An Integrated Curriculum For The Washington Post Newspaper In Education Program

Freedom of the Press and Ethics

- Post Reprint: “Documents Reveal U.S. Effort in ’54 to Delay Viet Election”
- Word Find: Pentagon Papers and the Press
- Activity: The First Amendment and The New York Times Company v. United States
- Activity Resource: The Who and What of the Timeline
- Timeline: France and the U.S. in Vietnam
- Guest Commentary: “I had a front-row seat to the Pentagon Papers intrigue. Here’s what happened.”
- Post Reprint: The Photographs That Brought the War Home
- Word Find Answers: Pentagon Papers and the Press
The content in this resource folder focuses on American engagement in Vietnam and the freedom of the press to publish from the report that Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara had commissioned in 1967 to provide documentation for historians. When Daniel Ellsberg leaked the report in 1971 to *The New York Times*, it became known as the Pentagon Papers.

“France and the U.S. in Vietnam” provides a timeline from 1945 to 1973 when the Paris Peace Accords were signed and American troops were withdrawn. You and your students may find the “Who and What of the Timeline” helpful before reading the full timeline. Text that appears within quotation marks in the timeline are from the Pentagon Papers that may be read in its entirety on the Library of Congress website.

Photography, as well as war correspondents, brought the Vietnam Conflict into America’s homes on the evening news. Two articles should stimulate discussion of the importance of still and motion visual documentation of war for the present and for history. Does the public have a right to view the images and should the most disturbing and graphic be published where all can see? What are the ethics involved in freedom of the press?
Documents Reveal U.S. Effort In ’54 to Delay Viet Election

First of a Series

By Chalmers M. Roberts
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Eisenhower administration, fearful that elections throughout North and South Vietnam would bring victory to Ho Chi Minh, fought hard but in vain at the 1954 Geneva Conference to reduce the possibility that the conference would call for such elections.

But the following year, it was South Vietnamese President Ngo Dinh Diem, far more than the American government, who was responsible for the elections not taking place. Diem flatly refused even to discuss the elections with the Communist regime in Hanoi.

These are among the facts emerging from sections of the Pentagon study on the origins of the Vietnam war, made available to The Washington Post.

The chief architect of the American policy of opposition to elections, as was well known at the time, was President Eisenhower’s Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles. But it was Eisenhower who had insisted on allied support if he were to ask Congress for authority to use American military force to save the French army in Indochina in early 1954. The United States did not get that allied support.

The origin of the idea of holding an election in divided Vietnam, called for in the Geneva accords of 1954, remains obscure. But there is nothing obscure about Dulles’ attitude.

In July of 1954, he sent a cable to various American diplomats then struggling with the problem. It said in part:

“... Thus since undoubtedly true that elections might eventually mean unification Vietnam under Ho Chi Minh this makes it all more important they should be held as long after cease-fire agreement as possible and in conditions free from intimidation to give democratic elements best chance. We believe important that no date should be set now and especially that no conditions should be accepted by French which would have direct or indirect effect of preventing effective international supervision of agreement ensuring political as well as military guarantees.”

Dulles went on to call attention to a joint statement by President Eisenhower and British Prime Minister Churchill in June, especially that part which spoke of achieving “unity through free elections supervised by the UN.”

Later in July, shortly before issuance in Geneva of the “final declaration” of the long conference, a declaration that included the statement that “general elections shall be held in July 1956,” Dulles cabled his unhappiness at the impending outcome.

He sent Walter Bedell Smith, the Under Secretary of State who had returned to the Geneva Conference to limit as much as possible what Dulles foresaw as the disastrous outcome, a cable that said in part:

“While we don’t want to take responsibility of imposing our views on the French, I feel particularly concerned about provisions of paragraph 6 which gives the Control Commission constituted as per SECTO 686 authority also to control the general elections. It is hardly dry on the Declaration of President Eisenhower and Prime Minister Churchill of June 29 to the effect that in the case of nations now divided against their will, we shall continue to seek to achieve unity through free elections supervised by the UN ‘to insure that they are conducted fairly.’ It is rather humiliating to see that Declaration now so quickly go down the drain with our apparent acquiescence.”

About a week before the above cable, French Premier Pierre Mendes-France had asked that Dulles return to Geneva and before Dulles agreed to send Smith as his stand-in, Dulles cabled some of his unhappiness to Mendes-France via the American Embassy in Paris.

Dulles complained to Mendes-France of “a whittling-away process, each stroke of which may in itself seem unessential, but which cumulatively could produce a result quite different from that envisaged” in a seven-point minimum program, agreed upon by Britain and the United States, that he then was trying to sell France.

See DOCUMENTS, A16, Col. 1

June 18, 1971, A1, first of The Washington Post’s Pentagon Papers coverage
Pentagon Papers and the Press

Find the 26 terms and names associated with the U.S. involvement in the Indochina conflict, the Pentagon Papers and press freedom. The words will be found reading right to left, left to right, up and down and on the diagonal.

The following words and names are to be found in the word find. When you have found them, use four to six of them in a short piece about press freedom, the First Amendment or the Pentagon Papers.

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Bradlee
Ellsberg
Graham
Hanoi
Leak
News
NYT
Papers
Pentagon
Post
Prior
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The First Amendment and *The New York Times Company v. United States*

1. The First Amendment guarantees five freedoms to the American people. They were meant to keep abuse of power from happening in this new country. These rights are:
   a. 
   b. 
   c. 
   d. 
   e. 

2. The founders of the United States believed that a free press was essential to democracy; the First Amendment and several Supreme Court cases affirm and protect press freedom. Why do you think a free press is important to today’s citizens?

3. The press is called a watchdog on government. This includes communicating conduct of government officials, policy decisions and executive orders.
   a. Why do you think this role is important in a democracy?
   b. Do you think the press should publish information the government doesn’t want known by the public?
   c. Do you think the press should publish information the government doesn’t want known by other countries?

4. What does it mean to “hold the government accountable”?

5. Daniel Ellsberg, a Harvard-educated Marine, worked at RAND Corporation as a strategic analyst. He left in 1964 to work at the Pentagon as special assistant to the Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs. He then went to South Vietnam for two years under the auspices of the State Department. In 1967 he returned to work at RAND. In 1969, he began questioning U.S. involvement in Vietnam. He was working on a special project commissioned by Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara. Do some research on Ellsberg and what became known as the Pentagon Papers.
   a. What was the project? What was its purpose?
   b. He and a colleague at RAND photocopied these documents. What information did they contain?
   c. Why did he contact certain senators?
   d. Why did he leak the documents to Neil Sheehan, a reporter at *The New York Times*?

6. It is a crime:
   • To disclose national defense information with the intent to injure the United States or aid a foreign nation;
   • To steal, sell or convey any federal property, record or thing of value. This includes governmental secrets.
   • To disclose classified information about communication intelligence (how the government obtained the information) knowingly and willfully.
   • To acquire information by unauthorized computer access or in excess of authorization.
For more information visit: https://fas.org/sgp/crs/secrecy/law-leaks.pdf

a. Why do you think the U.S. has these criminal laws?
   b. Samuel Morison, Edward Snowden and Pvt. Manning were charged under these U.S. codes. Select one of these individuals. Research background on the case. Tell what the person did and if the punishment was appropriate.

7. During times of war the freedom of the press, the right of citizens to know, and the government’s need to keep information classified may clash. What standard do you think the press should use when deciding what information to publish?

8. The Supreme Court in the New York Times/Pentagon Papers case stated that the government was asking them “to hold that despite the First Amendment’s emphatic command, the Executive Branch, the Congress, and the Judiciary can make laws enjoining publication of current news and abridging freedom of the press in the name of ‘national security.’”
   a. In your own words put the Nixon administrations’ reasons for demanding that newspapers stop publishing articles based on the Pentagon Papers and quoting from the documents.
   b. What do you think of the government’s argument.

And The Court Gives Its Decision

In its decision in The New York Times Company v. United States (together with United States v. Washington Post Co. et al) the Supreme Court said that the government could not stop a newspaper from publishing a confidential document related to national security unless it could establish that the publication would cause “direct, immediate and irreparable damage to the nation or its people.”

Or as Justice Hugo Black stated in the majority decision

To find that the President has “inherent power” to halt the publication of news by resort to the courts would wipe out the First Amendment and destroy the fundamental liberty and security of the very people the Government hopes to make “secure.” No one can read the history of the adoption of the First Amendment without being convinced beyond any doubt that it was injunctions like those sought here that Madison and his collaborators intended to outlaw in this Nation for all time.

— Justice Hugo Black, majority opinion
The Who and What of the Timeline

In the timeline of U.S. involvement in Vietnam several names are used for the geographic area we know as Vietnam, and unfamiliar people and political parties appear. You can clarify them through the following explanations. The text that appears in quotation marks within the timeline is from the documents known as the Pentagon Papers that may be found in its entirety on the National Archives website.

**Bao Dai**
Born 1913, son of the Emperor Khai Dihn, educated in France; during Japanese occupation in WWII, he declared independence from France and became emperor of the Empire of Vietnam; Ho Chi Minh persuaded him to abdicate on Aug. 25, 1945, when he became “supreme advisor” to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in Hanoi. The French ousted him a year later, then persuaded him to return in 1949 as “head of state.” From mid-50s he lived primarily in France in exile. When he died in Paris on July 30, 1997, a son succeeded him as head of the Nguyen dynasty.

**Ho Chi Minh (Nguyen Ai Quoc)**
As a young man lived and worked in U.S., England and France where he was influenced by the Socialist Party of France; part of a group in Paris that sought recognition of the civil rights of the Vietnamese people in French Indochina. Returned to Vietnam in 1941 to lead Viet Minh independence movement; after French defeat in 1954 at Dien Bien Phu, he negotiated a ceasefire. He was president (1945-69) of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, a founder of the People’s Army of Vietnam and the Viet Cong. After the war, Saigon became Ho Chi Minh City.

**Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV)**
Established in September 1945 in Hanoi by the anti-Japanese Viet Minh forces led by Ho Chi Minh.

**Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam (PRG)**
Established in 1969 as the rival communist alternative to the Republic of Vietnam; its spokesperson Madam Nguyen Thi Binh, headed the National Front for the Liberation (NLF) of South Vietnam at the Paris peace talks. PRG representatives were involved in the 1973 ceasefire and prisoner exchanges. On July 2, 1976, the PRG and North Vietnam merged to form the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

**Indochina**
Under French rule, the countries of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia; also called French Indochina and also known as the Associated States of Indochina. The south, central and north portions of Vietnam integrated into French Indochina in 1887. Dissolved after the Geneva Accords of 1954.
Republic of Vietnam (RVN)
South Vietnam, formerly State of Vietnam; On Oct. 26, 1955, Ngo Dinh Diem proclaimed himself its first president; he served until 1963 until assassinated. Followed by coups and instability; in 1975-76 became PRG.

Second Indochina War
Commonly called the “Vietnam War” in the West and the “American War” in Vietnam

Socialist Republic of Vietnam
Today’s Vietnam, a one-party socialist state. Since the reunification of North and South Vietnam in 1976, its capital city is Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City (also Saigon) its most populous city.

State of Vietnam
Officially recognized in 1949, a self-governing entity in the French Empire; ceased to exist and replaced by the Republic of Vietnam in the south and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in the north in 1955

Viet Minh
Formed in 1941 by Ho Chi Minh and the Indochinese Communist Party for anti-French, anti-imperialist and anti-Japanese resistance. When elections did not occur as agreed at the 1954 Geneva Conference, cadres in South Vietnam began to fight the government; escalated into the Second Indochina War.

The National Archives and Records Administration
NARA is the nation’s record keeper. Important American documents (letters, photographs, maps, treaties, posters, video and audio recordings and other informative materials) are preserved, organized and made accessible to people in facilities all over the U.S., including Presidential libraries.

On the 40th anniversary of the leaked documents known as the Pentagon Papers, the National Archives, in conjunction with the Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon Presidential Libraries, released the complete report (https://www.archives.gov/research/pentagon-papers).

In the timeline that follows, text quoted from these documents appears between quotation marks. In brackets, the section and page of the document as it appears on the Archives website is provided. There is much more to explore online. The release includes no redactions, the complete account of peace negotiations and all supplemental back-documentation.

For more research on the Vietnam War, visit the NARA online portal (https://www.archives.gov/exhibits/cr-1xhibit-remembering-vietnam) and, if possible, visit the National Archives special exhibit, Remembering Vietnam, November 2017 through January 6, 2019, in Washington, D. C.

United States Presidents Who Were Involved in Vietnam Decisions

Harry S Truman
Dwight D. Eisenhower
John F. Kennedy
Lyndon B. Johnson
Richard M. Nixon

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France and The U.S. in Vietnam

1945
“Consistent with F.D.R.’s guidance, the U.S. did provide modest aid to French — and Viet Minh — resistance forces in Vietnam after March 1945, but refused to provide shipping to move Free French troops there. Pressed by both the British and the French for clarification of U.S. intentions regarding the political status of Indochina, F.D.R. maintained that ‘it is a matter for postwar.’”

“Shortly following President Truman’s entry into office, the U.S. assured France that it had ‘never questioned, even by implication, French sovereignty over Indo-China.’ The U.S. policy was to press France for progressive measures in Indochina, but to expect France to decide when its peoples would be ready for independence. …”
[NARA, Vietnam and the U.S., 1940-1950 (1 Vol.), A-3]

1948
“In the fall of 1948, the Office of Intelligence Research in the Department of State conducted a survey of communist influence in Southeast Asia. Evidence of Kremlin-directed conspiracy was found in virtually all countries except Vietnam: Since December 19, 1946, there have been continuous conflicts between French forces and the nationalist government of Vietnam. …”

1950
“January and February, 1950, were pivotal months. The French took the first concrete steps toward transferring public administration to Bao Dai’s State of Vietnam. Ho Chi Minh denied the legitimacy of the latter, proclaiming the DRV as the ‘only legal government of the Vietnam people,’ and formally recognized by Peking and Moscow.” Vietnamese independence was announced on February 2 in the Elysee Agreement.

On May 8, the Secretary of State announced that The United States Government would provide “economic aid and military equipment to the Associated States of Indochina and to France in order to assist them in restoring stability and permitting these states to pursue their peaceful and democratic development.” After this the U.S. was involved in the developing war.
[NARA, Vietnam and the U.S., 1940-1950 (1 Vol.), A-38]
“In late 1953-early 1954, as the fall of Indochina seemed imminent, the question of intervention came to the fore. The Defense Department pressed for a determination by the highest authority of the size and nature of the forces the U.S. was willing to commit in Indochina.”

[NARA, United States-Vietnam Relations, 1945-1967, B-1]

President Eisenhower, “following a meeting of Secretary Dulles and Admiral Radford, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs, with Congressional leaders on April 3, that the U.S. would not undertake a unilateral intervention. Any U.S. military involvement in Indochina would be contingent upon (1) formation of a coalition force with U.S. allies to pursue ‘united actions’; (2) declaration of French intent to accelerate independence of Associated States; (3) Congressional approval of U.S. involvement (which was thought to be dependent upon (1) and (2)).”

[NARA, United States-Vietnam Relations, 1945-1967, B-12]

On April 26, the opening day of the Geneva Conference, President Eisenhower “told a group of Republican leaders that it would be a ‘tragic error’ for the United States to intervene unilaterally as a partner of France in the Indochina struggle.”

[NARA, United States-Vietnam Relations, 1945-1967, B-30]

The State of Vietnam, with partition in Korea and Germany, did not want a divided north/south country. French forces lost decisively at Dien Bien Phu; by May 26, French forces moved south from Laos and Cambodia into the Delta; the Viet Minh did likewise. French and Vietnamese forces indicated they would not fight further into the south. Only allied intervention could save them.

The Geneva Conference ends with French promises of elections in two years in Vietnam and a united country. “By mid-September 1954, the turning over of the civil service, and the other public administration in South Vietnam was formally completed.” In reality the country was divided at the 17th parallel.

[NARA, The Role and Obligations of the State of Vietnam, 1945-1967, B-21]

September. Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) is formed by the U.S., France, Great Britain, New Zealand, Australia, the Philippines, Thailand and Pakistan to prevent communism from gaining ground in the region. Formally disbanded in 1977. [https://history.state.gov/milestones/1953-1960/seato]

By February “the Vietnamese Army was placed under the command of Vietnamese leaders, and the French accepted American primacy in advising, training and equipping GVN armed forces.”

[NARA, The Role and Obligations of the State of Vietnam, 1945-1967, B-21]

Kennedy Administration actively helps overthrow and assassination of South Vietnamese President Ngo Dinh Diem.

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1969  “History of U.S. Decision-Making Process on Vietnam Policy” was completed and given to Clark Clifford, the current Secretary of Defense.


1972  While President Nixon is meeting with Chinese leaders and signing agreement of détente with Brezhnev, U.S. is bombing military targets in North Vietnam and mining Haiphong Harbor. The Paris Peace talks disintegrate in December.

1973  January 23. Nixon announced the war will end on January 28 and troops will be removed within 60 days.


Nixon administration indicts Ellsberg and Anthony Russo on charges including conspiracy, espionage and stealing government property. Trial ends in a dismissal of charges after prosecutors learn of the White House-initiated burglary of Ellsberg’s psychiatrist’s office in September 1971.
I had a front-row seat to the Pentagon Papers intrigue. Here’s what happened.

BY NEWTON N. MINOW

• Originally Published December 28, 2017

“The Post,” the new Steven Spielberg film starring Meryl Streep as former Post publisher Katharine Graham and Tom Hanks as the paper’s editor, Benjamin C. Bradlee, is one of the best movies of the year. I had a front-row seat to a back story for the film.

The film is about a great constitutional crisis of the 1970s — the Nixon administration’s effort to stop newspapers from publishing top-secret military records known as the Pentagon Papers. President Richard M. Nixon claimed that publication would threaten national security and took the case all the way to the Supreme Court, where, in a 6-to-3 decision, the justices ruled that under the First Amendment the government could not stop The Post from publishing materials leaked by an employee of the Rand Corp.

I had been chairman of the board at Rand for only a few weeks when the corporation’s president called me to say that a Rand employee, Daniel Ellsberg, was responsible for leaking the Pentagon Papers. The leaked documents, intended for future historians, revealed decades of deception from at least three presidents and their defense secretaries about our efforts in Vietnam.

The leak threatened the credibility and reputation of Rand, a highly respected not-for-profit think tank. The Defense Department immediately announced that it was canceling Rand’s security clearance, which could have shut it down.

I immediately went to Washington to see then-Deputy Defense Secretary David Packard. I told him I brought greetings from my fellow Rand trustee, Bill Hewlett. The two men had co-founded Hewlett-Packard.

Daniel Ellsburg

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in a one-car garage in Palo Alto, Calif., and it went on to become one of the world’s leading technology companies. Packard perked up.

“How is Bill?” I told him that Bill was not so good because the Defense Department had taken away Rand’s security clearance. I then told him that I intended to hold a news conference the next morning to explain that Ellsberg was at Rand because the Defense Department sent him there with the top-secret clearance it had given him.

After conferring with his lawyer, Packard disclosed that the department rescinded the security clearance on the direct orders of the president, and he asked for a few days to renew it. I canceled my news conference. Packard kept his word, and Rand continues to provide the government with nonpartisan, independent analysis four decades later.

“The Post” shows the paper’s struggle with its own conscience over publishing after Nixon’s Justice Department got an injunction preventing the New York Times from writing any more articles based on the Pentagon Papers. And it shows the care that both the Times and The Post took to make sure the revelations in the documents Ellsberg leaked were presented in context and without putting any troops at risk. I knew both Graham and Bradlee, who were patriots, and I knew they would never hurt the country they loved.

This soul searching over a leak is hard to imagine in a world where Donald Trump, as a presidential candidate, spoke of his “love” for WikiLeaks; where “rogue” accounts inside federal agencies post tweets contrary to official statements; where Chelsea Manning leaked hundreds of thousands of classified and sensitive documents, made available on the Internet, without any vetting by journalists.

The size of today’s leaks is orders of magnitude greater than Ellsberg’s 47 volumes. It took him weeks to photocopy them a page at a time. Today, people can carry thumb drives — as Edward Snowden did — with thousands of pages out of the buildings in their pockets. Today, also, more is labeled secret than ever before, and we have a president who, unlike his predecessors, will not release his tax forms or visitor logs.

“The Post” contains important reminders about the vital role that a highly professional, fair-minded press can play in a democracy. It is also a reminder that no matter what kinds of protections are put in place, secrets will come out; it’s just a question of when and how embarrassing they will be, and whether we will have trustworthy intermediaries who know the difference between secrets that are essential for national security and secrets that must be revealed for the public interest. It is an important film that is especially significant for young people who did not live through the period of the Pentagon Papers and for those in office today who have forgotten its lessons.

There will always be tension between the government’s need for secrecy, the public’s wish for both privacy for themselves and transparency for everyone else, and the need for accountability that is only possible with disclosure. Tom Hanks has said he would not participate in a screening of the film in the White House. Tom, with all respect to you, my favorite actor, I think it is Trump, more than anyone else, who needs to learn the lessons of this film.

Newton N. Minow, senior counsel at the law firm Sidley Austin, was a member of the Rand Corp. board for 30 years, serving as chairman from 1971 to 1975.
The Photographs That Brought the War Home

Photographs have the power to bring the faces and actions of humans, no matter what ethnic, religious or political persuasion, to life. For many photographers in Vietnam, their images brought the reality of war into American living rooms more than any news article or commentary.

‘The American War’: There’s video footage of one of the most famous photos of the Vietnam War. And it changes everything.

On the left, a man in a vest and shirt with the sleeves rolled up has extended his right arm. He’s holding a revolver. In fact, he’s just fired it.

And to the right, we see the man who’s just been shot. He’s skinny, and he wears a plaid shirt and shorts. His face is tensed against the blow, but it’s too late; you can see his temple bulging as the bullet rips through it.

The man with the gun was Gen. Nguyen Ngoc Loan, the South Vietnamese chief of National Police. The man he killed was Nguyen Van Lem, a member of the National Liberation Front who had been accused of murdering an entire South Vietnamese family.

Eddie Adams, a photographer for the Associated Press, captured their confrontation during the Tet Offensive in 1968.

Adams won a Pulitzer Prize for the photo, and it’s become justly one of the most famous pictures taken during the Vietnam War.

A young photographer took this harrowing image of the Vietnam War. He didn’t live to see it published.

The young Marine lieutenant is dead, and his desperate men grimace as they drag him by the wrists from the jungle, where they have just been ambushed near the Marine outpost of Khe Sanh.

One of them looks down at a bloody piece of cloth near the wounds in the officer’s stomach. A fourth Marine, helmet-less, is emerging from the bush just to the rear.

Everything seems to be motion.

The grim portrait of combat was captured on film by freelance photographer, Robert J. Ellison, 23, on Feb. 25, 1968, as Marines hauled the body of 2nd Lt. Donald Jacques, 20, of Rochester, N.Y., away from the scene of the fighting.

Jacques was one of 39 men from the class who were killed in Vietnam.

“The days go by quickly, but the nights are long around here,” he had written his family the night before
The American War continued

But Adams wasn’t the only journalist there that day. Vo Suu, a Vietnamese cameraman for NBC, was also present. And in the sixth episode of “The Vietnam War,” we got to see the footage he shot. And for me, it changed everything I thought I knew about that iconic, terrible moment. …

KEN BURNS: You know, the Eddie Adams photograph is in a class by itself. It’s the only moment in the film in which we get truly meta, and stop and dissect the photograph, look at the contact sheet.

It’s very interesting that you bring it up, because I’ve spent my life celebrating the sort of DNA that a single still photograph is about. But in one case the footage has its own primacy. While Eddie Adams’s photograph was on the front page of every newspaper, it seems, across the world as well as the country, and had profound influence on turning people’s opinions about the war, it is the footage that in some ways has the power to see the cavalierness with which Loan steps up to him and kills him. The drinking of the beer afterwards.

— Alyssa Rosenberg

 Originally Published September 25, 2017

Young Photographer continued

his death, according to historian Gregg Jones.

The next morning Jacques and his 40-man platoon were on patrol outside the Khe Sanh combat base when they were lured into an enemy ambush. Twenty-four of them were killed, and Jacques’s body was the only one that was immediately recovered.

Ellison, whose father had been killed fighting in World War II, had been at Khe Sanh taking pictures for Newsweek magazine at the time. He came upon Jacques’s men with the body of their lieutenant that morning and took a classic, and little known, picture of the anguish of the Vietnam War.

Ellison took other dramatic pictures of the fighting at Khe Sanh, and then flew to what was then Saigon to send his photos to Newsweek, according to Jones. The magazine was so impressed with Ellison’s photos that it planned to run them three weeks later.

After filing his pictures, Ellison decided to head back to Khe Sanh. On March 6, he bartered his way aboard a flight from Da Nang to Khe Sanh that was to bring in more Marines and equipment. The plane, carrying more than 40 people, was hit by anti-aircraft fire as it approached Khe Sanh and crashed, killing all on board.

Ellison’s photos, including the portrait of Jacques and his men, ran on March 18 in a cover story called “The Agony of Khe Sanh.”

— Michael Ruane

 Originally Published May 2, 2017


To read more and listen to The Post podcast series about the still and video photography incorporated by Ken Burns and Lynn Novick in their documentary The Vietnam War, visit “The American War.”

## Word Find Answers: Pentagon Papers and the Press

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