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.


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.


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,


**Chapter 3**

**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.


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


Chapter 4


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


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


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.


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.


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


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.


Farber quote: p. 245.

Chapter 6


Age of soldiers: See Young, p. 319.


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

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.


Farber quote: *Chicago, ’68*, p. 244.

Kissinger quote: Small, p. 205.

Chapter 7


Caputo quote: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Chapter 8


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


Chapter 9


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.


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