | SALT II Treaty | Set absolute limit on number of weapons each side could hold | |

The Vietnam War, 1969-1972



South Vietnamese

citizens protest

Diem regime

Quick Study Timeline

Korean War

the World

1950-1954 1963 1954 **United States aids United States supports** American involvement in French war effort in South Vietnam; South Vietnam increases; Indochina **SEATO forms** Kennedy assassinated In America Presidential Terms Harry S. Truman 1945–1953 Dwight D. Eisenhower 1953-1961 John F. Kennedy 1961-1963 Around 1950-1953 1954 1963

Dien Bien Phu

falls; Geneva

Accords

American Issues Connector

By connecting prior knowledge with what you have learned in this chapter, you can gradually build your understanding of enduring questions that still affect America today. Answer the questions below. Then, use your American Issues Connector study quide (or go online: www.PHSchool.com **Web Code:** neh-8903).

Issues You Learned About -

- America and the World During the Cold War, the United States tried to spread democracy, increase American power around the world, and limit the expansion of communism.
- Think about the reasons for U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War and the reasons for opposition to America's role in the war. Then, write your own evaluation of whether the United States made the best decision in taking an active role in the Vietnam War. Consider the following:
 - · domino theory and its validity
 - · Gulf of Tonkin incident
 - implementation of the draft
 - · conflict between hawks and doves
 - · total of American casualties
- America Goes to War Again and again, Americans have faced the tough decision of whether or not to go to war.
- What steps are usually followed before committing U.S. forces to war? Was this process followed in the Vietnam War? Explain.
- **3.** Why did Johnson follow a policy of "Americanizing" the war effort? How did the war escalate under Johnson?
- **4.** Why did President Nixon order bombing attacks on neighboring Cambodia? Why was this move controversial?

- **Global Interdependence** U.S. leaders often use diplomacy to improve relations with our friends and to reduce tensions with our rivals.
- 5. How did Nixon's China policy affect relations between the United States and the Soviet Union?
- **6.** Explain the importance of SALT I.

Connect to Your World

Activity

Sectionalism and National Politics Over the years, different regions of the country have traditionally supported one political party or the other. However, these support bases are open to change. For example, the traditionally Democratic South voted Republican or Independent in 1968. Compare the 1968 electoral map on page 550 with the electoral map below. Then, write a summary explaining the current political landscape of the country.



1964 Gulf of Tonkin Resolution



1968
Violence erupts
at Democratic
National Convention

Nixon visits
China

Lyndon B. Johnson 1963-1969

Richard M. Nixon 1969-1974

303

1965 Operation Rolling Thunder 197

Tet Offensive

1968

1973 Paris Peace Accords 13/3

For: Interactive timeline
Web Code: nep-1614

Chapter Assessment

Terms and People

- 1. Who was Ho Chi Minh? What role did he play in Vietnam's history?
- 2. Define **hawks** and **doves**. What generalizations can you make about each group?
- 3. What was the **Tet Offensive**? Why was it a tactical victory for the Americans but a strategic victory for the communists?
- 4. Define the **Gulf of Tonkin Resolution** and the **War Powers Act.** What was the relationship between them?
- 5. Define realpolitik. Give an example of realpolitik in the 1970s.

Focus Questions

The focus question for this chapter is **How did the United States confront communism in East Asia after the Korean War?** Build an answer to this big question by answering the focus questions for Sections 1 through 5 and the Critical Thinking questions that follow.

Section 1

6. Why did the United States become involved in Vietnam?

Section 2

7. What were the causes and effects of America's growing involvement in the Vietnam War?

Section 3

8. How did the American war effort in Vietnam lead to rising protests and social divisions back home?

Section 4

9. How did the Vietnam War end and what were its lasting effects?

Section 5

10. How did Richard Nixon change Cold War diplomacy during his presidency?

Critical Thinking

- **11. Compare** Compare the involvement of Presidents Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon in Vietnam.
- **12. Explain Effects** What impact did the Vietnam War have on the United States domestic economy?
- 13. Evaluate Credibility of Sources In February 1968, a television journalist reported to his viewers that there was a "credibility gap" between Johnson's statements about the war and the reality of the fighting. Why did Americans come to doubt the word of their President?
- **14. Analyze Charts** Study the chart below. Why were casualties the highest between 1967 and 1969? Why were casualties much lower in 1972?

American Casualties in Vietnam

| Year | Killed in Action | Wounded in Action | Missing in Action |
|-----------|---------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| 1961-1965 | 1,864 | 7,337 | 18 |
| 1966 | 5,008 | 29,992 | 61 |
| 1967 | 9,378 | 56,013 | 113 |
| 1968 | 14,594 | 87,388 | 176 |
| 1969 | 9,414 | 55,390 | 112 |
| 1970 | 4,221 | 24,835 | 101 |
| 1971 | 1,380 | 18,109 | 16 |
| 1972 | 300 | 3,936 | 11 |
| | | | |

SOURCE: National Archives and Records Administration

- 15. Categorize In his efforts to end the Vietnam War, Nixon followed some policies that seemed to lessen U.S. involvement and some that seemed to increase U.S. involvement. Give examples of each type of policy.
- 16. Identify Assumptions Before Nixon took office, what did Cold War foreign-policy strategists believe about the spread of communism? What assumptions did Nixon and Kissinger make when it came to foreign affairs?

Writing About History

Writing a Persuasive Essay From 1954 to 1975, the United States supported South Vietnam in an ultimately losing battle against communist forces from North Vietnam. Write a persuasive essay in which you argue for or against the following thesis: The Vietnam War could have been won by the United States and South Vietnam. Consult page SH16 of the Writing Handbook for additional help.

Prewriting

- Choose a side of the argument.
- Collect evidence, using a graphic organizer to list points on both sides of the issue.
- Research Internet or print sources to find materials that analyze your position from both sides. Take notes on relevant details, events, and people.

Drafting

- Clearly state the position that you will argue in a thesis statement. Use the rest of your introduction to provide necessary context about the issue.
- Make an outline to organize your argument and its supporting details. Then, choose information from your research that supports each part of your outline.

Revising

 Use the guidelines on page SH16 of the Writing Handbook to revise your essay.



Document-Based Assessment

The 1968 Presidential Race

After the Tet Offensive showed the United States sinking deeper into a stalemate in Vietnam, the antiwar movement took center stage during the race for the White House. Use your knowledge of the election and the following documents to answer questions 1 through 4.

Document A

"The feud that helped define the public lives of LBJ and RFK also helped shape the two greatest national undertakings of their times—the war on poverty and the war in Vietnam. Consumed by contempt for Kennedy, Johnson transformed a potential ally into an archenemy. . . . As Johnson and Kennedy became ever more bitter enemies, they divided constituencies they once shared, weakening their party by forcing its members to choose between them. They exposed and exacerbated the growing divide within the Democratic Party and American politics in general."

—Jeff Shesol, Mutual Contempt

Document B

"[I]t 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 division in the American house now. . . . 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 fields far away, with America's future under challenge right 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 personal partisan causes or 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."

—President Lyndon B. Johnson, March 31, 1968

Document C



Chicago police remove an antiwar protester from a demonstration during the 1968 Democratic National Convention.

Document D

"For four years America's fighting men have set a record for courage and sacrifice unsurpassed in our history. . . . Never has so much military and economic and diplomatic power been used so ineffectively. . . . I say the time has come for the American people to turn to new leadership not tied to the mistakes and policies of the past. That is what we offer to America. And I pledge to you tonight that the first priority foreign policy objective of our next Administration will be to bring an honorable end to the war in Vietnam. We shall not stop there. We need a policy to prevent more Vietnams."

— Republican Presidential Nominee Richard M. Nixon, August 8, 1968

- According to Document B, Johnson has chosen not to run for reelection because he
 - A does not believe he can win.
 - **B** is tired of trying to lead a divided nation.
 - **C** has more vital duties to perform.
 - **D** thinks the nation needs new leadership.
- 2. Which of the documents focus primarily on the causes of divisions within the Democratic Party?
 - A Documents B and D
 - **B** Documents A and D
 - C Documents C and D
 - D Documents A and C

- 3. The speakers in Documents B and D would most likely agree that
 - **A** ending the Vietnam War is a top priority for the President.
 - **B** the Vietnam War has been badly managed.
 - **C** the United States is on the verge of winning in Vietnam.
 - **D** the United States should pull its troops out of Vietnam immediately.
- 4. Writing Task What were the most important factors that led to the defeat of the Democrats in 1968? Write a paragraph answering this question, using your knowledge of the chapter content and specific evidence from the primary sources above.