

TEXAS TECH UNIVERSITY

CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF THE VIETNAM CONFLICT

Box 41013 / Lubbock, Texas 79409-1013 / (806) 742-3742, 742-3744 / Fax: (806) 742-1060

December 12, 1995

Admiral Elmo R. Zumwalt, Jr.
1000 Wilson Blvd., Suite 3105
Arlington, VA 22209-3901

Dear Admiral:

Vietnam Symposium Welcoming Speaker. We still have not identified the speaker for the opening presentation on Thursday evening, 17 April 1996. I had a long chat with Lieutenant General Dave R. Palmer last week. He is planning to attend, but has begged off the speaking assignment, as he says he is out of touch with developments and wants to use the symposium to get himself back up to date.

*P
go smart* How would you feel about inviting the Commandant of the Marine Corps to make a presentation entitled, say, "The Impact of the Vietnam Experience upon the Marine Corps"? Do you think General Krulak would respond favorably? I am enclosing a draft letter of invitation, should you think an approach to him would be appropriate.

*P
go* **Keynote Speaker.** Concerning your earlier offer to attempt to convince President Ford to be the keynote speaker for our banquet, we would very much like to go forward with an invitation to him, if you still think it appropriate. I have enclosed a draft letter of invitation for him.

*go smart
allen* **Invitation to General Westmoreland.** As a followup to my discussion with General Westmoreland in Washington last month (discussed in my last letter to you), I enclose a draft letter again inviting him to participate in the 1996 Vietnam Symposium. In the draft letter, I have invited him to participate in the panel discussion with the Vietnamese. An alternative could be to invite him to be the keynote speaker in lieu of President Ford, if you think that course of action would be appropriate. I have included this alternative in the draft in brackets.

VIETNAM CENTER NATIONAL COUNCIL

Admiral Elmo R. Zumwalt, Jr., USN (RET), Chairman
General William C. Westmoreland, Hon. William E. Colby
Hon. James P. Bundy, Hon. Bui Diem, Professor Douglas Pike

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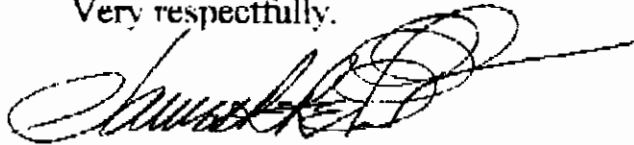
Approach to Mr. Perot. At a meeting last week we received very encouraging word that the Perots are anticipating a request in the area of \$5,000,000 for the Vietnam Center. I have reorganized our request as follows:

Vietnam Archive	\$2,000,000
Vietnam Center	\$1,000,000
Douglas Pike's Operation	\$1,000,000
Endowed Chair in Vietnam Studies	\$1,000,000

We will mail our formal proposal to Bette Perot, with copies to you and General Westmoreland, by January 15. When she gives the O.K., we will organize a meeting between Ross Perot and General Westmoreland.

Phil Price and I are currently developing a newsletter to be sent early in January, which will include the revised program for the symposium, and latest information about acquisitions for the Archive.

Very respectfully,



James R. Reckner

encl: Draft letter to General Krulak
Draft letter to President Ford
Draft letter to General Westmoreland
Vietnam symposium agenda (as of today)

D - R - A - F - T

President Gerald Ford

Dear Mr. President:

The purpose of this letter is to invite you to visit Lubbock, Texas, and to deliver the keynote address at Texas Tech University's Second Triennial Vietnam Symposium, on Thursday, 18 April 1996.

I have served as Chairman of the Board of the Vietnam Center at Texas Tech University since its inception in 1989, and have noted with pleasure its dynamic growth and continuing dedication to presenting all sides of the Vietnam experience. The 1996 symposium, *After the Cold War: Reassessing Vietnam*, has attracted many of the significant policy makers and war participants of the Vietnam era. Speaking on 18 April 1996 are William E. Colby, Walt Rostow, former South Vietnamese Ambassador Bui Diem, former Lao Royal Army Major General Vang Pao, and me. Among the eighty academic papers scheduled for presentation during the conference are works by the leading academics in the field from the United States. A member of the Russian Academy of Sciences, a former Chinese Communist naval officer, and representatives from Australia, New Zealand, and Canada will also present papers.

Yet another highlight of the symposium is a scheduled panel discussion involving General Vo Nguyen Giap, General Westmoreland and me. Such an open discussion, we believe, will do much to encourage further U.S. - Vietnamese dialogue.

The symposium banquet, which will be attended by the leading figures of the Lubbock community as well as symposium participants, will offer an excellent opportunity for you to visit amongst the people of West Texas who are so strongly supportive of the Republican party. It would be particularly relevant, too, to have you, who played such an intimate role in events related to the end of the Vietnam War, address this symposium which is seeking a post-Cold War understanding of the Vietnam experience.

I know, Mr. President, that you have a very busy schedule. Nevertheless, I would like to point out that the weather in Lubbock in late April is particularly delightful, and members of the Vietnam Center Advisory Board would be honored to organize a round of golf for you on the district's best course. I sincerely hope, sir, that you will find time in your schedule to support this endeavor and the Vietnam Center, which is performing important work in preserving the record of the American Vietnam experience and making that information available to all researchers.

Very respectfully,

D - R - A - F - T

General William C. Westmoreland
P.O. Box 1059
Charleston, SC 29402


Dear General:

The purpose of this letter is to invite you to join me at Texas Tech University's 1996 Vietnam Symposium, which is scheduled to be held in Lubbock, Texas, 18-20 April 1996 [and to be the keynote speaker at the symposium banquet on the night of the 18th.] If General Vo Nguyen Giap, who I last year invited, actually attends, I would also like you to participate in a panel discussion with him and me.

I take this opportunity to enclose a copy of the latest agenda for the symposium. You will agree with me that it is most comprehensive, covering virtually every aspect of Vietnam and Laos. The issue of Cambodia, I understand, will be addressed at a later conference.

After some years of struggle, the Vietnam Center at Texas Tech is now taking solid strides in developing what will soon become the leading program in the nation regarding the American Vietnam experience. As you know, they now have an \$8.8 million archive building and a \$3.5 million International Cultural Center under construction. Both of these buildings have spaces specifically designated for the Vietnam project. President Robert W. Lawless of Texas Tech has designated this project as the number one funding priority for the university, and I think that is unique within academia today. Dr. Reckner informs me that there are currently ten graduate students working toward theses and dissertations relating to Vietnam, possibly one of the most active graduate study programs in the nation.

I know, General, that many demands are placed on your time. However, I believe the Vietnam project at Texas Tech, with its "longer-than-lifetime" commitment to

preserving and studying the record of the American Vietnam experience, is one that deserves your active support. We have, in this remarkable endeavor, the foundation of a living memorial to all those who served in Southeast Asia; a memorial that will remain alive for all future generations.

The Vietnam Center, of course, will cover all of your expenses related to participation in the symposium.

Very respectfully,

D - R - A - F - T

General Charles C. Krulak, USMC
Commandant,
United States Marine Corps

Dear General Krulak:

For the past six years I have served as Chairman of the Board for Texas Tech University's Center for the Study of the Vietnam Conflict. That Center is dedicated to the preservation of the record of the American Vietnam experience, and to the encouragement of continuing study of all aspects of that experience and how it continues to impact upon American society and our armed forces.

The Center is now in the advanced stages of planning its second triennial Vietnam symposium, entitled, *After the Cold War: Reassessing Vietnam*. The symposium has attracted many of the key Vietnam era decision-makers and senior military officers, including William Colby, Walt Rostow, former South Vietnamese Ambassador Bui Diem, General William C. Westmoreland, and me. It is possible that President Gerald Ford will also attend. Although we still await confirmation, I have personally invited General Vo Nguyen Giap to attend, and if he does, we anticipate that he will participate in a panel discussion with General Westmoreland and me.

Leading academics from the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and Russia will present papers, and the joint U.S.-Russian Commission on POW/MLA Affairs will report on its search for U.S. Vietnam POW/MIAs in Russia.

The purpose of this letter is to invite you to present the opening speech at our symposium, which is scheduled for the evening of Wednesday, 17 April 1996. The topic is completely open, but I would suggest something along the line of "The Continuing Impact of the Vietnam War on the Marine Corps" or any topic of your choosing.

I am very aware of your exceedingly busy schedule; nevertheless, I tender this invitation in the hope that you might find time to present the Marine Corps' point of view at this very important symposium.

**"After the Cold War: Reassessing Vietnam"
18-20 April 1996
Draft Symposium Agenda (Subject to Change)**

Wednesday, 17 April 1996

- Afternoon **Conferees arrive at Holiday Inn, Lubbock Plaza**
- 8:00pm **Welcoming Address: "A Post-Cold War Reassessment of the Vietnam War." Speaker TBA**
- 9:00pm (Approx) **Reception at Holiday Inn. (Cash bar - snacks)**

Thursday, 18 April 1996

- 8:15am **Administrative Announcements & Opening Remarks**
James R. Reckner, Director, Center for the Study of the Vietnam Conflict
- 8:30am **Opening Address: Admiral Elmo R. Zumwalt, Jr., Chairman, Vietnam Center National Council**
- 9:00am **Session 1: International Relationships**
Chair/Commentator: Spencer Tucker, Texas Christian University
"A Vietnamese Perspective on American Involvement in Vietnam."
Hon. Bui Diem, former South Vietnamese Ambassador to U.S.
"China, Russia, and American Vietnam Diplomacy," George Herring, University of Kentucky
"The Soviet Union and North Vietnam," Ilya Gaiduk, Academy of Sciences, Moscow
- 10:45am **Session 2: Reassessing American Involvement**
Chair/Commentator: James Harper, Texas Tech University
"The View from Langley: CIA Analysis of the Vietnam War," John Prados, Independent Scholar and Author
"The Spook in the Tunnel: The CIA and the Success of Intelligence During the Vietnamese Wars, 1949 to 1973," Larry Cable, UNC Wilmington
"A Very Accurate Threat Assessment: The State Department Vietnam White Papers of 1961 and 1964 in Retrospect," Stephen B. Young, Independent Scholar
- 12:30pm **Lunch. Speaker: Major General Vang Pao**
- 2:00pm **Session 3: After the Cold War: Reassessing Vietnam, Roundtable Discussion**
Hon. William E. Colby, Hon. Walt Rostow, Hon. Bui Diem

1996 Vietnam Symposium Agenda

- 3:45pm **Session 4: Panel on Laos**
 Chair/Commentator: Ambassador Stephen Lyne, Boston University
 "Broken Promises: The U.S. and the Hmong in Laos," Jane Hamilton-Merritt,
 Southern Connecticut University
 "Air America in Laos," William M. Leary, University of Georgia
 "How Laos Became Involved in the Cold War, 1954-1962," Arthur J. Dommen,
 Indochina Institute, George Mason University
- 8:00pm **Conference Banquet (At McInturff Center, University Medical Center)**
- 9:00pm **Keynote Address: To be announced.**

Friday, 19 April 1996

- 8:30am **Session 5A: Of POWs and MIAs**
 Chair/Commentator: Sedgwick D. Tourison, Independent Scholar and Author
 "Report of the Vietnam Working Group of the US-Russian Joint Commission on
 MIA/POW Affairs." Hon. Pete Peterson, American Co-Chair.
 "POWs and Politics: How Much Hanoi Really Knows," Garnett "Bill" Bell &
 George J. Veith, Independent Scholars
- 8:30am **Session 5B: "Domestic Legacies of the Vietnam War"**
 Chair: H.W. Brands, Texas A&M University
 "Ronald Reagan and the End of the Cold War." Charles E. Neu, Brown University
 "J. William Fulbright and the Transformation of the Senate Foreign Relations
 Committee." Randall B. Woods, University of Arkansas
 "Clinton, the G.O.P. and the War: The Decline of Vietnam as a Political Issue."
 Paul Lyons, Richard Stockton College of New Jersey
 Commentators: H.W. Brands, Hoyt Purvis, University of Arkansas
- 8:30am **Session 5C: "The Veterans' Continuing War: Stereotypes and
 Reality"**
 Chair/Commentator: John N. Frary, Middlesex (NJ) County College
 "The Importance of Story: Individual and Cultural Effects of Skewing the Realities
 of American Involvement in Southeast Asia for Social, Political and/or
 Financial Ends." John Del Vecchio, Independent Scholar and Author.
 "The Helping Professions and the Building of the Veteran Stereotype," Phoebe
 Spinrad, Ohio State University
 "PTSD Treatment and the VA: A Cure, a Recovery, or a Contradiction?" Richard
 R. Burns, Independent Scholar, Columnist, and Counsellor

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- 10:15am Session 6A: The White House and the War**
 Chair/Commentator: TBA
 "The President, the Secretary of Defense, and the Joint Chiefs of Staff: The Direction of the Vietnam War," Herbert Y. Schandler, Industrial College of the Armed Forces
 "Justice Fortas, President Johnson and the Vietnam War: A Supreme Court Justice as Hawkish Military Advisor," Willie Pigg, California University of Penna.
 "Countering the Antiwar Movement: The American Friends of Vietnam and the Johnson White House, 1965," Joseph G. Morgan, Iona College
- 10:15am Session 6B: Soldiering and Surviving: Behavioral Aspects of War**
 Chair: Felix Moos, University of Kansas
 "Boortowns, Drugs, & Survival," Felix Moos, University of Kansas
 "Soldiering & Surviving in a Support Unit," David Spurgeon, University of Kansas
 "Songs of Americans in the Vietnam War," Lydia Fish, Buffalo State College
- 10:15am Session 6C: Panel on Teaching Vietnam**
 Chair: Joe P. Dunn, Converse College
 "The State of the Field: How the Vietnam War Is Being Taught," Joe P. Dunn, Converse College.
 "Teaching Vietnam with Film: History Is Important, But So Is Film Language." Peter C. Rollins, Oklahoma State University
 "What Now?: Teaching the Vietnam War at Century's End." Steve Potts, Hibbing (MN) Community College
- 10:15am Session 6D: New Feminist and African American Scholarship on the War and Its Aftermath**
 Chair: Kali Tal, Vietnam Generation
 Renny Christopher, California State University, Stanislaus
 Cynthia Fuchs, George Mason University
 Kali Tal, Vietnam Generation
- 11:45am Lunch. Speaker: Douglas Pike, "Recent Developments in Vietnam"**
- 1:15pm Session 7A: Armed Forces Reassessments**
 Chair/Commentator: LTC James Willbanks, U.S. Army Command & General Staff College
 Army: LTC Conrad Crane, USMA, West Point
 Navy: Edward J. Marolda, Navy Historical Center
 Marine Corps: Jack Shulimson, Marine Corps Historical Center

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- 1:15pm Session 7B "Reassessing Patterns of Remembrance in Vietnam War Memorials"**
 Chair: William Head, Warner Robins Air Logistics Center, Robins AFB
 "Multiple Meanings, Multiple Visions: Designing the California and Cleveland Vietnam Veterans Memorials," Rolf Nord Kriken, Nordhammer Art Foundry, Oakland, CA
 "Embracing the Warrior, Letting Go of the War: Vietnam Veteran Memorials in Georgia," Marc Jason Gilbert, North Georgia College
 "Patterns of Change in the Form and Content of Vietnam War Memorials," Carole Blair, University of California, Davis
 Commentator: Ellen Pinzur, formerly Office Manager, The New England Shelter for Homeless Veterans
- 1:15pm Session 7C: The Navy in Vietnam**
 Chair/Commentator: Edward J. Marolda, Navy Historical Center
 "Muddy Waters: The U.S. Navy's Search for a Riverine Warfare Doctrine during the Vietnam Conflict," R. Blake Dunnavent, Texas Tech University
 "The Relevance of the Tonkin Gulf Incidents: U.S. Military Action in Vietnam, August 1964," Kim A. Weitzman, Youngstown State University
 "Echoes of the Storm: An Assessment of the Navy's Lessons from Rolling Thunder," Les Cullen, Texas Tech University
- 1:15pm Session 7D: Education in Vietnam**
 Chair/Commentator: TBA
 "Education and Economics in Vietnam Today," Lee Little Soldier & Eleanor Miller, Texas Tech University
 "The American War in Vietnamese Schools," David M. Berman, University of Pittsburgh
 "Telling the Story: The Vietnam Conflict," Ted Engelmann, Vietnam Education Project, Denver (Compares curriculum/strategies for teaching the Vietnam War in Vietnam, South Korea, Australia and the United States)
- 3:00pm Session 8A: The War in the Villages**
 Chair/Commentator: Don Walker, Texas Tech University
 "Villager Attitudes During the Vietnam War," Mark Moyer, Independent Scholar and Author
 "'Do We Have It Right Yet?': Lyndon Baines Johnson's Search for an Effective Pacification Policy," Richard A. Hunt, Center of Military History
 "Creative Circumvention: Differing Views of Counterinsurgency During the Presidency of John F. Kennedy," Matthew Lerner, Texas Tech University

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- 3:00pm **Session 8B: Vietnam Film and Fiction**
 Chair: Marc Leepson, Arts Editor, *VVA Veteran*
 "American Fiction about the Vietnam War: How the Creative Process Reflects and Interprets Vietnam War Experiences," Walter Jones, University of Utah
 "Seeking a Happy Medium: The Film and Fiction of the Vietnam War," John Clark Pratt, Colorado State University
- 3:00pm **Session 8C: Vietnamese Memorials and Remembrance**
 Chair/Commentator: Patricia Pelley, Texas Tech University
 "The Vietnamese Tradition of War and Remembrance," Nguyen Ba Cung, University of Massachusetts
 "Women's Museums in Vietnam," Sandra Taylor, University of Utah
- 3:00pm **Session 8D: A Vietnam Miscellany**
 Chair/Commentator: TBA
 "The MACV 'Answer Machine'," Michael E. Unsworth, Michigan State University
 "Vietnamese Defense Against Aerial Attack," Barton Meyers, Brooklyn College, CUNY
 "America's First Atrocity," Benjamin Dubberly, Texas Tech University
- 3:00pm **Session 8E: More on POWs**
 Chair/Commentator: Hugh Boyle, Brown University
 "'Let's Sell the Bones': The Marketing of America's MIA," Sedgwick D. Tourison, Independent Scholar and Author
 "Red, White, Blue . . . and Yellow!: America's Obsession with POWs in Historical Perspective," David Stevenson, University of Nebraska - Kearney
 "Freedom of Expression Behind the Wire: POWs and the Antiwar Movement," Jim Ginther, Texas Tech University
- 5:15 - 7:00pm **Civic Reception at American State Bank, Lubbock**
- 8:00pm **Films from the Tulane University Conference marking the 25th Anniversary of My Lai**
- 8:00pm **Vietnam Poetry Reading**
- 8:00pm **Special Panel on Laos**
 Moderator: Jane Hamilton-Merritt
 "Chinese Aid to Laos," Xiaoming Zhang, Texas Tech University
 Followed by Panel Discussion: Jane Hamilton-Merritt, William M. Leary, Arthur J. Dommen, Xiaoming Zhang

1996 Vietnam Symposium Agenda

Saturday, 20 April

- 8:30am Session 9A: Air Force Reassessments**
 Chair/Commentator: Capt. Larry Martin, U.S. Air Force Academy
 "Air Force Doctrine and Vietnam," Colonel Dennis M. Drew, Dean, School of Advanced Air Power Studies
 "Vietnam and Desert Storm: Learning the Right Lessons from Vietnam for the Post-Cold War Era." Col. Joseph P. Martino, USAF (Ret)
 "Air Power Myths from the Vietnam War." Earl H. Tilford, Jr. Army War College
- 8:30am Session 9B: Other Nations' Involvement in South Vietnam**
 Chair/Commentator: Gary M. Bell, Texas Tech University
 "Get Me Ten Years: Australia's Ted Serong in Vietnam, 1962-1975," Anne Blair, National Center for Australian Studies, Monash University.
 "Making the Difference: New Zealand and the Vietnam War, the Problems of a Small State," James Rock, University of Auckland, New Zealand.
 "Other Forgotten Veterans: The Spanish," Craig McMullen, East Texas State University
- 8:30am Session 9C: Political and Economic Legacies of the Vietnam War in Comparative Perspective**
 Chair: Randy Bush, Gustavus Adolphus College
 "Will 'Modernization' Work in Post-Cold War Vietnam?: The End of the Age of Models." Xiaobo Hu & John Ernst, Morehead State University
 "Political and Economic Legacies of American Wars in Asia: Korea and Vietnam." Randy Bush, Gustavus Adolphus College
 "Twenty Years After: The Renewal of Diplomatic Relations Between America and Vietnam." Samuel B. Hoff, Delaware State University
 Commentator: TBA
- 8:30am Session 9D: Posttraumatic Stress Disorder**
 Chair/Commentator: TBA
 "War-related Posttraumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) and the Vietnam Veteran: Identification and Treatment of Issues and Outcomes." Colonel David H. Price and Jo Knox, University of Texas at Arlington
 "'Just Listen': The Shay Hypothesis and What Individual Oral Histories of the Vietnam War Have to Tell Us About the Etiology and Prevention of PTSD." Davida Kellog, Univ. of Maine
- 8:30am Session 9E: More Vietnam Miscellany**
 Chair/Commentator: TBA
 "Why Was the British Counterinsurgency Advice Ignored? Does Such Advice Remain Useful Today, Such as in Bosnia, etc.?" Geoffrey Shaw, University of Manitoba

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"U.S. - South Korean Relations and the Vietnam War. Yong S. Lee, Ohio Univ.
 "Cannon Fodder or Economic Opportunity? Project 100,000 and the Vietnam War," Jeffrey A. Thomas, Texas Tech University

10:30am **Session 10: Panel Discussion**

Admiral Zumwalt, General Giap [tentative], Senior Army officer

Noon: **Lunch. Luncheon Speaker:** Lewis Sorley: "A Better War: The Neglected Later Years of American Involvement in Vietnam"

2:00pm **Session 11A: Panel on Veterans' Issues**

Chair: James R. Reckner, Texas Tech University

"The Vietnam Veterans' Initiative," James L. Brazee, Jr., National President, VVA

"Stolen Valor: How a False Image of Vietnam Veterans Has Shaped Public Opinion and the History of the Vietnam War," B. G. Burkett, Author

2:00pm **Session 11B: The Media and the Vietnam Experience**

Chair/Commentator: TBA

"The New York Times, Vietnam, and the Development of an Oppositional Press," Louis J. Campomenosi, Tulane University

"The Five O'Clock Follies Revisited: Vietnam Reporting and the Legacy of Controversy," Arnold R. Isaacs, Towson State University

Currently untitled paper by Clarence Myatt

2:00pm **Session 11C: The Antiwar Movement**

Chair/Commentator: TBA

"Kent State and Ball State: Two Campuses at War with the War," Tony Edmonds, Ball State University

"Generation Units and Social Change: A Sociological Perspective on the Anti-War Movement," Charlotte Dunham, Texas Tech University

"In Retrospect, the Anti-War Movement's Effect on U.S. Policy," James Fendrich, Florida State University

2:00pm **Session 11D: Vietnam and China**

Chair/Commentator: Xiaoming Zhang, Texas Tech University

"The First Tet Offensive (January 1969)," Spencer Tucker, Texas Christian University

"Sino-Soviet Relations and the February 1979 Sino-Vietnamese Conflict," Bruce Elleman, Texas Christian University

"China and Vietnam after the Vietnam War," Pingchao Zhu, Miami University

3:45pm **End of Formal Agenda**

4:00pm (Approx.) Optional tour of Lubbock and Texas Tech University, followed by West Texas barbecue dinner at the Ranching Heritage Center, Texas Tech Univ.