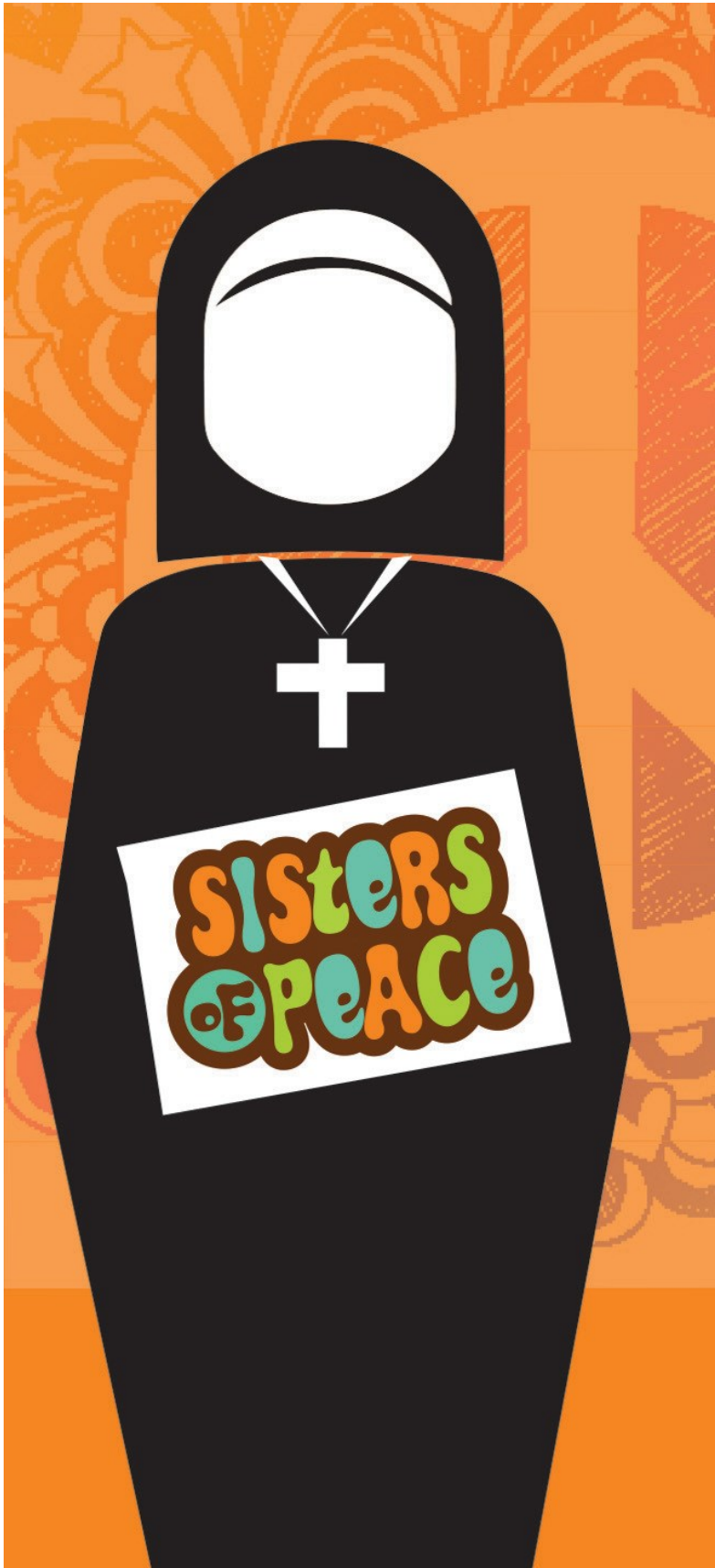


history theatre



Written by
Doris Baizley

Directed by Barbra Berlovitz

March 23–April 14, 2019

PLAY GUIDE

THE PLAY

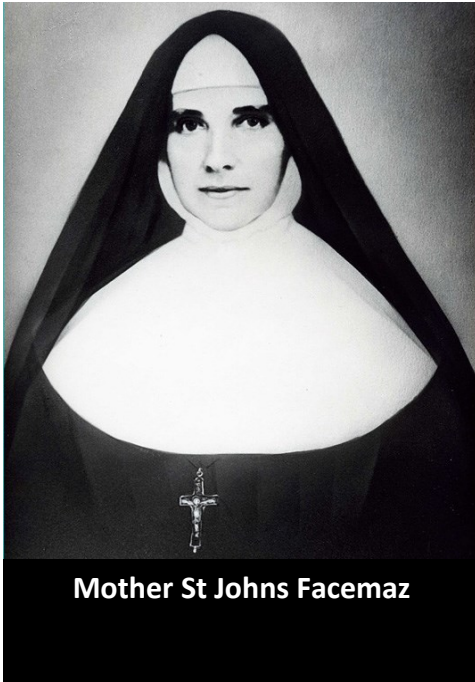
Today, yesterday & beyond. Wednesday nights on the Lake Street Bridge, you can always find a handful of people marching with colorful signs and protesting for peace. Among them, you'd find the McDonald sisters Brigid, Jane, Rita and Kate: legendary peace activists, who grew up as sisters in a large Irish farm family in Hollywood Township, Minnesota. The four sisters all entered the convent and became Catholic nuns who devoted their lives to teaching and peace activism. That's only part of the story. Their incredible lives come to life in this stirring play that take us on a journey from the security gates of Honeywell Corporation, to the School of the Americas and back to the steps of the Cathedral of St. Paul. Wherever there is injustice, the chances of bumping into the McDonald sisters are high.

THIS IS THEIR STORY!

A story of love, passion and compassion – all with a sense of humor that comes from their wonderful Irish upbringing! These Sisters of Peace are Minnesota legends, for sure!

SISTER OF SAINT JOSEPH OF CARONDELET

The Federation of the Sisters of Saint Joseph of the United States is a union of all sisters who claim a common origin in the foundation at LePuy, France in 1650. This community, without cloister or habit, devote themselves to the needs of ordinary people.

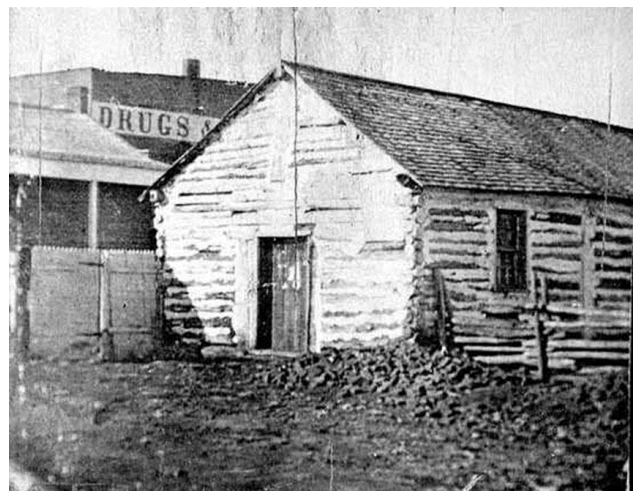


Mother St Johns Facemaz

In the year 1834, Rev. Joseph Rosati, Bishop of St. Louis, Missouri, asked for a colony of sisters to America to undertake instruction of deaf-mute children. On 17 January 1836 the first six sisters set sail from Le Havre, France on the ship *Natchez*. Because of the rapid growth of the institute and the increasing demand for sisters from all parts of the United States, the superiors of the community by 1860 had to figure out how to give stability and uniformity to the growing congregation. They called a general chapter in May 1860, to which representatives from every congregational house in America were called. Mother St. Johns Facemaz was elected first superior general for a term of six years. Shortly afterward, she traveled to Rome to present a copy of the Constitution for Vatican approval. In September 1863, Pope Pius IX issued a degree of commendation. Final approbation was received, dated May 16, 1877. This approval established the Sisters of St. Joseph of Carondelet as a congregation of pontifical right, and unified their communities in various dioceses with the mother-house at Carondelet (now part of St. Louis, Missouri).

Bishop Cretin invited the Sisters of St. Joseph to join him in St. Paul on July 2, 1851. He had spent three weeks at Carondelet in the late 1830s and was familiar with the mission there. Mother St. John Fournier, along with Sisters Francis Joseph Ivory, Scholastica Vasques, and Philomene Vilaine, arrived in November 2, 1851. Their arrival made them the first sisters of the city's fledgling diocese. The Sisters were given the former church of Father Lucien Galtier to begin their mission. In that small building on the bluffs of the Mississippi they opened the city's first boarding school on November 10, 1851. They named it St. Mary's, later renaming it St. Joseph's Academy in 1859. The children enrolled there were taught reading, writing, and arithmetic. They soon considered mission opportunities in other parts of the state. Sister Scholastica was sent north to Long Prairie to teach at the Ho-Chunk Reservation. Another sister was sent to St. Anthony Falls, within present-day Minneapolis. There she opened a school to preach to immigrants who had moved to town to take advantage of the site's water power.

The mission of the Sisters continued within the borders of St. Paul as well. In 1853 a cholera epidemic occurred and many citizens became ill and died. Realizing the immediate need, the Sisters lobbied to build a hospital. Their pleas were heard and construction began on a new facility on Exchange Street. They offered their school as a makeshift hospital until the



The first Chapel of St. Paul, c.1855.

formal building, on land donated to the diocese by Henry Rice, could be completed in 1854. As the needs of the growing population multiplied, additional sisters from the Carondelet mission were sent to the territory. Fostering the Catholic faith with the Indian nations of the region was no longer a part of their work. Instead, the Sisters focused on helping local people in need regardless of their prestige, nationality, or faith.

The Sisters' impact in Minnesota Territory was almost immediate and their legacy long-lasting. Within three years of their arrival they had established an academy, a hospital/orphanage, and other services in the region. Eventually, the Sisters opened over one hundred institutions for education and health care in Minnesota and surrounding states.

Following Vatican Council II (1962-1965), the Sisters moved from these well-established ministries into newer ministries such as education for immigrants, health care clinics for the uninsured, and a variety of ministries focusing on direct service to the poor as well as ministries of peace, justice and legislative advocacy.

In 2016, the St. Paul Province celebrated its 175th year. Its ministries range from young adult spirituality to immigrant and refugee services. Through these ministries, St. Paul Sisters strive to foster the common good through advocacy, creative arts, education, healthcare, social service, and spirituality.

The Sisters mission is:

Moving always toward the profound love of God and love of neighbor without distinction through community, spirituality and justice.



Activity

WHAT CAN I DO?

What are 10 simple things you could do
for your community that would make the
world a better place?

MEET THE PLAYWRIGHT—DORIS BAIZLEY



Doris Baizley's published plays include *MRS. CALIFORNIA*, *A CHRISTMAS CAROL*, *TEARS OF RAGE*, *CATHOLIC GIRLS* and *SHILOH RULES*, produced by US regional theatres including the Mark Taper Forum, ACT Seattle, the National Theatre of the Deaf, and the Alabama Shakespeare Festival. Her documentary and community-based plays include *ONE DAY/ SARAH HOUSE : Living and Dreaming in Hospice*, winner of a Santa Barbara Independent Press Award for 2009 best original script, and *SEX STING* (written in collaboration with criminal defense attorney Susan Raffanti), winner of a Guthrie Theater /Playwrights Center Two-Headed Challenge

Commission, premiered by the Salt Lake Acting company and produced by the Skylight Theatre in Los Angeles in 2013, listed by the LA Weekly as one of the ten best plays of the year. For the History Theater she wrote *SISTER KENNY'S CHILDREN* and *PEACE CRIMES: The Minnesota Eight vs. The War*.

A founding member of LA Theatreworks (originally Artists in Prison), she was resident playwright for the Mark Taper Forum's ITP Company for young audiences, and dramaturg for the Taper's Other Voices program for theatre artists with disabilities where she co-adapted and edited *PH*reaks: the Hidden History of People With Disabilities*, anthologized in TCG's "Beyond Villains and Victims: New Plays by Writers with Disabilities." She teaches a documentary theatre course, *Voices of Justice*, at Loyola Marymount University with Sister Judith Royer, CSJ, in which students make theater pieces from their interviews with clients and residents at various social service agencies in LA. She is also working with Rose Portillo and community organizer Vivian Rothstein on *CHANGE IS WHAT WE DO*, a continuing series of performances based on interviews with members of UNITE HERE Local 11, the Los Angeles hotel and restaurant workers union.

As story editor she has worked on documentary films including: *EMILE NORMAN: by His Own Design*, *WE STILL LIVE HERE! As Nutayanean*, directed by Anne Makepeace, winner Full Frame Documentary Festival Inspiration Award; and Makepeace's most recent documentary *TRIBAL JUSTICE*, best feature length documentary, American Indian Film Festival, 2018. She's working now with director Rodrigo Reyes on his documentary, *SANSÓN AND ME*, on a grant from the Sundance Institute.

Education:

B.A. Vassar College; M.A., Long Island University, Shubert Playwriting Fellowship; M.F.A., American Film Institute.

MCDONALD SISTERS

Could you share what your childhood was like?

"Growing up, our world was clouded by war--and justifying war. War was normalized by games like 'Bang! Bang! In the Barn' and 'Cowboys and Indians' and imaginative play. War was a solution, instead of a problem."

"We had faith, and that served us well. Faith in family and our neighborhood. The farm kept us alive and also instilled in us a connection to creation."

What would you like people to take away from your story?

"The big picture is the whole question of the peace and justice movement. We have a lot to account for in our country. That is **Restorative Justice**."

*What does **Restorative Justice** mean to you?*



"It is reconciling with Mother Earth, creation, Indigenous People, slavery, etc. To repent for our shared history. The solution is up to all of us. We all participate and pass this history to a new generation."

"I hope the next generation can see the value of the arts and music, and how this can be a powerful tool of reconciliation and Restorative Justice."



LISTEN

[HTTP://APEACEOFMYMIND.NET/PODCAST/66397288/](http://apeaceofmymind.net/podcast/66397288/)

JANE, BRIGID, KATE, AND RITA MCDONALD ARE FOUR BIOLOGICAL SISTERS WHO ALSO JOINED THE ORDER OF ST. JOSEPH OF CARONDELET AND BECAME CATHOLIC SISTERS. RAISED ON A FARM IN WESTERN MINNESOTA, THEY FOUND A RICHNESS GROWING UP CLOSE TO THE EARTH AND LEARNED ABOUT COMMUNITY FROM WATCHING THEIR EXTENDED FAMILY HELP ONE ANOTHER ON A DAILY BASIS. ALL FOUR OF THEM ARE ACTIVE IN PEACE AND JUSTICE ISSUES, AND ALL FOUR OF THEM HAVE SPENT TIME IN JAIL FOR NONVIOLENT ACTIONS THEY HAVE TAKEN BECAUSE OF THEIR BELIEFS.

A FEW WORDS FROM OUR ARTISTS



Sue Scott

I'm playing Jane in *Sisters of Peace* and am so excited. I had certainly heard of the famous McDonald Sisters, but had not really met them before the Raw Stages workshop we did of the play last January. All 4 sisters were there the first day of rehearsal and it was so special to hear them tell their stories of growing up in a big Minnesota farm family and how and why they each decided to enter the convent. Some of their stories had already made into Dorie's first draft of the play, but other stories were new. Those new stories and the many details that the sisters continue to share with us are **now** part of this play!

The sister's committed peace activism started with an experience Jane had when she was working at Holy Angels Catholic school during Vietnam. That activism has continued to this day as the sisters move into their 80's and 90's, which I find very inspiring. I grew up with peace activist parents who felt very strongly about ending the war in Vietnam. So in a very small way, I feel like I can identify with Jane's epiphany in 1968 that war was a moral wrong that needed to be stopped by all means necessary.

I knew the Twin Cities had a vibrant peace movement with organizations like Women Against Military Madness, but I hadn't realized until I got to know them, that a very strong reason why the peace movement here remains so robust is because of the McDonald's sisters. Their endless compassionate activism is a gift they give us everyday. God bless them!

I portray Brigid in the play. I did not know the sisters before I started to work on "Sisters of Peace." I am very excited about playing Brigid, as she is a fascinating person. Brigid is a pot-stirrer, and a very strong person. She likes to entertain people, make them laugh, and make them think. The sisters and their group of protesters are the reason that bombs are no longer made in Minneapolis. They are devoted to doing good, and inspire everyone they meet.



Peggy O'Connell



Wendy Lehr

I am Rita in the play. I am not quite as old as the sisters, but I was at the U in Minneapolis when the Peace Movement was gaining traction, especially among college aged students who were prime for the draft. During those tumultuous times, many of us demonstrated for peace and equal rights. I was aware that respectable people, even **nuns!**, were being arrested for their constitutionally sanctioned dissent. During the ensuing years, whenever I happen to cross the Lake Street Bridge on a Wednesday, I am always brought back to the knowledge that there are still many issues to be addressed in pursuit of peace and equality.

It is a joy to meet these women and hear what they have endured and celebrated in their deep commitment and faith. I play Rita, the eldest of the MacDonald nuns. Through an example of joy she inspired her sisters to follow the spiritual path and then later they all joined the path of civil disobedience in bringing their moral and ethical truths to the world. It has required courage and fortitude. And the sisters are so wonderfully human. They are individuals but share great compassion and humor. Each has her own "back story" which is a feast for an actor. Many times actors have to make up the influences that cause a character behave as they are written. Here we have a real and complete life to embrace. It is an honor and privilege to try to embody these wonderful women.

UNITED STATES INVOLVEMENT IN THE VIETNAM WAR

Before World War II, Vietnam was a part of French Indochina, which also included Laos and Cambodia. During World War II, Japan occupied Indochina, but much of it went back under French control after the war. Trouble started in 1946, when Ho Chi Minh led the Vietminh revolt against the French. The United States supported their French allies throughout the Truman presidency. Fighting dragged on for seven and a half years until the French were defeated in May of 1954. During the Geneva Accord in April 1954, Vietnam was to be temporarily divided into two sections: North Vietnam and South Vietnam. The dividing line was the 17th parallel. Elections were to be held in two years for the purpose of uniting the North and South. All foreign involvement came to a halt. Even though they did not sign, both the U.S. and South Vietnam announced their intention to abide by the agreement.

Upset by the Geneva accord and to allay the fears of a Communist take-over in South Vietnam, the Eisenhower Administration sponsored a new alliance, the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO). The purpose of this organization was to stop the spread of communism in that part of Asia. SEATO'S members agreed to act together if any country in the region was threatened by aggression.

Following the Geneva agreement, President Eisenhower pledged American support to South Vietnam. This support helped to rehabilitate the country. The support came in the form of economic investments as well as military equipment and training, hoping to curb the expansion of communism throughout the Pacific area.

President Ngo Dinh Diem, leader of South Vietnam, became increasingly unpopular as he neglected the peasants and showed favoritism to his family. When Diem was supposed to hold elections according to the Geneva Accords, he refused claiming North Vietnam would not permit campaigning on its territory and Ho Chi Minh would gain control of a united Vietnam. He appointed his village officials and ended all local elections. Negative feelings against him mounted.

Viet Cong raids on South Vietnam began as early as 1957. Guerillas began to attack farm villages, particularly in the Mekong Delta. The Viet Cong were under Communist control. They fought against the South Vietnamese government because of its repressive measures and its failure to provide the necessities of life. The Viet Cong won easy victories. By 1961, Communist forces controlled much of the country. President Diem was constantly appealing for American combat troops and tactical air squadrons.



President Diem

***"Follow me if I advance!
Kill me if I retreat!
Revenge me if I die!"***

- President Diem uttered these words after he became President in 1953.

Kennedy believed that the U.S. was engaged in global conflict with communism. During his 34 months in office, he increased the American military advisors from 750 to roughly 16,000. This was accomplished so quietly that few Americans realized what was happening. A steady growing casualty list - 14 Americans killed in 1961, 109 in 1962, 489 in 1963— finally alerted newsmen that at least some Americans were in combat situations.

In 1963, many Buddhists in South Vietnam were protesting treatment they were receiving under the rule of President Diem. They claimed that Diem, a Roman Catholic, was treating them unfairly because of their differences in religion. Special Forces under Diem's brother Nhu raided and wrecked some Buddhist pagodas. When news of these events reached the U.S. Diem's government was formally criticized and certain types of economic aid were suspended. The South Vietnamese generals, encouraged by the U.S. disapproval of Nhu's actions, overthrew the Diem government and Diem and Nhu were assassinated on November 2, 1963. A series of short-lived regimes governed South Vietnam for the next two years. In June 1965, Air Force Commander Nguyen Cao Ky headed a military committee that took power.

Before he left for Dallas in November 1963, President Kennedy requested a plan for a total withdrawal of American forces by 1965. He had also requested an in depth review of the entire Vietnam situations including whether the U.S. should be there at all. Lyndon Johnson continued what Kennedy had started and that road led straight to the outright war that developed in 1965 and Vietnam became mainly a military problem. A determination to achieve victory led to continued escalation. Government officials during these years centered on strategy and tactics of war, but not whether the U.S. should be in Vietnam.

In the pre-dawn hours of July 31, 1964, U.S.-backed patrol boats shelled two North Vietnamese islands in



the Gulf of Tonkin, which became known as the much disputed Gulf of Tonkin Incident. As American boats cruised along on August 2, they found themselves facing down three Soviet built North Vietnamese torpedo boats that had come out to chase it away. Three boats continued approaching and opened up with machine-gun and torpedo fire of their own. With the help of F-8 Crusader jets dispatched from a nearby aircraft carrier, at least one of the North Vietnamese boats emerged completely unscathed, except for a single bullet that lodged in its superstructure. The following day, the U.S. destroyer was sent to reinforce, and U.S.-backed raids took place against two additional North Vietnamese defense positions. Then, on August 4, the U.S. reported that they had been ambushed with enemy boats firing 22 torpedoes at them. This propelled President Johnson to ask Congress for powers to take

all necessary measures to repel an armed attack against the forces of the United States and to prevent further aggression. With only two dissenting votes in the Senate, Johnson essentially had the power to wage war in Southeast Asia as he saw fit.

The war gradually grew in intensity. An attack on two U.S. camps at Pleiku in early 1965 triggered the decision for the bombing of infiltration routes and military installation in North Vietnam. In 1965, following the bombing of North Vietnam, large numbers of North Vietnamese troops began arriving in South Vietnam. In March 1965, President Johnson ordered U.S. Marines into South Vietnam and General Westmoreland as commander of all U.S. troops.

In 1966 and 1967, the fighting in Vietnam increased. Meanwhile, South Vietnam tried to establish a representative government. In 1967, voters approved a new constitution and elected a President, Vice-President, and a legislature. General Nguyen Jan Thieu was elected President and Ky became Vice-President.

By 1967, over a million American troops were or had been in Vietnam with 1969 becoming the year the most U.S. troops were involved with an estimate of 541,000 men and women fighting in South Asia. By 1968 the Vietnam War became the longest war in which the United States had ever been involved. It was also the deadliest year with an estimated 16,899 deaths, which made Americans become impatient for the war to end. In June 1968, President Nixon announced the first of several withdrawals of U.S. forces from Vietnam. He said American troops would be replaced by South Vietnamese. This policy became known as Vietnamization.

In 1970, the U.S. had been for months mounted secret provocative attacks against North Vietnam and was looking for an incident to justify the bombing of North Vietnam targets. In April of 1970, the U.S. and South Vietnamese forces invaded Cambodia to attack the North Vietnamese supply depots there. Nixon said this action would save the lives of American troops in South Vietnam and shorten the war. By June 1970, all troops were removed from Cambodia.



Early in 1971, South Vietnamese troops invaded Laos to cut the Ho Chi Minh Trail. U.S. forces provided air and artillery support. The South Vietnamese destroyed many enemy supplies, but they suffered heavy casualties and were forced to withdraw. During 1971, both the U.S. and the Viet Cong presented new peace proposals, but neither found the others acceptable. On March 30, 1972, North Vietnam launched a major offensive in South Vietnam. President Nixon then ordered the harbors of North Vietnam to cut off war supplies from Russia and China. Bombing of rails and highway networks also took place. By August 1972 the

Communist offensive was halted.

U.S. troops continued withdrawal during 1972. Formal peace talks in Paris continued while secret negotiations between Kissinger and North Vietnamese officials were being conducted. However, when the talks broke down Nixon ordered the full-scale bombing of the Hanoi-Haiphong area. The bombing ended after 12 days and the talks resumed. Finally, on January 27, 1973 a cease fire agreement was signed in Paris by the U.S., North Vietnam, South Vietnam and the Viet Cong. By the terms of the agreement all U.S. and

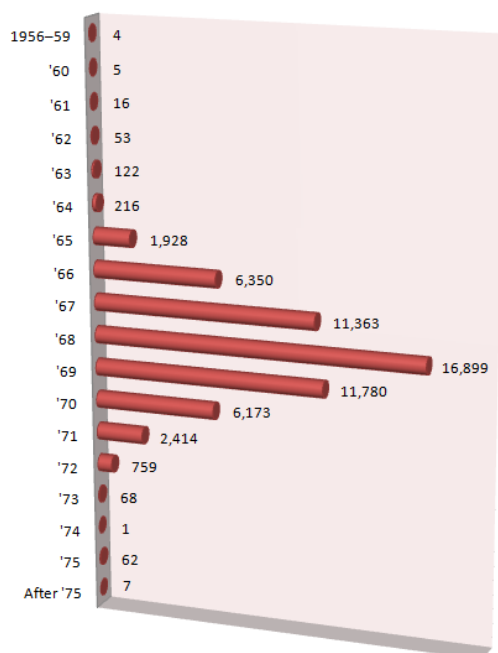
allied forces were to be withdrawn and all prisoners were to be released, both within 60 days; the continued presence of North Vietnamese forces was tacitly agreed to: South Vietnam was assured that it was to have a government of its own choosing; and the U.S. guaranteed economic and military aid to South Vietnam. The first prisoners of war were released on March 2, 1973 and by March 29, the exchange of prisoners of war was supposedly complete and the last American troops left Vietnam. However, North Vietnam, South Vietnam and the Viet Cong violated the cease fire. The fighting in Southeast Asia continued and intensified as the Communist forces took the offensive in 1974. In Cambodia, during 1974 and 1975, Communist troops captured much of the country and surrendered the capitol of Phnom Pehn. In April 1975, the last remaining Americans were evacuated by helicopters and the victorious Communist armies took control of Cambodia.

Resistance to the Communists in South Vietnam was also crumbling. When the South Vietnamese

government ordered a withdrawal of its troops from the north and center highlands in March 1975, entire units abandoned their equipment and retreated southward before the advancing North Vietnamese. In a last desperate attempt to prevent a complete collapse of South Vietnam, President Ford asked Congress to vote \$722 million in emergency military aid. But Congress, convinced that the South Vietnamese cause was hopeless and fearing a renewal of American involvement, refused to support the President. At the end of April, with Saigon surrounded, American helicopters withdrew the remaining Americans in South Vietnam. The Vietnamese refugees for the most part destitute were temporarily housed on American military bases until they could be relocated in new homes throughout the United States. With the Communist takeover of South Vietnam in 1976, three tragic decades of fighting in Vietnam came to an end. The war toll included the deaths of 57,000 U.S. troops, 303,700 wounded and over 780 missing; the deaths of 254,300 South Vietnamese and 1,027,100 North Vietnamese with an estimated 1,500 Laos, Cambodian, Chinese and Thailand troops. (National Archives. Information

purposes only. Not official statistics). There are no reliable statistics on civilian war losses, but in 1975, the Vietnamese government estimated between 1,000,000 to 1,500,000 people lost their lives.

US deaths, 1956–2006



DCAS Vietnam Conflict Extract File record counts by INCIDENT OR DEATH DATE (Year)

Data as of 29 April 2008

<http://www.archives.gov/research/military/vietnam-war/casualty-statistics.html>

Bain, Chester, Arthur. **Vietnam, The Roots of Conflict**. New York: Prentice, 1967.

archives.gov/research/vietnam-war#event-/timeline

history.com/topics/Vietnam-war

pbs.org/battlefieldvietnam/history

VIETNAM WAR PROTESTS

One of the largest acts of Civil Disobedience occurred in opposition to the War in Vietnam. People from every walk of life and from every corner of the country rose up in opposition. Whether the protests were demonstrations, the burning of draft cards or music festivals, they were always acts of Civil Disobedience. The opponents were not violent, raised significant amounts of public awareness, accepted the consequences of their actions, and had just, moral cause for their actions.

When the U.S. began its military involvement in Vietnam not many Americans opposed it. The U.S. had been in the Cold War with the Soviet Union for almost 20 years and they were told by the government that if Communism succeeded in South Vietnam and Indochina, it could happen elsewhere – known as the Domino Theory – unless our military could stop it. The involvement in Vietnam was such a perfectly legitimate venture that only few would protest.

The anti-war movement began mostly on college campuses, as members of the leftist organization Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) began organizing “teach-ins” to express their opposition to the way in which it was being conducted. Though the vast majority of the American population still supported the administration policy in Vietnam, a small but outspoken liberal minority was making its voice heard by the end of 1965. Many students took to the streets in protest. One of the early protests was on May 2, 1964 when nearly a thousand students held a rally at Times Square in New York. The purpose of this and other rallies were to demonstrate the injustice of the US involvement in Vietnam to the general public.



The Vietnam War was costing the U.S. some \$25 billion per year, and disillusionment was beginning to reach greater sections of the taxpaying public. More casualties were reported in Vietnam every day, even as U.S. commanders demanded more troops. Under the draft system, as many as 40,000 young men were called into service each month, adding fuel to the fire of the anti-war movement. Eventually, another type of resistance began in opposition to the draft. The opponents saw the military draft as unjust because it forced young Americans to fight a murderous and unjust war. In response, they began to raid local branches of the Draft Board, steal the draft cards, and set them alight in the street.

On November 2, 1965, 32 years-old Norman Morrison self-immolated in front of the Pentagon. Seven days later, 22-year old Roger La Porte also set himself on fire in front of the UN Headquarters in New York City. Both consciously followed the example of Thich Quang Duc's self-immolation and ongoing Buddhist protests in South Vietnam. On October 21, 1967, one of the most prominent anti-war demonstrations took place, as some 100,000 protesters gathered at the Lincoln Memorial; around 30,000 of them continued in a march on the Pentagon later that night. After a brutal confrontation with the soldiers and U.S. Marshals protecting the building, hundreds of demonstrators were arrested. One of them was the author Norman Mailer, who chronicled the events in his book “The Armies of the Night,” published the following year to widespread acclaim. Also in 1967, the anti-war movement got a boost when the civil rights leader Martin Luther King Jr.

went public with his opposition to the war on moral grounds, condemning the war's diversion of federal funds from domestic programs as well as the disproportionate number of American casualties in relation to the total number of soldiers killed in the war.

The launch of the Tet Offensive by North Vietnamese communist troops in January 1968, and its success against U.S. and South Vietnamese troops, sent waves of shock and discontent across the home front and sparked the most intense period of anti-war protests to date. By early February 1968, a Gallup poll showed only 35 percent of the population approved of Johnson's handling of the war and a full 50 percent disapproved. Joining the anti-war demonstrations by this time were members of the organization Vietnam Veterans Against the War. The sight of these men on television throwing away the medals they had won during the war did much to win people over to the anti-war cause.

After many New Hampshire primary voters rallied behind the anti-war Democrat Eugene McCarthy, Johnson announced that he would not seek re-election. Vice President Hubert Humphrey accepted the Democratic nomination in August in Chicago, and 10,000 anti-war demonstrators showed up outside the convention building, clashing with security forces assembled by Mayor Richard Daley. Humphrey lost the 1968 presidential election to Richard M. Nixon, who promised in his campaign to restore "law and order"—a reference to conflict over anti-war protests as well as the rioting that followed King's assassination in 1968—more effectively than Johnson had. The following year, Nixon claimed in a famous speech that anti-war protesters constituted a small—albeit vocal—minority that should not be allowed to drown out the "silent majority" of Americans. Nixon's war policies divided the nation still further, however: In December 1969, the government instituted the first U.S. draft lottery since World War II, inciting a vast amount of controversy and causing many young men to flee to Canada to avoid conscription. Tensions ran higher than ever, spurred on by mass demonstrations and incidents of official violence such those at Kent State in May 1970, when National Guard troops shot into a group of protesters demonstrating against the U.S. invasion of Cambodia, killing four students.

In mid-1971, the publication of the first Pentagon Papers—which revealed previously confidential details about the war's conduct—caused more and more Americans to question the accountability of the U.S. government and military establishments. In response to a strong anti-war mandate, Nixon announced the effective end to U.S. involvement in Southeast Asia in January 1973.

constitutioncenter.org/blog/the-campus-and-the-vietnam-war-protest-and-tragedy
history.com/topics/vietnam-war/vietnam-war-protests
thevietnamwar.info/vietnam-war-protests/



Three Big Questions

1

Why did some people see protesters as unpatriotic?

2

Why did protesters see themselves as patriotic?

3

Do you think protesting is patriotic—why or why not?

WAR IN EL SALVADOR

El Salvador is a small, Central American country bordered by Honduras, Guatemala and the Pacific Ocean. In the late 1880s, coffee became a major cash crop for El Salvador. It brought in 95% of the country's income. Unfortunately, this wealth was confined within only 2% of the population. Tensions between the classes grew, and in 1932 Augustin Farabundo Marti formed the Central American Socialist Party and led peasants and indigenous people against the government. In response, the government supported military death squads which killed anyone who even looked Indian or may have been supporting the uprising. The killing became known as La Matanza (the Massacre) and left more than 30,000 people dead. Marti was eventually arrested and put to death.

The struggle continued through the 1970s. Both sides continued to fight back and forth in an endless string of assassinations and coups. As the presence of guerillas existed, the military reinstated the death squads in order to combat the rebel forces. In 1979, yet another military junta overthrew the government. When the Junta made promises to improve living standards in the country but failed to do so, discontent with the government provoked the five main guerrilla groups in the country to unite in the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN).



In 1980, El Salvador's civil war officially began. The government-supported military targeted anyone they suspected of supporting social and economic reform. Often the victims were unionists, clergy, independent farmers and university officials. Over the ensuing twelve years, thousands of victims perished. The military death squads wiped-out entire villages believed to be assisting the guerrilla efforts.

As the military defended their stand of killing any alleged rebels, the FMLN also worked to blow-up bridges, cut power lines, destroy coffee plantations and anything else to

damage the economy that supported the government. Today many people say that the Salvadoran civil war never would have lasted so long without the support of the United States. Like many countries engulfed in civil war, El Salvador exhausted its resources fighting itself. The government was able to continue its efforts with help from the US, which had begun supporting the government with financial and military aid as soon as the war started. Military and monetary aid supporting the Salvadoran government from the US continued until 1990. During the height of the war, aid averaged 1.5 million dollars a day. The US finally ceased support only in 1990 after the United Nations became involved, and Congressman Moakley confirmed reports of human rights violations. Eventually, the military aid from the US became reconstruction aid. Currently, the US sends about 30-35 million dollars annually to El Salvador.

Throughout the war, critics in the US fought to end US aid to El Salvador's government and argued that America was pouring money into an organization that committed incredible violations against human rights. Some say that the US chose to remain ignorant to the violations in order to justify its actions. In addition, many argued that America had no business in Central America as many regional countries, including El Salvador, were ripe for internal unrest.

On the contrast, others supported the government's decision to intervene. They agreed with President Ronald Reagan when he said: "What we see in El Salvador is an attempt to destabilize the entire region and eventually move chaos and anarchy to the American boarder." Some felt paradoxically that it was essential to protect America from any possible communist advance. The FMLN rebels were seen as communist supporters because they accepted some weapons from Cuba and had the verbal support of Cuban leader Fidel Castro. Acceptance of any Cuban support was viewed as acceptance of Soviet support. At the time the Soviets were viewed as the greatest threat to the United States.

In the end about 75,000 people died as result of the civil war between 1980 and 1992. Most of these people were simply civilians in the wrong place at the wrong time. Whether the US was right or wrong in supplying aid to the government of El Salvador is an issue still being debated today, as more evidence of war crimes emerges and more former government officials are prosecuted. Did the US really know about the thousands of unarmed civilians being killed? Was Fidel Castro actively supporting the rebels? These are all viable questions to be answered before deciding if the US was right or wrong.

www.pbs.org/itvs/enemiesofwar/elsalvador2.html information on the war

www.pbs.org/wnet/justice/elsalvador_debate.html contains a debate between Reps. Hyde and Mikulski looking back at US aid given to El Salvador during the war .

www.fmln.org.sv/ is a history and description of the FMLN.

LISTEN

MILLERCENTER.ORG/PRESIDENT/REAGAN

PRESIDENT REAGAN'S SPEECH ON CENTRAL AMERICA: APRIL 27, 1983

SOURCE REAGAN LIBRARY

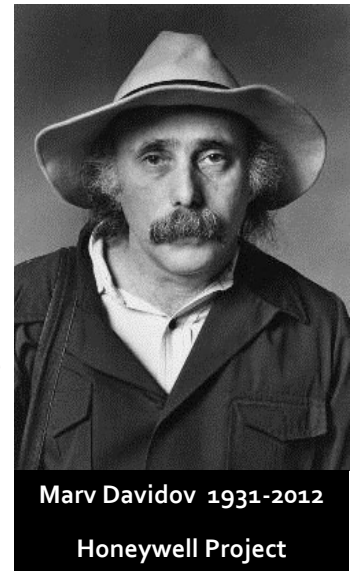
HONEYWELL DURING THE VIETNAM WAR

During the Vietnam War, Honeywell produced cluster bombs (bomblets), small steel ball bearings embedded in a steel shell. When this antipersonnel weapon explodes, the steel ball bearings shoot out 2,200 feet per second. Honeywell also made other weapons and civilian products.

In 1967 the Bertrand Russell War Crimes Tribunal, which took place in Stockholm, condemned the use of cluster bombs against Vietnamese civilians. The October 1968 issue of Liberation Magazine wrote an editorial urging people to take on the corporations that were involved in producing weapons, particularly those involved in the war on Vietnam.

In December 1968, people in Minneapolis started the Honeywell Project. From the beginning, they were clear about their goals: Stop research, development and production of cluster bombs and other weapons. The Honeywell Project started leafleting the two plants where the cluster bombs were made. In April 1969 fifty activists demonstrated outside Honeywell's annual shareholders meeting, making visible the horrible reality of cluster bombs. They were given 10 minutes to speak to the meeting. The corporations' response was that "the government comes to us, it's our citizenly duty."

Honeywell Project created an organization of 14 local and regional groups. People bought stock to get into the shareholders meetings. In April 1970 Honeywell Project organized 3,000 demonstrators outside and inside the Honeywell annual shareholders meeting. Speaking tours inspired other corporate campaigns. In 1971 two national groups entered the campaign to stop Honeywell's production of cluster bombs. According to Honeywell Project founder Marv Davidov, "We were organizing locally while doing outreach globally."



Marv Davidov 1931-2012

Honeywell Project

In April 1975 the Vietnam War ended. From 1975 through 1980 the campaign was dormant except for a lawsuit. The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) sued Honeywell and the FBI for conspiracy to deny constitutional rights of members of Honeywell Project and other local peace groups. The FBI had informants in their group from 1969-1972.

A boycott of Honeywell consumer products was not called for, although many choose not to buy products made by weapons manufacturers. In 1989 Honeywell tried to sell the weapons division but no one would buy it. When it could not sell its weapons division they created another corporation: Alliant Tech Systems.

The Honeywell Project can claim a number of successes - everyone knew what a cluster bomb was, these weapons were no longer invisible. This fueled opposition to the use of such weapons and to the wars they were used in. Honeywell Project helped make the corporate role in war visible, became a model for other anti-corporate campaigns, particularly in its use of nonviolent direct action. The organizing gave rise to a strong progressive movement in Minneapolis that remains today. But despite those successes, production of cluster bombs continues. Our challenge is to find successful ways to stop these merchants of death. According to Marv Davidov, "Given the permanent war economy, the movement must be local, regional, national and international to be effective."

OTHER AREAS OF PROTEST

Desert Storm 1991-92



The first major foreign crisis for the United States after the end of the Cold War presented itself in August 1990. Saddam Hussein, the dictator of Iraq, ordered his army across the border into Kuwait. The United States had provided massive military aid to Iraq during their eight-year war with Iran, giving them the fourth largest army in the world.

Kuwait was a major supplier of oil to the United States. The Iraqi takeover posed an immediate threat to neighboring Saudi Arabia, another major exporter of oil. If Saudi Arabia fell to Saddam, Iraq would control one-fifth of the world's oil supply. In the last months

of 1990, the United States participated in the defense of Saudi Arabia in a deployment known as Operation Desert Shield. Over 500,000 American troops were placed in Saudi Arabia in case of an Iraqi attack on the Saudis. The U.S. further sought multilateral support in the United Nations Security Council. Traditionally, Iraq was an ally of the Soviet Union, who held a veto power over any potential UN military action. Looking westward for support for their dramatic internal changes, the USSR did not block the American plan. The UN condemned Iraq and helped form a coalition to fight Saddam militarily.

President H.W. Bush, remembering the lessons of Vietnam, sought public support. Although there were scant opponents of the conflict, the vast majority of Americans and a narrow majority of the Congress supported the President's actions. When all the forces were in place, the United States issued an ultimatum to Saddam Hussein: leave Kuwait by January 15, 1991 or face a full attack by the multinational force.

January 15 came and went with no response from the Iraqis. The next night Desert Shield became Desert Storm. Bombing sorties pummeled Iraq's military targets for the next several weeks. On many days there were over 2500 such missions. Iraq responded by launching Scud missiles at American military barracks in Saudi Arabia and Israel. Attacking Israel was a stratagem to persuade all the neighboring Arab nations to join the Iraqi cause. After intense diplomatic pressure and negotiation, the Arab nations remained in opposition to Iraq. On February 24, the ground war began. Although the bombing lasted for weeks, American ground troops declared Kuwait liberated just 100 hours after the ground attack was initiated. American foot soldiers moved through Kuwait and entered southern Iraq. This posed a dilemma for the United States. The military objectives were complete, but Saddam, the perpetrator of the plundering of Kuwait, was still ruling Iraq from Baghdad. President Bush feared that the allies would not support the occupation of Baghdad. Concerns were raised that if Saddam's regime were toppled, the entire nation could disintegrate into a civil war. Soon Iraq agreed to terms for a ceasefire, and the conflict subsided.

Iraq did not leave Kuwait untouched. Millions of dollars of valuables were plundered by the occupying troops. As Iraq retreated, they detonated explosives at many of Kuwait's oil wells. The disaster to the environment grew as Iraq dumped oil into the Persian Gulf. The costs were enormous, and casualty figure staggering. Although estimates range in the hundreds of thousands of Iraqi deaths, only 148 Americans were killed in the battle. This was primarily because of the technological advances of the United States.

The Persian Gulf War was a television event. CNN broadcast round-the-clock coverage of unfolding events. Americans saw footage from cameras placed on smart bombs as they struck Iraqi targets. The stealth

fighter, designed to avoid radar detection was put into use for the first time.

Despite the nation's euphoria over the allied victory, the opponents worried that the United States would resort to further military force to solve other international problems and would also result in an increase in military spending by Congress at the expense of social programs.

Fort Benning Protest of 1998

More than 2,000 demonstrators - 600 who risked arrest by entering the compound - gathered Sunday November 22, 1998 in the largest-ever protest against the U.S. Army's School of the Americas, a military training center in Fort Benning, Georgia. Opponents said the school turned out a steady stream of Latin American dictators, torturers and rogues. Argentine dictator Leopoldo Galtieri, Haitian coup leader Raoul Cedras and the late Salvadoran death squad organizer Roberto D'Aubuisson.

The demonstration has been staged annually since 1990 to protest what participants call the "School of Assassins." They say Latin American graduates use what they have learned at the school to violate human rights in their homelands, including the assassination of Archbishop Oscar Romero and the El Mozote Massacre of 900 civilians. Army officers say the school has helped advance democracy in Latin America and that it has reformed its curriculum to stress respect for human rights.

Police did not arrest anyone during these protests.

Coldwater Coalition - Highway 55 Protesters 1999

Opponents of the reroute of Highway 55 in Minneapolis built a protest camp in the path of the proposed highway. They were determined to protect what they said was historic sites and places sacred to Native Americans. In December of 1999, more than 600 law enforcement officers leveled the protesters first encampment which ended a four-month occupation. Several dozen people lived in an eclectic village of brightly painted teepees, tents, and two battered school buses. The protesters were a mix of White Earth Firsters and Native American activists. They had chains and nets in place so they could lock themselves to tree trunks or lie suspended from the branches to try to protect the big oaks in the path of the highway.

As the standoff continued, the protesters' claims appeared to gain more credibility. Two major issues were raised by highway opponents:

- a. Whether construction of the highway will damage the natural water flow in a spring at the site of Camp Coldwater, settled in the 1820s by soldiers from nearby historic Fort Snelling.
- b. The Minnesota Indian Affairs Council looked into the question of whether any sites in the path of the highway meet the federal definition of a traditional cultural property.

The findings of the Coldwater Springs study by state archeologist Robert Clouse were never made public. Through mediation, MnDOT compromised on protecting the flow to Coldwater Spring by elevating two sections of the 55 reroute at 50th and 54th Streets.

2008 Republican Convention

The 2008 Republican National Convention (RNC) was held from September 1st to September 4th at the Xcel Energy Center in Saint Paul, Minnesota. Approximately 10,000 largely peaceful protesters marched against the war in Iraq and 2,000 more to end homelessness and poverty. They represented a number of organizations opposed to the Republican Administration including the Poor People's Economic Human Rights Campaign, Veterans for Peace, Iraq Veterans Against the War, Military Families Speak Out, the Teamsters, Code Pink, the American Indian Movement and the RNC Welcoming Committee.



Security for the convention included the Xcel Center being surrounded by eight foot-high metal fencing. Along with the fence, there were an estimated 3,700 security personnel present (Pioneer Press, 2008, para. 32). In March of 2008 the city's police department disavowed the use of riot gear unless it became necessary. Delegates expressed gratitude to the security arrangements, which allayed their concerns about tear gas and anarchists (Pioneer Press, 2008, para. 25). Along with the security, the city requested and received a \$10 million insurance policy paid for by the Minneapolis Saint Paul 2008 Host Committee. Many of the reports about the week's events expressed the overall sense of oppression that existed on the streets for everyone involved at the protests in St. Paul. The most dispiriting aspect, asserted Caroline Palmer (2008), a writer for the Minneapolis Star Tribune and City Pages, being the complete transformation of St. Paul into a forbidding police state (p. 7). Pacifica Radio's Geoff Brady, who witnessed the events on the street during the 2008 RNC, commented: "military tactics are used domestically to intimidate protesters and bystanders". Even though the majority of marches, rallies, and even the illegal assemblies were peaceful, the police still adopted an overall aggressive stance at all the events. Many reports detailed the indiscriminate use of non-lethal weaponry and unnecessary violence directed toward mostly peaceful protesters. In many cases the police used tear gas and pepper spray in lieu of arresting protesters. The Pioneer Press (2008) reported that 818 people were arrested on the streets during the week, which appears to be the second most at a national political convention.

Several suits were started in U.S. District Court, claiming civil rights abuses by the St. Paul Police Department and other agencies involved in the RNC, particularly the Minneapolis Police Department and Ramsey County Sheriff's Office.

FOR FURTHER READING

Bain, Chester, Arthur. **Vietnam, The Roots of Conflict.** New York: Prentice, 1967.

General information of the Vietnam War.

Halstead, Fred. **Out Now.** New York: Avon Books, 1978.

An account of the American movement against the Vietnam War during the 60's and 70's.

Johnson, Lyndon. **Peace Without Conquest.** Washington DC Government Printing Office: 1966.

President Johnson presents his defense for the American involvement in the Vietnam War.

Perry, Lewis. **Civil Disobedience: An American Tradition.** New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013.

Tracing the origins of the notion of civil disobedience to **18th** century evangelicalism and republicanism.

Simon, Hamel & Kirschenbaum. **Values Clarification.** New York: Hart Publishing, 1972.

Provides teachers with practical strategies to help students to consider alternative modes of thinking and acting.

Thoreau, Henry David. **On the Duty of Civil Disobedience.** London: The Simple Life Press, 1849.

Walzer, Michael. **Just and Unjust Wars.** New York: Basic Books Inc. 1977.

Covers such subjects as the moral reality of war, the theory of aggression, dilemmas of war the question of responsibility.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

Summarize the reasons that one individual might have been strongly opposed to the Vietnam War while another person from the same family or circle of friends may have supported the war.

Describe the media images you've seen concerning attitudes towards the Vietnam War. Hypothesize why the media has tended to showcase the antiwar demonstrators more than people who argued in favor of the war.

Discuss the ways in which public perceptions of the Vietnam War changed between 1964 and 1969 (the year in which Nixon was inaugurated). Then discuss the ways in which Nixon's policies may have affected public perceptions of the war.

Debate whether it's necessary and fair to require men over the age of 18 to register for the draft. Should women also be required to register? Is the draft a fair way to recruit people during a time of war? Was the draft a fair method of selecting people to fight in Vietnam?

The right to free speech, free press and the right to assemble is not an absolute right. How far can people go in what they say and do in protest? If you do not like what a group stands for, should you be allowed to prevent it from meeting? Should everyone have the right to criticize the government if the criticism is dangerous to our national interest? If there appears to be no clear danger of violence, do you think any group should be allowed to protest against the government?

IS IT EVER OKAY TO BREAK A LAW?

1. Give students ten minutes to write a response to this question:
Is it ever okay to break the law? Discuss with the whole class their responses.
2. Talk to students about incidents in world history when people have chosen to break what they felt were unjust laws with the goal of bringing about positive change. Such actions are called acts of civil disobedience. Ask student to think specifically about their previous studies in history and name examples of civil disobedience with which they are familiar. Students may bring up things like the Boston Tea Party, those who defied the Fugitive Slave Acts that freed slaves before the Civil War. Rosa Park's refusal to move to the back of the bus, and so on. In each instance ask:
 - a. Was the person or group who broke the law justified in taking such actions? Why or why not?
 - b. Do members of a democracy have a responsibility for protesting laws they consider unjust?
 - c. Could the desired outcomes have been achieved without breaking the law?
3. For homework, ask students to write an essay that takes a position on the question:
When a law perpetuates injustice, is it necessary to break that law in order to change it?
4. Create a timeline that illustrates when U.S. foreign policy has been more interventionist vs isolationist in nature. Discuss what political, cultural, historical, economic and geographic factors may have influenced U.S. foreign policy strategies over time.
5. Discuss Henry David Thoreau's essay "On the duty of Civil Disobedience". Research recent examples of civil disobedience, and then have the students talk about what they would be willing to do for a cause that is important to them.

<https://www.ibiblio.org/ebooks/Thoreau/Civil%20Disobedience.pdf>

PROTEST MARCHES AND RALLIES

Objective:

Students will be informed of various protests in the 1960's and look at the effectiveness of these events.

Assign groups to one of the following events:

- 1965 - Students for a Democratic Society teach-in
- 1967 - Human Be-In
- 1968 - Protest of the Democratic National Convention
- 1969 - The Moratorium
- 1970 - Kent State Rally

Have the students research what happened during the designated event. Have them answer these questions and have supporting information cited for their reasoning behind their decisions.

- a. Where did the march/rally occur?
- b. What were the reasons for the march/rally?
- c. What did the march/rally accomplish?
- d. State major pros and cons regarding your event.
- e. Was the march/rally a success or failure?

Each group will present their findings regarding the event they researched. Once each event has been presented, the class will answer the following questions:

- a. What do you think was the most important march/rally?
- b. When do you believe a march/rally is a good thing? When is it not?

VIEWPOINTS OF THE WAR

Hold a class discussion to review students' basic knowledge of the Vietnam War. Use the following questions as guidelines.

1. Who fought against whom in the Vietnam War?
2. Why did the U.S. become involved in Vietnam, and why did it increase its involvement in the 1970's?
3. What specific events marked the beginning of the U.S. active military campaign against North Vietnam?
4. What was President Johnson's attitude toward U.S. involvement in Vietnam? What was President Nixon's attitude toward the war?
5. How did the war change under President Nixon's administration?
6. Was the Vietnam War overwhelmingly popular among American civilians? Why or why not

Ask students to describe the things they know or believe they know about the ways in which the American public reacted to the Vietnam War in the late 60's and early 70's. What are their impressions of the era? What images have they seen of the activities that went on within the United States during this time?

Inform students that while they have probably seen many media images of antiwar protests, not everyone was opposed to the war. Ask students if they know of any present day leaders who as college students did not participate in such demonstrations. It is important for students to realize that, while antiwar sentiments were strong, some young people agreed with the policies of the U.S. government or felt ambivalent about the war and its protestors.

Have students in pairs read about some of the reasons that Americans in the 1960's may have favored or opposed the Vietnam War. You may want to print these documents and have students complete this part of the lesson as homework. As they go through these two documents, ask students to address questions on the classroom activity sheet. Students will be answering the following questions:

1. What did Nixon believe would be the consequences of immediate U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam?
2. What specific events did Nixon cite to support his arguments against precipitate troop withdrawal?
3. What is meant by Silent Majority?
4. What did John Kerry believe about the alleged threat that North Vietnam posed to the United States?
5. What did John Kerry believe were the results of Nixon's policies as spelled out in the 1969 Silent Majority speech?

Ask each pair of students to pretend they are good friends who are 18-year-old citizens in 1971. They both have received draft notifications and have been called to active duty in Vietnam. One student should be in favor of the war and the other should be opposed to the war. Have them work together to write a conversation they might have when discussing their reactions to being drafted.

The dialogues should address:

- a. What each person thinks about the war
- b. How each person justifies his or her opinions about the war.

Each side must provide specific examples and rationales to support their claims in favor or against the U.S. participation in the war. Specific examples from the two documents from below should be used.

Speeches

Nixon's Address to the Nation on the War in Vietnam – the Silent Majority Speech from November 3, 1969.

watergate.info/1969/11/03/nixons-silent-majority-speech.html

Vietnam War Veteran John Kerry's testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, April 22, 1971.

npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=3875422

WORKS CITED

1. Majority speech?

Helpful Hints for Theater Audiences

As an audience member at the theater, you are part of the show! Just as you see and hear the actors onstage, they can see and hear you in the audience. To help the performers do their best, please remember the following:

- **Arrive at least 15 minutes early**
- **Visit the restroom before the show starts**
- **Sit in the exact seat on your ticket. Ask the usher for help finding it**
- **Before the show begins, turn off your phone and any other electronic devices . If anything rings by accident, turn it off immediately**
 - **Do not use your phone for texts, calls or games**
 - **You cannot make recordings in the theater**
- **Do not talk, whisper, sing or hum, unless invited by the performers to do so**
- **Avoid getting up during the show. If you must leave, wait for a scene change and exit quietly and quickly**



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