

MEMORANDUM FOR STUDENTS ENROLLED IN: THE HISTORY OF THE VIETNAM WAR. Course: HIST 358, Instructor: Prof. Adrian R. Lewis, Email: arl0008@ku.edu, Course Meeting Time and Place: MW 1230—1:45 PM

SUBJECT: Course Syllabus, Spring Semester 2021

1. Introduction: Welcome to the study of the history of the Vietnam War. This syllabus delineates the scope of the course, the objectives, methodology, required books and readings, grading procedures, written requirements, midterm and final examination and discussion questions, reading schedule, chronology of events, and other pertinent information. Due to the on-going pandemic this course is available exclusively on Zoom. Students will attend Zoom classes by going to their Blackboard courses and clicking the link “Virtual Class.”

2. Scope of the Course: This course is a study of the American Vietnam War. The Vietnam War is considered by many the first and only war the United States has lost. How did the most powerful nation-state on Earth lose a war to a poor, undeveloped country? This is one of the questions we will discuss and debate in this course. We will study and analyze the American conduct of the war in Vietnam from 1945 to 1975. The Vietnam War was one of the most controversial and divisive wars in American history. By 1968, some observers believed the country, the American people, were near revolution. The controversy did not go away when the war ended. We will place the war in the context of American foreign and military policies, national and national-military strategies, strategic and operational doctrines, conventional and nuclear technological developments, leadership and organization of the national command structure, and numerous other aspects of the national security structure. In the post-World War II period, national security policy changed in response to the Communist threat and the emergence of the Soviet Union as a “Superpower.” The nation and its armed services adapted to the new demands of a bipolar, hostile world. Permanent readiness for war and the constant threat of nuclear war became part of American life. This context is essential to understanding the behavior of the United States during this difficult period known as the Cold War.

3. Course Objectives:

a. General.

- (1) To educate and train students on accepted historical methods and standards and develop critical thinking.
- (2) To educate students on the levels of war and how to divide wars into phases that facilitate understanding and analysis.
- (3) To provide students with the language, fundamental concepts, and principles of war essential to the study and analysis of war.
- (4) To educate students on the American cultural practice of war.
- (5) To develop in students an understanding of the experience of war at the operational and tactical levels of war.

- (6) To develop in students the skills and ability to analyze and discuss the causes, conduct, and outcome of any war.

b. Specific.

- (1) To educate students on the history and historiography of the Cold War and Vietnam War. To develop an understanding of the major historical arguments on the causes, conduct, and outcomes of the wars.
- (2) To educate students on the American conduct of the war in Vietnam by studying and analyzing each major strategic and operational phase of the wars, and each major shift in political objectives.
- (3) To educate students on the advent and evolution of the "Cold War" and explain American and Soviet behavior during this period.
- (4) To educate students on the theories and practice of artificial limited war.
- (5) To educate students on the development of "revolutionary warfare" and insurgency and counterinsurgency warfare.
- (6) To educate students on the significance of geography and terrain in determining the conduct and outcome of war.
- (7) To develop an understanding of the national and national-military strategies, the decision-making processes, the national command structure, and the leadership of the Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon Administrations.

4. Methodology:

Our first requirement is to understand fundamental terms and concepts, such as the levels of war, policy, strategy, doctrine, combat powers, the center of gravity, and the principles of war. A common understanding of these terms gives us the ability to communicate effectively and to analyze and think critically about war. With this knowledge, you should be able to analyze and discuss any war, and to understand and speak confidently with military officials. We will then briefly study the works of modern military theorists: Clausewitz, Mahan and Corbett, and Douhet and Mitchell, the makers of modern strategies and doctrines. These works help us understand why we fight the way we do. We will then discuss and analyze the revolution in warfare that occurred at the end of World War II with the development of nuclear weapons—the atomic bomb. We will discuss U.S. policy and political objectives, the American culture of war and strategic doctrine, national and military strategies, theater strategies and shifts in strategy, operations, technology, and doctrine, and in some cases, tactics. Civil-Military relations, the national command structure, inter-service rivalry, militarism, and the media are additional topics for discussion.

War is a cultural endeavor. While the causes of war are found in human nature and the political environment, the conduct of war is, at least in part, a function of culture. American defense, foreign, and domestic policies were (are) a function of a dynamic decision-making process that was greatly influenced by culture. Culture creates habits of mind, patterns of behavior, a range of

acceptable and unacceptable practices, and preferences for doing things a certain way. Other factors such as: the communist threat, nationalism, national budget, organizational structure of the national defense establishment, perceptions of the level of threat, the experience of World War II, technology, personalities, military organizations and doctrines, inter-service rivalry, domestic politics, and other factors also influenced to varying degrees the national decision-making process. By analyzing the dynamic relationship between these and other factors in the context of culture, we will endeavor to make intelligible a complex period in American history—a period in which the threat of total war and nuclear annihilation was ever-present.

Throughout this course, we will ask whether a particular policy or decision represents change or continuity in the American practice and culture of war, and whether the national strategy and national military strategy were effectively designed to achieve stated political objectives. In other words, was national strategy and national military strategy adequately designed and funded to achieve our policy goals and political objectives in various parts of the world, or did American cultural tenets impede the ability of the United States to use its resources more effectively?

The big picture is to understand the post-World War II transformation in the American conduct of war, a transformation that influences your life and the lives of billions of people in many parts of the world. World War II was a watershed event in the history of humanity. It was the last *total war* fought by the major powers on Earth. It ended with the explosion of two small nuclear devices that terminated the lives of 200,000 people. The atomic bomb ushered in a new era, the age of *artificial limited war*, the age in which we currently live.¹ The Korean War was the first hot war in the nuclear age; as a consequence, it was the first *artificial limited war*. While the nature of war changed, with the introduction of artificial restraints on the conduct of war, American thinking about the conduct of war stayed fixed on *total war*. The nation and the state became divided during the Vietnam War. In Vietnam, the inability of the American people to reconcile their understanding of war with the new American practice of artificial limited war, protracted wars of attrition, resulted in a crisis that ultimately destroyed the war effort and the traditional American way of war. What emerged in the aftermath of the Vietnam War was an all-volunteer force and a new American way of war, a way that emphasized the technological nature of war. The American people were removed from the conduct of the wars of the United States. In this course, we will discuss and analyze this fundamental transformation in the American practice of war.

5. Required Reading:

David Halberstam. *The Making of a Quagmire: America and Vietnam During the Kennedy Era*, Revised Edition. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985.

Max Hastings. *Vietnam: An Epic Tragedy, 1945-1975*. New York: Harper Collins, 2018.

Gregory A. Daddis. *Westmoreland's War: Reassessing American Strategy in Vietnam*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Robert S. McNamara. *In Retrospect: The Tragedy and Lessons of Vietnam*. New York: Random House, 1995.

¹ The artificial limited wars in Korea and Vietnam were not limited for the Korean people or the people of Vietnam.

Harold G. Moore and Joseph L. Galloway. *We Were Soldiers Once... And Young: Ia Drang—The Battle That Changed the War in Vietnam*. New York: Ballantine Books, 1992.

Nguyen Thi Dinh, *No Other Road to Take: Memoir of Mrs. Nguyen Thi Dinh*, translated by V. Elliott. New York, Ithaca: Southeast Asia Program Publications, 1976.

6. Class and Reading Schedule:

Lesson	Date	Subject	Readings
1	1 Feb	What is History? Define the historian's task. What is Historiography? Clausewitz, Limited and Total War Fundamental Terms and Concepts	Syllabus Fundamental Concepts Lewis, Handout Martine Luther King's Essay
2	3 Feb	The Cold War The Legacy of World War II	Lecture & Discussion Halberstam
3	8 Feb	The Lessons of the Korean War Eisenhower's The New Look and Massive Retaliation	Lecture & Discussion Halberstam, all
4	10 Feb	An Overview of the Vietnam War	Olson, Ch 1-3, Film
5	15 Feb	Insurgency Warfare: Protracted Wars of Attrition	Film
6	17 Feb	The Kennedy Administration: Flexible Response	McMaster
7	22 Feb	The Decision to Intervene	McMaster
8	24 Feb	The Advisory Phase: Conventional War	McMaster & Olson, Ch 4,
9	1 Mar	The Advisory Phase: Counterinsurgency	All Above
10	3 Mar	Mid-term Exam I. Take Home: 24 hours	All above
11	8 Mar	Johnson: The Americanization of the War	Olson, Ch 5
12	10 Mar	The Gulf of Tonkin	Moore, Film
13	15 Mar	Airmobile/Air Assault Warfare The 1 st Cavalry Division in the Ia Drang	Moore, all
14	17 Mar	Westmoreland's Strategy and Doctrine	Olson Ch 6 & 7 Westmoreland Handouts
15	22 Mar	The Air War: Rolling Thunder	Olson Ch 8 & 9

16	24 Mar	The Tet Offensive	Film
17	29 Mar	The Home Front 1968/ Book Reviews Due	Film
18	31 Mar	Nixon: The Vietnamization of the War	McNamara
19	5 Apr	Abrams: One War Doctrine	McNamara, all
20	7 Apr	The ROK Army in Vietnam	Guest Lecturer & Discussion
21	12 Apr	Mid-term Exam II. Take Home: 24 hours	All Above
22	14 Apr	Kissinger: Negotiation & Fighting	Olson, Ch 10
23	19 Apr	South Vietnam vs. North Vietnam	Film
24	21 Apr	The End of South Vietnam	Lecture & Discussion
25	26 Apr	The Vietnam War in America	Olson, Ch 11& 12
26	28 Apr	The Vietnam War in America:	Lecture & Discussion
27	3 May	Debating the Vietnam War	Lecture & Discussion
28	5 May	Lesson of the Vietnam War	Lecture & Discussion
29	11 May, Tuesday, 1030 to Wednesday 1030, Final Exam. Take Home: 24 hours		

7. Grading:

Midterm Exam.....	20%
Midterm Exam.....	20%
Book Review.....	10%
Attendance and Participation.....	10%
Final Exam.....	40%

8. Book Review: Students are required to write one book review on a book selected from the “Recommended Reading.” **The books listed in the “Required Reading” list cannot be used for book reviews.** The paper will be 5-6 double spaced pages in length. Consider this project a book review, not a book report. Do the following: 1. Identify the author, who is he/she? What is their background, Korean, American, Russian, Chinese, etc., education, language skills, and experiences? Identify the perspective from which the author is writing. 2. Determine his/her purpose in writing the book, objective. Is this personal? 3. Delineate the author’s thesis, the argument(s) advanced. 4. Determine the methodology employed in making the argument, and evaluate its appropriateness. 5. Delineate and evaluate the sources used or not used. 6. Evaluate contributions to the historiography. 6. Determine the strengths and weaknesses of the book. Does

the author successfully make his/her argument? You may read published reviews of the book you selected; however, be careful to properly document any work borrowed from other sources. Use 1-inch margins, Times New Roman 12 point font, include properly cited sources (i.e., Chicago Style footnotes), page numbers, and a title page. **Reviews are due on 27 March in class. Reviews will also be submitted electronically on Blackboard. Reviews will not be accepted after class on the 3 April.** The requirements for reviews will be discussed more fully in class.

9. Rules of Engagement:

- a. Introduce yourself to your fellow students. Make a new friend.
- b. Listen to the news and/or read a newspaper. Know what is happening on our planet. Have an opinion. Be informed of current events and contribute to the conversations.
- c. Show up. Attend classes. Students *who do not show-up* receive the lowest grades.
- d. Do the reading. Consider and reflect on how current events are influenced by history.
- e. Participate in classroom/Zoom discussions. Leave your cameras on. The chat function may be used to ask questions and make comments.
- f. Time is your most important resource. Use it wisely to achieve long-range objectives.

10. Disability Accommodation: Any person with special circumstances covered by the Americans with Disabilities Act should register with the Office of Disability Accommodation and also inform the instructor of this class. Reasonable adjustments will be made to accommodate the special needs of students with disabilities where such adjustments are necessary to provide equality of educational access. Students who have registered with the ODA should make an appointment to discuss their disability accommodation requests with the instructor.

11. Plagiarism: Students are responsible for their own work. To plagiarize is to "steal and pass off as one's own the ideas and words of another."² Plagiarism is against the University of Kansas policies for students. Students that plagiarize automatically receive a failing grade, "F" for the assignment. An account of the misconduct and the professor's actions will be forwarded to the University for review and consideration for additional disciplinary actions. Students are responsible for the proper documentation of their work, including quotation marks, footnotes, endnotes, and other forms of documentation. Students with questions regarding the proper procedures for documentation will make an appointment to see the professor or seek guidance at the Office of Student Success and/or the KU Writing Center. The Office of Student Success offers free workshops on how to manage time, improve reading skills, and study for exams: <http://www.achievement.ku.edu/~achieve/students/workshops.shtml> and the KU Writing Center site offers suggested ways to avoid plagiarism: <http://www.writing.ku.edu/guides/index.shtml?1#plagiarism>.

12. Office Hours: Immediately following class, MW 1400-1500, or by appointment. Office: Wescoe 3618, email arl0008@ku.edu.

² Philip Babcock Gove, edited, *Webster's Third New International Dictionary* (Springfield, Massachusetts: G. & C. Merriam Company, Publishers, 1971), 1728.

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Annexes A-D: Discussion, Study, and Examination Questions
Annex E: Chronology of Events—The Vietnam War
Annex F: Recommend Reading Bibliography

**Annex A: Understanding History and War. Discussion, Study, and Examination Questions:
Module One: Historiography and Fundamental Terms and Concepts Necessary to Study
War:**

1. What is history? Define history. What is the historian's task? What is historiography? Is history a science? Is history an art? Explain. Delineate the major problems in writing history. What does an understanding of history and historiography tell us about humanity about ourselves? Who are the authors of the books used in this class? Given their backgrounds, what problems might they have in writing an accurate narrative of and explanation for specific events?
2. What is war? What are the causes of war? Is man by nature warlike? Is it possible to end war? What is Hobbes' thesis on human nature? Do you agree or disagree with his thesis? What is Rousseau's thesis on human nature? Do you agree or disagree with his thesis? (See handout: "The Causes of War," by Adrian R. Lewis)
3. Who was Carl von Clausewitz? Delineate the five tenets of Clausewitz. Explain his concept of the total and limited war? World War II was the most total war in human history. Why? Explain Clausewitz's thesis of the "remarkable trinity." According to Clausewitz how do you win a war? Explain Clausewitz's thesis on "friction," "the center of gravity," and the "culmination point." Explain Clausewitz's analytical tool on the levels of war.
4. What is policy? What are political objectives? How are political objectives determined? What is strategy? How is strategy developed? What are the connections between policy and political objectives, political objectives, and strategy?
5. What is doctrine? What is the relationship between technology and doctrine? What were the most significant technological and doctrinal developments in the conduct of war in the twentieth century? How does doctrine influence strategy?
6. Trace the evolution of military technology from the Civil War to World War II. Using technology explain the outcome of the Civil War, World War I, and World War II. How did technological developments influence the conduct and outcome of each war?
7. How did the relationship between technology and doctrine change after World War II? Why?
8. What are "Joint Operations?" What are "Combined Operations?" Delineate the problems involved in conducting joint and combined operations. What is the Goldwater-Nichols Act? Why was it developed? What is the "Whole of Government" approach to war?
9. Who was the father of modern strategic bombing doctrine? What exactly was his thesis on the role of the bomber in modern warfare? How did the British, Americans incorporate air war doctrine into their practices of war? Why did the British and Americans adopt strategic bombing doctrine, and why did the Germans, French, Italians, Russians, and Japanese fail to adopt it? Which air doctrine was most effective, the British or American? Why?

10. Who was the father of modern naval warfare doctrine? What was the thesis on naval power? Is it still valid today? If so, why? If not, why?
11. What is a state? What is a nation? Can a state fight total war? Can a nation fight total war? Explain. Consider Clausewitz's "remarkable trinity."
12. What resources are required to achieve "superpower" status? What makes the United States a superpower? What made the Soviet Union a superpower?
13. Civilian control of the military is a major tenet of the American constitutional democracy. How did the founding fathers seek to ensure civilian control of the armed forces? Are the measures they put into place still operative today? What changes have taken place to strengthen the system of civilian control? What are the repercussions of these changes? Does the system impede the ability of the United States to fight war successfully?

Identify and State the Significance of the Following Terms

Strategy	President of the United States
Doctrine	Congress of the United States
Policy	Secretary of State
Generalship	Secretary of Defense
Combat Power	The Joint Chiefs of Staff
Center of Gravity	Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff
Joint Operations	Carl von Clausewitz
Combined Operations	Alfred Thayer Mahan
The American Way of War	Giulio Douhet
The levels of War	<i>The Influence of Sea Power Upon History</i>
<i>Command of the Air</i>	<i>On War</i>
"The Iron Triangle"	The Military Industrial Complex
The National Security Act of 1947 and Amendment of 1949	
The National Command Structure	
National Strategy	
National Military Strategy	
The National Security Council	
Limited War and Total War	
The Trinity of War	
CIA	

Annex B: The Cold War, Korean War, and the Vietnam War. Discussion, Study, and Examination Questions for First Midterm Exam.

Module Two: The Cold War:

1. What was the "Cold War?" Describe and characterize the Cold War? Chronologically delineate the events that led to the Cold War. What are the major arguments on the causes of the Cold War? Which argument do you believe is most accurate? Why? When did the Cold War end? Explain the collapse of the Soviet Union?
2. It is argued that nuclear technology revolutionized war. Did it? If so, how? Describe and characterize this revolution in warfare. How did the revolution in warfare influence the conduct of war in Korea and Vietnam?
3. What is a limited war? What is the difference between limited war and total war? What is the difference between limited war and *artificial limited war*? Why does this matter?
4. Who was George Kennan, and what was the "Policy of Containment? How did Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon, translate this policy into political objectives? What was the "Truman Doctrine?"
5. The 1947 National Security Act (along with the 1949 Amendments) created the national command structure of the United States, including the Department of Defense, the Office of the Secretary of Defense, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the U.S. Air Force, the Central Intelligence Agency, the National Security Council, and other organizations, that saw us through the Cold War. How effective or ineffective were this structure and this form of organization? Describe this system. What did it create? What did it fail to create? What were its strengths and weaknesses? How did it function? What is the "Iron Triangle?" What was Eisenhower's concern about the Iron Triangle? Was it a valid concern?

Module Three: The Korean War:

6. When and why was Korea divided into two states? Korea's geographic location and circumstances are of strategic significance. Discuss and analyze the geography and terrain of Korea, in military terms: G-1 Personal, G-2 Intelligence, G-3 Operations, G-4 Logistics, and G-5 Civilian Affairs.
7. Why did North Korea invade South Korea? What role did Stalin and the Soviet Union play? What role did Mao Zedong and the People's Republic of China play? Delineate the various arguments on the causes of the Korean War and the influence of the two Communist leaders. How did the Korean War benefit Stalin and Mao?
8. Why did the United States intervene in the Korean War? Delineate the arguments for and against intervention. Which argument do you believe would have best accomplished the political objectives of the United States? Explain your answer.

9. What was the condition of the United States Army at the start of the Korean War? Was the Army prepared to fight? If not, why? What was the condition of the U.S. Eighth Army in Japan in 1949? Explain why the Eighth Army was in this condition. What was its primary mission? What was the organization of the U.S. Army?
10. As a strategic commander, analyze the geographic factors involved in the war in Korea. Why did Omar Bradley, Chairman of the JCS argue against the use of nuclear weapons on the Korean peninsula? As an operational commander, analyze the terrain on the Korean Peninsula. How does this terrain influence the conduct of operations? As a strategic commander, analyze the geography of the Korean Peninsula. How does this geographic region influence the American conduct of war?
11. Why was the Korean War so unpopular in the United States? Why did the support of the American people deteriorate throughout the war? Why was Truman incapable of bringing the war to an end? Explain the outcome of the Korean War? Did the United States win or lose the Korean War? Delineate both arguments. Which argument do you believe is most accurate? How did the PRC, SU, US, ROK, and Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK, North Korea) benefit from the war?
12. Was the Korean War a limited or total war? Consider the war from the perspective of North and South Korea, from the perspective of China, and from the perspective of the United States and the Soviet Union. Define victory in the nuclear age. Characterize the dilemma facing the American people in the age of nuclear weapons. Have we seen the end of total war between the great powers of Earth?
13. What were Eisenhower's military policy and strategic doctrine? What was the thinking behind his "New Look?" How did Eisenhower plan to defend the U.S. and its interests? What was the argument against his strategic vision? Assess Eisenhower's performance as leader of the "free-world." Was Eisenhower bluffing?

Module Four: The Vietnam War

14. Why was the Vietnam War so incomprehensible to most Americans? How did the Johnson Administration approach the Vietnam War in regards to the American people? Why did he use this approach? What were the results of this approach? Was Johnson's approach in keeping with the traditional American way of war?
15. What were the causes of the American war in Vietnam? Why was the United States in Vietnam? Delineate three arguments that explain how the United States became involved in the Vietnam War. Which explanation do you believe is most accurate? Why?
16. Who is Robert S. McNamara? How did he plan to win the war in Vietnam? Did we plan to win the war? What were the political objectives of the United States in Vietnam?
17. Clausewitz noted that there are three ways to lose a war. What are they? Explain the concept of center of gravity. What do you believe was the center of gravity in the North

Vietnamese war against the United States? Explain your answer. What do you believe was the center of gravity in the American war against the North Vietnamese and the Viet Cong (NLF) in South Vietnam? Explain your answer.

18. Characterize the geography and terrain of French Indochina and Vietnam. How did geography influence the conduct of the war?

Identify and state the significance of the following terms related to the Korean War and Cold War:

Cold War:

Revolution in warfare	Flexible Response	Pentomic Division
Defense Intellectuals	NSC 68	John Foster Dulles
Khrushchev	The New Look	USS Enterprise
U-2	Massive Retaliation	MIRV
TRIAD	SAC	MAD, SALT
The Bomber Gap	Berlin Blockade	The Cuban Missile Crisis
The Missile Gap	Bernard Brodie	J. Robert Oppenheimer
Sputnik	Paul Nitze	Suez Crisis, 1956

The Vietnam War

Viet Cong (VC)	"The other war"	My Lai
PAVN	"Search and Destroy"	Graduate Response
NLF	Tet Offensive	Andrew Goodpaster
ARVN	Ngo Dinh Diem	McGeorge Bundy
MAAG	MACV	Khe Sanh
ROK Army	Harry S. Truman	People's War
Westmoreland	Eisenhower	Flexible Response

Annex C: The Vietnam War. Discussion, Study, and Examination Questions for Second Midterm Exam.

Module Five: The Vietnam War:

1. Describe the population of North and South Vietnam, socially, politically, and culturally. Was South Vietnam a nation, a state, or a nation-state? Why does this matter? What was the ethnic composition of South Vietnam? What was the religious composition of South Vietnam? What influence did social, political, and cultural factors have on the Vietnam War?
2. Divide the American war in Vietnam into phases based on major changes or transitions in American strategy. Characterize each phase, and explain why the changes and transition took place.
3. Characterize the Vietnam War during the Advisory, Americanization, and Vietnamization phases. What was the war like for the soldiers and marines who fought the ground war? What was the war like for the Navy and Air Force pilots who fought the war in the air?
4. What is an insurgency? Describe and explain the Moa Zedong's "People's War" strategy and doctrine. What are the strengths and weaknesses of this approach to war? Could the United States employ such a strategy? Why, or why not?
5. What was North Vietnam's strategy for the conduct of the war against the United States and South Vietnam? Who is Vo Nguyen Giap? What was his strategy for the conduct of the war against the United States and South Vietnam? What were the sources of his strategic thought?

Module Six: The Vietnam War

6. Describe and characterize the Vietcong. Who were they? What motivated them? How were they organized? How did they operate? How were they equipped? Under what command structure did they operate? What were their strengths and weaknesses? Why were they operationally and tactically more effective than the ARVN?
7. What were the American political objectives in Vietnam during the Cold War? Did those objectives reflect America's security needs and interests? Why didn't Eisenhower intervene with American forces in 1954? Why did Johnson intervene with American forces in 1964? What happened between 1954 and 1964 to change American strategy in Vietnam?
8. What was the strategic doctrine of the United States in the 1960s? What was the theater doctrine and strategy of the United States for the conduct of the war in Vietnam under the Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon Administrations? Assess the strategy of each President. Why did they fail to achieve America's political objectives?

9. What was Eisenhower's strategic doctrine in the 1950s? What was Eisenhower's strategy for the war in Vietnam? Why did that strategy fail to achieve his political objectives?
10. Why did President Johnson decide to Americanize the war in Vietnam? What was his strategy for the victory? What steps did he take to get American forces in combat? What was Johnson's strategy for achieving victory in Vietnam? Who is George Ball, and what was his assessment of the Americanization of the war? What is your assessment of the way the United States went to war in Vietnam?
11. What is the argument and assessment of Dr. Martin Luther King in regard to the decision to fight the Vietnam War? Do you agree or disagree with his assessment? Should we have fought the Vietnam War? Was it the morally correct thing to do? Evaluate the American war in Vietnam. What problems do you see?

Module Seven: The Vietnam War:

12. What was Westmoreland's strategy for the conduct of the ground war in Vietnam? What was his operational doctrine? What were the problems with his tactical and operational approach to the war? Did the operations conducted under Westmoreland's command have the potential to achieve America's strategic, political objectives? Explain your answer.
13. What was the Marines Corps strategy for the conduct of the ground war in Vietnam? What was its operational doctrine? What were the problems with this operational approach to the war? Did the operations conducted by the Marine Corps have the potential to achieve America's strategic, political objectives? Explain your answer.
14. What were the objectives of the American strategic bombing campaign, "Operation Rolling Thunder," against North Vietnam? What was the airpower doctrine employed under the Johnson Administration? Was this doctrine in accordance with Air Force strategic bombing doctrine? Did the campaign achieve its objectives? Explain your answer.
15. Define the term "unity of command." Did the United States follow this principle of war in Vietnam? What are the potential consequences of violating this principle of war?
16. What influence did the legacy of French colonial rule have on the people of South Vietnam and North Vietnam? How did this legacy affect the American war?
17. What influence did the ubiquitous helicopter have on America's conduct of the war? What were the missions of the helicopter? Was the helicopter a tactical, operational, or strategic system? What contributions did the helicopter and airmobile/air assault doctrine make to the American war effort? Describe and characterize American airmobile operations in Vietnam.

18. Characterize American tactics from 1965 to 1968, and from 1969 to 1972. Were these tactics effective? Why was there a change in tactics in 1969?

Identify and State the Significance of the following terms:

helicopter	Maxwell Taylor	Napalm
John F. Kennedy	George Ball	Hue
Ia Drang	"The Hearts and Minds"	JCS
Robert S. McNamara	"Rolling Thunder"	Harold K. Johnson
Walt Rostow	Pacification	General Wallace Greene
Cold War	Communism	Gulf of Tonkin Incident
Nation Building	Nationalism	People's War
Insurgency	Counter-insurgency	Dien Bien Phu
Special Forces	Guerrilla War	Earle G. Wheeler
Americanization	Vietnamization	Harold D. Moore
Ho Chi Minh	Lyndon B. Johnson	Ulysses S. Sharp
Richard M. Nixon	AK-47, M 16	Revolutionary war
Civil war	Conventional war	Careerism vs. Professionalism
Dean Rusk	CAP	Attrition
B 52	Enclave strategy	Henry Cabot Lodge
Vo Nguyen Giap	Flexible Response	Geneva Conference, 1954
Strategic doctrine	Strategic Hamlet Program	Nguyen Cao Ky
Democratic convention, 1968		Clark Clifford
"The Best and the Brightest"		Graduated Response

**Annex D: The Vietnam War. Discussion, Study, and Examination Questions for Final Exam.
Module Eight: The Vietnam War:**

1. Assess the performance of the ARVN. How did ARVN units perform in combat against the Viet Cong and PAVN? What motivated the officer corps of the ARVN? Under what criteria were officers promoted? What motivated the individual soldier? Given your analysis, explain why the combat effectiveness of the ARVN was considerably below that of the PAVN?
2. What was the Tet Offensive? Describe and characterize the Tet Offensive. Was it successful, if so, in what way? What role did the American media play? Was the media the decisive element? Explain your answer.
3. What was Nixon's strategy for the conduct of the Vietnam War? What were his objectives? What did victory look like to Nixon? Did Nixon's strategy have the potential to achieve his political objectives?
4. What was Vietnamization? Who put this strategy into practice and why? What did Vietnamization mean to Americans, South Vietnamese, North Vietnamese, the Chinese and the Soviets? What did Vietnamization mean to soldiers and marines fighting in South Vietnam?
5. Why did the ARVN collapse so quickly after the withdrawal of the Armed Forces of the United States in 1972? Assess the performance of the government of South Vietnam in its goal to become a free, independent, democratic, capitalist nation-state. What obstacles did the Saigon government face? Were the actions of the government in accordance with the goals delineated? Why or why not? Were the goals of the government of South Vietnam and those of the United States in accord, if so, in what way, if not, in what way? Were the strategies of the government of South Vietnam and the operations of the ARVN synchronized and coordinated with American strategies and forces? Explain your answer.

Module Nine: The Vietnam War:

6. Why did the United States lose the Vietnam War? Delineate the major schools of thought/explanations for America's defeat. Identify the primary authors of the major argument. Which explanation do you believe is most accurate? Why?
7. Who is Harold Moore? What is his argument on the causes of America's defeat and Vietnam's victory? Do you agree or disagree with his thesis? Explain
8. Who is Harry Summer? What is his argument on the causes of America's defeat and North Vietnam's victory? Do you agree or disagree with his argument? Explain.
9. Who is U.S.G. Sharp? What is his argument on the causes of America's defeat and North Vietnam's victory? Do you agree or disagree with his argument? Explain.

10. Who is William Westmoreland? What is his argument on the causes of America's defeat and North Vietnam's victory? Do you agree or disagree with his argument? Explain
11. Who is Vo Nguyen Giap? What is his argument on the causes of America's defeat and North Vietnam's victory? Do you agree or disagree with his argument? Explain.
12. Characterize the "American Way of War." On what experiences is the American way of war based? Did the United States conduct the war in Vietnam in accordance with the traditional American way of war? Compare and contrast America's conduct of the Vietnam War with the traditional American approach to war. Account for the differences?
13. What was the mission of the U.S. Army in Vietnam? How did this mission differ from that of previous wars? What experience did the United States have in carrying out the missions given it in Vietnam? What were the lessons of the Vietnam War? Are those lessons still valid? What did the war achieve?
14. What was the significance of the Vietnam War? What influence did it have on the American people, the Armed Forces, the U.S. Government, and the United States' role in world affairs?

Identify and State the Significance of the following terms:

Jane Fonda	Operation Phoenix
Watergate 1973-1975	Henry Kissinger
Creighton W. Abrams	Melvin Laird
Paris Peace Talks	War Powers Act
Nguyen Van Thieu	Kent State
U. C. Berkeley	

Annex E: Chronology of Events--The Vietnam War:

The Prelude to the Vietnam War

1940 Sep Japan occupied French Indochina.

1941 Ho Chi Minh, a Vietnamese Nationalist and a Communist, returned to Indochina and formed the Viet Minh to fight against the Japanese and the French.

1945 Mar Bao Dai, the former emperor under French rule, proclaimed independence for Vietnam, now, under Japanese rule.

12 Apr President Roosevelt died. Vice President Harry Truman became President of the United States. The new President was not in a strong position to oppose the re-establishment of the British and French empires of non-white people. Roosevelt's vision of self-determination died with him, and the emergence of the Soviet Union as a "Superpower." Truman sought conciliation with western European Powers and Britain in the face of growing Soviet power.

8 May Germany surrenders.

Jul At the Potsdam Conference, the British are designated to take the surrender of the Japanese in Vietnam south of the 16th parallel, and the Chinese Nationalists to take the surrender north of the 16th parallel.

6 & 9 Aug The United States destroyed Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Japan, with the first atomic bombs.

15 Aug Japan surrendered, ending World War II.

18 Aug The Japanese transferred power in Indochina to Ho Chi Minh's Vietminh.

23 Aug Bao Dai abdicated.

2 Sep Ho Chi Minh declared Vietnam's independence from France. The Japanese formally signed the instrument of surrender on the decks of the *USS Missouri*.

The French War in Vietnam

13 Sep British forces arrived to take control of South Vietnam. The British, who are concerned with reclaiming and retaining their own colonial empire, permitted the French into Indochina territories under British control.

1946 Feb The French and Chinese Nationalists reach an agreement that permitted the French to retake control of all Indochina under Chinese control.

Mar French and Vietminh reach an accord. French recognize the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV) as a "free state" within the French Union. French troops return to Indochina.

Mar-Nov Ho Chi Minh and the French disagreed on what the term "free state" means. Negotiations failed. Tension increased.

23 Nov French warships bombarded Haiphong.

Dec Ho Chi Minh and his forces attacked a French garrison in Hanoi, and withdrew to the country side to build a rural base for operations. The French Vietnam war starts.

1947 May Under the "Truman Doctrine," the US Congress voted funds to aid Greece and Turkey in their fight against the Communist insurgency.

5 Jun Secretary of State George Marshall promulgated the "Marshall Plan" to rebuild war-torn Europe and construct a bulwark against Communist expansion.

Jul George Kennan of the State Department publishes an article, under the pseudonym "X," that conceptualized the "Policy of Containment," which influenced American foreign and military policies for the next fifty years.

Aug British officially recognized the independence of India and Pakistan, signaling the beginning of the end of European imperialism, and the start of the inter-state conflict between the two new nations.

Dec Bao Dai, who was living abroad, negotiated and reached an understanding with the French that grants Vietnam limited independence.

1948 Apr Tensions increased between the Soviet Union and the United States. Soviets blockade the land route to Berlin. Truman initiates the Berlin air-lift to provide the citizens of Berlin with food and heating fuel.

Nov Truman narrowly won the presidential election.

1949 Mar Bao Dai signed an agreement with the French making Vietnam an "associated state."

Apr Bao Dai returned to Vietnam to establish his government. Bao Dai was a puppet of the French and was recognized as such.

Aug The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), a mutual defense organization between the United States, Canada, Britain, and ten Western European nations, was formed. USSR exploded its first atomic weapon, shocking the Truman administration and the American people.

Oct The Chinese Communist Forces (CCF) of Mao Tse Tung defeated the Chinese Nationalist force of Chiang Kai Shek. The Nationalists escaped to the island of Formosa, where they remain to this day, protected by the US Navy. The People's Republic of China (PRC) was formed.

1950 Jan Ho Chi Minh declared the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV) is the only legal government. The PRC, USSR, and Soviet bloc states recognized the DRV. The PRC begins

supporting the DRV's war against the "Imperialists." The Truman administration concluded that Ho Chi Minh was part of the "Communist Monolithic" controlled by the USSR.

Feb U.S. and Britain recognized Bao Dai's government. US started supporting the French war in Indochina.

Jun North Korea invaded South Korea.

Jul Truman allocated \$15 million in military aid to the French for the war in Indochina.

Oct The US Military Assistance Advisory Group (MAAG) was formed in Vietnam to monitor the French and Vietnamese use of American aid and provide intelligence to Washington.

1951 Sep US provided direct economic assistance to Vietnam.

1952 Jan French casualties exceeded ninety thousand.

Jan-Apr Truman's National Security Council conceptualized the "Domino theory," "the loss of any of the countries of Southeast Asia to Communist aggression would have critical psychological, political, and economic consequences."

Nov Eisenhower was elected President of the United States.

1953 Mar Stalin died.

Jul Armistice agreement in Korea signed. Eisenhower expanded on Truman's policy of support to the French in Indochina.

Oct France recognized the full independence of Laos.

1954 Jan US, Britain, France, and USSR agreed to hold a conference at Geneva on Korea and Indochina.

Mar The Vietminh and French armies began the climactic and decisive battle of Dienbienphu.

Apr Eisenhower decided not to intervene in the French Indochina war, "without allies and associates."

May The French were defeated at Dienbienphu. The Geneva Conference opened.

Jun Bao Dai selected Ngo Dinh Diem as prime minister.

Jul An agreement was reached to end the shooting war. Vietnam was divided at the 17th parallel, pending elections. Bao Dai's government was established in the south, and Ho Chi Minh's government in the north. The US did not accept the agreement but orally acknowledges that it will

not disturb the agreement. The Geneva Conference produced no lasting agreement between the conflicting "-isms" of colonialism vs. nationalism and Communism vs. Capitalism.

Sep The Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO), a loosely worded mutual defense pact between the US, Britain, France, Australia, New Zealand, Thailand, and the Philippines, was formed.

Oct French forces departed Vietnam.

The United States War in Vietnam

The Advisory Decade

1955 Jan The US started to providing direct aid and assistance to the government of South Vietnam and agree to train the South Vietnamese Army.

Jul Diem rejected the Geneva agreement and refused to participate in a nationwide election. The US supported his decision. The USSR and PRC agreed to support the DRV.

Oct Diem replaced Bao Dai as head of state and proclaimed the Republic of Vietnam (RVN).

1956 The US assumed full responsibility for training and equipping the new Army of the Republic of Vietnam (ARVN). The US Military Assistance and Advisory Group (MAAG) was expanded.

1957 Oct Communist insurgency began in South Vietnam with the organization of company size units in the Mekong delta. Guerrilla warfare and terrorism campaigns were initiated.

1959 May The Ho Chi Minh trail was opened. The DRV initiated continuous, direct support for the insurgency in the RVN.

Jul The first Americans were killed in the Vietnam war.

1960 Nov John F. Kennedy was elected president. Robert McNamara became Secretary of Defense. Kennedy adopts General Maxwell Taylor's strategic doctrine of "Flexible Response," increased the size of the US Army, and initiates the development of a counter-insurgency operational doctrine. Special Forces units, the Green Beret, were created.

Dec The DRV forms the National Liberation Front (NLF) in South Vietnam, called the "Viet Cong" by the government of the RVN--a derogatory term for Communist Vietnamese.

1961 Apr The Bay of Pigs operation, an American backed attempt to overthrow Fidel Castro in Cuba, failed, causing President Kennedy to believe he received bad advice from the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS), and to henceforth, distrust their counsel. McNamara's influence with the President increased.

May Vice President Lyndon Johnson visited Vietnam and recommended more aid and assistance. The Geneva Conference on Laos opened. President de Gaulle of France warned Kennedy that Vietnam is a "bottomless military and political swamp."

Oct General Maxwell Taylor and Walt Rostow visited Vietnam and recommended the expansion of the role of American combat troops as advisers and a large increase in the number of US advisers. Kennedy partially accepted their recommendations but was not willing to go as far as Taylor advises. Premier Khrushchev announced that the USSR would support Communist insurgencies fighting wars of national liberation in developing countries. The Berlin Crisis began. The Soviets began the construction of the Berlin Wall and threaten to close the single western land route to Berlin.

1962 Feb The American Military Assistance Command was formed in South Vietnam (MACV). American advisers increased from 700 to 1200.

May DRV and NLF organized battalions in central Vietnam. The communist occupation and transformation of South Vietnam advanced.

Oct The Cuban missile crisis end with the withdrawal of Soviet missiles. McNamara's success in this crisis caused him to adopt it as a model for managing the Vietnam conflict. The Strategic Hamlet pacification program was initiated.

1963 Jan ARVN were defeated in battle with VC

Jun Buddhist monks conducted demonstrations against Diem's government by committing suicide by self-immolation. The astonishing scenes were carried on national television, influencing American public opinion.

Aug Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge arrived in Saigon to take charge of the situation.

Sep Lodge supported the coup against Diem.

Nov Diem was assassinated by mutinous generals with the approval and support of the American government. Twenty days later, 22 November, President Kennedy was assassinated in Dallas, Texas. Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson became President. Johnson retained Kennedy's team of advisers.

Dec 15,000 American servicemen were serving in Vietnam as advisers, and the United States had expended \$500 million to aid RVN. At the same time, the DRV decided to move to the next phase of the People's war.

1964 Jan General Nguyen Khanh seized power in Saigon. He received the support of the Johnson administration.

Mar Secretary of State Dean Rusk, McNamara, and others met in Honolulu and agreed to increase aid to Vietnam. They also initiated work on a strategy to apply "graduated pressure" to the Communist government DRV through bombing. Bombing was seen as a form of communication, a tool to convince the Communist to give up their efforts to achieve victory in South Vietnam.

Airpower was not employed as it was in World War II, to destroy the enemy's armed forces and means of production.

Jun General Taylor was selected to replace Lodge as ambassador to South Vietnam.

Jul RVN began covert maritime operations off the coast of North Vietnam.

Aug The US Destroyer *USS Maddox* was attacked by North Vietnamese patrol boats in the Gulf of Tonkin. Two days later, a second, questionable attack on the destroyers *USS Turner Joy* and *USS Maddox* was reported. President Johnson retaliated by bombing North Vietnam for the first time. Congress passes the Gulf of Tonkin resolution empowering the president to "take all necessary measures to repel an armed attack against the forces of the United States and prevent further aggression." The resolution gave the president full discretionary power, and removed Congress from its Constitutional role in regard to war and the use of the armed forces.

Oct VC attacked American air base at Bienhoa. Johnson rejected the recommendation of his military advisers to retaliate. Johnson was primarily concerned with the election and was unwilling to take actions that appear too "hawkish."

Nov Johnson defeated Senator Barry Goldwater in the presidential election.

Dec VC bombed an American military billet, the Brinks Hotel, in Saigon. Johnson again rejected retaliation. Operation Barrel Roll begins—air attacks in Laos.

Americanization of the War

1965 Feb VC again attacked American installations. Johnson authorized the bombing of NV. Operation Rolling Thunder, a graduated, tightly controlled bombing campaign was initiated.

Mar American ground forces were deployed to South Vietnam ostensibly to guard American air bases, billets, and installations. Two battalions of Marines were initially deployed.

Apr Johnson gave a speech at Johns Hopkins University in which he offers Ho Chi Minh a vast Southeast Asian development program in return for a negotiated settlement. Johnson attempts to buy peace. The government of DRV promptly rejected his proposal.

Jun The US government authorized the conduct of ground combat operations. The government of the RVN changed again. Air Vice Marshal Nguyen Cao Ky took over as prime minister of South Vietnam. Regular army units of People's Army of Vietnam (PAVN) were identified in South Vietnam, indicating a new phase in DRV operations.

Jul Johnson became dissatisfied with Taylor's advice and reappoints Lodge ambassador to South Vietnam. Taylor opposed the deployment of American ground forces. Johnson approved General Westmoreland's request for forty-four additional combat battalions. The mission of American ground forces changed from the defense of American facilities and personnel to offensive operations against the VC and PAVN. Westmoreland tried to stabilize the deteriorating situation in South Vietnam.

Sep PRC Defense Minister Lin Biao of China indicated that the PRC would not intervene directly in Vietnam as long as the United States did not invade North Vietnam.

Oct The American 1st Cavalry Division, mounted in helicopters, battled regiments of the PAVN in the Ia Drang River Valley. The "Big Unit" war began. Eventually, the PAVN withdrew. Both sides suffered heavy casualties. America's first major battle in Vietnam confirmed for Westmoreland the effectiveness of his operational and tactical doctrine, "Search and Destroy." Westmoreland adopted an attrition strategy because political leaders would not permit offensive operations into Laos, Cambodia, or North Vietnam.

Dec American forces in Vietnam numbered nearly 200,000. Johnson stopped the bombing campaign temporarily in order to communicate to the DRV his willingness to negotiate.

1966 Jan Johnson resumed bombing.

Feb Johnson Administration emphasized to the government of South Vietnam the necessity of stability in government and the pacification of South Vietnam. The "other war" for the "hearts and minds" of the Vietnamese people had to be won for real victory to be achieved.

Dec American forces in Vietnam numbered 400,000.

1967 Jan DRV Foreign Minister stated the US must stop bombing North Vietnam before peace talks can be initiated.

Mar Johnson met in Guam with Ky and Thieu. DRV revealed that Johnson and Ho Chi Minh had exchanged letters.

Apr Johnson conferred with Westmoreland in Washington, and Westmoreland addressed Congress the next day.

May Ellsworth Bunker replaced Lodge as ambassador to South Vietnam.

Aug McNamara, in testimony before a Senate subcommittee, stated that the bombing of North Vietnam was ineffective.

Sep Nguyen Van Thieu was elected President and Ky Vice-President of South Vietnam. PAVN and NLF launched a major campaign that culminated in the Tet Offensive in January 1968. Westmoreland fortified the Marines surrounded at Khe Sanh. Johnson again offered to stop bombing in exchange for "productive discussions."

Nov Westmoreland expressed optimism in public statements while in the US—"the light at the end of the tunnel."

Dec DRV announced talks could begin once the bombing stops. US forces numbered almost 500,000. Protests against the war increased across the US.

1968 Jan Tet offensive began. During the Tet holiday, the VC and PAVN conducted major offensives in three-fourths of the 44 provincial capitals of SV. The American embassy in Saigon was also attacked. U.S. and ARVN forces launched counterattacks. Intense battles were shown on national television in the United States. It appeared to many Americans that the US was losing the war. War is ugly and all the television cameras were on one side of the battlefield. All the images were negative. The Johnson Administration and the Pentagon seemed surprised, and took too few actions to explain what was happening to the American people. Many historians believe the Vietnam War was lost in 1968.

Feb Westmoreland requested 206,000 additional troops, based on discussions with General Wheeler. Clark Clifford replaced McNamara as Secretary of Defense. Clifford opposed Westmoreland's troop request and the expansion of the war. He sought withdrawal and initiated actions to get the U.S. out of the war. The man Johnson thought was a "Hawk" turned into a "Dove."

Vietnamization of the War

Mar Westmoreland was named the next Chief of Staff of the Army. General Creighton Abrams was designated to replace him. Senator Robert F. Kennedy announced he would run for president. The "Wise Men," a group of distinguished American leaders, met in Washington to advise Johnson. They advised him against further escalation. Johnson announced a partial bombing halt, offered to negotiate, and told the American people he would not seek another term.

Apr Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. was assassinated in Memphis. Disorder broke-out across much of the country.

May American and DRV delegations arrived in Paris for peace negotiations. Averell Harriman led the American delegation.

Jun Robert F. Kennedy was assassinated in Los Angeles.

Aug Richard Nixon won the Republican nomination for president in Miami. Vice-President Hubert Humphrey won the Democratic nomination in Chicago, where riots broke-out in protest to the war and draft. Johnson stopped all bombing of North Vietnam and continued to seek a negotiated settlement.

Nov Nixon was elected President of the United States. Nixon promises to end the war.

Dec Henry Kissinger was selected to be Nixon's national security adviser. American forces in Vietnam numbered 540,000, and in the US protests against the war intensified. The nation was in turmoil, caused by the war, the Civil Rights movement, and the general feeling that America was disintegrating.

1969 Jan Paris Peace talks were expanded to include the government of SV and NLF representatives. Melvin Laird replaced Clark Clifford as Secretary of Defense and adopted Clifford's withdrawal policy.

Mar Nixon began the secret bombing of Cambodia. Melvin Laird, Secretary of Defense, invented the term "Vietnamization" to describe Nixon's policy of withdrawing American troops and replacing them with South Vietnamese troops. Abrams initiated "small unit war," seeking to complete the destruction of the VC insurgency.

Apr US military personnel in Vietnam peaked at 543,400.

May President Nixon proposed a peace plan that called for the simultaneous withdrawal of US and PAVN forces.

Jun Nixon met with Thieu at Midway Island and announced the withdrawal of 25,000 American troops.

Aug Kissinger met secretly in Paris with the DRV negotiator Xuan Thuy.

Sep Ho Chi Minh died. He was seventy-nine.

Oct President Nixon allowed draft deferments for graduate students. Massive anti-war demonstrations took place in Washington, and other cities.

Nov Nixon gave his "silent majority" speech. Another antiwar demonstration took place in Washington. Over 250,000 demonstrators participated, the largest such demonstration to date. The My Lai massacre was revealed by the *New York Times*.

Dec The first draft lottery since 1942 was held by the Selective Service Board. American forces in Vietnam declined to 475,200. 40,024 US servicemen had been killed to date.

1970 Feb Kissinger began secret talks with Le Duc Tho in Paris. The Nixon administration began its policy of duplicity.

Apr Nixon announced Cambodian "incursion." US and ARVN forces attacked Communist sanctuaries in Cambodia.

May National Guardsmen killed four students at Kent State University in Ohio during a nationwide antiwar demonstration.

Oct Nixon proposed "standstill cease-fire," but also repeated a mutual withdrawal plan.

Nov Lieutenant William Calley went on trial at Fort Benning, Georgia, for the My Lai massacre.

Dec US military forces in Vietnam declined to 334,600. 44,245 Americans have been killed to date.

1971 Feb ARVN conducted raids into Laos.

Mar Calley was convicted of the premeditated murder of South Vietnamese civilians at My Lai. He received a life sentence. Nixon reduced the sentence to three years.

Jun *New York Times* began publication of the Pentagon Papers. Supreme Court ruled that the publication was legal.

Dec US forces declined to 156,800. 45,626 Americans have been killed.

1972 Jan Nixon revealed that Kissinger had been secretly negotiating with the DRV.

Feb Nixon arrived in China.

Mar PAVN launched major offensive across the DMZ. US delegates in Paris announced an indefinite suspension of peace talks until DRV delegates and NLF representatives were willing to enter into "serious discussion."

Apr Nixon responded with an intensive bombing campaign, "Linebacker," of Hanoi and Haiphong harbor after a four-year lull. Antiwar demonstrators responded to Nixon's escalation of the bombing campaign with hundreds of protest demonstrations across the country.

Jun Break-in at the Democratic National Committee office at the Watergate complex in Washington caused the arrest of five men.

Aug Kissinger met again with Le Duc Tho in Paris to work-out an agreement.

Oct Kissinger met with Thieu in Saigon. Thieu opposed the draft agreement worked out by Kissinger and Le Duc Tho. DRV announced over radio broadcast the details of the agreement. This was an effort to pressure Kissinger, who had to convince Thieu.

Nov Nixon was re-elected president, defeating Senator George McGovern in a landslide victory. Kissinger presents Le Duc Tho with 69 amendments to the agreement demanded by Thieu. Talks break down.

Dec Nixon ordered the intensive bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong to pressure the DRV to return to the talks, Linebacker II. The DRV agreed to resume negotiations after bombing halts. US military forces declined to 24,200. 45,926 Americans have been killed.

1973 Jan Kissinger and Le Duc Tho met. The draft agreement was initialed. As a result Nixon stopped all US offensive actions against the DRV and NLF, and the peace agreement was signed in Paris by the US, DRV, NLF, and SV. To get Thieu to accept the agreement Nixon made numerous promises of military and economic assistance to the government of SV. The US military draft ended. The All-Volunteer Force was initiated. Elliot L. Richardson replaced Melvin Laird as Secretary of Defense.

The Vietnamese Civil War (Phase Four)

Mar Last US troops leave Vietnam.

Apr "Last" US POW released.

Jun Watergate hearings started.

Jul Existence of White House tapes revealed.

Aug US stops bombing Cambodia in compliance with congressional prohibition. Nixon announced the appointment of Kissinger as Secretary of State.

Oct Vice President Agnew resigned. He was replaced by Representative Gerald Ford.

Nov Congress overrode Nixon's veto of the "War Powers Act," a law limiting the power of the president to deploy American combat forces.

1974 Jan Thieu declared that the war had begun again. Nixon was not able to honor the promises he made to Thieu and South Vietnam.

May House Judiciary Committee began impeachment hearings on Nixon. Nixon was powerless to assist SV, and congress had taken control of the use of American military forces and aid to Indochina.

Jun DRV build-up in SV intensified in violation of the peace agreement.

Jul House Judiciary Committee voted to recommend impeaching Nixon.

Aug Nixon resigns. Ford became President. Nixon was proven to be a liar.

Sep Ford pardons Nixon.

1975 Jan DRV offensive began in SV. Thieu called for US assistance. He begged for help. But no help came.

Mar Thieu abandoned the northern provinces to consolidate his forces. It did not help.

Apr Ford called the war "finished." US evacuated its embassy in Saigon. Thieu departed Saigon for Taiwan. Saigon was captured. The war was over. The United States and South Vietnam lost.

1977 Jan Carter pardons 10,000 draft dodgers. Total American dead 57,690 (This figure is updated periodically as the remains of American service members are discovered.)

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Annex G: Summary of Clausewitz and other Concepts Discussed:

—War is an act of force to compel our enemy to do our will.

—War can be limited or total. There is range of commitment of resources and effort.

—The political objective will determine both the military objective to be reached and the amount of effort, it requires.

—To fight total war the government, the armed forces, and the people must support the war and work with some minimal degree of harmony—the “remarkable trinity” of war.

—There are three ways to win a war, destroy the enemy’s main armed forces, destroy the will of the people, and/or destroy the enemy government.

—There are three levels of war, the strategic, operational, and tactical. The tactical level concerns the conduct of the battle, the operational level, the conduct of the campaign, and, the strategic level, the conduct of the war.

—A state is a political entity, with geographic borders, a central government and bureaucracy capable of extracting and directing the resources and energy of its people, a military to maintain external security, and a police force to maintain internal security. States possess legitimate authority to which people respond, as a rule, without question.

—A nation is a cultural entity. The people of a nation are connected to one another in significant ways through language, history, custom, ethnicity or race, religion, nationality, or some other ideologies. The peoples of nations possess the cohesion that makes possible total war.

—A nation-state combines the attributes of both the state and the nation, to form the most powerful political and military entity in history. Only nation-states are capable of fighting modern total war.

—Strategy is the art and science of using the resources of the nation-state to achieve political objectives. Political objectives are deduced from broadly stated national Policies, which ideally reflect the values, ethics, and beliefs of the people. There are multiple levels of strategy, national, coalition, theater, operational, and tactical. Nation-states, as a rule, act in their own best interest. Hence, national strategy normally has priority over coalition strategy.

—The Center of Gravity is the point of decision, the focal point against which all resources are, or should be, directed to produce decisive results. The strategic centers of gravity are the will of the people, the enemy’s main forces, and/or the enemy’s government.

—A nation, a people, can suffer traumas that damage them psychologically influencing their ability to think and act rationally and objectively. Coherent, effective strategy takes into consideration psychological injuries.

—Doctrine is the authoritative, fundamental principles that guide the conduct of military forces towards the achievement of theater military objectives and ultimately national or coalition political objectives. Doctrine is employed at all levels of war. Tactical doctrine is unique to a particular service and terrain. Operational doctrine, at its best, is joint doctrine that produces synergy; however, it too can be exclusive to a particular service. Strategic doctrine is unique to a particular nation-state. Doctrine is a function of culture, technology, geography, knowledge, experience, and leadership. Doctrine transmits ways of fighting to all the members of a service and to enemies and potential enemies, ideally deterring war.