

**CHAPTER**  
**22**

**RETEACHING ACTIVITY** *Moving Toward Conflict*

**Section 1**

**Summarizing**

**A.** Complete the chart below by explaining how each administration increased America's involvement in Vietnam.

Administration	Action
Truman	
Eisenhower	
Kennedy	
Johnson	

**Finding Main Ideas**

**B.** Answer the following questions in the space provided.

1. What prompted the war between the Vietminh and the French?

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

2. What were the terms of the Geneva Accords?

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

3. What was the Tonkin Gulf Resolution?

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

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## Section 2

PRIMARY SOURCE **Letter from a Soldier in Vietnam**

*Marine Second Lieutenant Marion Lee "Sandy" Kempner from Galveston, Texas, arrived in Vietnam in July 1966 and was killed four months later by shrapnel from a mine explosion near Tien Phu. He wrote the following letter to his great-aunt less than three weeks before his death at the age of 24.*

October 20, 1966

Dear Aunt Fannie,

This morning, my platoon and I were finishing up a three-day patrol. Struggling over steep hills covered with hedgerows, trees, and generally impenetrable jungle, one of my men turned to me and pointed a hand, filled with cuts and scratches, at a rather distinguished-looking plant with soft red flowers waving gaily in the downpour (which had been going on ever since the patrol began) and said, "That is the first plant I have seen today which didn't have thorns on it." I immediately thought of you.

The plant, and the hill upon which it grew, was also representative of Vietnam. It is a country of thorns and cuts, of guns and marauding, of little hope and of great failure. Yet in the midst of it all, a beautiful thought, gesture, and even person can arise among it waving bravely at the death that pours down upon it. Some day this hill will be burned by napalm, and the red flower will crackle up and die among the thorns. So what was the use of it living and being a beauty among the beasts, if it must, in the end, die because of them, and with them? This is a question which is answered by Gertrude Stein's "A rose is a rose is a rose." You are what you are what you are. Whether you believe in God, fate, or the crumbling cookie, elements are so mixed in a being that make him what he is; his salvation from the thorns around him lies in the fact that he existed at all, in his very own personality. There was once a time when the Jewish idea of heaven and hell was the thoughts and opinions people had of you after you died. But what if the plant was on an isolated hill and was never seen by anyone? That is like the question of whether the falling tree makes a sound in the forest primeval when no one is there to hear it. It makes a sound, and the plant was beautiful and the thought was kind, and the person was humane, and distinguished and brave, not merely because other people recognized it as such, but because it is, and it is, and it is.

The flower will always live in the memory of a tired, wet Marine, and has thus achieved a sort of immortality. But even if we had never gone on that hill, it would still be a distinguished, soft, red, thornless flower growing among the cutting, scratching plants, and that in itself is its own reward.

Love,  
Sandy

*from Bernard Edelman, ed., Dear America: Letters Home from Vietnam (New York: Norton, 1985), 137-138.*

### Discussion Questions

1. In this letter, Lieutenant Kempner describes a plant. What does the plant look like?
2. What does this plant represent to Kempner?
3. Based on your reading of this letter, what qualities or traits do you think might have helped Kempner cope with the trials of war in Vietnam?

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RETEACHING ACTIVITY *U.S. Involvement and Escalation*

Section 2

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**Finding Main Ideas**

The following questions deal with America's entry into the Vietnam War. Answer them in the space provided.

1. How did most Americans react to President Johnson's decision to commit troops to the war in Vietnam? Why?

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2. What difficulties did U.S. troops encounter in Vietnam?

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3. What actions by U.S. troops hindered the effort to win the support of Vietnamese villagers?

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4. What factors led to a decline in the morale of many U.S. soldiers?

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5. How did the Vietnam War affect President Johnson's Great Society?

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6. What role did television play in increasing Americans' doubts about the war effort?

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RETEACHING ACTIVITY *A Nation Divided*

Section 3

**Matching**

**A.** Match the description in the second column with the term or name in the first column. Write the appropriate letter next to the word.

- |                            |   |
|----------------------------|---|
| _____ 1. hawk              | a. led Free Speech Movement                           |
| _____ 2. college deferment | b. left Johnson administration to head World Bank     |
| _____ 3. Tom Hayden        | c. served in disproportionate numbers in Vietnam      |
| _____ 4. dove              | d. system that calls up citizens for military service |
| _____ 5. draft             | e. founded Students for a Democratic Society          |
| _____ 6. Mario Savio       | f. favored stronger military force in Vietnam         |
| _____ 7. African Americans | g. allowed students to put off military duty          |
| _____ 8. Robert McNamara   | h. advocated U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam             |

**Evaluating**

**B.** Write *T* in the blank if the statement is true. If the statement is false, write *F* in the blank and then write the corrected statement on the line below.

- \_\_\_\_\_ 1. During the years of antiwar protest, no Americans fled the country in order to escape military service.  
\_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_ 2. The most common reason for opposition to the war was the belief that it was a civil conflict in which the United States had no business fighting.  
\_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_ 3. Women joined in the war effort by volunteering their services to relief and hospitality groups such as the American Red Cross and the United Services Organization.  
\_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_ 4. Martin Luther King, Jr. supported the war in Vietnam because it gave African Americans the chance to demonstrate their valor and patriotism.  
\_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_ 5. Many of the men who fought in Vietnam were from the ranks of America's upper-class white citizens.  
\_\_\_\_\_

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GUIDED READING *A Nation Divided*

Section 3

As you read this section, take notes to answer the questions.

**Avoiding the War**

1. What were some of the ways that young American men avoided military service in Vietnam?
2. In what sense was the Vietnam War a "working-class" war? How did it become one?

**Opposing the War**

3. What organizations and groups of Americans tended to oppose the war?
4. What were some of the reasons that "doves" opposed the war?
5. In what ways did they show their opposition to the war?

**Defending the War**

6. By 1967, how did most Americans feel about U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War?
7. Why did "hawks" criticize the Johnson administration's policies in Vietnam?

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Section 3

PRIMARY SOURCE *The New Left*

*Active in the New Left from the time of the Cuban missile crisis through the end of U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War, Dick Cluster was a member of the Harvard-Radcliffe chapter of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). As you read this excerpt from Cluster's essay about student protest, consider his views on being part of the New Left.*

An early memory . . . is the first national demonstration against the war—the SDS April 17, 1965, March on Washington to End the War in Vietnam. The speakers stormed and droned on for too long, the White House sat behind us apparently deaf. But there below the Washington Monument were more people than I had ever seen together except at baseball games.

Then someone at a microphone repeated a couple of times, “If Judy Collins or Joan Baez is in the crowd, could you please come to the microphone.” In 1965, folk music was In, and these were Big Stars; I took the announcement for a joke. But sure enough, Joan Baez came to the microphone and as she sang “We Shall Overcome,” 25,000 of us moved down the Mall to the Capitol, through the line of police who ordered us to stop. The only thing I could think was, “This is a Movement!”

The choice which that movement presented was: “Okay, be out there isolated, competing for things you don’t want; or be in here, making history, here with us.”

We were not afraid to experiment, and we were making something new. For myself, writing leaflets and newspapers, one thing that was particularly important was making a new vocabulary and (though we didn’t call it that) a new ideology. But for most of us, I think, this new language was a part of what made us feel powerful and useful, not isolated and worthless.

“Participatory democracy” said what we felt we were lacking—participation in and control over what was happening to us. “The war machine” summed up both our political enemy and our feeling about what was wrong with the culture. “Corporate liberalism”—our attempt to define the outlook of the Johnson administration—spoke to our confusion about both *who* ran the country and to what end. Even a tactical gem like “the streets belong to the people” (chanted when we defied police orders to stick to planned march routes, or to disperse) compressed a lot into itself: a breakthrough into disruptive action as well as a growing awareness that our goal was to put the

products the people sweat and pay for into the hands of the people.

All this language grew out of our trying to understand what we had done and what we were up against. That’s why it spoke to so many people facing the same dilemmas, the same questions about the possibility of accomplishing any change.

Proof that we were really reaching people, really building something, was the Movement’s growth. All around us we saw people joining and changing. Young people looked to us to tell them about themselves and their society. Suddenly we found a demand for radical “products.” Radical courses flourished on campuses, radical newspapers off-campus.

So the Movement offered meaning and purpose, in a society that offered very little of either. Just as important, it offered community. . . .

I’m not saying that getting into a community like the *Old Mole* [a radical newspaper] collective was an easy task. The New Left was often cliquish. “There is no Movement outside our friends’ living rooms,” was a frequent self-criticism. Joining the Movement often meant feeling pulled away from old friends but unable to break into an inner circle of long-time activists.

But in comparison to mainstream America, the Movement offered a pretty good shot at a meaningful community. If you weren’t as in as you wanted to be, still you felt a lot closer to what you were looking for. And the Movement, though cliquish, had a significant ability to inspire by example.

*from Dick Cluster, ed., They Should Have Served That Cup of Coffee: 7 Radicals Remember the 60s (Boston: South End Press, 1979), 117–120.*

### Discussion Questions

1. According to Cluster, what were some of the advantages of being involved in the New Left?
2. In Cluster’s opinion, what were some of the disadvantages of the New Left?
3. Why do you think many young people in the 1960s were drawn to the New Left?

CHAPTER  
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## Section 4

## PRIMARY SOURCE

## Lyndon B. Johnson on Vietnam and Reelection

*In a televised address to the nation on March 31, 1968, President Johnson outlined changes in Vietnam policy and concluded with the surprise announcement that he would not run for reelection. As you read part of Johnson's speech, consider what he offered to North Vietnam and why he decided not to seek the Democratic nomination.*

Tonight I want to speak to you on peace in Vietnam and Southeast Asia.

No other question so preoccupies our people. No other dream so absorbs the 250 million human beings who live in that part of the world. No other goal motivates American policy in Southeast Asia.

For years, representatives of our government and others have traveled the world—seeking to find a basis for peace talks. Since last September, they have carried the offer I made public at San Antonio.

It was this: that the United States would stop its bombardment of North Vietnam when that would lead promptly to productive discussions—and that we would assume that North Vietnam would not take military advantage of our restraint. . . .

Tonight, I renew the offer I made last August—to stop the bombardment of North Vietnam. We ask that talks begin promptly and that they be serious talks on the substance of peace. We assume that during those talks Hanoi would not take advantage of our restraint. We are prepared to move immediately toward peace through negotiations.

Tonight, in the hope that this action will lead to early talks, I am taking the first step to deescalate the conflict. We are reducing—substantially reducing—the present level of hostilities. And we are doing so unilaterally, and at once.

Tonight, I have ordered our aircraft and naval vessels to make no attacks on North Vietnam, except in the area north of the Demilitarized Zone (DMZ) where the continuing enemy build-up directly threatens allied forward positions and where movements of troops and supplies are clearly related to that threat. . . .

I call upon President Ho Chi Minh to respond positively and favorably to this new step toward peace.

But if peace does not come now through negotiations, it will come when Hanoi understands that our common resolve is unshakable and our common strength is invincible. . . .

In these times, as in times before, it is true that a house divided against itself—by the spirit of faction, of party, of region, of religion, of race—is a house that cannot stand. There is divisiveness in the American house now. . . .

What we won when all our people united must not now be lost in suspicion, distrust, and selfishness or politics among any of our people.

Believing this as I do, I have concluded that I should not permit the presidency to become involved in the partisan divisions that are developing in this political year. With America's sons in the field far away, with America's future under challenge here at home, with our hopes and the world's hopes for peace in the balance every day, I do not believe that I should devote an hour or a day of my time to any duties other than the awesome duties of this office, the presidency of your country.

Accordingly, I shall not seek and I will not accept the nomination of my party for another term as your President. But, let men everywhere know, however, that a strong and confident, a vigilant America stands ready to seek an honorable peace and stands ready to defend an honored cause, whatever the price, whatever the burden, whatever the sacrifice that duty may require.

Thank you for listening. Goodnight, and God bless all of you.

from *Chicago Sun-Times*, April 1, 1968. Reprinted in *Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1961–1968: The Burdens of World Power*, vol. 18 of *The Annals of America* (Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1968), 613–616.

### Discussion Questions

1. What offer did President Johnson make to North Vietnam?
2. Why did he decide not to seek the Democratic nomination for president?
3. How do you think antiwar activists responded to Johnson's speech?

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RETEACHING ACTIVITY *1968: A Tumultuous Year*

Section 4

**Sequencing**

**A.** Put the events below in the correct chronological order.

- \_\_\_\_\_ 1. President Johnson announces he will not seek a second term.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 2. Robert Kennedy is assassinated.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 3. The Tet Offensive shocks America.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 4. Richard Nixon is elected as president.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 5. President Johnson narrowly wins the New Hampshire primary.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 6. Riots mar the Democratic National Convention in Chicago.

**Completion**

**B.** Select the term or name that best completes the sentence.

- |               |                |                     |
|---------------|----------------|---------------------|
| domino theory | Israel         | Walter Cronkite     |
| doves         | Kent State     | Yippies             |
| law and order | Clark Clifford | Columbia University |

- 1. After the Tet Offensive, the renowned journalist \_\_\_\_\_ declared that the Vietnam War seemed destined "to end in a stalemate."
- 2. Robert Kennedy was assassinated by a Palestinian immigrant who said he was angered by Kennedy's support of \_\_\_\_\_.
- 3. In April 1968, the students at \_\_\_\_\_ held a massive protest over the school's community policies.
- 4. Richard Nixon won support during the presidential race by vowing to restore \_\_\_\_\_ to the country.
- 5. The group of antiwar protesters who many believe had come to the Democratic National Convention to provoke violence and chaos were called the \_\_\_\_\_.



CHAPTER  
**22**

## Section 4

## GEOGRAPHY APPLICATION: LOCATION

*The Ho Chi Minh Trail*

*Directions: Read the paragraphs below and study the map carefully. Then answer the questions that follow.*

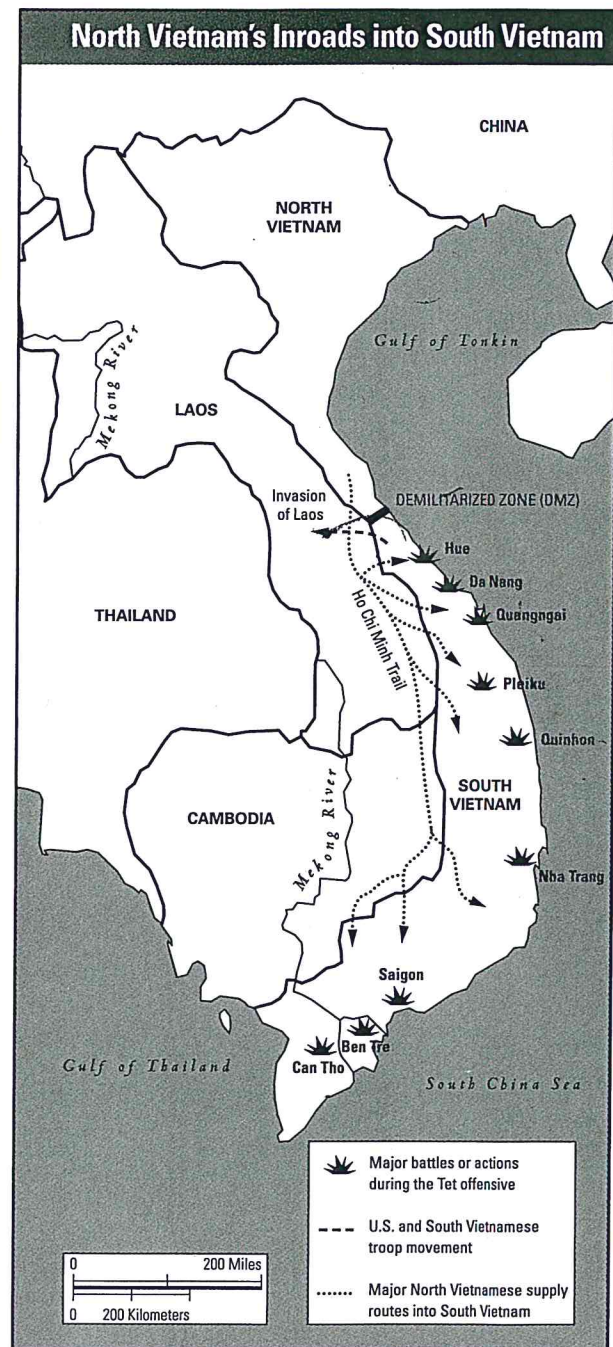
The Ho Chi Minh Trail developed from a network of existing hidden jungle paths. During the 1960s, it became the main route used by North Vietnam to get troops and supplies into South Vietnam in support of the Vietcong's fight against South Vietnamese troops and their U.S. allies. The trail was named for Ho Chi Minh, the leader of North Vietnam at the time. When North Vietnamese soldiers were wounded, they were transported up the trail for treatment.

U.S. and South Vietnamese troops tried repeatedly to cut or destroy this lifeline. They drenched the surrounding jungle with defoliants to kill trees and other vegetation. This effort failed, and North Vietnam continued to use the trail.

The Tet Offensive of early 1968 showed how determined North Vietnam was. The North Vietnamese and the Vietcong launched simultaneous raids on provincial capitals and major cities throughout South Vietnam at the beginning of Tet, the lunar new year celebration. The U.S. Embassy in Saigon was attacked, as were many other supposedly secure sites. The planning and coordination needed to carry out such an action stunned Americans in Vietnam and in the United States. The Tet Offensive, though not a North Vietnamese victory in the sense that it captured territory or inflicted great casualties, still caused many Americans to rethink their nation's involvement in the Vietnam War.

In 1971, South Vietnamese troops invaded Laos in an attempt to cut off the flow of men and supplies along the trail. Despite American air support, the invasion was a disaster, and the South Vietnamese army was defeated by North Vietnamese forces.

The Ho Chi Minh Trail, along which more than 20,000 troops a month could be moved by 1967, was the key to keeping North Vietnam in the war until the United States tired of battle and controversy and pulled out.



Name \_\_\_\_\_

### Interpreting Text and Visuals

1. Describe the path of the Ho Chi Minh Trail. \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
  
2. What was the purpose of the Ho Chi Minh Trail? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
  
3. According to the map, about how many miles long was the Ho Chi Minh Trail? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
  
4. Describe the 1971 operation directed at interrupting the Ho Chi Minh Trail. \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
  
5. What might have been the outcome of a successful invasion of Laos in 1971? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
  
6. Reread the text and then look at the map for the northernmost and southernmost points of attack during the Tet Offensive. What part do you think the Ho Chi Minh Trail played in the attacks? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

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**CHAPTER**  
**22****Section 5****RETEACHING ACTIVITY** *The End of the War  
and Its Legacy***Multiple Choice**

Choose the best answer for each item. Write the letter of your answer in the blank.

- \_\_\_\_\_ 1. The event that in the spring of 1970 stirred a new round of antiwar protests was the
- My Lai massacre.
  - invasion of Cambodia.
  - release of the Pentagon Papers.
  - Christmas bombings.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 2. The Pentagon Papers were leaked by former Defense Department worker
- Henry Kissinger.
  - H. R. Haldeman.
  - William Calley, Jr.
  - Daniel Ellsberg.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 3. The number of Americans killed in Vietnam was roughly
- 10,000.
  - 25,000.
  - 58,000.
  - 96,000.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 4. After the United States withdrew from the Vietnam War, North and South Vietnam
- agreed to exist as separate nations.
  - continued fighting until North Vietnam emerged victorious.
  - continued fighting until South Vietnam emerged victorious.
  - fought to a stalemate and signed a cease-fire that exists today.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 5. In the wake of the Vietnam War, Cambodia fell to the brutal Communist regime known as the
- Khmer Rouge.
  - Vietcong.
  - Vietminh.
  - Bolsheviks.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 6. According the War Powers Act, Congress must give its consent for U.S. troops to remain in a hostile region any longer than
- 30 days.
  - 90 days
  - six months.
  - one year.


**BUILDING VOCABULARY** *The Vietnam War Years*

**A. Multiple Choice** Circle the letter before the term or name that best completes the sentence.

1. The Vietcong was the name given to the (a) North Vietnamese Army (b) Army of the Republic of Vietnam (c) Communist opposition group in South Vietnam.
2. The gasoline-based bomb used to destroy the dense jungles of Vietnam was called (a) napalm (b) Agent Orange (c) Mace.
3. The event that convinced many Americans that the war in Vietnam was unwinnable was the (a) My Lai massacre (b) Tet Offensive (c) Christmas bombings.
4. The leader of North Vietnam was (a) Ngo Dinh Diem (c) Nguyen Cao Ky (c) Ho Chi Minh.
5. The candidate who nearly upset President Lyndon Johnson in the New Hampshire Democratic primary in 1968 was (a) Eugene McCarthy (b) Robert Kennedy (c) Hubert Humphrey.

**B. Completion** Select the term or name that best completes the sentence.

domino theory	Free Speech Movement	War Powers Act
Henry Kissinger	Pentagon Papers	Geneva Accords
Dean Rusk	William Westmoreland	New Left

1. The \_\_\_\_\_, passed by Congress in the wake of Vietnam, sought to curb the president's war-making powers.
2. The American Commander in South Vietnam was \_\_\_\_\_.
3. The \_\_\_\_\_ described the belief that if Vietnam succumbed to communism, the other nations of Asia also would fall to the Communists.
4. The growing youth movement of the 1960s became known as the \_\_\_\_\_.
5. The \_\_\_\_\_ revealed that the government had been less than truthful to the American people about its Vietnam policies.

**C. Writing** Write a paragraph about the turmoil on the home front during the Vietnam War using the following terms.

**hawk**                      **dove**                      **credibility gap**

## Chapter 22: The Vietnam War Review

### Section 1: Moving Toward Conflict

Vietminh

Domino Theory

Geneva Accords

Vietcong

Ho Chi Minh Trail

Tonkin Gulf Resolution

#### Know the following:

The Indochinese Communist Party was founded and led by what north Vietnamese leader?

Who was the leader of the south Vietnamese?

Vietnam was divided at what parallel?

### Section 2: U.S. Involvement and Escalation

Army of the Republic of Vietnam

Napalm

Agent Orange

Search and destroy mission

Credibility gap

#### Know the following:

### Section 3:

Draft

New Left

Student for a Democratic Society

Free Speech movement

Dove

Hawk

#### Know the following:

### Section 4:

Tet Offensive

#### Know the following:

### Section 5:

Vietnamization

Silent Majority

My Lai

Kent State University massacre

Pentagon Papers

War Powers Act

**Know the following:**

Which President brought the Vietnam War to a close?

What year was the most devastating for the American War effort in Vietnam?