

The Vietnam Era 1960-1975

After spending five years as a prisoner of war in North Vietnam, Air Force Lt. Col. Robert Stirm is reunited with his family.



JOHN F. KENNEDY

★ **1962**
Cuban missile crisis erupts



LYNDON B. JOHNSON

★ **1964**
• Gulf of Tonkin resolution passes
• Johnson elected president

★ **1965**
U.S. sends troops to Vietnam

PRESIDENTS

U.S. Events

World Events

1960

1964

★ **1961**
Berlin Wall erected

★ **1966** ★
Mao Zedong launches Cultural Revolution



Section 1: Kennedy's Foreign Policy

Essential Question What were the key foreign policy challenges the United States faced during the Kennedy administration?

Section 2: War in Vietnam

Essential Question How and why did America involve itself in the war in Vietnam?

Section 3: The Vietnam Years at Home

Essential Question How did the Vietnam War affect the political and social climate in the United States?

Section 4: Nixon and Vietnam

Essential Question How did President Nixon remove the United States from the Vietnam War?



American soldier equipped for battle ►

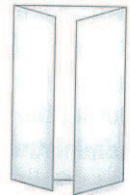
FOLDABLES[®] Study Organizer

Organizing Information

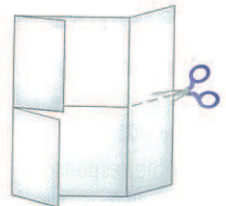
Make this Foldable to help

organize what you learn about foreign policy challenges during the Vietnam years.

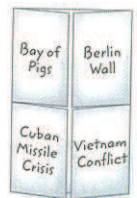
Step 1 Fold the sides of a piece of paper into the middle to make a shutterfold.



Step 2 Cut each flap at the midpoint to form four tabs.



Step 3 Label the tabs as shown.



Reading and Writing As you read the chapter, list key people, events, and outcomes for each of these foreign policy issues.

1968 ★ Martin Luther King, Jr., assassinated
1968 ★ Robert Kennedy assassinated; Nixon elected president



RICHARD M. NIXON

★ **1969** Neil Armstrong becomes first human on the moon



★ **1973** Last U.S. troops leave Vietnam

1968

1972

1976

★ **1967** Arab-Israeli Six-Day War fought

★ **1971** ★ Idi Amin seizes power in Uganda

★ **1972** 11 Israeli athletes killed at Munich Olympic Games

★ **1975** Vietnam War ends after fall of Saigon

Section

1

Kennedy's Foreign Policy



Section Audio



Spotlight Video

Essential Question

What were the key foreign policy challenges the United States faced during the Kennedy administration?

Reading Guide

Content Vocabulary

guerrilla warfare
(p. 905)

executive order
(p. 906)

flexible response
(p. 905)

blockade
(p. 908)

Academic Vocabulary

respond (p. 905)

occur (p. 907)

Key People and Events

Fidel Castro (p. 906)

Bay of Pigs (p. 907)

Berlin Wall (p. 907)

Cuban missile crisis (p. 908)

Reading Strategy

Taking Notes On a diagram like the one below, note the different areas of work in which Peace Corps volunteers were involved.

Peace Corps Work

American Diary

"In the long history of the world, only a few generations have been granted the role of defending freedom in its hour of maximum danger. I do not shrink from this responsibility—I welcome it." Although President Kennedy talked of approaching this responsibility with "energy" and "devotion," events unfolding around the world—in Cuba, Eastern Europe, and Vietnam—would challenge his determination. The new president and the nation soon faced a series of crises.

—from Kennedy's Inaugural Address

President Kennedy called the green beret worn by one of the nation's special military forces "a symbol of excellence, a badge of courage, a mark of distinction in the fight for freedom."

New Directions

Main Idea President John F. Kennedy sought new ways to deal with the challenges and fears of the Cold War.

History and You Have you ever heard the phrase “winning hearts and minds”? It means convincing people to support you rather than just forcing them to obey. Read on to learn how the United States used “good works” to convince the world’s poor countries to reject communism.

.....

When Kennedy became president in 1961, America’s dangerous rivalry with the Soviets continued to be a major challenge. As a result, the new president had to devote much of his energy in foreign policy to guiding the nation through the deepening Cold War. President Kennedy continued the anti-Communist foreign policy begun under Presidents Truman and Eisenhower. In pursuing that policy, though, Kennedy tried some new approaches.

During the presidential campaign, Kennedy led Americans to believe that the nation had fewer nuclear missiles than the Soviet

Union. As president, Kennedy increased spending on nuclear arms. At the same time, he tried to convince Nikita Khrushchev, the Soviet leader, to agree to a ban on nuclear testing.

Strength Through Flexibility

Kennedy also worked to improve America’s ability to **respond**—or reply with action—to threats abroad. In certain areas of the world, Communist groups fought to take control of their nations’ governments. Many of these groups received aid from the Soviet Union. They employed **guerrilla warfare**, or fighting with small bands of soldiers who use tactics such as sudden ambushes.

The United States needed a new approach for fighting guerrilla wars. Kennedy introduced a plan called **flexible response**, to provide help to nations fighting Communist movements. This plan relied on special military units trained to fight guerrilla wars. One of these units was the Special Forces, known as the Green Berets. The Special Forces provided the president with troops that were ready to fight guerrilla warfare anywhere around the world.

Primary Source U.S.–Soviet Relations

In a letter to Premier Nikita Khrushchev of the Soviet Union, President Kennedy expressed the need for direct communication between the leaders. “I think we should recognize, in honesty to each other, that there are problems on which we may not be able to agree.”

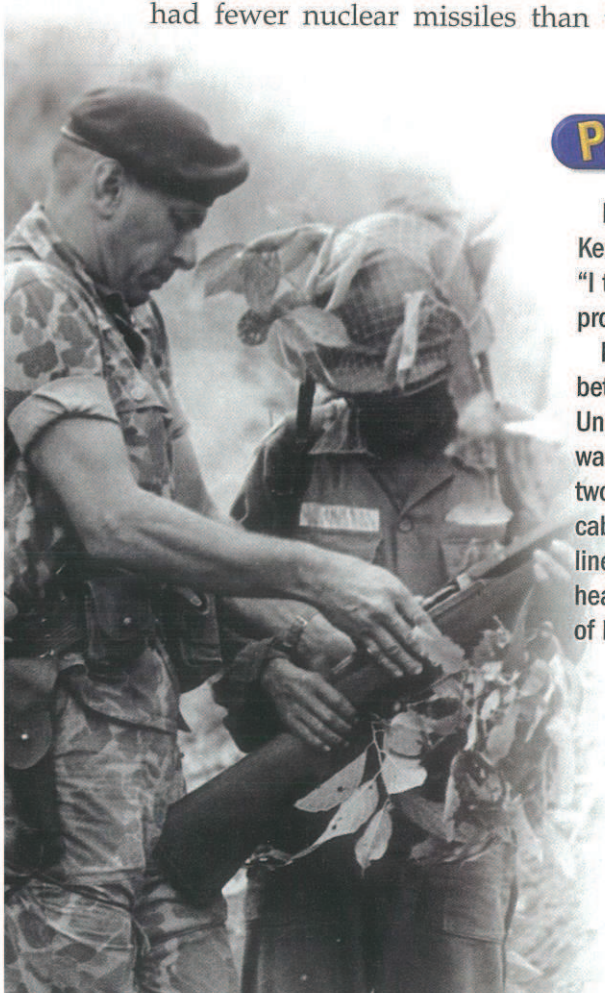
Kennedy suggested a “hot line” to communicate quickly and directly between the United States and the Soviet Union in times of crisis. The original hot line was a teletypewriter. The hot line today uses two satellite systems and an undersea cable link. The American end of the hot line is located in the Pentagon, the headquarters of the U.S. Department of Defense.

Teletype used for hot line ►



Critical Thinking

Speculating In what ways might use of the hot line lessen a crisis?



Strength Through Aid

President Kennedy understood that the poverty in Latin America, Asia, and Africa made the Communist promises of economic equality seem attractive. He decided to provide aid to countries in those areas to counteract the appeal of communism. For example, to help Latin America's economic growth, Kennedy set up a 10-year development plan called the Alliance for Progress.

In 1961 the president signed an **executive order**, or presidential directive, creating an organization called the Peace Corps. Peace Corps volunteers worked in other countries as teachers, health workers, and advisers in farming, industry, and government. Volunteers spent two years in countries that had asked for assistance. By 1963 some 5,000 volunteers were working in more than 40 countries around the world. Today, the Peace Corps is still active and remains one of Kennedy's most lasting legacies.

 **Reading Check** **Describing** What was the purpose of the Alliance for Progress?

Cold War Confrontations

Main Idea The Kennedy administration responded to Cold War crises in Cuba and Berlin.

History and You How do you think the U.S. government should deal with threats from other countries? Read to learn how the Kennedy administration dealt with Soviet threats in various parts of the world during the early 1960s.

In 1961, just a few months after taking office, President Kennedy had to deal with a foreign policy crisis in Latin America. That same year, tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union arose in Europe.

Cuba

The United States faced a new challenge in Cuba, an island country in the Caribbean Sea. This challenge had begun during the last months of the Eisenhower administration. In January 1959, rebel leader **Fidel Castro** seized power and formed a new Cuban government. He soon set up a Communist dictatorship.

Primary Source Soviet Influence

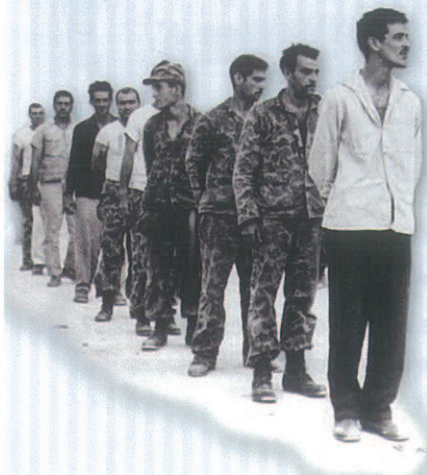
Footholds and Fences The United States began to see the influence of communism spreading around the world. The U.S. tried to shut down the threat closest to home with the invasion of the Bay of Pigs in Cuba. Half a world away, the U.S. could only watch as Communist East Germany isolated Democratic West Berlin with a cinder block and barbed wire wall.

Invasion of Cuba CIA-trained Cuban exiles landed at the Bay of Pigs on April 17, 1961. Within two days, Cuban President Fidel Castro's troops had captured more than 1,000 of the exiles and stopped the attempt at overthrowing his government.

Armed militia of the Castro government ▶

◀ Exiles taken prisoner

The Berlin Wall ▶



Cuba also became an ally of the Soviet Union. These actions worried many Americans because Cuba lies only 90 miles (145 km) south of Florida.

Late in Eisenhower's presidency, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) forged a plan to overthrow Castro. The CIA recruited Cuban refugees who had settled in the United States. The plan called for them to land in Cuba and spark an uprising that would overthrow Castro's rule. When Kennedy became president, he learned about the plan and had doubts about it. However, he accepted the advice of military advisers and the CIA and allowed the plan to go forward.

On April 17, 1961, about 1,500 CIA-trained Cuban exiles landed at the **Bay of Pigs** on the south coast of Cuba. Many blunders occurred, and at a crucial moment, Kennedy refused to provide American air support. Within days Cuban forces crushed the invasion and captured the survivors.

The Bay of Pigs embarrassed Kennedy, who took the blame for the failure. The disaster had three effects. First, Kennedy never

again completely trusted military and intelligence advice. Second, nations in Latin America lost trust in Kennedy. Third, Soviet premier Khrushchev concluded that Kennedy was not a strong leader and could be bullied.

The Berlin Wall

Although 16 years had passed since the end of World War II, the wartime Allies had still not settled the status of Germany. West Germany became a full member of the Western alliance, and the Soviet Union continued to control East Germany.

The location of Berlin—fully within East Germany—posed special problems. American, British, and French troops still remained in the western part of the city, and they sometimes had difficulty getting into West Berlin and maintaining control there. Meanwhile a steady flow of people fled to West Berlin from Communist East Berlin, hoping to escape economic hardship and find freedom.

At a June 1961 summit conference in Vienna, Austria, Premier Khrushchev told President Kennedy that the West must move out of Berlin, and he insisted on an agreement by the end of the year. Kennedy rejected Khrushchev's demand. To emphasize the West's right to stay in West Berlin, the United States later sent more troops to the city.

Later that summer, a large number of East Germans fled to the West. On August 13, the East German government, with Soviet backing, closed the border between East and West Berlin and built a wall of concrete blocks with barbed wire along it. The Soviets posted armed guards along the wall to stop more East Germans from fleeing to the West. The **Berlin Wall** cut communications between the two parts of the city.

The Western Allies remained in West Berlin. They could do little, however, to stop the building of the wall, which came to symbolize Communist repression.

August 1961 To stop the flow of skilled workers, professionals, and intellectuals from leaving East Germany, the Communist country began building the Berlin Wall on August 13. By the 1980s, it had been made taller and wider and stretched 28 miles (45 km) through the middle of Berlin and another 75 miles (120 km) around West Berlin.

Critical Thinking

Analyzing How did Soviet involvement differ between Cuba and East Germany?

 **Reading Check** **Explaining** What kind of government did Fidel Castro establish in Cuba?

Chance & Error in History



What if the Soviets Had Ignored the Blockade?

Just days after President Kennedy ordered a U.S. blockade to prevent Soviet deliveries of missiles to Cuba, Soviet ships abruptly turned away. When the Soviets offered a deal, Kennedy took it. The Soviets would withdraw their missiles in exchange for a U.S. pledge to never invade Cuba. While it seemed like a victory at the time, it left a Communist government intact just miles from the U.S. coastline. The humiliation of giving in also prompted the Soviets to begin the largest peacetime military buildup in history.

Critical Thinking

Theorizing What might have happened if the Soviets had chosen to ignore the blockade and steamed forward to Cuba?

Maps in Motion See StudentWorks™
Plus or glencoe.com.

The Cuban Missile Crisis

Main Idea The United States forced the Soviet Union to withdraw Soviet missiles that had been placed in Cuba.

History and You Have you ever been in a situation that was so scary, you thought that you would never get through it alive? Read to learn how another crisis in Cuba left Americans and people in many other nations wondering whether the world would survive.

The most dangerous Cold War dispute between the Americans and Soviets came in 1962. Once again the dispute involved Cuba.

In mid-October 1962, an American spy plane flying over Cuba made a disturbing discovery. Photographs revealed that the Soviets were building launching sites for nuclear missiles. These missiles could easily reach the United States in a matter of minutes.

For the next week, President Kennedy met secretly with advisers to determine how to deal with the **Cuban missile crisis**. They explored several options, including invading Cuba and bombing the missile sites. New spy photographs showed the bases nearing completion much faster than expected. Kennedy and his advisers needed to reach a decision quickly.

On October 22, President Kennedy, speaking on national television, revealed the “secret, swift, and extraordinary buildup” of Soviet missiles in Cuba. Kennedy ordered the navy to **blockade**, or close off, Cuba until the Soviets removed the missiles. He threatened to destroy any Soviet ship that tried to break through the blockade and reach the island. The president declared: “It shall be the policy of this nation to regard any nuclear missile launched from Cuba against any nation in the Western Hemisphere as an attack by the Soviet Union on the United States.”

The United States would respond, he warned, with a nuclear attack against the Soviet Union.

As the two superpowers neared the brink of nuclear war, people all over the world waited nervously. After five agonizing days, the Soviet ships turned back. Soviet leaders also agreed to withdraw their missiles from Cuba. The United States agreed not to invade Cuba. Nuclear war had been avoided.

Having come so close to nuclear disaster, the two nations worked to establish better relations. In the summer of 1963, Kennedy and Khrushchev created the hot line between Moscow and Washington to allow the leaders to communicate instantly in times of crisis. That same summer, the two nations signed a treaty banning nuclear tests aboveground and underwater.

Rivalry in Space

Americans and Soviets continued their rivalry in space. In April 1961, Soviet cosmonaut Yuri Gagarin (guh•GAHR•uhn) became the first person to orbit the Earth. One month later, Alan Shepard, Jr., became the first American to make a spaceflight.

Shortly after Shepard's spaceflight, Kennedy committed the nation to the goal of landing a man on the moon by the end of the decade. He asked Congress for more money for NASA (National Aeronautics and Space Administration), which ran the space program. NASA expanded its launching facility in Florida and built a control center in Houston, Texas.

Astronaut John Glenn thrilled the country in February 1962 when he orbited the Earth in a spacecraft, the first American to do so. An even greater triumph for the space program came on July 20, 1969, with the Apollo project. Awestruck television viewers around the world watched the spacecraft *Eagle* land on the surface of the moon.

Hours later, with millions still watching, astronaut Neil Armstrong took the first human step on the moon and announced: "That's one small step for a man, one giant leap for mankind." By the end of the Apollo project in 1972, 10 more Americans had landed on the moon.

 **Reading Check** **Explaining** How was the Cuban missile crisis resolved?

Section 1 Review

History ONLINE
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Vocabulary

1. Write a sentence that explains the meaning of each of the following terms: *respond*, *guerrilla warfare*, *flexible response*, *executive order*, *occur*, *blockade*.

Main Ideas

2. **Describing** What was the relationship between guerrilla warfare and Kennedy's flexible response plan?
3. **Explaining** Why did the Soviet Union build the Berlin Wall?
4. **Summarizing** What was the responsibility of NASA?
5. **Analyzing** Re-create the diagram below and identify strategies that the Kennedy administration considered to stop the buildup of missiles in Cuba.
6. **Expository Writing** Take the role of a recruiter for the Peace Corps. Write a speech that describes the creation and mission of the Peace Corps and encourages people to apply.
7. **Answer the Essential Question** What were the key foreign policy challenges the United States faced during the Kennedy administration?



Section

2

War in Vietnam



Section
Audio



Spotlight
Video

Essential Question

How and why did America involve itself in the war in Vietnam?

Reading Guide

Content Vocabulary

escalate (p. 913) napalm (p. 914)
search-and-destroy mission (p. 914) Agent Orange (p. 914)

Academic Vocabulary

trace (p. 911) regime (p. 912)

Key People and Events

Ho Chi Minh (p. 911)
Vietcong (p. 912)
Gulf of Tonkin Resolution (p. 913)

Reading Strategy

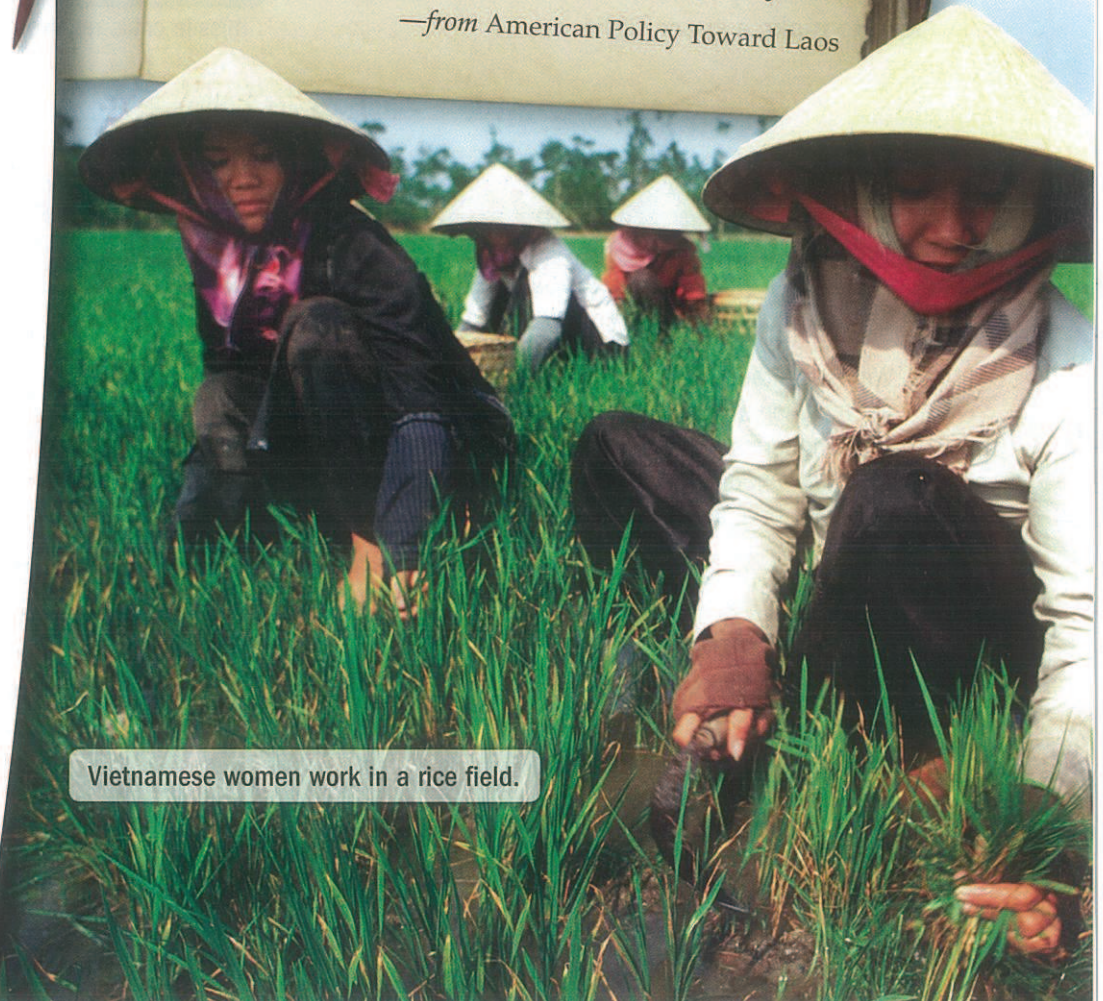
Taking Notes On a chart like the one below, identify each president's main philosophy about America's involvement in Vietnam.

President	Philosophy
Eisenhower	
Kennedy	
Johnson	

American Diary

American efforts to stop the spread of communism led to U.S. involvement in Vietnam. President Eisenhower believed that "the loss of all Vietnam, together with Laos on the west and Cambodia in the southwest, would have meant the surrender to Communist enslavement of millions." In the late 1950s, President Eisenhower sent military supplies and advisers to pro-Western South Vietnam in support of its fight against Communist North Vietnam. President Kennedy continued this policy.

—from American Policy Toward Laos



Vietnamese women work in a rice field.

The U.S. and Vietnam

Main Idea Vietnam became a divided country as a result of conflict between Communist and non-Communist groups.

History and You What would it be like to live in a country where a civil war was raging? Read to learn how a civil war affected the people of Vietnam.

In the early 1960s, the United States became involved in a fight against the spread of communism in Southeast Asia. The war in Vietnam did not unfold as Americans hoped, however. General Maxwell Taylor, who served as U.S. ambassador to South Vietnam, reflected on the problems of the war years after it had ended:

PRIMARY SOURCE

"First, we didn't know ourselves. We thought that we were going into another Korean war, but this was a different country. Secondly, we didn't know our South Vietnamese allies. We never understood them, and that was another surprise. And we knew even less about North Vietnam."

—from *Vietnam: A History*

Origins of the War

The roots of the Vietnam conflict can be traced, or followed, back to World War II, when Japanese forces captured the French colony of Indochina in Southeast Asia. Vietnamese forces led by Communist **Ho Chi Minh** (HOH CHEE MIHN) fought against the Japanese.

When Japan surrendered at the end of World War II, Ho Chi Minh declared Vietnam's independence. The French, however, were unwilling to give up their empire. Their Indochina colony—the present-day nations of Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam—was among the richest of France's colonies, supplying resources such as rice, rubber, and tin. Ho Chi Minh and his forces fought the French in a long, bloody war, finally defeating the French in 1954 at Dien Bien Phu.

The Geneva Accords

That same year, diplomats from the United States, France, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, China, and Vietnam met in Geneva, Switzerland, to work out a peace agreement. According to the Geneva Accords, Vietnam would be divided temporarily.

When and Where Indochina in 1959

In 1959 North Vietnam began to deliver supplies to its forces in South Vietnam through a network of paths and roads through the countries of Laos and Cambodia. This network became known as the Ho Chi Minh Trail. ▶



Critical Thinking

Explaining According to President Eisenhower, why was it important for the United States to help South Vietnam?



The agreement also stated that Ho Chi Minh's Communist nationalists would control the North. Hanoi served as its capital. Non-Communist forces—supported by the United States—would control the South, with Saigon as the capital. Vietnam would be unified in 1956 after national elections.

Neither the United States nor South Vietnam signed the agreement, but they did not oppose its provisions. At the same time, the U.S. emphasized that it would act if Communist North Vietnam moved aggressively against the South.

In 1955 Ngo Dinh Diem (NGOH DIHN deh•EHM), with American support, became South Vietnam's leader. He refused to hold elections and cracked down on Communists in the South. In response the Communists set up the National Liberation Front (NLF), or the **Vietcong**. In 1959 the Vietcong, on orders from Ho Chi Minh, began a war against the Diem **regime**, or governing authority.

A Growing American Role

The United States had replaced the French as the dominant foreign power in the South in 1955. If Communists took South Vietnam, President Eisenhower once said, the other countries of Southeast Asia would fall to communism like a row of dominoes—one right after the other. This domino theory helped shape American policy in Vietnam for the next 20 years.

To support South Vietnam, the Eisenhower administration sent the country billions of dollars in aid. It also dispatched a few hundred soldiers, who acted as advisers to the South Vietnamese government and army.

Like Eisenhower, President Kennedy saw Vietnam as part of the global struggle against communism. Kennedy sent more Special Forces—the Green Berets—to train and advise South Vietnamese troops. Kennedy also pressured Diem to make reforms that would undercut the appeal of communism.

The Vietnam Conflict 1941-1954

Japanese troops advance into Indochina. ▶

- ★ **July 1941**
Japan captures French colony of Indochina (Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia)



Ho Chi Minh ▶

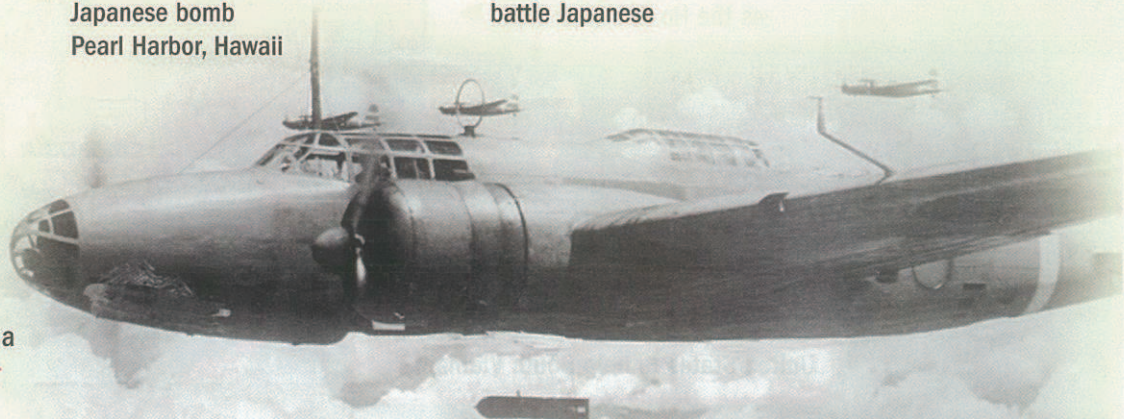
- ★ **September 1945**
 - Japan surrenders to Allies
 - Communist Ho Chi Minh declares Vietnam independent



- ★ **December 1941**
Japanese bomb Pearl Harbor, Hawaii

- ★ **Late 1943** Vietnamese battle Japanese

Japanese planes on a bombing mission ▶

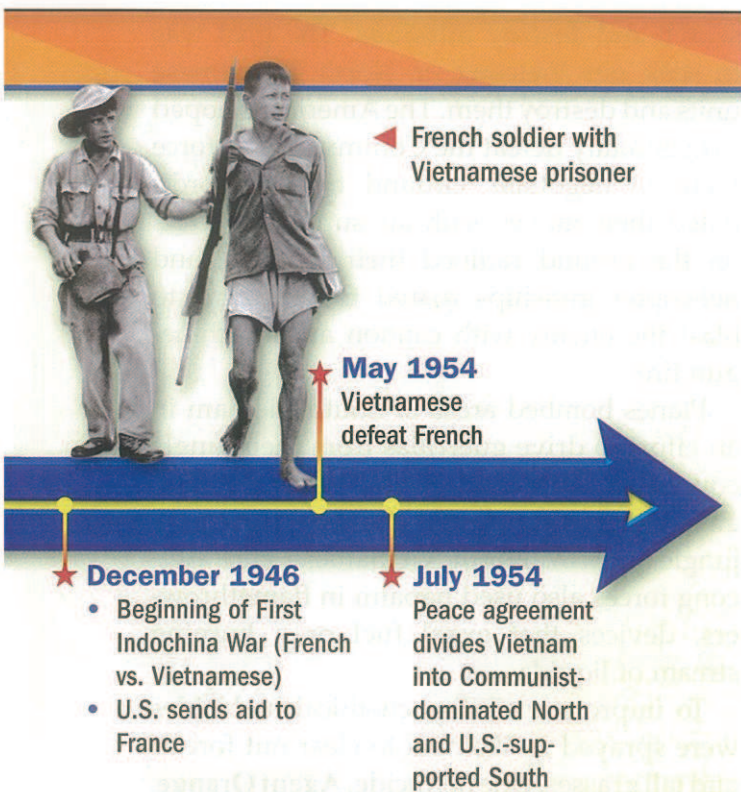


Americans urged him to create a more democratic government and to help Vietnam's peasants. Diem introduced some limited reforms, but they had little effect.

Diem took away rights from the majority Buddhist population and favored Catholics, like himself. Buddhists responded with protests, including Buddhist monks setting themselves on fire on busy streets. As a result of these protests, Kennedy found it difficult to continue to support Diem.

In November 1963, the South Vietnamese army overthrew the government and assassinated Diem. The Kennedy administration had supported the takeover, but not Diem's killing. After President Kennedy's assassination later that month, the question of what to do in Vietnam fell on the shoulders of President Lyndon B. Johnson.

✓ Reading Check **Analyzing** What were the Geneva Accords?



Critical Thinking

Making Connections Why do you think the United States sent aid to France in its battle to keep Vietnam under French rule?

The Conflict Deepens

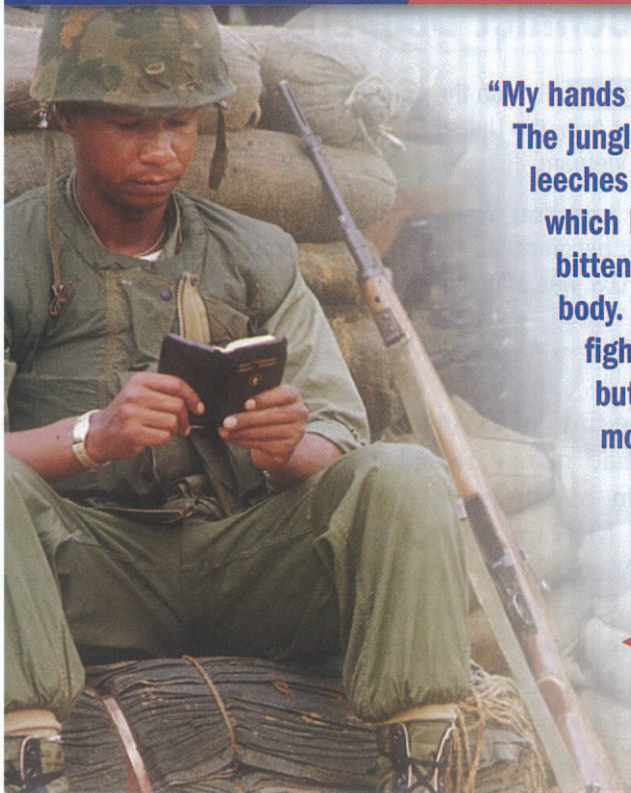
Main Idea To stop the spread of communism in Southeast Asia, the United States became involved in a war in Vietnam.

History and You What sacrifices must a country make if it becomes involved in a war? Read to learn how the U.S. was affected by its involvement in the Vietnam War.

At the time of Kennedy's death, the United States had nearly 16,000 American troops in Vietnam as advisers. Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara told the president that South Vietnam could not resist the Vietcong rebels without more help from the United States. In a May 1964 conversation, taped but not made public until 1997, Johnson himself expressed doubts about American commitment. "I don't think it's worth fighting for," he said, "but I don't think we can get out." As Vietcong attacks continued, the United States moved toward deeper involvement in the region.

President Johnson wanted congressional support for expanding the American role in Vietnam. The opportunity to get that support came in August 1964, when North Vietnamese patrol boats allegedly attacked American destroyers in the Gulf of Tonkin near North Vietnam. Congress quickly passed a resolution that allowed the president to "take all necessary measures to repel any armed attack against the forces of the United States." The **Gulf of Tonkin Resolution** gave Johnson broad authority to use American forces.

In 1965 President Johnson began to **escalate**—gradually increase—U.S. involvement in Vietnam. The buildup included both ground troops and an air campaign. United States Marines landed near Da Nang, South Vietnam, on March 8, 1965. During the next three years, the number of American troops in Vietnam rose sharply. About 180,000 U.S. soldiers were in Vietnam by the end of 1965, almost 400,000 by the end of 1966, and more than 500,000 by 1968.



“My hands are covered with cuts. The jungles have thousands of leeches and mosquitoes of which I think I have gotten bitten almost all over my body. . . . Actually the fighting is not heavy yet, but the rumor is we’re moving south.”

—from *Dear America: Letters Home from Vietnam*

◀ American soldier in Vietnam

What would a foot soldier carry?

Typical Gear	Typical Pack
Rifle	Poncho
Web belt with ammo pouches	Poncho liner
Hand grenades	Five C-ration meals
Smoke grenades	Rain jacket
First aid pouch	Sweater shirt
Canteen	Extra canteen
Two bandoliers of ammo	Extra ammo
	Gun-cleaning kit
	Extra smoke grenade
	Extra rifle bolt
	Camera

Critical Thinking

Contrasting How were the experiences of a soldier in Vietnam different from a soldier during the U.S. Civil War?

In March 1965, the United States unleashed an intense bombing campaign called Operation Rolling Thunder. Some planes attacked the Ho Chi Minh Trail, a network of roads, paths, and bridges that wound from North Vietnam through Cambodia and Laos into South Vietnam. North Vietnamese troops used this route to bring equipment south. Other planes targeted bridges, docks, factories, and military bases in the North.

The bombing increased in intensity from 1965 through 1968. By then American planes had dropped more bombs on North Vietnam than they dropped on Germany, Italy, and Japan during World War II.

Fighting the War

The American troops found fighting a ground war in Vietnam difficult. Dense jungles, muddy trails, and swampy rice paddies hampered troop movement. The South Vietnamese army did not always fight effectively. As the Vietcong guerrillas blended with the population, American soldiers found it hard to tell friends and enemies apart.

The American forces began to conduct **search-and-destroy missions**. The goal was to seek out Vietcong or North Vietnamese units and destroy them. The Americans hoped to eventually defeat the Communists or force them to negotiate. Ground troops coordinated their moves with air support. Patrols on the ground radioed their location, and helicopter gunships roared to the scene to blast the enemy with cannon and machine-gun fire.

Planes bombed areas of South Vietnam in an effort to drive guerrillas from their jungle cover. Both sides used planes to drop **napalm**, an explosive that burned intensely, to destroy jungle growth. North Vietnamese and Vietcong forces also used napalm in flamethrowers, devices that expel fuel or a burning stream of liquids.

To improve visibility, chemical herbicides were sprayed in Vietnam to clear out forests and tall grasses. One herbicide, **Agent Orange**, is believed to have contaminated many Americans and Vietnamese, causing serious health problems.

Frustration Grows

The bombing of the Ho Chi Minh Trail and the North did not stop the constant flow of troops and equipment south. Neither did it break the morale of the North Vietnamese. As one of their leaders later said:

PRIMARY SOURCE

"[We survived] because of our courage and determination, together with wisdom, tactics, and intelligence. . . . We had to resort to different measures, some of which are quite simple, like hiding in man-holes and evacuating to the countryside. And we fought back with all our forces and with every kind of weapon."

—from an interview with General Vo Nguyen Giap

The search-and-destroy missions killed thousands of North Vietnamese and Vietcong troops—but the troops always seemed to be replaced. What Ho Chi Minh had said to the French became true again: "You can kill ten of my men for every one I kill of yours. But even at those odds, you will lose and I will win."

American troops advanced into rice paddies, jungles, and small villages and killed scores of Vietcong. Yet the next day, the same area often

had to be attacked again. American soldiers grew frustrated. Philip Caputo, a young marine lieutenant, recalled the changing attitude:


PRIMARY SOURCE

"When we marched into the rice paddies on that damp March afternoon, we carried, along with our packs and rifles, the implicit convictions that the Viet Cong would be quickly beaten. . . . We kept the packs and rifles; the convictions, we lost."

—from *A Rumor of War*

Debate in the White House

Officials in the Johnson administration saw the mounting Communist losses and believed at first that the United States could succeed. As the war dragged on, however, some officials saw a gloomier situation. Secretary of Defense McNamara began to argue that the ground war and the air attacks had failed and that the war could not be won. Outside the nation's capital, opposition to U.S. involvement in Vietnam grew.

 **Reading Check** **Identifying** By what means did President Johnson escalate the U.S. presence in Vietnam?

Section 2 Review

History ONLINE
Study Central™ To review this section, go to glencoe.com.

Vocabulary

1. Write a paragraph using each of the following terms: *trace*, *regime*, *escalate*, *search-and-destroy mission*, *napalm*, *Agent Orange*.

Main Ideas

2. **Describing** What was the domino theory, and how did it shape American policy in Vietnam?
3. **Summarizing** How large was the American troop increase in Vietnam between 1963 and the end of 1965?
4. **Explaining** What was the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, and why was it important?
5. **Organizing Information** Re-create the diagram below to show the different warfare techniques used in search-and-destroy missions.
6. **Descriptive Writing** Imagine you are an American soldier arriving in Vietnam. In one or two paragraphs, describe the terrain you find yourself fighting in and how it affects your abilities as a soldier.



- Answer the Essential Question**
7. How and why did America involve itself in the war in Vietnam?

**YOU
DECIDE**

Should We Be Fighting the Vietnam War?

Building Background

Government officials urged Americans to support the war's goals of spreading freedom and democracy. President Lyndon B. Johnson responded to criticism of his management of the war by defending the struggle as an idealistic cause.

As U.S. involvement in the war increased, so did opposition to it. The mainstream media, which had tried to remain balanced in their war coverage, now openly criticized the effort. Walter Cronkite, then the nation's most respected newscaster, supported the war effort at first. After traveling to Vietnam to report on the fighting, Cronkite's stories began to include his disappointments with the status of the war.



NO

WALTER CRONKITE,

after the Tet Offensive, February 27, 1968

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. . . .

To say that we are closer to victory today is to believe, in the face of the evidence, the optimists who have been wrong in the past. To suggest we are on the edge of defeat is to yield to unreasonable pessimism. To say that we are mired¹ in stalemate seems the only realistic, yet unsatisfactory, conclusion. . . . It is increasingly clear to this reporter that the only rational way out then will be to negotiate, not as victors, but as an honorable people who lived up to their pledge to defend democracy, and did the best they could.

Fighting in Saigon during the
Tet Offensive, May 1968

¹ mired stuck

YES

PRESIDENT JOHNSON

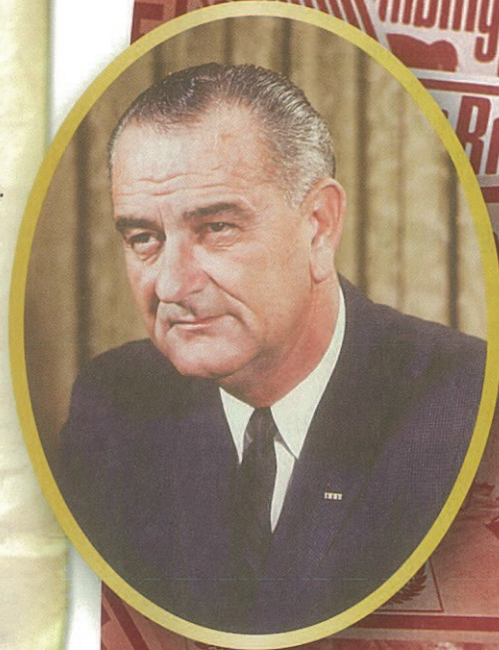
Addresses Johns Hopkins University, April 7, 1965

We fight because we must fight if we are to live in a world where every country can shape its own destiny. And only in such a world will our own freedom be finally secure.

This kind of world will never be built by bombs or bullets. Yet the infirmities² of man are such that force must often precede reason, and the waste of war, the works of peace. . . .

. . . To abandon this small and brave nation [Vietnam] to its enemies, and to the terror that must follow, would be an unforgivable wrong. . . .

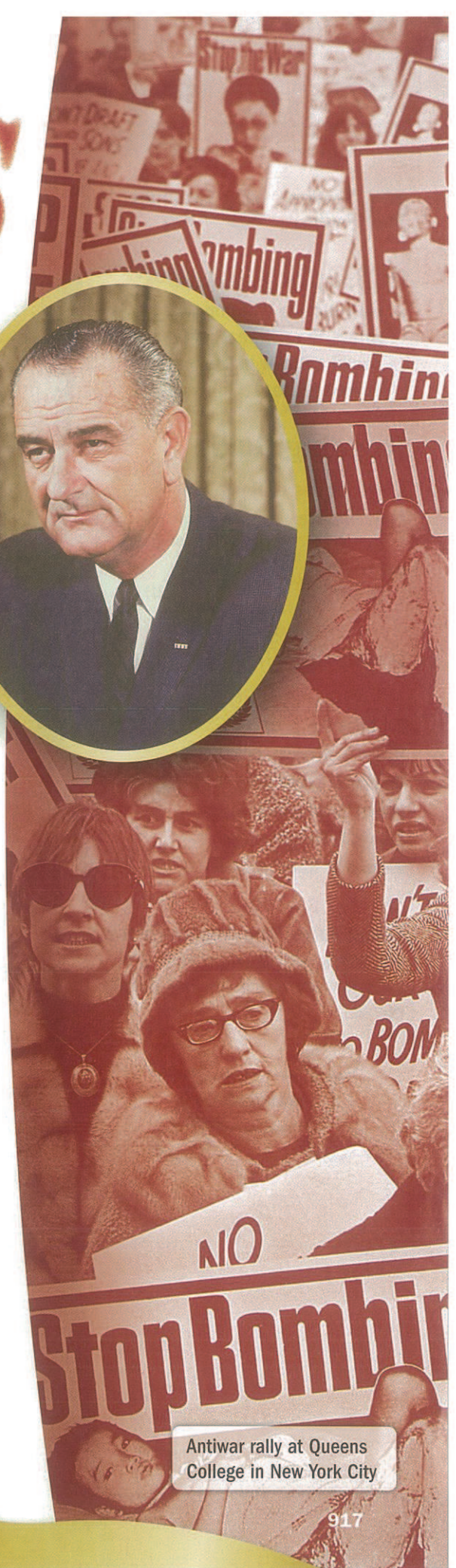
We are also there because there are great stakes in the balance. Let no one think for a moment that retreat from Viet-Nam would bring an end to conflict. The battle would be renewed in one country and then another. The central lesson of our time is that the appetite of aggression is never satisfied.



² **infirmities** weaknesses

DBQ Document-Based Questions

1. **Interpreting** Why does Johnson believe the United States should be fighting the war in Vietnam?
2. **Making Inferences** What does Cronkite believe the result will be if the United States continues fighting in Vietnam?
3. **Analyzing** How do Johnson and Cronkite differ in their views on achieving peace?
4. **Synthesizing** Why might Americans, such as Walter Cronkite, be frustrated with the war?



Antiwar rally at Queens College in New York City

The Vietnam Years at Home

Section
AudioSpotlight
Video

Essential Question

How did the Vietnam War affect the political and social climate in the United States?

Reading Guide

Content Vocabulary

counterculture
(p. 919)

conscientious
objector (p. 920)

deferment
(p. 920)

credibility
gap (p. 921)

Academic Vocabulary

conduct (p. 920)

exclude (p. 923)

Key People and Events

Tet Offensive (p. 921)

Robert F. Kennedy (p. 921)

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. (p. 922)

Hubert H. Humphrey (p. 922)

George C. Wallace (p. 923)

Richard M. Nixon (p. 923)

Reading Strategy

Taking Notes On a diagram like the one below, record characteristics of the counterculture in America during the war.



American Diary

As casualties mounted in Vietnam, many people began to protest against the war. Jeff Sharlet was a Vietnam veteran who opposed the war but was disgusted by the attitudes and actions of the protesters. He decided to start a newspaper, *Vietnam GI*, written entirely by veterans and soldiers. The soldiers, whether they supported or opposed the war effort, always knew they could express their views in its pages.



Antiwar demonstration, February 1966

The Youth Protest

Main Idea The war in Vietnam led to sharp divisions between Americans who supported the war and those who did not.

History and You Have members of your family heatedly disagreed over certain issues? Read to learn how the war in Vietnam affected American society.

While fighting raged in Vietnam, the American people disagreed sharply over the war. Pro-war and antiwar groups attacked each other with mounting anger. Antiwar demonstrators called President Johnson and his supporters “killers.” Supporters of the war referred to the protesters as “traitors.” The war seemed to split America—and much of the division resulted from what people called the generation gap.

As United States involvement in the war increased, so did opposition to it. Some Americans felt that the conflict in Vietnam was a civil war and should not involve the United States. Others were concerned that the cost of America’s commitment to Vietnam was hurting domestic programs. Still others

viewed South Vietnam as a corrupt dictatorship and insisted that defending the country was immoral and unjust. All condemned the devastation of the countryside and the lives lost during the course of the war.

Many who opposed the war were part of the **counterculture**, a movement that rejected traditional American values. Some common symbols of the counterculture—torn blue jeans and long hair for males—aroused opposition from parents. Popular music played a role in communicating the ideas of the counterculture.

Other parts of the counterculture represented a more serious challenge to traditional middle-class values. Some young people refused to follow customary social roles of work and family. They aimed to reject aspects of American society such as the competition for material goods and personal success.

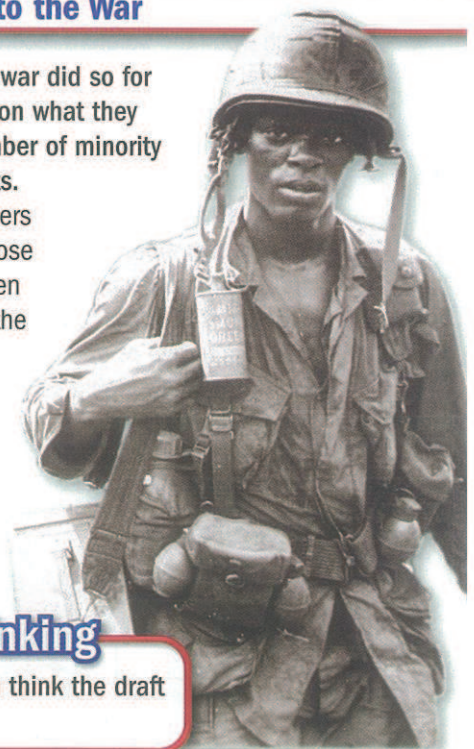
Opposition to the Draft

Student protests targeted the selective service system—the draft that supplied soldiers for the war. The law required all men to register for the draft when they reached age 18. Opposition to the draft had two sources.

Primary Source Opposition to the War

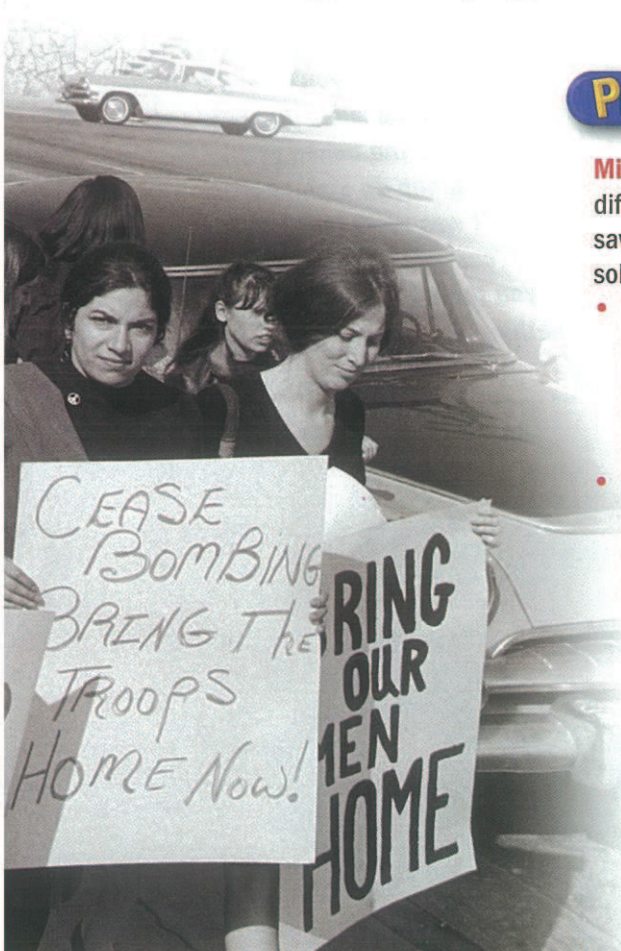
Minority Soldiers People who opposed the war did so for different reasons. Young protesters focused on what they saw as an unfair draft system. The high number of minority soldiers dying in Vietnam also led to protests.

- In 1965 and 1966, African American soldiers accounted for more than 20 percent of those killed or wounded in combat at a time when about 13.5 percent of U.S. men between the ages of 19 and 25 were African American.
- The Chicano National Moratorium was organized to make known the proportionately high rate of Chicano war casualties.



Critical Thinking

Evaluating Do you think the draft was fair? Explain.



History ONLINE

Student Web Activity Visit glencoe.com and complete the Chapter 29 Web Activity about young people and the draft.

Those who were strongly opposed to American involvement in Vietnam believed that by ending the draft, they could halt the supply of soldiers needed to fight there. Others called the draft unfair. Draft boards had the power to give people **deferments** that excused them from the draft for various reasons. Full-time students attending college—mostly from the middle class—received such deferments. As a result, a large percentage of soldiers came from poor or working-class families. Many argued that deferments discriminated against these families.

Some protesters became **conscientious objectors**, claiming that their moral or religious beliefs prevented them from fighting in the war. Other protesters showed their opposition by burning their draft cards—their military registration forms.

Doves and Hawks

Students and other opponents of the Vietnam War came to be called doves. Supporters of the war became known as hawks.

Across the nation more and more Americans came to view the war unfavorably. Some thought the United States should not be fighting in Vietnam. Others opposed the way the government **conducted**, or directed the course of, the war. Both hawks and doves criticized the president for his handling of the war in Vietnam, and his approval rating greatly declined.

As the opposition to the war mounted, the opponents staged larger demonstrations. In October 1967, more than 50,000 people marched to the Pentagon—headquarters of the Defense Department—to protest the war. Of those Americans who supported the war, many openly criticized the protesters for a lack of patriotism.

 **Reading Check** **Describing** How did some Americans protest the draft in the 1960s?

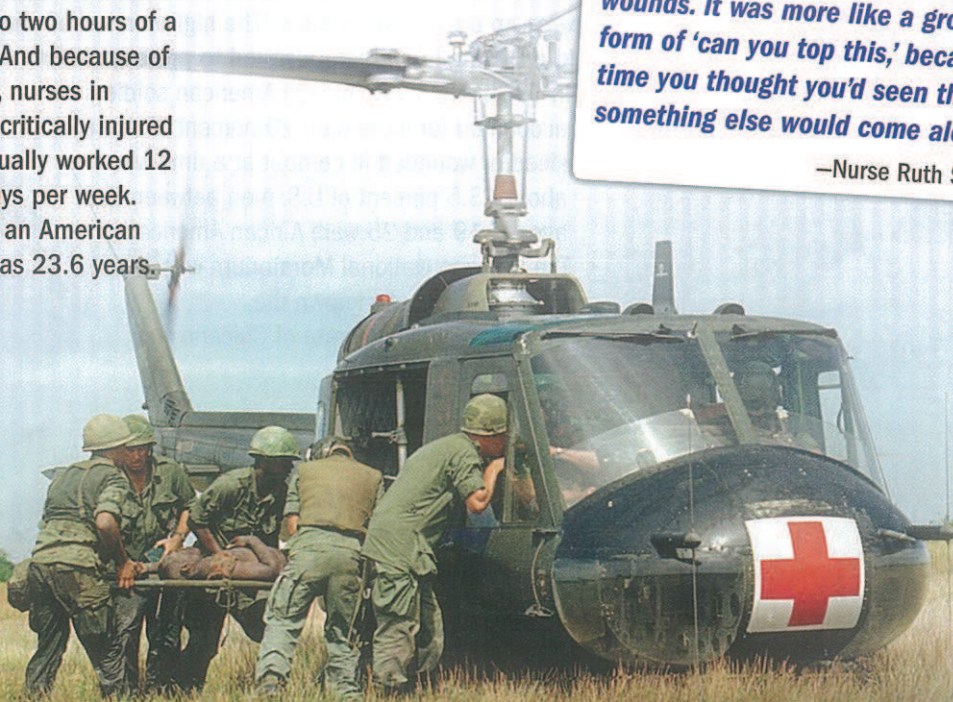
Primary Source Wounded in War

Rapid Rescue The helicopter ambulance sped up the time in which wounded soldiers received medical treatment. Crews were able to shuttle the injured to a medical facility within one to two hours of a soldier being hurt. And because of the rapid transport, nurses in Vietnam saw more critically injured soldiers. Nurses usually worked 12 hours per day, 6 days per week. The average age of an American nurse in Vietnam was 23.6 years.

A wounded soldier is loaded onto a helicopter. ►

"Some days you felt you'd lived a lifetime in just a week. Because Vietnam was not John Wayne on the beach at Iwo Jima. It was not ketchup on make-believe wounds. It was more like a grotesque form of 'can you top this,' because each time you thought you'd seen the ultimate, something else would come along."

—Nurse Ruth Sidisin, USAF



1968—Year of Crisis

Main Idea The year 1968 was a turning point in the Vietnam War that greatly affected the nation's political life.

History and You Do you recall a year that is meaningful to you because of the particular events that occurred during that time? Read to learn why 1968 became a significant year for Americans.

.....

The year 1968 opened with a shock for the American people. North Vietnam launched a major series of attacks in South Vietnam. As Americans soon learned, 1968 would be a long, dramatic, and very difficult year.

The Tet Offensive

On January 31, 1968, the North Vietnamese and Vietcong launched a series of attacks, which began on Tet—the Vietnamese New Year. This **Tet Offensive** marked a turning point in the Vietnam War. The Communist attacks targeted American military bases and

South Vietnam's cities. Vietcong troops raided the United States embassy in Saigon, the capital. They also struck in Hue, the ancient capital of Vietnam.

Militarily, Tet turned out to be a disaster for the Communist forces. After a month of fighting, the American and South Vietnamese soldiers drove back the enemy troops, inflicting heavy losses. In the United States, however, the Tet Offensive turned many more Americans against the war—and President Johnson. The American people were shocked that an enemy supposedly close to defeat could launch such a large-scale attack.

Major newspapers and magazines openly criticized the Johnson administration's conduct of the war. Most Americans seemed to agree, believing that the army was losing ground. The Johnson administration developed a **credibility gap**—fewer people trusted its statements about the war.

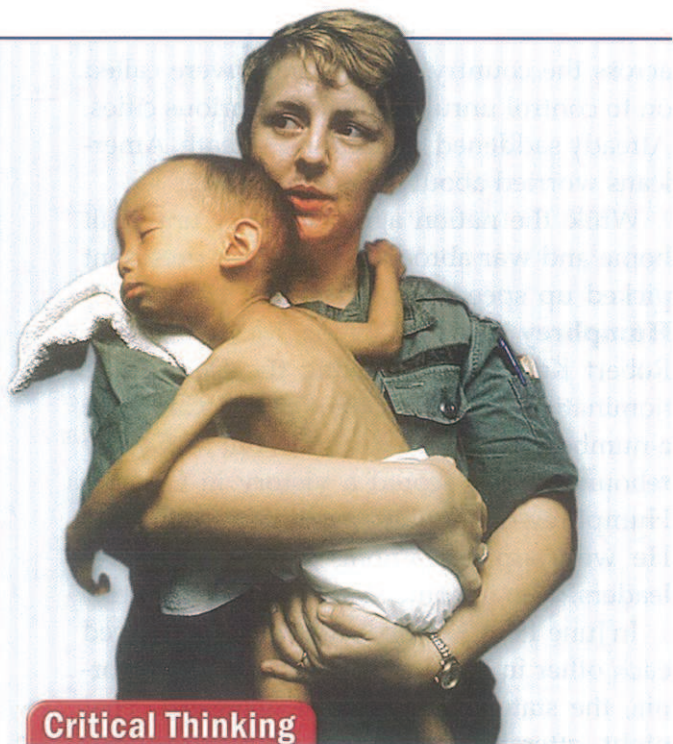
Political Opposition

As opposition to the war grew, President Johnson faced challenges in his own party. In late 1967, Democratic senator Eugene McCarthy of Minnesota announced that he would run for the party's nomination for the presidency as a protest against the war. Not well known, McCarthy seemed to have little chance of winning. In the March 12 primary in New Hampshire, however, McCarthy surprised everyone by taking 42 percent of the popular vote. Although Johnson won the primary, McCarthy's strong showing indicated widespread opposition to the war.

Later, another antiwar candidate entered the race. **Robert F. Kennedy**, attorney general during his brother's presidency and now a senator from New York, announced that he, too, would seek the Democratic nomination.

The President Responds

Events in Vietnam and the growing antiwar movement disturbed President Johnson. After the Tet Offensive, the American commander in Vietnam, General William Westmoreland, requested still more troops.



Critical Thinking

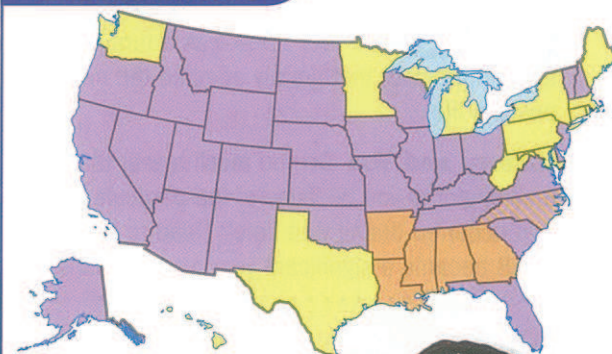
Speculating How do you think young nurses reacted after working such long hours and seeing such horrific injuries?

Events of 1968

- President Johnson does not run for reelection.
- Martin Luther King, Jr., and Robert Kennedy are shot and killed.
- Antiwar demonstrations disrupt the Democratic convention in Chicago.
- Demonstrations spread to many college campuses.
- Third-party candidate George Wallace makes a strong showing.
- With Richard Nixon's victory in 1968, Republicans hold a near monopoly on the presidency for the next 20 years.

◀ Robert Kennedy

Election of 1968



Candidate*	Electoral Vote	Popular Vote	Political Party
Nixon	301	31,785,480	Republican
Humphrey	191	31,275,166	Democrat
Wallace	46	9,906,473	Independent

*One North Carolina elector voted for Wallace

Richard Nixon ▶

Map Skills

- Region** In what area of the nation did Wallace receive the most votes?
- Region** Explain why you agree or disagree with the following: The Northeast was Nixon's strongest region in 1968.

Maps in Motion See StudentWorks™ Plus or glencoe.com.

Instead of agreeing with Westmoreland's request for more troops, the president ordered a reevaluation of the war. He also reevaluated his own campaign for reelection.

On March 31, 1968, President Johnson appeared on television to announce a "new step toward peace"—he would halt the bombing of North Vietnam's cities. He asked North Vietnam for a comparable action so that peace talks could begin. The president concluded his speech with a startling announcement: "I shall not seek, and I will not accept, the nomination of my party for another term as your president."

Violence Erupts

A few days after Johnson withdrew from the presidential race, tragedy struck the nation. On the evening of April 4, a sniper in Memphis, Tennessee, shot and killed **Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.**, the leading activist in the civil rights movement.

The assassination of Dr. King set off riots across the country. Army troops were called on to control unruly crowds in various cities. Already saddened by Dr. King's death, Americans worried about urban violence.

While the nation agonized over unrest at home and war abroad, the race for president picked up speed. Vice President **Hubert H. Humphrey** joined Eugene McCarthy and Robert Kennedy in seeking the Democratic nomination. Kennedy edged out McCarthy in a number of primary elections, but McCarthy rebounded and scored a victory in Oregon. Humphrey, meanwhile, avoided primaries. He won support among Democratic Party leaders, who in some states chose delegates.

In June 1968, Kennedy and McCarthy faced each other in the primary election in California, the state with the most delegates. That night, after Kennedy won, an assassin shot and killed him. The nation reeled with the shock of yet another assassination.

The Democratic Convention

By the time the Democrats held their convention in Chicago, Humphrey seemed to have enough votes to win the nomination. As a supporter of civil rights and labor causes, Humphrey had much backing in the party. As a supporter of Johnson's Vietnam policy, however, Humphrey was linked to the party's pro-war wing. Antiwar Democrats felt angry and **excluded**, or shut out, from the convention.


Meanwhile, thousands of antiwar activists flocked to Chicago to protest Humphrey's almost certain victory. Chicago's mayor, Richard J. Daley, feared violence and had the police out in force. When antiwar protesters tried to march to the convention site, police blocked the marchers, who began to pelt the officers with sticks and bottles. The police threw tear gas and charged in, wielding nightsticks. They pursued those who fled, beating some and arresting many.

Humphrey won the Democratic nomination, but the violence—all shown on television—damaged his candidacy. Humphrey admitted, "Chicago was a catastrophe."

The Election of 1968

Most Americans opposed the violence and longed for a return to law and order. As Election Day neared, third-party candidate Governor **George C. Wallace** of Alabama criticized protesters and efforts to integrate schools by busing. His tough stand on law and order and his appeal to racial fears won many voters. Republican nominee, former vice president **Richard M. Nixon**, claimed to stand for the conservative "silent majority" who wanted law and order and did not protest or demonstrate. He also offered "peace with honor" in Vietnam, but gave no details.

In the election, the popular vote was close. Nixon edged Humphrey by about 500,000 votes. In the electoral vote, however, Nixon won a solid majority—301 votes to Humphrey's 191. Nixon became president with the votes of only 43.4 percent of the people, but he and Wallace together won about 57 percent. It seemed that a sizeable majority of Americans wanted the government to restore order.

 **Reading Check** **Identifying** What two popular leaders were assassinated in 1968?

Section 3 Review

History ONLINE
Study Central™ To review this section, go to glencoe.com.

Vocabulary

1. Use each of these terms in a complete sentence that will explain its meaning:
counterculture, deferment, conscientious objector, conduct, credibility gap, exclude.

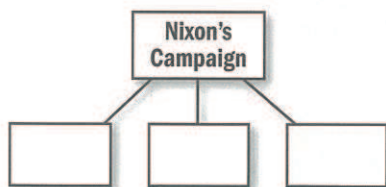
Main Ideas

2. **Explaining** What were draft deferments, and who received them?
3. **Summarizing** What was the Tet Offensive? Why was it significant to the course of the war?

4. **Analyzing** Why did President Lyndon B. Johnson decide not to seek reelection?

Critical Thinking

5. **Identifying** On a diagram like the one below, list the major points that Nixon campaigned on in 1968.



6. **Analyzing** Who were the "silent majority," and how did their votes affect the outcome of the 1968 presidential election?
7. **Persuasive Writing** Write a short essay to convince the reader to agree with your point of view on this question: *Should America use a draft system with the armed services?*

Answer the Essential Question

8. **Essential Question** How did the Vietnam War affect the political and social climate in the United States?

TIME NOTEBOOK

What were people's lives like in the past?

These two pages will give you some clues to everyday life in the United States as you step back in time with TIME Notebook.



Profile

On July 20, 1969, **NEIL ARMSTRONG** became the first human to walk on the moon. There he spoke the famous words, "That's one small step for a man, one giant leap for mankind." Later, Armstrong reflected on his voyage and the "spaceship" we call Earth.

"From our position here on Earth, it is difficult to observe where the Earth is, and where it's going, or what its future course might be. Hopefully by getting a little farther away, both in the real sense and the figurative sense, we'll be able to make some people step back and reconsider their mission in the universe, to think of themselves as a group of people who constitute [make up] the crew of a spaceship going through the universe. If you're going to run a spaceship you've got to be pretty cautious about how you use your resources, how you use your crew, and how you treat your spacecraft."

—from the book *First on the Moon*

The Peace Corps

Established by President Kennedy in 1961, the Peace Corps sends trained Americans as "goodwill ambassadors" to developing nations. Once there, these volunteers help with agriculture, education, and health projects—as well as with small businesses and rural engineering. Here is what one volunteer said about working with the Peace Corps from 1963–1965:

"I was in college when JFK created the Peace Corps, and I thought it was a great idea. I was inspired by his question, 'Ask not what your country can do for you; ask what you can do for your country.' I wanted to travel and experience a different culture, and I admired President Kennedy's idealism, so I applied. Living in another country, I learned to appreciate my own country more."



BETTMANN / CORBIS

VERBATIM

WHAT PEOPLE ARE SAYING

“We asked for service and the assistant manager came over and said it was a store policy not to serve Negroes. . . . That was primarily local custom, and we said we thought it was a bad custom and something should be done about it.”

FRANKLIN MCCAIN, leader of a sit-in (a nonviolent protest where people sit and refuse to move until their demands are met) at a store in North Carolina in 1960

“I was looking to the left and I heard these terrible noises. . . . So I turned to the right, and all I remember is seeing my husband, he had this sort of quizzical look on his face, and his hand was up.”



GEORGE SILVY / TIMEPIX

FIRST LADY JACQUELINE KENNEDY, recalling the day her husband, President John F. Kennedy, was assassinated in Dallas, Texas, in 1963

“It can't happen to this family again!”

A BYSTANDER, in 1968 at the Los Angeles, California, hotel where Senator Robert F. Kennedy, brother to John F. Kennedy, was assassinated

“I am the greatest!”

BOXER MUHAMMAD ALI, after he defeated Sonny Liston in the first minute of their 1965 rematch

“The people have got to know whether or not their president is a crook. Well, I am not a crook.”

PRESIDENT RICHARD NIXON, 1974

“I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character.”

REV. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., August 28, 1963

African American Firsts

Many African Americans are making a mark on United States history. Match these famous people with their achievements as the first African Americans to hold these positions.

- | | |
|---------------------------|---|
| 1. Beverly Johnson | a. in 1968, elected to Congress, and in 1972, first woman and first African American to run for United States president |
| 2. Arthur Ashe | b. in 1964, New York state senator who became a federal judge in 1966 |
| 3. Constance Baker Motley | c. in 1975, tennis champ at Wimbledon |
| 4. Shirley Chisholm | d. in 1974, cover model on <i>Vogue</i> magazine |
| 5. Thurgood Marshall | e. in 1967, sworn in as justice of the United States Supreme Court |

ANSWERS: 1. d; 2. c; 3. b; 4. a; 5. e

PHOTOGRAPH BY
BALL COMSTOCK

MILESTONES

EVENTS OF THE TIME

PUBLISHED. *Silent Spring* by Rachel Carson in 1961, helping to start a new environmental movement in America.

ENROLLED. James Meredith at the University of Mississippi in 1962. The Supreme Court ordered his admission to the previously segregated school.

BROKEN. 25-day fast by César Chávez, labor organizer in 1965. His protest led others to join his nonviolent strike against the grape growers.

TAKEN AWAY. Boxer Muhammad Ali's heavyweight championship title in 1967 after refusing induction into military service. He was found guilty in federal court of violating the Selective Service Act. In 1971 the U.S. Supreme Court overturned his draft conviction.

Aired. *Sesame Street* for the first time in 1969.

OPENED. Walt Disney World in Orlando, Florida, in 1971.

EVACUATED. The last of American soldiers from Vietnam in 1975.

GIFTED. The Pet Rock was 1975's hot holiday gift. For \$3.95 you received a small, obedient "pet" and an owner's manual with housebreaking tips and tricks any rock could learn. A million rocks sold in just a few months.



AL FRENZ / TIME LIFE PICTURES / GETTY IMAGES

NUMBERS

WHAT HAPPENED IN 1969

3 Days Duration of the Woodstock Music and Art Fair that attracted hundreds of thousands of young people to a 600-acre (243 ha) farm in New York to celebrate peace and music

7 Baseball player Mickey Mantle's team number, which the Yankees retired when Mantle stopped playing

747 The model number of Boeing's "Jumbo" jet launched this year; the world's largest and heaviest aircraft, it can carry at least 362 passengers, twice as many as an ordinary jet



ANDREAS MANOLIS / REUTERS / CORBIS

250,000 Number of people who marched from the United States Capitol to the Washington Monument in the largest demonstration in Washington's history—all to protest the U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War; President Nixon vowed to ignore the demonstration

CRITICAL THINKING

Making Generalizations How did African Americans who were first in their fields help move the civil rights movement forward?

Speculating What do you think programs such as the Peace Corps and landing a person on the moon did for the image of the United States around the world?

Section

4

Nixon and Vietnam



Section
Audio



Spotlight
Video

Essential Question

How did President Nixon remove the United States from the Vietnam War?

Reading Guide

Content Vocabulary

Vietnamization (p. 928)

martial law (p. 929)

MIA (p. 932)

Academic Vocabulary

authority (p. 927)

demonstration (p. 928)

Key People and Events

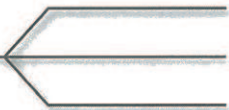
Henry Kissinger (p. 927)

Pentagon Papers (p. 930)

Reading Strategy

Taking Notes On a diagram like the one below, list the major points of Nixon's "peace with honor" strategy to end the war.

Nixon
Strategy

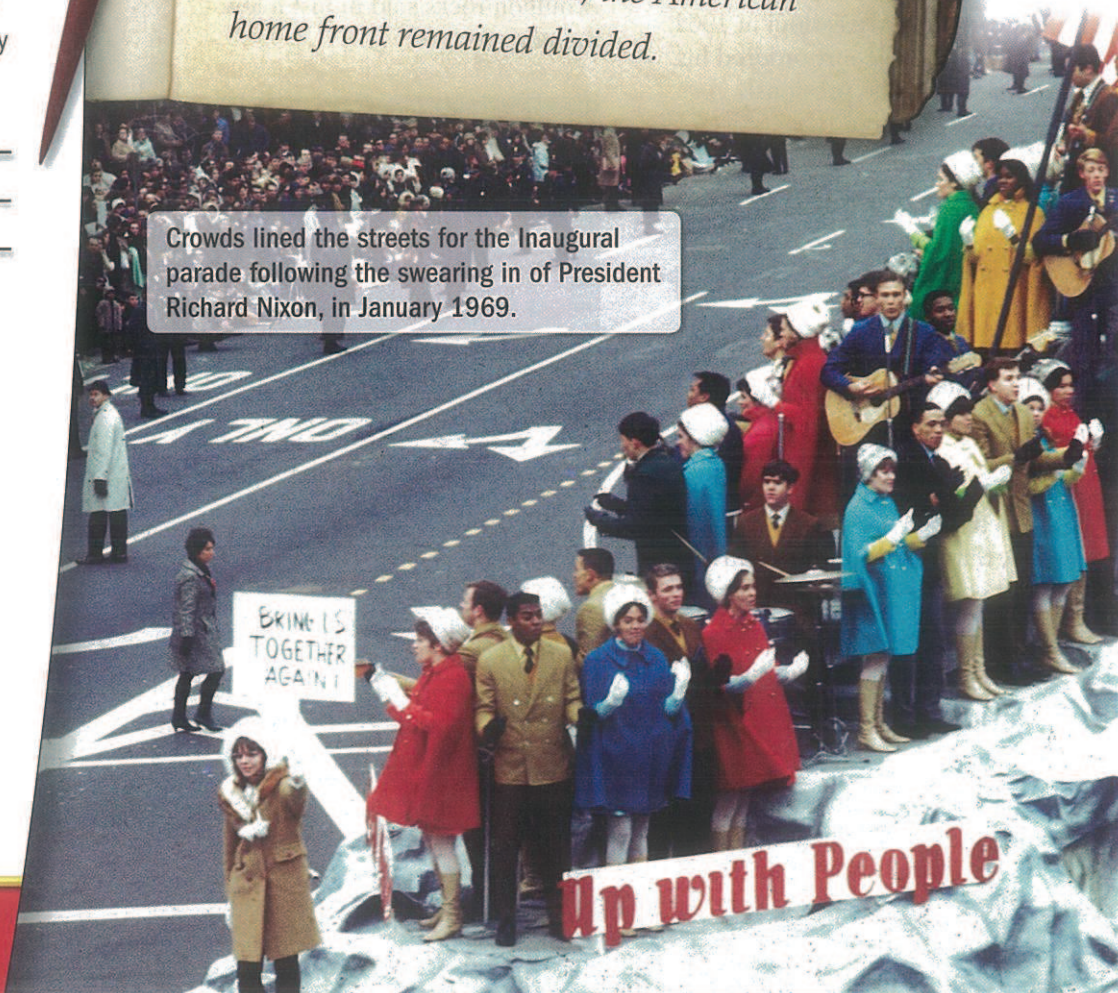


American Diary

Speaking to reporters after his election, the new president, Richard Nixon, recalled seeing a young girl carrying a hand-lettered sign at one of his rallies that read: "Bring Us Together Again." This, he promised, would be his chief goal as president. Nixon also vowed to implement his plan to end the Vietnam War. Even though the United States began scaling back its involvement in Vietnam, the American home front remained divided.



Crowds lined the streets for the Inaugural parade following the swearing in of President Richard Nixon, in January 1969.



A New Strategy

Main Idea Nixon took steps to bring American forces home and end the war in Vietnam.

History and You Have you ever worked long and hard on a project and wished that someone could come and replace you so that you could take a rest? Read to find out about a “changing of the guard” during the war in Vietnam.

.....

In his Inaugural Address in January 1969, Richard M. Nixon appealed to the American people for calm: “We cannot learn from one another until we stop shouting at one another—until we speak quietly enough so that our words can be heard as well as our voices.”

Nixon had campaigned on a pledge of “peace with honor” in Vietnam. Shortly after taking office, Nixon began taking steps to end the nation’s involvement in the war. As a first step, the president appointed Harvard professor **Henry Kissinger** as his national security adviser. Kissinger was given wide **authority**—the power to give orders and make decisions—to use his diplomatic skills to end the conflict. Kissinger launched a

policy he called “linkage.” This policy aimed at improving relations with the Soviet Union and China—suppliers of aid to North Vietnam. Kissinger hoped to persuade the two Communist nations to cut back on their aid and help end the war.

At the same time, Nixon wanted to begin pulling American forces out of Vietnam. However, he did not want American withdrawal to be seen as a sign of defeat. Nixon’s strategy of “peace with honor” had three parts—reforming the selective service system, giving South Vietnam more responsibility in fighting the war, and expanding the bombing campaign.

Changes in the Draft

Under President Nixon, the selective service system changed. College students could no longer obtain draft deferments, only 19-year-olds could be called for service in Vietnam, and draftees would be chosen by lottery on the basis of their birthdays. Protests against the draft faded with these reforms because the government began calling up fewer young men and because President Nixon promised to eliminate the selective service in the future.

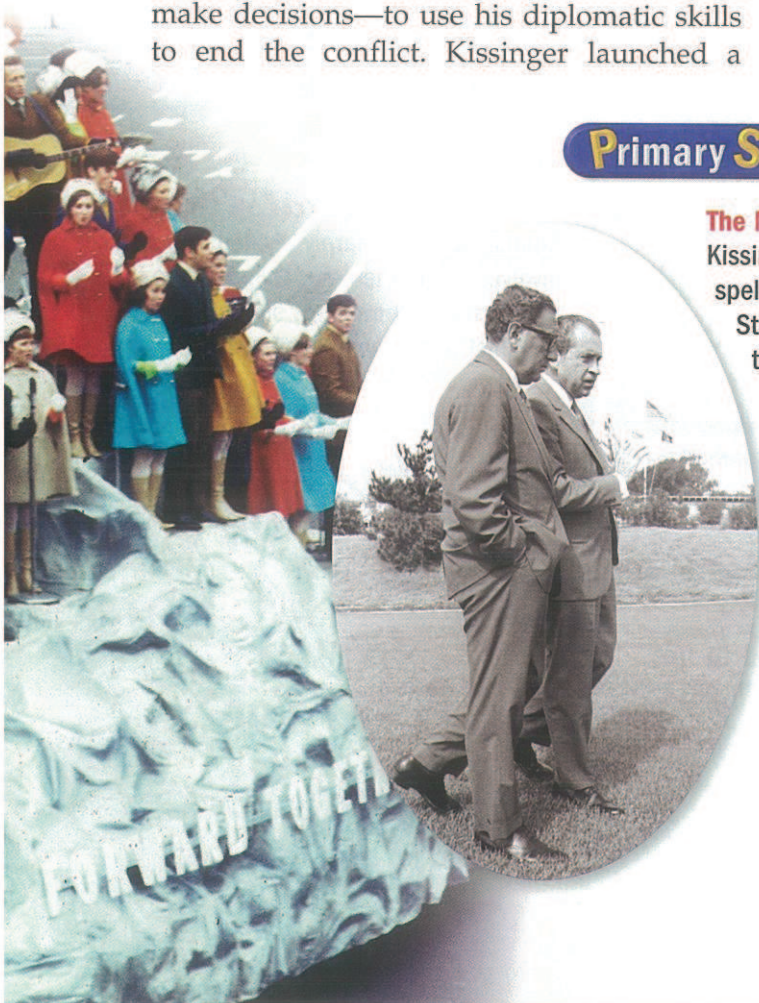
Primary Source A Changing Foreign Policy

The Nixon Doctrine Nixon and national security adviser Henry Kissinger shared views on many issues. The Nixon Doctrine spelled out a change in the nation’s foreign policy. The United States would continue to provide military aid and training to allies. Nixon, however, set limits:

“America cannot—and will not—conceive all the plans, design all the programs, execute all the decisions and undertake all the defense of the free nations of the world.”

Critical Thinking

Theorizing Do you think the Nixon Doctrine would change the role of the U.S. in Vietnam? Why or why not?



Troop Withdrawal

Meanwhile, President Nixon cut back the number of American troops in Vietnam. Known as **Vietnamization**, this plan called for the South Vietnamese to take a more active role in fighting—and for Americans to become less involved. As South Vietnamese soldiers took over, American troops would gradually withdraw from the country. In June 1969, Nixon announced the withdrawal of the first 25,000 American soldiers.

Increased Bombing

In the third part of his Vietnam policy, Nixon expanded the bombing campaign. Hoping to relieve pressure on troops in South Vietnam, Nixon ordered the bombing of enemy supply routes and hideouts in neighboring Cambodia and Laos. Although the president announced the changes to the draft and the troop withdrawals, he kept the bombing of Cambodia secret.

Reading Check **Identifying** To what position did President Nixon appoint Henry Kissinger?

Renewed Opposition at Home

Main Idea As Vietnamization moved forward, a new wave of antiwar protests gripped the nation.

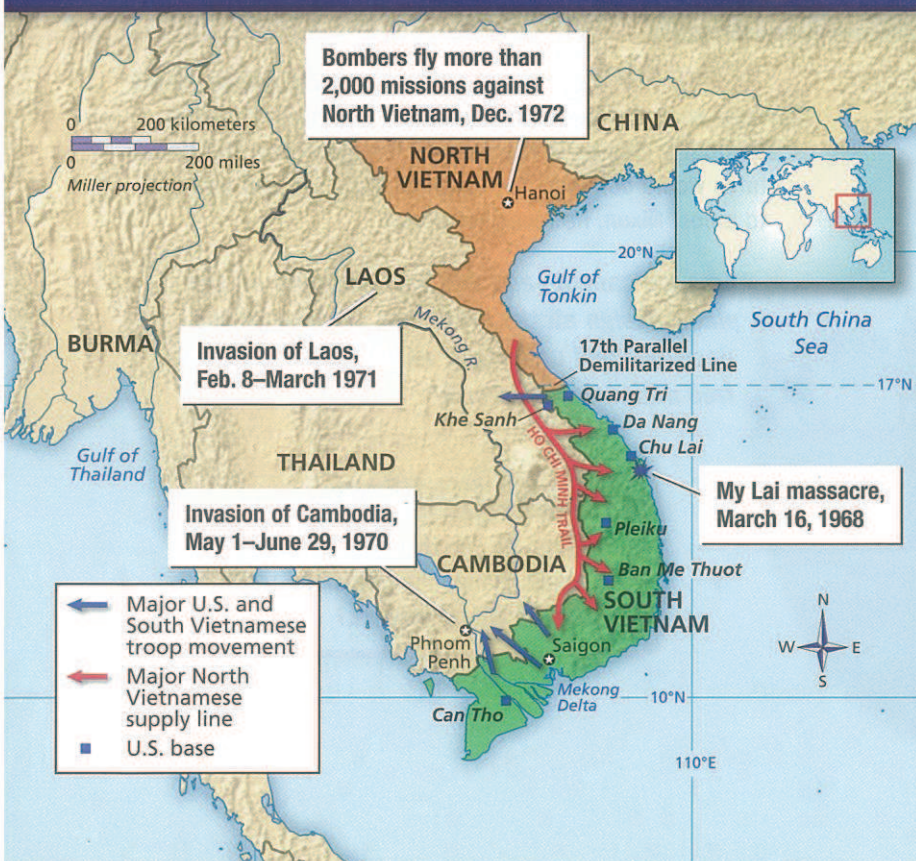
History and You What would make you want to write an angry letter to a newspaper editor, join a protest march, or boycott a film producer? Read to learn why protests against the war in Vietnam resumed in 1969.

A new round of antiwar **demonstrations**, or protest marches, began in late 1969, reflecting the growing sentiment for ending the war. In October more than 300,000 people took part in an antiwar protest in Washington, D.C.

The government also tried to end the war through peace talks with North Vietnam. Henry Kissinger, the president's national security adviser, represented the United States in the Paris talks. The United States had launched the bombing campaign to persuade the North Vietnamese to agree to peace terms.

The Vietnam War

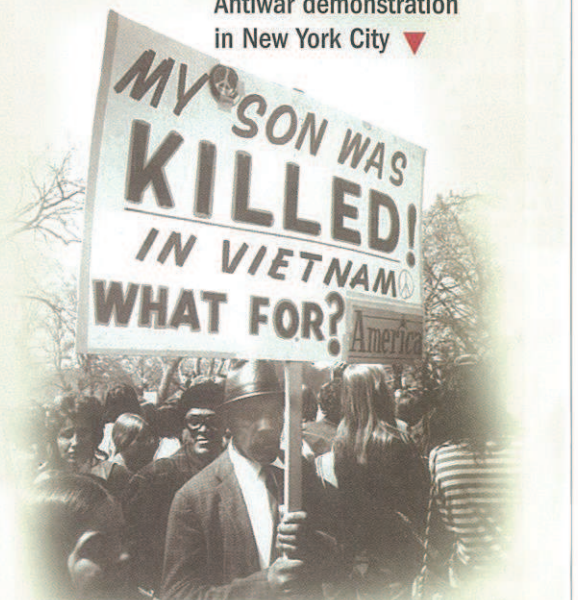
NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC



An Unpopular War

Americans were sharply divided about U.S. involvement in Vietnam. Failed peace talks and increased bombings sparked antiwar demonstrations across the nation.

Antiwar demonstration in New York City ▼



The North Vietnamese, however, adopted a wait-and-see attitude. They believed that the growing strength of the antiwar movement in the United States would force the Americans to withdraw.

The new antiwar protests and North Vietnam's unyielding attitude alarmed President Nixon. In a speech in November, he appealed to the "silent majority" of Americans for support for his policy. "North Vietnam cannot defeat or humiliate the United States," he said. "Only Americans can do that."

Expanding the War

Further conflict gripped Southeast Asia when Cambodia plunged into a civil war between Communist and non-Communist forces. In April 1970, Nixon decided to send American troops to destroy Communist bases in Cambodia.

The attack aroused outrage throughout the nation. By sending U.S. troops to Cambodia, critics charged, Nixon invaded a neutral country and overstepped his constitutional authority as president.

Campus Protests

Many Americans viewed the Cambodian invasion as a widening of the Vietnam War. Nixon's action provoked a storm of antiwar protests on campuses across the nation. Most proceeded peacefully. Two protests, however, ended in tragedy.

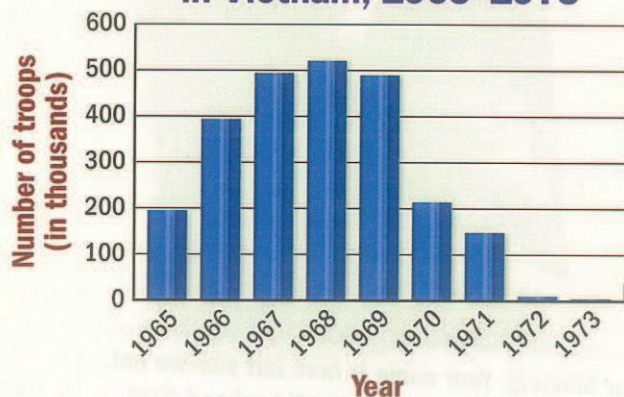
At a protest at Kent State University in Kent, Ohio, students burned a military building on campus. Ohio's governor declared **martial law**—emergency military rule—on the campus and ordered 3,000 National Guard troops to Kent State.

At noon on May 4, students gathered for a protest rally on the campus lawn. The National Guard, young, inexperienced, and nervous, told the protesters to leave. When some students threw rocks at Guard members, the troops shot tear gas toward the students, and many students ran.

One National Guard unit chased some students between two buildings. Then—for reasons that are unclear—the troops opened fire. Four students were dead, and at least nine more were wounded.

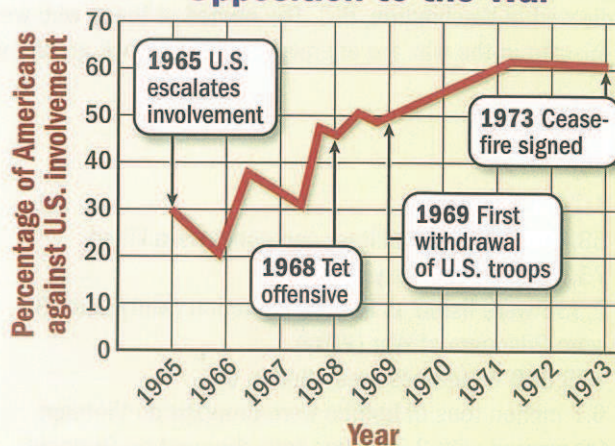
By the Numbers

United States Troops in Vietnam, 1965–1973



Source: Statistical Abstract of the United States

Opposition to the War



Source: The Gallup Poll: Public Opinion

Graph Skills

- Identifying** What percentage of Americans were against the war in 1965?
- Analyzing** In what year was opposition to the war the highest? The lowest? Why?

Violence flared again on May 15 at the nearly all-African American Jackson State University in Mississippi. Following a night of campus protests, two students were shot and killed. Witnesses charged that the police had recklessly blasted a residence hall with gunfire. The police claimed they were protecting themselves from sniper fire. A wave of student strikes followed the tragedies at Kent State and Jackson State. Hundreds of colleges and universities suspended classes.

The Pentagon Papers

In addition to sparking violence on campuses, the Cambodian invasion cost Nixon much support in Congress. Numerous lawmakers expressed outrage over the president's failure to tell them about the action. In December 1970, an angry Congress repealed the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, which had given the president near-complete power in directing the war in Vietnam.

Support of the war weakened further that year when Daniel Ellsberg, a disillusioned former Defense Department worker, leaked documents to the *New York Times*. These documents, which became known as the **Pentagon Papers**, revealed that many government officials during the Johnson administration privately questioned the war while publicly supporting it.

The documents contained details of decisions that were made by presidents and their advisors without the approval of Congress. They also showed how various administrations acted to deceive Congress, the press, and the public about the situation in Vietnam. The Pentagon Papers backed up what many Americans had long believed: The government had not been honest with them.

 **Reading Check** **Describing** What tragedies occurred at Kent State and Jackson State Universities?

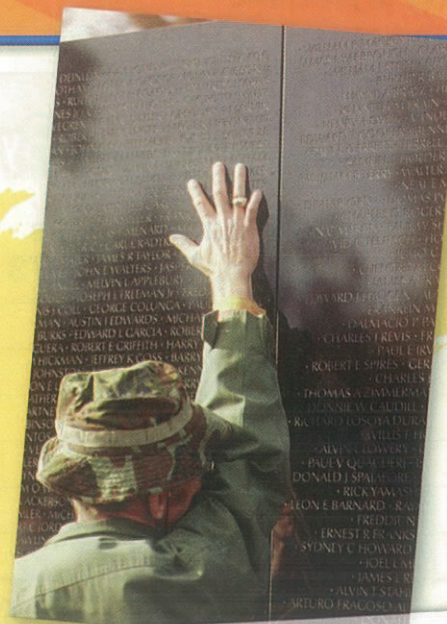
Legacy of the War



A Monument to the Fallen The war took a heavy toll on America's soldiers and their families. Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder, once called "shell shock," caused hallucinations, nightmares, and depression. In 1982 the Vietnam Veterans' Memorial Wall was dedicated in Washington, D.C. The names of those who were killed or missing in the war are engraved into two black granite walls.

United States . . .

- 58,000 American military personnel were killed
- 75,000 were severely disabled
- 2,338 were listed as Missing in Action (MIA) and 766 were Prisoners of War (POW)
- 725,000 Vietnamese resettled in U.S.
- 6.7 million tons of bombs were dropped on Vietnam (compared with 2.7 million tons dropped on Germany during World War II)



"Dear Michael: Your name is here but you are not. I made a rubbing of it, thinking if I rubbed hard enough I would rub your name off the wall. And you would come back to me. I miss you so."

—from an anonymous note left at the Vietnam Veterans' Memorial

Peace and the War's Legacy

Main Idea Peace talks led to the withdrawal of all American forces from Vietnam.

History and You Have you ever visited or seen pictures of the Vietnam War Memorial in Washington, D.C.? What effect did the memorial have on you? Read to find out about the end of the war and its impact on Americans.

While antiwar feelings swelled at home—1971 polls showed that nearly two-thirds of Americans wanted the war to end quickly—the Nixon administration negotiated with representatives of the North Vietnamese government. These talks stalled, however.

In March 1972, the North Vietnamese launched another major offensive in the South. Because the United States had few troops left in Vietnam, Nixon resumed bombing. Nixon ordered American planes to bomb

targets near Hanoi, the capital of North Vietnam. He also ordered the navy to plant mines in North Vietnamese harbors.

The president, however, stopped insisting that North Vietnam remove all its troops from South Vietnam before a full American withdrawal. Nixon sent Henry Kissinger to negotiate. In the fall of 1972 an agreement seemed ready, but South Vietnam opposed allowing North Vietnamese forces to remain in its territory. As a result the agreement collapsed.

Paris Peace Accords

After his reelection, Nixon unleashed American airpower against North Vietnam. In December 1972, the heaviest bombardment of the war fell on North Vietnam's cities. Nixon stood firm and North Vietnam returned to the talks. Meanwhile, the Americans pressured the South Vietnamese to accept the peace terms. On January 27, 1973, the negotiators signed the peace agreement.

Vietnam . . .

- 1.5 million Vietnamese soldiers and civilians were killed
- 362,000 were severely disabled
- 800,000 children were orphaned
- at least 1 million people fled the country
- 3.5 million acres of Vietnamese land were sprayed with chemicals that could impact the area for up to 100 years

The effects of the Vietnam War still linger. Since the end of the war, more than 40,000 people in Vietnam have been killed by land mines or bombs that did not explode on impact. Agent Orange, a chemical sprayed by Americans to defoliate forests during the war, has been blamed for many birth defects.



*"When the war has ended and
the road is open again,
the same stars will course through the heavens.
Then will I weep for the white bones heaped
together in desolate graves.
of those who sought military honors for their leaders."*
—from the diary of an anonymous North Vietnamese soldier

Critical Thinking

Making Inferences Although the countries and soldiers went into battle for different reasons, what did all people involved in the Vietnam War experience?

The War Ends

The United States agreed to pull its remaining troops out of the country. The North Vietnamese agreed to return all American prisoners of war. American involvement in Vietnam ended, but the conflict did not.

The North Vietnamese never gave up their goal of unifying Vietnam under their rule. In early 1975 they began a major offensive. The weakened South Vietnamese army collapsed on all fronts. Within a few weeks, North Vietnamese tanks approached Saigon. As North Vietnamese forces advanced, the last Americans left the country, some by helicopter from the roof of the U.S. embassy. Thousands of Vietnamese who had supported the Americans also fled to the United States. Many more could not escape. On April 30, 1975, Saigon fell to the Communists. Soon after, South Vietnam surrendered. The long war was over.

The Human Toll

The Vietnam War took a staggering toll. More than one million Vietnamese soldiers and civilians died, and Vietnam lay in ruins

with many villages destroyed. More than 58,000 Americans were dead; 300,000 were wounded, many of them permanently disabled. The United States had poured more than \$150 billion into the war.

Impact of the War

About 2.7 million Americans had served in Vietnam. Unlike the veterans of World War II, they found no hero's welcome when they returned home. Many Americans simply wanted to forget the war. They paid little attention to those who had fought and sacrificed in Vietnam.

The relatives of the American soldiers who had been classified as missing in action, or as **MIAs**, continued to demand that the government press the Vietnamese for information. The Vietnamese did allow a number of American groups to search the countryside. As the years passed, however, the likelihood of finding anyone alive faded.

 **Reading Check** **Identifying** Who was in control of Vietnam when the war ended?

Section 4 Review

History ONLINE
Study Central™ To review this section, go to glencoe.com.

Vocabulary

- Write a sentence for each of the following terms, explaining its significance in the Vietnam War era: **authority**, **Vietnamization**, **demonstration**, **martial law**, **MIA**.

Main Ideas

- Summarizing** What were the results of Nixon's Vietnamization plan?
- Explaining** What did Americans realize about the government after the release of the Pentagon Papers?
- Discussing** What did the Paris Peace Accords achieve?

Critical Thinking

- Categorizing** On a chart like the one below, list the major results from the Vietnam War in each category.

	Numbers of/Results to
Vietnamese civilians and soldiers killed	
American soldiers killed	
American soldiers wounded	
U.S. cost in dollars	
Vietnamese countryside	

- Descriptive Writing** In a paragraph, describe how you feel about Nixon's actions during the Vietnam War and whether they were successful.

- Answer the Essential Question**
How did President Nixon remove the United States from the Vietnam War?

Visual Summary



1954-1962

1954

July Geneva Accords divide Vietnam

1957

Oct. Soviet Union launches *Sputnik*

1961

April Bay of Pigs invasion fails

Aug. Berlin Wall is erected



▲ Berlin Wall

1962

Oct. Cuban missile crisis occurs

1963-1967

1963

Nov. John F. Kennedy is assassinated

Nov. Lyndon B. Johnson sworn in as president

1964

Aug. Gulf of Tonkin Resolution passes

1965

Dec. U.S. troop levels reach 180,000

1967

March War protesters march on Pentagon



Vietnamese village ►

1968-1969

1968

Jan. North Korea captures USS *Pueblo*

Jan. North Vietnamese launch Tet offensive

April Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., is assassinated

June Robert Kennedy is assassinated

Aug. Violence erupts at Democratic convention in Chicago

Nov. Richard Nixon wins presidency

1969

July Neil Armstrong walks on the moon

◀ Richard M. Nixon



1970-1975

1970

May Nixon sends troops to Cambodia

May Six students killed at Kent State and Jackson State

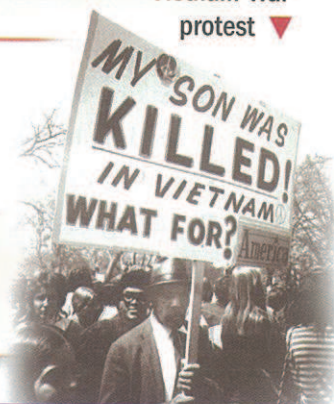
Vietnam War protest ▼

1973

Jan. Paris peace accords end U.S. involvement in Vietnam

1975

April South Vietnam surrenders to North Vietnam



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STANDARDIZED TEST PRACTICE

TEST-TAKING TIP

To understand the questions better, rewrite them in your own words, if you have time. Be careful not to change the meaning.

Reviewing Main Ideas

Directions: Choose the best answer for each of the following questions.

1. President Kennedy counteracted the appeal of communism in poor areas of Asia, Africa, and Latin America by
 - A creating the Peace Corps.
 - B introducing Green Berets.
 - C employing guerrilla warfare.
 - D spending more on nuclear arms.
2. Communism took root in South Vietnam because
 - A President Diem persecuted Buddhists.
 - B North Vietnam supported the Vietcong.
 - C Eisenhower sent billions in aid to Diem.
 - D many Vietnamese lacked land and services.
3. When did President Johnson halt the bombing of North Vietnam's cities?
 - A after the Tet Offensive
 - B after Nixon's election
 - C before the march on the Pentagon
 - D during the Democratic Convention
4. Nixon provoked protests on campuses by
 - A leaking the Pentagon Papers.
 - B sending troops to Cambodia.
 - C ending draft deferments for students.
 - D having Kissinger seek a peace settlement.

Short-Answer Question

Directions: Base your answer to question 5 on the excerpt below and on your knowledge of social studies.

He was now in Ward 1-C with fifty other men who had all been recently wounded in the [Vietnam] war—twenty-year-old blind men and amputees, men without intestines, men who limped, men who were in wheelchairs, men in pain. He noticed they all had strange smiles on their faces and he had one too, he thought. They were men who had played with death and cheated it at a very young age.

—Ron Kovic, *Born on the Fourth of July*

5. What was the human cost of the Vietnam War?

Review the Essential Questions

6. **Essay** What roles did Presidents Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon play in the Vietnam War?

To help you write your essay, review your answers to the Essential Questions in the section reviews and the chapter Foldables Study Organizer. Your essay should include:

- why and how Americans became involved in the Vietnam War;
- presidential decisions that kept the war going; and
- how citizen protests influenced Johnson's and Nixon's policies.

Document-Based Questions

Directions: Analyze the documents and answer the short-answer questions that follow.

Document 1

Four days before the Bay of Pigs invasion, Kennedy responded to press reports of CIA-trained invaders.

There will not be, under any conditions, any intervention in Cuba by United States armed forces.

Source: Howard Zinn, *A People's History of the United States*

7. Why do you think President Kennedy did not tell reporters about the planned invasion?

Document 2

Madame Nhu, a member of President Diem's family, commented on the monks who protested Diem's policies by setting themselves on fire.

"Let them burn," she said. "We shall clap our hands."

Source: Stephen Kinzer, *Overthrow*

8. What impact did the monks' protests have on Diem and others?

Document 3

The author of this excerpt talks about the beginning of the Tet Offensive.

When the assault . . . first began we didn't know what was going on. . . . All the towns of the Delta . . . were full of [Vietcong]. Every town and city in the country was under siege. Every airfield had been hit. Every road cut. They were in the streets of Saigon, in the American embassy. All in one night.

Source: Tobias Wolff, *In Pharaoh's Army*

9. Why did Americans criticize the conduct of the war after the Tet Offensive?

Document 4

This political cartoon, titled "Our Position Hasn't Changed At All," appeared in the *Washington Post* on June 17, 1965.



Source: The Herb Block Foundation

10. What does this cartoon say about President Johnson's policy in Vietnam?

Document 5

General James Carroll defended his son's decision to seek conscientious objector status in 1972.

All I know for sure is this: if human beings don't drastically change the way they resolve their conflicts, we won't survive this century. My son . . . certainly represents a drastic change from the way we were brought up. And that may be just the change we need.

Source: James Carroll, *An American Requiem*

11. What did Carroll's son decide to do? What options did the young man have regarding going to war?
12. **Expository Writing** Using the information from the five documents and your knowledge of social studies, write an essay in which you:
- explain why the Vietnam War was difficult for Vietnamese and American soldiers and civilians; and
 - describe how support for U.S. involvement in Vietnam changed over time.

Need Extra Help?

If you missed questions. . .	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
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