

## Notes for Book II

### Chapter 1

US soldiers in Vietnam: See Joel Osler Brende, Vietnam Veterans, Plenum Press, New York, 1984, p. xvi, which notes that the generally accepted figure of 2.8 million soldiers in the Indochina theater during the Vietnam War may be low, with reasonable estimates running as high as 3.8 million, but continues to cite one million as the best estimate for the number of personnel who were exposed to combat.

Hemingway quote: Ernest Hemingway, A Farewell to Arms, Scribners, New York, 1986, pp. 184-185.

Walt Whitman quote: Leaves of Grass, Bantam Books, New York, 1983, p. 54.

Troop names: For decades, GI has been slang for US soldiers. It is an abbreviation of Government Issue, the uniforms they wear. ARVN were soldiers of South Vietnam, the Army of the Republic of Vietnam. NVA was the term US officials used for North Vietnam's regular forces. Its official name was the Peoples Army of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. VC, or Viet Cong, was a derogatory term meaning Vietnamese Communists. It was the ubiquitous short-hand for the local forces fighting for the National Liberation Front. The term had been invented by South Vietnamese politicians and accepted by the American media.

Dylan's session: Details of the recording session come from Al Kooper's autobiography, Backstage Passes, Stein and Day, Briarcliff Manor, New York, 1977. Most other details about Dylan are drawn from the essential Dylan biography, Anthony Scaduto, Bob Dylan, Grosset and Dunlap, New York, 1971.

### Chapter 2

Chicago: See David Farber, Chicago '68, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1988, for a scholarly treatment of the divisions in the anti-war movement and how they affected the Chicago rally; see Fred Halstead, Out Now: A Participant's Account of the American Movement Against the Vietnam War, Monad Press, New York,

1978, for a partisan but accurate version of the same story. Todd Gitlin, The Whole World is Watching: Mass Media in The Making and Unmaking of the New Left, University of California Press, Berkeley, California, 1980, analyzes the media's role in the protest.

Woodstock: Invaluable sources for this chapter were Robert Stephen Spitz, Barefoot in Babylon, Viking Press, New York, 1979, and Joel Rosenman, John Roberts and Robert Pilpel, Young Men with Unlimited Capital, Bantam, New York, 1989.

### Chapter 3

Sources for Chapters 3 to 5 include the extensive files on the Movement in the Peace Collection of the Swarthmore (Pa.) College Library; Halstead, op. cit.; Melvin Small, Johnson, Nixon and the Doves, Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, NJ, 1988; Marilyn Young, The Vietnam Wars, 1945-1990, Harper Collins, New York, 1991; Seymour Hersh, The Price of Power: Kissinger in the Nixon White House, Summit Books, NY, 1983; Guenter Lewy, America in Vietnam, Oxford University Press, New York, 1978, and The Cause That Failed, Oxford University Press, New York, 1990; Todd Gitlin, Years of Hope, Days of Rage, Bantam Books, New York, 1987; interviews with participants in the Movement; and newspaper research.

Number of buses on the Mobe: See Young.

Duck Hook retreat: See the comprehensive review of Duck Hook in Hersh, Chapter 10. Kissinger's aides are cited at length in both Small and in Young, pp. 244-254, and quoted at length in Hersh. Nixon's memoirs are quoted on p. 129 of Hersh.

Nixon publicity campaign: See especially Young, Small, and Hersh.

Press treatment of war: See Small, which shows in detail how both administrations were successful in getting their interpretations reported twice, once as the official news from the Pentagon and once as the opinion of supposedly independent analysts.

"My Men Refuse to Go!": See Halstead, p. 479. One of the reporters who filed the story from the field was Peter Arnett, who was attacked by the national security establishment for filing stories from Baghdad during the 1991 Gulf War that did not jibe with the information being fed the remainder of the American press corps in Saudi Arabia.

Palmer on Cambodian operation: Bruce Palmer, The 25-Year War: America's Military Role in Vietnam, University of Kentucky Press, Lexington, Kentucky, 1984, pp. 101-102.

Heinl on combat avoidance: In the Armed Forces Journal, June 7, 1971, as quoted in both Halliday, p 637, and Young.

Fragging: See Young, p. 255. A systematic review of anti-war activity and resistance to combat in the armed forces and the literature documenting it can be found in Kenneth Campbell, "The Roots of The Military's 'Vietnam Syndrome' in the Gulf War," a paper presented to the Society for Historians of American Foreign Policy, Washington, DC, June 19-22, 1991.

Jane Fonda quote: See Halstead, p. 560.

#### Chapter 4

Tolstoy quote: Translation by Rosemary Edmonds, Penguin Books, 1987, p. 885.

NBC kills story: Bernard Fall, Last Reflections on a War, Doubleday, Garden City, NY, 1967, pp. 251-252.

Commanger quotes: Address at Riverside Church, April 4, 1967, in the files of the Clergy and Laity Concerned About Vietnam, Swarthmore College Peace Collection.

Potter speech: SDS Reprint, SDS files, Swarthmore College Peace Collection. The scene is described in Halstead, pp. 42-43, and Thomas Powers, The War at Home, Grossman, New York, 1973, p. 77.

Oglesby quote: "The Vietnam War: World Revolution and American Containment," SDS pamphlet, April, 1965, in the SDS files, Swarthmore College Peace Collection.

Civil rights movement: For background, see Taylor Branch, Parting the Waters, Simon and Schuster, NY, 1988.

Browne's activities: Browne's papers from this era are in the Swarthmore College Peace Collection; the author also interviewed him in 1992. See also Robert S. Browne, "The Freedom Movement and the War in Vietnam," in Freedomways, Fall, 1965.

Rustin's position: See Halstead, pp. 35-39.

King's speech: CALCVN files, Swarthmore College Peace Collection. See also Young, p. 199, and Halstead, p. 256-265.

Black combat deaths: See Lewy, America in Vietnam; Statistical Abstracts, 1970 (Population Tables 21, 22, 27, Defense and Veterans Affairs Table 388 and 398); Statistical Abstracts, 1990, p. 340; Thomas C. Thayer, How to Analyze a War Without Fronts, DOD, DARPA, Arlington, 1975, p. 855 (also listed as Journal of Defense Research, v. 7B, no. 3); Gilbert Badillo and G. David Curry, "The Social Incidence of Vietnam Casualties: Social Class or Race?," Armed Forces and Society, v. 2, no.3, Spring, 1976, pp. 397-406; Bernard C. Nalty, Strength for the Fight, A History of Black Americans in the Military, Free Press, New York, 1986, pp. 298-99; and Young, p. 320;

Nixon and Kissinger sabotage peace: See Hersh, pp. 21-22.

Washington Post editorials: April 6, 1967; November 18, 1969; both cited in Halliday.

Kent killings: See William A. Gordon, The Fourth of May, Prometheus Books, Buffalo, NY, 1990. See also I.F. Stone, The Killings at Kent State, Vintage, New York, 1971, which includes important documents.

Jackson State: On the killings and the conspiracy by the police to evade prosecution, see Tim Spofford, Lynch Street, Kent State University Press, Kent, Ohio, 1988.

Campus shut-downs: See Young, pp. 197 and 248, and Halstead, pp. 536 and 561. Both seem to rely on a study by the Carnegie Institute.

Bundy quote: the New York Times, May 15, 1993.

Hatfield quote on withdrawal: Letter to the editor, sent March 21, 1969, to the Portland Oregonian.

Christmas bombing: For a summary of the negotiations and the bombing, see Hersh, pp. 589-635.

Cease-fire war: Marilyn Young cites 56,000 ARVN deaths in 1973 and 1974 alone. See The Vietnam Wars, p. 290. See Halstead, p. 691, for air force size, and Young, p. 292, for ammunition figures.

## Chapter 5

Farber quote: Chicago '68, p. 228.

King press conference: CALCVN files, Swarthmore College Peace Collection.

NPAC quote on marches: Halliday, p. 567.

Kissinger on protesters: Small, p. 205.

Farber on reason: p. 239.

Gelb and Betts: Brookings Press, Washington, 1979.

Hyperbole about the war: See Young, p. 195: "Qualifications were submerged in (critics') sense of the dire immediacy of the war."

Lasch quote: Farber, p. 241.

Guevara quote: See the "Message to the Tricontinental," in the collection of his writings called Venceremos, edited by John Gerassi, Clarion Books, New York, 1968, p. 423.

Melville's death: Many in the Movement claimed he was targeted for execution, but it appears more likely that he simply went down fighting with Molotov cocktails. See Malcolm Bell, The Turkey Shoot, Grove Press, NY, 1985.

FBI and the Trashers: Cyril Payne, Deep Cover, Newsweek Books, NY, 1979, is a first-hand account of an FBI agent who infiltrated the Movement to search for the Weathermen after a bank bombing in Santa Barbara was linked to them.

Boudin and Gilbert: See John Castellucci, The Big Dance, Dodd Meade, New York, 1986.

Farber quote: p. 245.

## Chapter 6

Attica: See Tom Wicker, A Time to Die, Quadrangle Books, NY, 1975; and Malcolm Bell, The Turkey Shoot, Grove Press, NY, 1985. Rockefeller's successor, Hugh Carey, carried out an effective amnesty five years later, pardoning the few people convicted of committing crimes during the takeover.

Draft figures: Statistical Abstracts of the United States, 1970, National Defense and Veterans Affairs, Tables 397 and 398.

Age of soldiers: See Young, p. 319.

Evans quote: In the New York Times Sunday Book Review, June, 1991, in her review of Chales DeBenedetti's An American Ordeal: The Antiwar Movement of the Vietnam Era, Syracuse University Press, Syracuse New York, 1991.

The Wise Men: See Young, p. 134; and Kai Bird, The Chairman, Simon and Schuster, New York, 1992, pp. 576-603.

Nixon and Duck Hook: See Hersh, pp. 118-135.

Palmer quotes: See Palmer, The 25-Year War: America's Military Role in Vietnam, The University of Kentucky Press, Lexington, Kentucky, 1984, pp. 105, 155.

Heroin, desertions: See Young, pp. 250, 257.

Project 100,000: For figures on discipline, see Lewy, p. 160, 331; for the impact of Project 100,000 on other troops, see Nalty, p. 299.

McCloy quote: Bird, pp. 574-577.

Hersh quote: Carl Bernstein and Bob Woodward, All the President's Men, Simon and Schuster, New York, 1974, p. 282.

Farber quote: Chicago, '68, p. 244.

Kissinger quote: Small, p. 205.

## Chapter 7

Fixing the lottery: Curtis W. Tarr, By the Numbers: The Reform of the Selective Service System, 1970-1972, National Defense University, Washington, DC, 1981.

225 organizations: David Sutter, IV-F, Grove Press, New York, 1970.

Fallows quote: In the Washington Monthly, October, 1975, pp. 5-19 (quote from p. 7).

Caputo quote: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

## Chapter 8

Emerson's book: Winners and Losers, Random House, New York, 1976.

Franklin article: The Atlantic Monthly, December, 1991, p. 78.

Bonior book: The Vietnam Veteran, Praeger, New York, 1984. See also Joel Brende, Vietnam Veterans, Plenum Press, New York, 1985. Myth of the Vietnam vet: Specific scientifically-conducted studies are found in The Vietnam Veteran Redefined, Erlbaum Press, Hillsdale, NJ, 1986; "Postservice Mortality Among Vietnam Veterans," Journal of the American Medical Association, v.257, Feb. 13, 1987; "Health Status of Vietnam Veterans," Journal of the American Medical Association, May 13, 1988, v. 259; John E. Heltzer, "Depression in Vietnam Veterans and Civilian Controls," American Journal of Psychiatry, v. 136, April, 1989, pp. 526-529; and Leslie Roberts, "Vietnam's Psychological Toll," Science, v. 241, July 8, 1988.

"It is not being in Vietnam...": See Roberts, *ibid.*

Kissinger et al.: See Kissinger, "Vietnam: Tragedy in Four Acts," Washington Post, April 9, 1985, p. 19; Westmoreland, "A Strong American Military has Promoted Democracy – and US Interests," New York Times, May 28, 1990, p. 21; and "Setting the Vietnam Record Straight," Wall Street Journal, May 4, 1990, p. A-10. Bundy's claims come from an interview with Kai Bird for an upcoming biography.

Collins: See "Vietnam Postmortem: A Senseless Strategy," in Parameters, Journal of the US Army War College, pp. 8-14.

Sheehan on Vann: A Bright Shining Lie: John Paul Vann and America in Vietnam, Random House, New York, 1988.

Summers: Dell, New York, 1984.



## Chapter 9

Hackworth book: Simon and Schuster, New York, 1989.

King's book: Praeger Press, New York, 1972.

LIC: See the treatment in Chapter V of The Developing World: Danger Point for US Security, a report to the Arms Control and Foreign Policy Caucus commissioned by (Caucus members) Sen. Mark O. Hatfield, Rep. Mickey Leland, and Rep. Matt McHugh, August 1989.

US share of Salvadoran budget: See Bankrolling Failure, a report to the Arms Control and Foreign Policy Caucus by (Caucus Members) Sen. Mark O. Hatfield, Rep. Jim Leach and Rep. George Miller, November 1987.

Thucydides quote: The Peloponnesian War, Translated by Rex Warner, Penguin Books, London, 1972, p. 80.

McCloy: For the definitive treatment of McCloy and the Cold War world he, as much as anyone, made, see Bird.

Vietnamese elections: Fall, pp. 165-167; Young, p. 265.

Podhoretz: Why We Were in Vietnam, Simon and Schuster, NY, 1982.

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