

**University of Wisconsin—Madison
Department of History**

HISTORY 319—THE VIETNAM WARS

Fall 2015

Mr. McCoy

I. COURSE PROCEDURES:

Class Meetings: Lectures are given in 1111 Humanities by Mr. McCoy on Tuesdays and Thursdays, from 2:30 to 3:45 p.m. In addition, students will attend a one-hour discussion section each week conducted by the Teaching Assistant (TA) for this course.

Office Hours:

—For Anthony Medrano, Humanities Room 4272, on Tuesdays from 12:00 to 2:00 p.m. and other hours by appointment (TEL: 263-1939). Messages may be left in Humanities Mailbox No. 4119, or sent via e-mail to: <admedrano@wisc.edu>
—For Alfred McCoy, Humanities Room 5131, Thursdays 12:00 to 2:00 p.m. and other hours by appointment (TEL: 263-1855). Messages may be left in Humanities Mailbox No. 5026, or sent via e-mail to: <awmccoy@wisc.edu>

Grading: Students shall complete three pieces of written work. On October 15, students shall take a midterm examination. On November 17, students shall submit a 5,000-word research essay with full footnotes and bibliographic references. During examination week on December 18, students shall take a two-hour final examination. Final grades shall be computed as follows:

—midterm take-home exam:	20%
—research essay:	30%
—discussion section mark:	30%
—final examination:	20%
—extra credit/film viewing:	3%

Course Requirements: For each of these assignments, there are different requirements for both the amount and form of work to be done:

a.) *Midterm take-home examination:* Select two questions from a list distributed in the lecture on Thursday, October 15, and turn in two short essays totaling five typed pages, with full endnote citations, at the start of class on Tuesday, October 20.

b.) *Research Essay:* Following format instructions under Section VII below, complete a 12-page research essay (with one-inch margins, 12 point font) on one of the topics listed in Section VI.

During the week of October 26, students should submit to their TA a two-page outline with (a.) a one-paragraph abstract of the argument, (b.) an outline of the major points, and (c.) a bibliography.

When submitted, essays must have: (1.) a minimum of 6 references to journal articles (at least two not found on the syllabus), (2.) at least 10 articles from the *New York Times*, (3.) two extended quotations, if relevant, from the “Pentagon Papers,” and, if not, from other official documents, and (4.) two extended quotations with full citations from U.S. Congressional reports on the war. The completed essay should be submitted in the lecture hall at the start of lecture on Tuesday, November 17.

—NB: For the *New York Times*, see

<<http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.web/proquesthn>>

c.) *Discussion Section Mark*: Based on your attendance and participation, the teaching assistant will assign you a mark for your performance in the discussion section. Repeated absences will result in a loss of all marks for the section.

d.) *Final Examination*: In the space of two hours on Friday, December 18, 5:05 pm-7:05 p.m., students will sit a blue-book exam and answer two questions selected from a longer list of essay questions.

e.) *Extra Credit*: For a maximum of three extra-credit points, students can sign up to attend a film showing at 1111 Humanities and write a short, two-page reflection paper. See Section IV below for details.

Readings: Reflecting the controversy surrounding the subject, there is no single text for the study of the Vietnam Wars. Instead, the syllabus covers each topic with journal articles and book extracts, divided into “Required” and “Background” readings. To follow the lectures and their unfamiliar material, students should read selections from the “required” materials before the relevant lecture. In preparing essays on subjects related to the lecture topics, consult the “Background” readings for bibliographic references. These readings are available from several sources:

Required Texts [Sold at University Book Store, State St. Mall]:

Marvin E. Gettleman, *Vietnam and America: A Documented History* (1995).
 Alfred W. McCoy, *The Politics of Heroin* (2003 Edition).
 Marilyn B. Young, *The Vietnam Wars: 1945–1990* (1991).

Optional Texts [Sold at University Bookstore]:

George D. Moss, *Vietnam: An American Ordeal* (6th Edition, 2009).
 --N.B. Low cost, second-hand copies available at University Book Store.
 Neil Sheehan, *Bright Shining Lie* (1989).

Reference Works [College Library, H.C. White Building]:

Stanley Kutler, *Encyclopedia of the Vietnam War* (1996).

Learn@UW [Available Online]: Through “Learn@UW,” available at <https://learnuw.wisc.edu/> or via the UW-Madison home page, students can access various materials for the course, including: the Course Syllabus, Glossary of Lecture Terms, Lecture outlines, and links to relevant outside resources.

Required Readings [Available at Campus Libraries]:

E-Reserve at the College Library holds all the Required Readings (articles and excerpts from books) marked below with an asterisk (*). The procedure for accessing e-reserves for our course is as follows: (1.) Students log-on to “MyUW”; (2.) go to the “Academic” tab; and, (3.) next to the courses that students are registered for, go to “Library/Reserves' link” and click on the link beside History 319.

The Reserve Room in *H.C. White Library* has most of the required and many of the background readings on reserve.

The *Memorial Library* has, with few exceptions, all the books and journal articles cited in the syllabus.

II. REQUIRED WEEKLY READINGS [Readings on e-Reserve are marked *]:

Week One (September 3): The Pre-colonial Vietnamese State As Context for War

- *David Marr, *Vietnamese Anticolonialism* (1971), pp. 7–21.
- * Edward Miller, “War Stories: The Taylor–Buzzanco Debate and the Future of the Vietnam War Studies,” *Journal of Vietnamese Studies* 1:1 (August 2006), pp. 453–84.
- *Li Tana, *Nguyen Cochinchina: Southern Vietnam in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (1998), pp. 99–116, 139–154, 155–158.

Week Two (September 8): The French Conquest

- *Pierre Brocheux, *The Mekong Delta: Ecology, Economy, and Revolution, 1860–1960* (1995), pp. 1–50.
- *David Marr, *Vietnamese Anticolonialism* (1971), pp. 22–43.
- *David Steinberg, et al., *In Search of Southeast Asia* (1987), pp. 186–192.
- *Shawn F. McHale, *Print and Power: Confucianism, Communism and Buddhism in the Making of the Modern Vietnam* (2004), pp. 39–60.

Week Three (September 15): Vietnamese Nationalism

- Ngo Vinh Long, “Vietnam’s Revolutionary Tradition,” in Gettleman, *Vietnam and America* (1995), pp. 4–18.
- *David Marr, *Vietnamese Tradition on Trial* (1981), pp. 15–53.
- *Hue-Tam Ho Tai, *Radicalism and the Origins of the Vietnamese Revolution* (1992), pp. 10–56.
- *Shawn F. McHale, *Print and Power: Confucianism, Communism and Buddhism in the Making of the Modern Vietnam* (2004), pp. 3–38.

Week Four (September 22): The Rise of the Communist Party

- Marilyn Young, *The Vietnam Wars* (1991), pp. 1–19.
- *David Marr, “World War II and the Vietnamese Revolution,” in A.W. McCoy, ed., *Southeast Asia under Japanese Occupation* (1980), pp. 104–131.
- *Mark P. Bradley, *Imagining Vietnam & America: The Making of Postcolonial Vietnam, 1919–1950* (2000), pp. 73–106.
- Recommended (Optional) Reading:**
- William J. Duiker, *Ho Chi Minh* (2000), pp. 46–104.
- *Bernard Fall, *Ho Chi Minh on Revolution: Selected Writings, 1920–66* (1967), pp. 21–50, 129–143.
- *Shawn F. McHale, *Print and Power: Confucianism, Communism and Buddhism in the Making of the Modern Vietnam* (2004), pp. 102–142.
- Peter Zinoman, *Colonial Bastille: A History of Imprisonment in Vietnam, 1862–1940* (2001), pp. 200–239.

Week Five (September 29): The First Indochina War 1946–1954

- Marilyn Young, *The Vietnam Wars* (1991), pp. 20–36.
- *Michael Schaller, “Securing the Great Crescent: Occupied Japan and the Origins of Containment in Southeast Asia,” *Journal of American History* 69:2 (September 1982), pp. 392–414.
- *Mark P. Bradley, *Imagining Vietnam & America: The Making of Postcolonial Vietnam, 1919–1950* (2000), pp. 146–176.
- *Mark Atwood Lawrence, *Assuming the Burden: Europe and the American Commitment to the War in Vietnam* (2005), pp. 190–232, 276–287.
- Recommended (Optional) Reading:**
- Gen. Vo Nguyen Giap, “Vietnamese Victory: Dien Bien Phu, 1954,” in Gettleman, *Vietnam and America* (1995), pp. 53–62.
- Documents on Geneva, in Gettleman, *Vietnam and America* (1995), pp. 65–80.

Week Six (October 6): Origins of the Saigon Regime

Marilyn Young, *The Vietnam Wars* (1991), pp. 37–88.

*Seth Jacobs, “Ngo Dinh Diem, The Impossible Ally,” in A. Rotter, ed., *Light at the End of the Tunnel* (2010), pp. 146–158.

Alfred W. McCoy, *The Politics of Heroin* (2003), pp. 127–161.

Recommended (Optional) Reading:

*Frances Fitzgerald, *Fire in the Lake* (1972), pp. 90–151.

Articles by E.G. Lansdale, W.R. Fishel & R. Scheer, in Gettleman, *Vietnam and America* (1995), pp. 81–164.

*Pierre Brocheux, *The Mekong Delta*, pp. 173–207.

Week Seven (October 13): Disintegration of the South Vietnamese State

*Philip E. Catton, “Ngo Dinh Diem, Modernizer,” in A. Rotter, ed., *Light at the End of the Tunnel* (2010), pp. 159–171.

*George Kahin, *Intervention* (1986), pp. 122–181.

Alfred W. McCoy, *The Politics of Heroin* (2003), pp. 193–248.

Marilyn Young, *The Vietnam Wars* (1991), pp. 89–104.

David Marr, “The Rise and Fall of ‘Counterinsurgency’: 1961–1964,” in Gettleman, *Vietnam and America* (1995), pp. 204–214.

Recommended (Optional) Reading:

*George Kahin, *Intervention* (1986), pp. 93–121.

[Midterm Exam Distributed in Lecture: Thursday, October 15]

Week Eight (October 20): War on North Vietnam

Marilyn Young, *The Vietnam Wars* (1991), pp. 105–149.

*George Kahin, *Intervention* (1986), pp. 306–331.

Documents on the Gulf of Tonkin Incident (1964) and the State Department White Paper of 1965, in Gettleman, *Vietnam and America* (1995), pp. 248–273.

[Midterm Exam Due, Start of Lecture: Tuesday, October 20]

Week Nine (October 27): Intervention by U.S. Forces

Marilyn Young, *The Vietnam Wars* (1991), pp. 150–171.

*George Kahin, *Intervention*, pp. 332–401.

*Fredrik Logevall, “Lyndon Johnson Chooses War,” in A. Rotter, ed., *Light at the End of the Tunnel* (2010), pp. 79–86.

*Harry Maurer, *On Strange Ground: An Oral History of Americans in Vietnam, 1945–1975* (1989), pp. 148–157, 171–186.

[Week of October 26: Consultation with TA Re. Essay Outlines]

Week 10 (November 3): U.S. Troops in the Villages of Vietnam

Marilyn Young, *The Vietnam Wars* (1991), pp. 172–191.

*James William Gibson, *The Perfect War: Technowar in Vietnam* (1986), pp. 93–154.

Seymour M. Hersh, “My Lai,” in Gettleman, *Vietnam and America* (1995), pp. 410–424.

*Tom Mangold and John Penycate, “The National Liberation Front and the Land,” in A. Rotter, ed., *Light at the End of the Tunnel* (2010), pp. 191–195.

*Michael D. Sallah and Mitch Weiss, “Buried Secrets, Brutal Truths—Tiger Force,” *Toledo Blade*, October 22–26, 2003.

[<http://www.pulitzer.org/works/2004-Investigative-Reporting>]

*Nick Turse and Deborah Nelson, “Civilian Killings Went Unpunished,” *Los Angeles Times*, August 6, 2006 [<http://www.latimes.com/news/nationworld/nation/la-na-vietnam6aug06,0,6350517.story?coll=la-home-headlines>]

*Nick Turse, “A My Lai a Month,” *The Nation* (New York), 18 November 2008. [<http://www.thenation.com/doc/20081201/turse>]

Week 11 (November 10): The Tet Offensive & The War at Home

Marilyn Young, *The Vietnam Wars* (1991), pp. 192–253.

*George C. Herring, “The Tet Offensive, 1968,” in A. Rotter, ed., *Light at the End of the Tunnel* (2010), pp. 87–100.

*Paul Joseph, “Direct and Indirect Effects of the Movement Against the Vietnam War,” in J. Werner and L.D. Huynh, eds., *The Vietnam War* (1993), pp. 165–184.

Documents on the Anti-War Movement, in Gettleman, *Vietnam and America* (1995), pp. 295–338, 455–462.

[Research Essay Due, Start of Lecture: Tuesday, November 17]

Week 12 (November 17): The U.S. Bombing of Laos and Cambodia

*Fred Branfman, *Voices from the Plain of Jars: Life under an Air War* (1972), pp. 3–29, 62–77.

*Alfred W. McCoy, “America’s Secret War in Laos, 1955–1975,” in Marilyn B. Young and Robert Buzzanco, eds., *A Companion to the Vietnam War* (2002), pp. 283–313.

Alfred W. McCoy, *The Politics of Heroin* (2003), pp. 305–331.

*Ben Kiernan, “The Impact on Cambodia of the U.S. Intervention in Vietnam,” in J. Werner and L.D. Huynh, eds., *The Vietnam War* (1993), pp. 216–229.

*William Shawcross, “Bombing Cambodia: A Critique,” in A. Rotter, ed., *Light at the End of the Tunnel* (2010), pp. 287–297.

Week 13 (November 24): Withdrawal and “Vietnamization”

Marilyn Young, *The Vietnam Wars* (1991), pp. 254–280.

Alfred W. McCoy, *The Politics of Heroin* (2003), pp. 254–261.

*Guenter Lewy, *America in Vietnam* (1978), pp. 343–373.

*Noam Chomsky, “On the Aggression of South Vietnamese Peasants Against the United States,” in *Towards a New Cold War* (1982), pp. 154–165.

**The Winter Soldier Investigation: An Inquiry into American War Crimes* (1972), pp. xiii–xv, 5–11, 101–07, 149–55, 173, 181.

[Thanksgiving Break, November 26]

Week 14 (December 1): Defeat in Indochina

Marilyn Young, *The Vietnam Wars* (1991), pp. 281–299.

Documents in Gettleman, *Vietnam and America* (1995), pp. 471–515.

Week 15 (December 8, December 15): The Legacy of the Vietnam War

*Arnold R. Isaacs, “American Perspectives: ‘We’ve All Been There’—The War and American Memory,” in Stanley Kutler, ed., *Encyclopedia of the Vietnam War* (1996), pp. 10–24.

*Melvin R. Laird, “Iraq: Learning the Lessons of Vietnam,” *Foreign Affairs* 84, no. 6 (November/December 2005), pp. 22–43.

*Ngo Vinh Long, “Vietnamese Perspectives,” in Stanley Kutler, ed., *Encyclopedia of the Vietnam War* (1996), pp. 591–611.

*Alfred W. McCoy, “Torture in the Crucible of Counterinsurgency,” in Lloyd C. Gardner and Marilyn B. Young, eds., *Iraq and the Lessons of Vietnam: Or, How Not to Learn from the Past* (2007), pp. 230–62, 297–302.

Marilyn Young, *The Vietnam Wars* (1991), pp. 300–330.

*Bing West, “The Road to Haditha,” *Atlantic Monthly* (October 2006), pp. 95–99.

Recommended (Optional) Reading:

*John Prados, *Vietnam: The History of an Unwinnable War 1945–1975* (2009), pp. 518–550.

[Final Exam, Friday, December 18, 5:05-7:05 p.m , place T.B.A.]

III. BACKGROUND READINGS

WEEK 1: The Pre-colonial Vietnamese State As Context for War

Adams, J. & Hancock, N. "Land and Economy in Traditional Vietnam," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 1:2 (1970), pp. 90–98.

Bayard, Donn. "The Roots of Indochinese Civilization," *Pacific Affairs* 51:1 (1980), pp. 89–114.

Bellwood, Peter. *Man's Conquest of the Pacific: The Prehistory of Southeast Asia and Oceania* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), pp. 153–232.

Buttinger, Joseph. *Vietnam: A Political History* (New York: Praeger, 1968), pp.19–54.

Coedes, G. *The Making of Southeast Asia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966), pp. 39–74, 77–87, 204–17.

Cooke, Nola. "The Composition of the Nineteenth-Century Political Elite of Pre-Colonial Nguyen Vietnam (1802–1883)," *Modern Asian Studies* 29:4 (October 1995), pp. 741–764.

Cotter, Michael G. "Towards a Social History of the Vietnamese Southward Movement," *Journal of Southeast Asian History* 9:1 (March 1968), pp. 12–24.

Duncanson, Dennis J. "Vietnam as a Nation State," *Modern Asian Studies* 3:2 (March 1969), pp. 117–129.

Heine-Geldern, Robert. *Conceptions of State and Kingship in Southeast Asia* (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1956), pp. 1–13.

McAlister, John & Mus, Paul. *The Vietnamese and Their Revolution* (New York: Harper & Row, 1970), pp. 44–54.

Shiraishi, Masaya. "State, Villagers, and Vagabonds: Vietnamese Rural Society and the Phan Ba Vanh Rebellion," in A. Turton & S. Tanabe, eds., *History and Peasant Consciousness* (Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology, 1984), pp. 345–400.

Smith, R.B. "The Cycle of Confucianism in Vietnam," in Walter F. Vella, ed., *Aspects of Vietnamese History* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 1973), pp. 1–29.

Smith, R.B. "England and Vietnam in the 16th Centuries: An Essay in Historical Comparison," in C.D. Cowan & O.W. Wolters, eds., *Southeast Asian History and Historiography* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1976), pp. 227–245.

Taylor, Keith. "The Rise of Dai Viet and the Establishment of Thanh Long," in K. R. Hall & J. K. Whitmore, eds., *Explorations in Early Southeast Asian History: The Origins of Southeast Asian Statecraft* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1976), pp. 149–191.

Taylor, Keith. *The Birth of Vietnam* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), pp. 296–301.

Wheatley, Paul. "Urban Genesis in Mainland Southeast Asia," in R.B. Smith & W. Watson, eds., *Early Southeast Asia: Essays in Archeology, History and Historical Geography* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), pp. 288–303.

Woodside, Alexander. *Vietnam and the Chinese Model* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971), pp. 7–59.

Yumio Sakurai, “Eighteenth-Century Chinese on the Water Frontier of Indochina,” in N. Cooke and L. Tana, eds., *Water Frontier: Commerce and the Chinese in the Lower Mekong Region, 1750–1880* (Singapore: Rowman & Littlefield, 2004), pp. 35–52.

WEEK 2: The French Conquest

Buttinger, Joseph. *Vietnam: A Political History* (New York: Praeger, 1968), pp. 75–98.

Chandran, J. *The Burma-Yunnan Railway: Anglo-French Rivalry in Mainland Southeast Asia and South China, 1895–1902* (Athens: Ohio University, 1971), pp. 1–10.

McLeod, Mark W. *The Vietnamese Response to French Intervention: 1858–1900* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1991).

Osborne, Milton. *The French Presence in Cochinchina & Cambodia: Rule and Response, 1859–1905* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1969), pp. 3–56, 131–55.

Osborne, Milton. *River Road to China: The Mekong River Expedition, 1866–73* (New York: Liveright, 1975).

Woodside, Alexander. *Vietnam and the Chinese Model* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971), pp. 234–94.

Steinberg, David Joel, et al. *In Search of Southeast Asia* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 1987), pp. 69–75, 128–38.

Truong Buu Lam. *Patterns of Vietnamese Response to Foreign Intervention: 1858–1900* (New Haven: Yale University, Southeast Asia Studies, 1967), pp. 1–34.

WEEK 3: Vietnamese Nationalism

Background Readings—Colonialism:

Brocheux, Pierre. *The Mekong Delta: Ecology, Economy, and Revolution, 1860–1960* (Madison: Center for Southeast Asian Studies, 1995), pp. 1–90.

Gunn, Geoffrey. “Montagnard Manipulation in Colonial Indochina,” *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars* 19:3 (1987).

Gunn, Geoffrey. “Shamans and Rebels: The Bat Chai (Meo) Rebellion of Northern Laos and Northwestern Vietnam, 1918–1921,” *Journal of the Siam Society* 74 (1986), pp. 107–21.

Hue-Tam Ho Tai. *Millenarianism and Peasant Politics in Vietnam* (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1983), chapters 1, 4, 5, 6 & 7.

Marr, David G. *Vietnamese Anticolonialism 1885–1925* (Berkeley: University of California, 1971), chapters 2, 3 & 8.

McAlister, John & Mus, Paul. *The Vietnamese and Their Revolution* (New York: Harper & Row, 1970), pp. 78–92.

McAlister, John T. *Vietnam: The Origins of Revolution* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1969), pp. 66–82.

McCoy, Alfred W. *The Politics of Heroin* (New York: Lawrence Hill, 2003), pp. 77–113.

Murray, Martin. *The Development of Capitalism in Colonial Indochina, 1870–1940* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), pp. 45–95, 163–189, 254–311.

Popkin, Samuel L. *The Rational Peasant: The Political Economy of Rural Society in Vietnam* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), pp. 184–242.

Sansom, Robert L. *The Economics of Insurgency in the Mekong Delta of Vietnam* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1970), pp. 18–52.

Scott, James C. *The Moral Economy of the Peasant: Rebellion and Subsistence in Southeast Asia* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976).

Smith, R.B. “An Introduction to Caodaism: Origins and Early History,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 3:2 (1969), pp. 131–50.

Werner, Jayne Susan. *Peasant Politics and Religious Sectarianism: Peasant and Priest in the Cao Dai in Viet Nam* (New Haven: Yale University, Southeast Asia Studies, 1981), pp. 4–41.

Background Readings—Nationalism:

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991), pp. 1–7, 113–140.

Cook, Megan. *The Constitutionalist Party in Cochinchina: The Years of Decline, 1930–1942* (Melbourne: Monash Papers on Southeast Asia, 1977), pp. 1–40, 76–112, 149–167.

Duiker, W.J. “Phan Boi Chau: Asian Revolutionary in a Changing World,” *Journal of Asian Studies* 31:1 (1971), pp. 77–88.

Duiker, W.J. *The Rise of Nationalism in Vietnam, 1900–1941* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1976), pp. 103–165, 177–188.

McAlister, John T. *Vietnam: The Origins of Revolution* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1969), pp. 56–65, 83–106.

Marr, David G. “Vietnamese Historical Resentment.” In A. Reid and D. Marr, eds., *Perceptions of the Past in Southeast Asia* (Singapore: Heinemann, 1979), pp. 313–339.

Marr, David G. *Vietnamese Anticolonialism 1885–1925* (Berkeley: University of California, 1971), chapters 2, 3 & 8.

Marr, David G. *Vietnamese Tradition on Trial 1920–1945* (Berkeley: University of California, 1981), pp. 1–55.

Osborne, Milton. “The Faithful Few: The Politics of Collaboration in Cochinchina in the 1920s,” in W. F. Vella, ed., *Aspects of Vietnamese History* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 1973), pp. 160–90.

Smith, R.B. “The Development of Opposition to French Rule in Southern Vietnam, 1880–1940,” *Past and Present* 54 (1972), pp. 94–129.

Smith, R.B. “The Vietnamese Elite of French Cochinchina, 1943,” *Modern Asian Studies* 6:4 (1972), pp. 459–82.

Smith, R.B. "Bui Quang Chieu and the Constitutionalist Party in French Cochinchina, 1917–30," *Modern Asian Studies* 3:2 (1969), pp. 131–50.

Steinberg, David J., et al. *In Search of Southeast Asia: A Modern History* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 1987), pp. 301–12.

WEEK 4: The Rise of the Communist Party

Background Readings—Communist Party:

Duiker, W.J. *The Communist Road to Power in Vietnam* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1981), pp. 7–55.

Fall, Bernard B. "North Vietnam: A Profile," in R. O. Tilman, ed., *Man, State, and Society in Contemporary Southeast Asia* (New York: Praeger, 1969), pp. 382–92.

Huynh Kim Khanh. *Vietnamese Communism 1925–1945* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982), pp. 35–89, 142–88, 232–338.

Marr, David G. *Vietnamese Tradition on Trial 1920–1945* (Berkeley: University of California, 1981), pp. 368–412.

Paige, Jeffrey. *Agrarian Revolution: Social Movements and Export Agriculture in the Underdeveloped World* (New York: Free Press, 1975), pp. 278–333.

Scott, James C. *The Moral Economy of the Peasant: Rebellion and Subsistence in Southeast Asia* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976), pp. 114–56.

White, Christine Pelzer. "The Vietnamese Revolutionary Alliance: Intellectuals, Workers and Peasants," in J. W. Lewis, ed., *Peasant Rebellion & Communist Revolution* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1974), pp. 77–95.

Woodside, Alexander. *Community and Revolution in Modern Vietnam* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1976), pp. 160–200.

Background Readings—World War II:

Duiker, W.J. *The Communist Road to Power in Vietnam* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1981), pp. 57–125.

Hammer, Ellen J. *The Struggle for Indochina, 1940–1955* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1954), pp. 94–174.

Huynh Kim Khanh. "The Vietnamese August Revolution Reinterpreted," *Journal of Asian Studies* 30:4 (1971), pp. 761–782.

Marr, David G. *Vietnam 1945: The Quest for Power* (Berkeley: University of California, 1995).

McAlister, John T. *Vietnam: The Origins of Revolution* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1969), pp. 109–315.

Patti, Archimedes. *Why Vietnam?: Prelude to America's Albatross* (Berkeley: University of California, 1980).

Smith, R.B. "The Japanese Period in Indochina and the Coup of 9 March 1945," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 9:2 (1978), pp. 268–301.

Smith, R.B. "The Work of the Provisional Government of Vietnam, August-December 1945," *Modern Asian Studies* 12:4 (1978), pp. 459–482.

Truong Buu Lam. "Japan and the Disruption of the Vietnamese Nationalist Movement." In W. F. Vella, ed., *Aspects of Vietnamese History* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 1973), pp. 237–70.

Woodside, Alexander. *Community and Revolution in Modern Vietnam* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1976), pp. 201–45.

WEEK 5: The First Indochina War, 1946–1954

Adams, Nina S. "Patrons, Clients and Revolutionaries: The Lao Search for Independence, 1945-1954," in N.S. Adams & A.W. McCoy, eds., *Laos: War and Revolution* (New York: Harper & Row, 1970), pp. 100–20.

Bodard, Lucien. *The Quicksand War: Prelude to Vietnam* (Boston: Atlantic Little Brown, 1967), pp. 3–66, 69–132.

Buttinger, Joseph. *Vietnam: A Political History* (New York: Praeger, 1968), pp. 277–383.

Fall, Bernard B. *Hell in a Very Small Place: The Siege of Dien Bien Phu* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1967).

Fall, Bernard B. "The Political-Religious Sects of Viet-Nam," *Pacific Affairs* 28:3 (1955), pp. 235–53.

Fall, Bernard B. *Street Without Joy* (Harrisburg: Stackpole, 1961), pp. 32–106, 312–29.

Fall, Bernard B. *The Two Vietnams: A Political and Military Analysis* (New York: Praeger, 1968), pp. 104–68, 169–200, 203–23.

Fall, Bernard B. *Viet-Nam Witness 1953–1966* (New York: Praeger, 1966), pp. 30–40.

Hammer, Ellen J. *The Struggle for Indochina, 1940-1955* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1954), pp. 175-291, 292-364.

Hue-Tam Ho Tai. *Millenarianism and Peasant Politics in Vietnam* (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1983), chapters. 8, 9 & 10.

Kelly, George A. *Lost Soldiers: The French Army & Empire in Crisis* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1965), pp. 54–75, 91–104.

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- Vickerman, Andrew. *The Fate of the Peasantry: Premature "Transition to Socialism" in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam* (New Haven: Yale University Southeast Asia Studies, 1986).
- William Duiker, "China and Vietnam and the Struggle for Indochina," in J. J. Zasloff, ed., *Postwar Indochina: Old Enemies and New Allies* (Washington, DC: Foreign Service Institute, U.S. Department of State, 1988), pp. 147–91.

IV. FILM VIEWING – Extra-Credit Session & Suggested Titles:

—*Extra-Credit Cinema Program*: For a maximum of three extra-credit points, students can sign up to attend a film showing in 1111 Humanities. To receive credit, students shall view the film and write a two-page, double-spaced reflection paper on a topic assigned by the TAs. The film will be shown at this time and date:

- 1.) "Platoon" (1986) (Oscar, 1986, Best Picture) (Thursday, **November 10, 4:00 p.m.**)
- 2.) "Two Days in October" (2005). (Thursday, **November 17, 4:00 p.m.**)

—*Discussion Section Film Selections*: At the discretion of the TAs, selections from the following documentary films, running no more than 15 minutes, will be shown in sections to stimulate discussion.

- 1.) “The Weather Underground” (2002) (Bullfrog Productions)
- 2.) “Memories of a Massacre” (2001) (“60 Minutes,” CBS Television).
- 3.) “Winter Soldier” (1972)
- 4.) “The War at Home” (1979)
- 5.) “The Betrayal (Nerakhoon)” (2008)
- 6.) “The Most Secret Place on Earth” (2008)

—*Films in Lecture*: Short segments, usually less than five minutes each, will be shown, at the instructor’s discretion, in Lecture:

- 1.) “The Weather Underground” (2002) (Mark Rudd interview).
- 2.) “Vietnam: A Television History (1983–1988) (Robert McNamara, Tonkin Gulf)
- 3.) “Winter Soldier” (1972) (pacification footage)
- 4.) “Memories of a Massacre” (2001) (Bob Kerrey, Gerhard Klan interviews)
- 5.) “Vietnam: A Television History” (1983–1988) (Richard Nixon, Cambodia)
- 6.) “Going Upriver” (2004) (John Kerry speech to Congress, VVAW)
- 7.) “Hearts and Minds” (1974)

—*Miscellaneous Films*: The films listed below are all highly recommended and are available on DVD at the more specialist Madison-area video outlets, or Learning Support Services:

- 1.) “Hearts and Minds” (1974) (Oscar Winner, 1974, Best Documentary)
- 2.) “Vietnam Requiem” (1984)
- 3.) “In the Year of the Pig” (1968)
- 4.) “The Quiet American” (1958) (black and white; with Audie Murphy)
- 5.) “The Quiet American” (2002) (color; with Michael Caine)
- 6.) “Born on the Fourth of July” (1989)
- 7.) “Full Metal Jacket” (1987)
- 8.) “Platoon” (1986) (Oscar Winner, 1986, Best Picture)
- 9.) “Heaven and Earth” (1993)
- 10.) “The Lost Battalion” (2001) (French feature film)
- 11.) “Casualties of War” (1989)
- 12.) “Apocalypse Now” (1979)
- 13.) “Indochine” (1992)
- 14.) “We Were Soldiers” (2002)
- 15.) “Winter Soldier” (1972)
- 16.) “Going Upriver” (2004)
- 17.) “Two Days in October” (2005) <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1iJg59WKZTE>

—*Learning Support Services in Van Hise Hall, College Library, and Memorial Library Microforms/Media Center (Room 443)*: These on-campus media centers have a collection of Vietnam feature films and documentaries that can provide visual imagery that will help this chronicle of colonialism, revolution, diplomacy, and battles come alive. Among the films available are:

- 1.) “The War at Home” (1979) (VHS) - HS1.004/ DVD at College and Memorial - DS557.73 W37 2003
- 2.) “Apocalypse Now” (1979) (VHS/DVD) - ID2.020 / DVD at Memorial - PN1997 A663 2010
- 3.) “Hearts of Darkness” (1991) (VHS) - ID2.021
- 4.) “Vietnam: A Television History” (1987) (VHS) - ID2.006
- 5.) “Indochine (1992) (VHS/DVD) - FR2059.149
- 6.) “The Trials of Henry Kissinger” (2002) (VHS) - HS2.016
VHS at Memorial - E840.8 K58 T75 2002, DVD at College - E840.8 K58 T75 2003
- 7.) “The Fog of War” (2003) (DVD) - HS1.018 / at College - E840.4 F68 2004

- 8.) "The Weather Underground" (2002) (DVD) - HS1.020 / at College - HN90 R3 W43 2004
- 9.) "In the Year of the Pig" (1968) (VHS) - HS1.019
- 10.) "Memories of a Massacre" (2001) (VHS)- HS1.017
- 11.) "Bombies" (2001) (VHS) - ID2.141

V. VACATION READING – Suggested Fiction and Non-Fiction Titles:

- 1.) Bao Ninh (1996), *Sorrows of War*.
- 2.) Tim O'Brien (1994), *In the Lake of the Woods*.
- 3.) Tim O'Brien (1990), *The Things they Carried*.
- 4.) Graham Greene (1955), *The Quiet American*.
- 5.) Jean Larteguy (1965), *Yellow Fever*.
- 6.) Jean Larteguy (1969), *The Bronze Drum*.
- 7.) Danielle Trussoni (2006), *Falling Through the Earth*.
- 8.) Lewis B. Puller, Jr. (2000), *Fortunate Son*.
- 9.) Michael Herr (1977), *Dispatches*.

VI. MAJOR ESSAY QUESTIONS:

- 1.) *Nationalism*: By balancing biography with the history of modern Vietnamese nationalism, explain how Ho Chi Minh emerged as an effective leader of Vietnam's anti-colonial struggle.
- 2.) *Eisenhower's Domino Theory*: In a famous speech in 1954, President Eisenhower warned that should the Communists prove victorious in Vietnam, the rest of the countries of Southeast Asia would "topple like a row of dominoes" to a monolithic and expansionist Communism. Was this an accurate assumption? Please discuss some of the relevant aspects of Vietnamese communism and history that would either support or undermine such an understanding.
- 3.) *The U.S. Role in the Coup against Diem*: One Asian expert once said: "It is fair to say that the overthrow of Ngo Dinh Diem in November of 1963 would not have occurred without at least the tacit approval of the U.S." Analyze the dynamics of Diem's downfall and weigh the role of the United States in a wider context.
- 4.) *The U.S. Backing of the Saigon Military Regime*: When Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara visited Vietnam in 1964 he repeatedly described General Nguyen Khanh as Vietnam's "best possible leader" and the Johnson administration thus provided him substantial aid. Trace the changing U.S. positions towards civilian governments in Saigon from 1963 to 1973. What do these governments, and U.S. relations with them, reveal about the dilemma of American policy in Vietnam?
- 5.) *Tonkin Gulf Incident*: After voting on the Tonkin Gulf Resolution, Senator Wayne Morse from Oregon said: "I believe that history will record that we have made a great mistake in subverting and circumventing the Constitution of the United States. [B]y means of this resolution ... we are in effect giving the President war making powers in the absence of a declaration of war. I believe that to be a historic mistake." Trace the development of the Tonkin Gulf incident and the Tonkin Gulf resolution, indicating whether you agree with Morse. Please explain and document your position fully.
- 6.) *War in the Villages*: Discuss the character of the Vietnamese village and explain why the U.S.-directed pacification policy, including the Phoenix Program, largely failed there between 1959 and 1969.
- 7.) *Tet Offensive*: Was the 1968 Tet offensive a simple U.S. intelligence failure or did it represent the inability of the White House, the Pentagon, and MACV to understand the deeper politics of the war? From this perspective, discuss the impact of this battle on the war in Vietnam and the war at home in the United States.

8.) *My Lai Massacre*: As his court martial began, one unnamed American told a reporter, “Rusty Calley is a scapegoat.” Using this remark as a point of departure, examine U.S. military counter-insurgency tactics in the years surrounding the My Lai incident and determine, in light of recent revelations about the “Tiger Force” and other atrocities, to what extent civilian killings were an exception, a manifestation, or a component of U.S. Army pacification.

9.) *Cambodia and Laos*: Analyze the impact of U.S. political and military policy upon either Cambodia or Laos between 1965 and 1975.

10.) *War Crimes*: Prominent intellectuals such as Noam Chomsky, Bertrand Russell, and Jean Paul Sartre have argued that the U.S. government committed war crimes while fighting in Indochina. Focusing on the case of ex-Senator Robert Kerrey and the events at Thanh Phong village, determine whether his actions, and the larger Phoenix Program, were war crimes as defined by the 1949 Geneva Convention. Should ex-Senator Kerrey be indicted, like Lt. Calley, for war crimes?

11.) *The Grunt’s War*: Analyze the changing quality of combat in Vietnam between 1965 and 1972, focusing on its impact upon the discipline within the U.S. Army and upon the individual American soldier.

12.) *The Anti-war Movement*: The anti-war movement is largely remembered as a student movement. To what degree is this true? What were the various motivations that people had to be opposed to the war in Indochina? What were the various arguments they used against it? Consider the opposition that emerged from students, African-Americans, soldiers, workers, and women.

13.) *Vietnamization*: When recalling President Nixon’s support for Vietnamization, Richard Smyser, a State Department official, said that, “For domestic and political reasons American troops had to be gotten out of there.” Explain those domestic and political reasons.

14.) *CIA Covert Operations*: One scholar has said, “The Vietnam War is Exhibit A for the abolition of the CIA.” Explore the role of the major CIA covert operations in the period 1963 to 1975—including Diem’s ouster, the Desoto missions, the CORDS/Phoenix Program, and the Secret War in Laos—to assess whether reliance on covert operations contributed to the making of this quagmire.

15.) *Christmas Bombings*: At the Paris meetings in January 1973, Henry Kissinger claimed that “What has brought us to this point is the President’s [Nixon’s] firmness and the North Vietnamese belief that he will not be affected by either congressional or public pressures. Le Duc Tho [the North Vietnamese negotiator] has repeatedly made these points to me.” Do you agree with Kissinger that the bombings of 1972 were necessary to force the North Vietnamese to sign the peace agreement? Please explain and document your position fully.

16.) *Congressional Cut-off of Aid to Vietnam*: An anonymous South Vietnamese said: “Not only did the US not provide us with the assistance they had promised, but they did not even allow us to save face and dignity, the only assets of a poor country. It seemed better to be America's enemy than ally, for the enemy at least had America’s respect.” Do you agree with those who argue that the staged termination of aid to South Vietnam caused its collapse? Please explain and document your answer fully.

17.) *The Fall of Saigon and its Impact on America*: After the Persian Gulf War, President George H.W. Bush said, “We have finally kicked the Vietnam Syndrome.” To what was he referring? What exactly is the “Vietnam Syndrome”? And how has it affected U.S. foreign policy? Please explain and document your answer fully.

18.) *Robert McNamara’s Apology*: In his book *In Retrospect*, former U.S. Defense Secretary Robert McNamara said: “We of the Kennedy and Johnson administrations who participated in

the decisions on Vietnam acted according to what we thought were the principles and traditions of this nation. We made our decisions in light of those values. Yet we were wrong, terribly wrong.” Why does McNamara think the Johnson administration was “wrong”? Do you think that McNamara has correctly located the reasons for the U.S. government’s failure in Vietnam? Consider the policies of the Johnson administration in light of McNamara’s retrospective assessment.

VII. HOW TO WRITE A RESEARCH ESSAY—A THREE-STEP METHOD:

1.) *STEP ONE—Reading & Research:*

a.) Sources/Research:

- 1.) All good essays begin with the three “Rs”—reading, research, and reflection.
- 2.) Like most essays, a History term paper is a distillation of its author’s reading and reflections upon the subject at hand. The quality of an essay’s expression and analysis usually reflects the depth of its author’s reading.

b.) How to Read for an Essay:

- 1.) Using the course syllabus, begin with a general text to get an overview of the problem.
- 2.) Using the syllabus or textbooks, select more specific sources.
- 3.) As you read, begin forming ideas in your mind about:
 - a.) your overall hypothesis, and;
 - b.) the evidence you need or have found to support your argument.
- 4.) As you read, take notes, either on paper, or in the margin of a photocopy of the source. As you take notes, make sure you have the bibliographic information for your source: author, title, place of publication, publisher, and relevant pages.
- 5.) Towards the end of your reading, draw up an outline of the essay. If you are missing sources for the argument you would like to present, then do additional reading.

c.) Citing Your Sources:

- 1.) Assuming three paragraphs per page, you should have one source or note per paragraph.
- 2.) Every idea that is not your own and every major body of data you use in your essay should be sourced. In particular, quotations must be sourced.
- 3.) Use endnotes or footnotes in the following format:

25. Alfred W. McCoy, ed., *Southeast Asia Since 1800* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989), pp. 134–35.

- 4.) For a second, non-sequential citation of the same work a short citation:

27. McCoy, *Southeast Asia Since 1800*, pp. 77–78.

- 5.) If you are citing the same source in sequence, use *Ibid* for second citation.

27. McCoy, *Southeast Asia Since 1800*, pp. 77–78.

28. *Ibid.*, pp. 79–80.

29. *Ibid.*, pp. 80–81.

- 6.) For details, see, *The Chicago Manual of Style*, 16th Edition (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010).

2.) *STEP TWO—Framing the Argument:*

a.) Outline: With your reading done, you are ready to outline your argument. Begin by articulating the single, central question you will ask and answer in the course of this paper. Next, write a one- or two-page outline of your essay with the basic components discussed below.

b.) Overall structure: Every essay, whether humanities or social science, has three basic elements—the problem/hypothesis, the evidence/argument, and the conclusion. To summarize very broadly, the *introduction* asks a question and poses a hypothesis, the *argument* arrays evidence to explore that hypothesis, and the *conclusion* reflects upon the original hypothesis in light of the evidence presented.

Of these three elements, the formulation of a hypothesis is, by far, the most difficult. In your opening paragraph, try to stand back from the mass of material you have read and articulate a thesis, which usually analyzes *causality* (why events occurred) or *consequence* (the particular import of an event or a pattern of events). Then identify the factors, topics, or elements that you will explore to test your thesis. Ideally, these factors should serve as an agenda of the topics that you will explore in the next section of your essay, the evidence/argument.

By the time you start writing, you should be able to summarize your argument in a first sentence for the essay akin to the following formulation: “By applying A to B, the essay will explore/explain C.” For example, an essay on the Tet Offensive might begin: “By exploring the media coverage of the Tet Offensive, it becomes apparent that a clear U.S. military victory became transformed, in the mind of the American public, into a major political defeat.” Please note: Not only has this sentence articulated an argument, but it also identified the key components or factors that will be used to structure the essay: i.e. media, military operations, and political defeat. Here are some further reflections on each of these sections:

1.) The Problem: In your introduction, state the problem clearly.

- a.) If necessary, you should give your definition of any key terms that require a specific usage (e.g., “revolution”).
- b.) In stating your problem, refer to the literature in the syllabus.
- c.) A standard and often effective device is to identify two differing schools of thought about a single problem and offer resolution.
- d.) Make sure you are examining the main point, not a secondary or side issue.

2.) The Evidence: In the middle part of your essay, you must present evidence—through an analytical intertwining of events and factors—to deal with the problem posed at the beginning of your essay. Be specific. Give the reader a brief narrative of an event grounded in some statistical or anecdotal evidence.

3.) The Conclusion: In the final page or two of your essay, reflect on the problem as stated in the introduction in light of the evidence you presented in the middle part of the essay. In this section, you can also reflect on your findings, considering issues that essay did not address sufficiently or reflecting on the limitations of your argument.

c.) Level of Argument: Some students produce papers that fill all the demands of the format but do not produce an argument that fully engages the problem.

- 1.) Drawing upon reading and lectures, try to frame an argument that seems to address the question in the most direct and significant manner possible, drawing the most convincing possible evidence to support the case you are making.

2.) By reading several sources with diverse viewpoints and reflecting on the authors' approaches, you can define an appropriate question and level of analysis.

d.) Nature of History Questions: In courses such as this one, History involves the study of change in large-scale human communities, societies and nations, over time. In general, History essays ask you to understand or explain two aspects of change—*causality* or why something happened and *consequences* or the significance of something that happened. Thus, most History questions ask you to explain elements of the following:

- 1.) In a limited period of time, explain the factors underlying a given event. Why did that event happen?
- 2.) Explain the impact that an event, such as a war or revolution, had upon a human community within a period succeeding the actual event.
- 3.) Over a longer period of time, explain how and why complex communities changed in a given way.

3.) *STEP THREE—Writing the Essay*:

a.) Procedure:

- 1.) Write an outline of about 2 pages for a 10 to 15 page essay. Each projected paragraph in the essay should be a line in your outline.
- 2.) Following your outline, write a first draft taking care to introduce transitional clauses or sentences that allow the reader to follow your argument paragraph by paragraph.
- 3.) Reading aloud to yourself, if necessary, edit the prose and produce a second draft.

b.) Sentences:

- 1.) Each sentence should be a complete sentence with subject, verb, and direct object.
- 2.) Vary your sentences to include short periodic sentences, simple compound sentences, compound sentences with clauses in apposition, and longer sentences communicating detail.

c.) Paragraphs:

- 1.) Start your paragraph with a “topic sentence”—that is, a periodic or compound sentence stating the basic message of this particular paragraph.
- 2.) Varying your sentence structure, elaborate and expand this theme into a fully developed paragraph.
- 3.) Within the paragraph, try to link your sentences with words such as “similarly,” “moreover,” and “however” so that they flow from one sentence to another.
- 4.) Paragraphs should not be too long. If you need a rough guide, have 3 paragraphs to a page with 8 to 10 typed lines in each.

d.) Aspire to style:

- 1.) There is a music—with melody and rhythm—to your writing. Sensitize your mind's ear to the rhythms of your prose. Try to make your writing an expression of your inner voice.
- 2.) As in all forms of discourse, there is an appropriate style for an academic essay somewhere between the chatty colloquial and the overly formal.
 - a.) Use a formal voice—not ponderous, just formal.
 - b.) Avoid contractions (can't, didn't).
 - c.) Avoid colloquialisms.