**Chapter 3**

**The Anti-Vietnam War Movement**

The Anti-Vietnam War Movement was a grassroots movement composed of many different segments of American society and many different groups. The first protests against U.S. involvement in Vietnam took place when U.S. ships were used to transport French troops and military equipment back to Vietnam after the Second World War in 1946.[[1]](#footnote-1) But the first sign of the Anti-Vietnam War Movement in the United States occurred in April and May 1964 when ads appeared in two newspapers signed by 87 and 149 people, respectively, who announced they would not serve if called. That same year, on Armed Forces Day, twelve young men publicly burned their draft cards in New York City (Dougan). As with most of the early antiwar protests these were small. The Antiwar Movement grew as the U.S. military escalated the war in Vietnam in March 1965 and many young men began to refuse to register for the draft and refused to be inducted if called. The tactics used were diverse: demonstrations, grassroots organizing, congressional lobbying, electoral challenges, civil disobedience, draft resistance, self-immolation, occupation of university and government buildings, and physical violence. The goals of the various groups differed somewhat, but what was a common goal was that of informing the American public of the true nature of the war and stopping the American military from being able to wage the war (Semm).

This chapter will examine the Anti-Vietnam War Movement from the point of view of the groups and segments of American society that shaped it and participated in it. In addition, this chapter will demonstrate how the Anti-Vietnam War Movement was successful in forcing the U.S to first withdraw troops, and second to surrender to the Vietnamese.

**Civil Rights Groups**

Organizations from the Civil Rights movement such as the Congress on

Racial Equality (CORE), Southern Christian Leadership Congress (SCLC) and Student Non-Violence Coordination Committee (SNCC) were among the first to oppose the war in Vietnam (Dougan, Zinn, The War At Home, Berkley in the Sixties). The first actions of these groups in opposition to the war occurred in early August 1964 when black and white activists gathered near Philadelphia, Mississippi at a memorial service for three civil rights workers had been killed while working for Freedom Summer. One of the speakers pointed out that Johnson’s use of force in Asia was no different from the use of violence against blacks in Mississippi (Zinn). Furthermore, on July 28th 1965, the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, in McComb, Mississippi, published one of the first petitions against the war in Vietnam.[[2]](#footnote-2)

SNCC also spoke out against the war in Vietnam by writing a position paper in January 1965. Seeking to connect the issues of racism at home and the war in Asia, SNCC compared the murder of a civil rights activist, Samuel Younge, in Tuskegee, Alabama, to “the murder of people in Vietnam, for both Younge and the Vietnamese sought and are seeking to secure the rights guaranteed them by law.” The SNCC position paper further argued that, “in each case, the U.S. government bears a great part of the responsibility for these deaths. Samuel Younge was murdered because U.S. law is not being enforced. Vietnamese are murdered because the United States is pursuing an aggressive policy in violation of international law.” Many SNCC leaders encouraged Black men to refuse military service and urged all Americans “to use their energy in building democratic forms in this country” and believed that work in the “civil rights movement and other human relations organization is a valid alternative to the draft… knowing full well that it may cost their lives, as painfully in Vietnam” (Zinn 2004:428). Members of SNCC went even further in their opposition to the war. In the summer of 1965, six members of SNCC invaded an induction center in Atlanta in an attempt to disrupt the induction process. They were arrested, convicted and sentenced to seven years in prison (Zinn).

The experience of blacks Americans with the government led them to dispute any claim that U.S. was fighting for freedom in Vietnam. In mid-1965, in McComb, Mississippi, young blacks distributed leaflets in response to the death of a classmate who was killed in Vietnam. The leaflet read:

No Mississippi Negros should be fighting in Viet Nam for the White man’s freedom, until all Negros are free in Mississippi.

Negro boys should not honor the draft here in Mississippi. Mothers should encourage their sons not to go.

No one has the right to ask us to risk our lives and kill other Colored People in Santo Domingo and Viet Nam, so that the White American can get richer.

A year later, Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale wrote the first draft of the Black Panther Party for self-defense called “Black Panther Party 10 Point Program.” The program made the war and the draft one of the main issues that needed to be addressed. Number 6 of the program states,

“We Want All Black Men To Be Exempt From Military Services: We who, like Black people, are being victimized by the White racist government of America. We will protect ourselves from the force and violence of the racist police and the racist military, by whatever means necessary.”

In April of 1967, Martin Luther King, head of the SCLC expressed his moral objections to the Vietnam War in his “Beyond Vietnam” speech. King states, “A time comes when silence is betrayal and that time has come for us in relation to Vietnam. I knew that I could never again raise my voice against the violence of the oppressed in the ghettos without having first spoken clearly to the greatest purveyor of violence in the world today—my own government.” He expressed his moral objection to the war, “we have destroyed their two most cherished institutions: the family and the village. We have destroyed their land and their crops. We have cooperated in the crushing of the nation's only noncommunist revolutionary political force, the unified Buddhist Church. We have supported the enemies of the peasants of Saigon. We have corrupted their women and children and killed their men.” King urged Americans to give voice to the Vietnamese people, "now there is little left to build on, save bitterness. Soon the only solid physical foundations remaining will be found at our military bases and in the concrete of the concentration camps we call “fortified hamlets.” The peasants may well wonder if we plan to build our new Vietnam on such grounds as these. Could we blame them for such thoughts? We must speak for them and raise the questions they cannot raise. These, too, are our brothers and sisters." [[3]](#footnote-3)

**The Poor and Working Class**

As the war escalated, members of the antiwar movement pointed out the that poor, working-class, and minorities accounted for a disproportionate percentage of the U.S. soldiers serving in Vietnam (Appy). By late 1969, critics of the war presented the war as a “working-class war.”[[4]](#footnote-4) The disproportionate share of deaths and injuries during the Vietnam War were Americans of poor and working class backgrounds. David Halberstam, a reporter in Vietnam, noted in the *Atlantic Monthly*, “All you had to do was see [the American soldiers] to know that this was America’s lower-middle class. Vietnam was a place where the elite went as reporters, not as soldiers. Almost as many people from Harvard won Pulitzer Prizes in Vietnam as died there” (Hillstrom 1998:112).

The publicity given to student protests created the assumption that the opposition to the war came mostly from middle class intellectuals (Loewen). But a number of elections in American cities showed that anti war sentiments were strong among working class Americans. Furthermore, a survey made by the University of Michigan showed that Americans with only a grade school education were much stronger for withdrawal from the Vietnam than Americans with a college education. Harlan Hahn, a political scientist doing a study of various city referenda on Vietnam, found that the highest support for withdrawal came from groups of lower socioeconomic status (Zinn).[[5]](#footnote-5) Also, American popular culture began to reflect the widespread belief that the war was being fought by the poor and working class. An example of this is the song “Fortunate Son” by the popular group Creedence Clearwater Revival’s. By the 1970s, many murals in minority communities contained antiwar messages. In response to the murder of a Chicano television newscaster, Ruben Salazar, by Los Angeles police during the East L.A. Moratorium protesting the number of Latinos fighting and dying in Vietnam, the Chicano art community performed and created antiwar pieces.[[6]](#footnote-6)

**Draft Resistors**

The U.S. had experienced draft protests before. The civil war draft riots in New York City and more recently, in 1947, between 400-500 men publicly burned their draft cards in protest of President’s Truman decision to reinstate a draft. After the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution was passed and the draft was instituted, there was an almost immediate protest. One thousand students demonstrated as part of the “May 2nd Movement” of 1964 in front of the United Nations building in New York City. They chanted “NO, NO. We Won’t GO!” while twelve of the protesters burned their draft cards. As draft burning gained media attention, President Johnson signed a law criminalizing draft card burning. The crime included a five-year prison sentence and a one thousand dollar fine (Dougan and Hillstrom).

Draft card burning was not the only form of draft resistance.[[7]](#footnote-7) Others simply refused to be inducted. And many of those that had been drafted or anticipated being drafted fled to Canada. Draft resistance was somewhat successful in its goal of depriving the military of the necessary manpower to wage the war. With this limited success and the demand for more soldiers increasing as the war escalated, the U.S. changed its draft policy and began drafting college students who had previously been given deferments. In 1966, General Lewis Hershey, director of the Selective Services System, announced that local draft boards would be free to draft students who ranked in the lower level of college classes. Most universities complied and created a test system to rank students and then gave the rankings to local draft boards.

In response to this change in policy, students urged their university administrations to not comply. The local chapter of Students for the Democratic Society (SDS) at the University of Chicago formed an ad hoc committee called Students Against the Rank (SAR). The students tried to hold discussions with the administration, presented arguments against the new draft plan before faculty, and signed petitions. Yet, administrators and faculty ignored the students. In response, 400 students occupied the administration building and closed down the offices for five days. Similar actions took place in other colleges all over the country such as Cornell, Wisconsin, and San Francisco. SAR listed three reasons for their protest against the draft plan, “an immoral and discriminatory national policy, the transformation of the university into a coding and classifying machine for the Selective Service, and the transformation of ‘a community of scholars into a set of madly competing factions’ to earn high ranks.”

Throughout the course of the draft[[8]](#footnote-8), an estimated 600,000 draft age Americans illegally evaded the draft and about 200,000 more were tried for draft offenses. Fifty thousand draft-age Americans fled to Canada, and an additional 20,000 went to Sweden or Mexico or adopted underground identities. An estimated 170,000 Americans received “conscientious objector” (CO) deferments from the draft during the Vietnam War, but 300,000 were denied CO deferments. Many draft resisters were men who were denied CO deferments or refused to support the draft on grounds of moral conscience.[[9]](#footnote-9) By the early 1970s, federal prosecution of draft evaders reached 5,000 cases annually and thousands were sentenced to prison. From 1965-1973, more than 22,000 were indicted for draft law violations; approximately 4,000 faced imprisonment. Yet, as the war was becoming more and more unpopular, many draft violations were dismissed. (Dougan and Hillstrom).[[10]](#footnote-10) Juries began to believe that draft resistance was a justified means of stopping an illegal and immoral war.

**The Catholic Church**

A small group of Catholic priests and nuns became active in the antiwar movement. Their strategy was to stop the war machine by undermining the draft process through acts of civil disobedience. In May 1968, members of the group walked into Local Draft Board 33 in Catonsville, Maryland and grabbed draft cards, stuffed them in a wastebasket, and rushed to the parking lot where they incinerated them with “homemade napalm.” Among the nine were two priests, the Berrigan brothers, Daniel and Philip. They alerted the press and read a statement, “We are the Catholic Christians who take our faith seriously. We use napalm because it has burned our people to death in Vietnam…we believe some property has no right to exist” (Dougan).

The Berrigan brothers soon founded the Catholic Antiwar Organization and became unpopular in the church because of their radical acts of civil disobedience. In October 1969, the “Baltimore Four,” which included Philip, entered the city’s Selective Service headquarters and poured blood into the draft files. Other members of the Catholic Church made similar raids in Silver Springs, Maryland; Providence, Rhode Island; Chicago; and New York.

The Catonsville Nine, as the press called those who had burned the draft files were put in trial and as the jury decided the verdict the judge stated, “I agree with you completely, as a person. We can never accomplish, or give a better life to people, if we are going to keep on giving so much money to war. It is very unfortunate but the issue of war cannot be presented as clearly as you would like. The basic principle of the law is that we do things in an orderly fashion. People cannot take the law into their own hands” (Dougan 1984:71). Yet, many antiwar activists from the Catholic Church were committed to what Pope John XXIII stated during his 1963 “Peace on Earth” encyclical, “If civil authorities legislate or allow anything that is contrary to [moral order] and therefore the will of God, neither the laws made nor the authorizations granted can be binding on the conscience of the citizens.”

The Berrigan brothers continued civil acts of disobedience and were ultimately convicted and sentenced in April 1970. They disappeared underground and only appeared to speak at churches[[11]](#footnote-11) and antiwar rallies. Philip was found within weeks after he fled arrest but Daniel continued to be able to evade the authorities and after four months underground, he became the first priest to appear on the FBI’s most wanted list. One of Catonsville Nine, Mary Maylan, was never found. By 1971, almost a third of the American Catholic Church took a stand against the war in Vietnam.

**Students and Faculty**  
 Students became deeply involved in the protests against the war. The most prominent student organization during the movement was Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). The ideas of Student for a Democratic Society’s Port Huron Statement became the basis of the Anti-Vietnam War Movement.[[12]](#footnote-12) Grass roots organizations all over college campuses embraced these ideas especially after the Free Speech Movement[[13]](#footnote-13)

The Port Huron Statement was based on the ideas of participatory democracy that was rooted in the social theory of C. Wright Mills. Participatory democracy was “based on humanism, individualism, and community, a democratic society, where at all levels the people have control of the decisions which affect them and the resources which they are dependent” (Charters). They demanded greater democratization of American political life, greater popular control over economic institutions, and massive programs to eliminate poverty. Furthermore, the statement addresses American’s political, economic, and social problems. Most importantly, the Statement argues that the rise of the military industrial complex and Cold War foreign policies had created a permanent war economy.

The statement argues that the United States had become a “Warfare State” where the base of the economy is concentrated on military ends with its “primary objective of the military and economic strength of the Free World “ (pg. 15). Over half of all research and development on college campuses was military. Moreover, the Statement argues that students have become apathetic, where individuals do not have the “ability to make moral distinction, it has made people understandably give up, and it has forced private worry and public silence.” Yet, it explains, “apathy is not simply an attitude; it is a product of social institutions, and of the structure and organization of higher education itself.” They urged students to demand less dependence on the military in all sectors of American institutions and “disarmament experiments.” Most importantly, they urged students to join the peace movement.

Student organizations against the war began to demand the abolishment of institutions on college campuses that supported the military industrial complex. These student organizations adopted the same tactics used in the Civil Rights and Free Speech Movement such as demonstrations, pickets, sit-ins, teach-ins, and occupation of administration buildings.   
 Teach-ins became an effective means for protesting the war. At the University Michigan in Ann Arbor, students and faculty organized the first antiwar teach-in in response to the introduction of combat troops in Da Nang. The purpose of the teach-ins was to "constitute a clear factual and moral protest against the war” and to achieve peace through education. Faculty cancelled classes and, in place, conducted seminars. The seminars included the study of the Geneva Accords and the history of the colonization of Vietnam. Over 3,000 students attended with the support of 200 faculty members. Along with guest speakers, seminars, and films, rallies were held. The event went on for 12 hours. Two days later, on March 26, a similar teach-in occurred at Columbia University in New York City. Other teach-ins occurred on college campuses across the nation throughout the Anti-Vietnam War Movement (Barringe and Dougan).

Between, 1967-1968, nearly half of America’s colleges and universities were experiencing political protests by means of building occupations and peaceful assembly. And more than one hundred colleges involving over half its student body protested against their university’s complicity in the war (Dougan and Zinn). Throughout the antiwar protests, a total of 3,652 students were arrested and 956 were suspended or expelled from school.

The most effective means of protest was targeting the on-campus organizations that were affiliated with the war in Vietnam, primarily those that supplied manpower. Reserve Officers Training Programs (ROTC) existed on many campuses and the military depended on ROTC programs because they provided half of the officers needed for the war. These programs became the target of protests. The protests were successful and resulted in the canceling of the ROTC programs in over forty colleges and universities. In 1966, 191,749 college students enrolled in ROTC, yet, by 1973, the numbers dwindled to 72,459. By 1973, for six consecutive months, the ROTC could not fill its quota. One army official stated, “I just hope we don’t get into another war, because if we do, I doubt we could fight it” (Zinn, 2001:491).   
 During the war and despite increasing resistance, many universities continued to allow recruiters from companies and government organizations tied to the war effort to recruit on campus. For example, DOW and Monsanto[[14]](#footnote-14) were allowed to recruit on campuses, as was the CIA. These recruiting efforts became targets of student protests. For example, during October of 1967, students at the University of Michigan began targeting DOW’s recruiting on campus (Dougan and Brown and Silber). At Columbia University, SDS members organized a march inside Low Library to protest Columbia’s participation in the Institute for Defense Analysis, a consulting firm to the Department of Defense (Dougan and Zinn).  
 The peak of the student protests came in spring of 1970 when President Nixon ordered the invasion of Cambodia. The demonstrations were meant to stop further escalation of war in neighboring countries. The most well known of these demonstrations was Kent Sate, less well known but just as significant was the protest at Jackson State, an all black university. The precipitating cause of the protests at Kent and Jackson State was the invasion of Cambodia, but the target of the protests were the ROTC programs and most directly at Kent State, the ROTC building on campus.  
 After days of antiwar demonstrations at Kent State, National Guardsmen were ordered to occupy the campus on May 2nd. National Guardsmen tried to break up on campus demonstrations and enforce the ban on student gatherings. They enforced the ban through violence, frequently, using tear gas and clubs. On May 4th, National Guardsmen were trying to breakup students who were meeting in front of Taylor Hall for a scheduled protest. As students were moving to and from classes, twenty-eight National Guardsmen fired 67 rounds directly at students. Within a period of 13 seconds, four students[[15]](#footnote-15) were killed and nine injured; one sustained injury in the spine and became wheelchair bound. FBI agents concluded, “Most of the National Guardsman who did fire their weapons do not specifically claim that they fired because their lives were in danger “(Stone 1971:11). Two of the students who were killed were not radicals but spectators or students going to class and they were not part of the demonstrations on the previous days. There was an immediate public outcry after the Kent State killings and over one-third of the nation’s student’s boycotted classes. One mother said, “They are killing our babies in Vietnam and our own backyard” (Stone 1971:17). Ten days later, at Jackson State, Mississippi police and state officers killed two male students and injured fifteen. Unlike Kent State, little media coverage was given.[[16]](#footnote-16)   
 Between May 14 and 15, at Jackson State in Mississippi, students began to protest against the war and the Kent State shooting. in addition to the issues of historical racism and intimidation by white motorists travelling on Lynch Street.[[17]](#footnote-17) The ROTC building was set on fire and a small group of students took the protest to Lynch Street. Seventy-five local police and Mississippi state police met the protesters and blocked Lynch Street.[[18]](#footnote-18) The policemen marched toward the crowd of 75 to 100 students. They pushed the students toward a women’s dormitory, Alexander Hall, and started shooting. The policemen fired at least 460 rounds in 30 seconds towards panicking students who were trying to run into Alexander Hall. Each window of the five-story building facing the police was shattered. Ambulances were not called for twenty minutes. Before ambulance arrived officers picked up shelling and left the scene. Phillip Lafayette Gibbs, 21, and James Earl Green[[19]](#footnote-19), 17, were found dead. Fifteen students were wounded, one of them who was sitting in the second floor dorm lobby. There were no convictions or arrests for both the Kent and Jackson State killings (Spofford and Stone).

**GI Resistance to the Vietnam War**

There were many individual acts of protest against the war by soldiers, but as the acts became more common, GI antiwar organizations emerged. One of the first of these organizations was Veterans for Peace, which formed in 1965. After the escalation of the bombing of North Vietnam in 1966 another organization formed; it was Veteran Reservists To End the War. But the most prominent GI antiwar organization emerged in 1967 and it was the Vietnam Veterans Against the War. The organization was grew to several thousand members as GIs returned from their tours. GIs became an important force during the anti-war movement because they gave insight into what was really going on in Vietnam. These GIs had witnessed and participated in the atrocities that occurred during the war.

In 1968, in San Francisco, the Nine For Peace became the first publicly recognized GI Anti-Vietnam War protest. The Nine For Peace sought sanctuary in Howard Presbyterian Church where they chained themselves together with ministers and priests. The military police entered the church and arrested the nine GIs.

Many GIs deserted or went absent without leave (AWOL). Some fled to Western Europe, Sweden, France or Holland, yet many fled to Canada or sought sanctuary in churches. In 1968 the Senate Committee reported that “a GI deserted on average once every ten minutes and a GI went AWOL approximately every 3 minutes.” The Pentagon reported, in 1970, “nearly 1 out of every 12 (89,088) GIs in the Army deserted and 228,797 went AWOL.” During the course of the war, the Pentagon reported 503,926 “incidents of desertion.”

After the Tet Offensive, many GIs not only questioned the morality of the war but began to doubt that the war could be won because of the popular support that the “enemy” had. And many GIs started to question and publicly speak against U.S. involvement in the war. Many of the operations that GIs were involved in were the search and destroy missions.[[20]](#footnote-20) The missions resulted in the killing of innocent civilians and the destruction of civilian infrastructure such as homes, crops, roads, and bridges. The Tet Offensive revealed that the National Liberation Front and Viet Minh had nation-wide support from the Vietnamese people and GIs began to question why they were fighting against the people of the country that they were supposed to be liberating.[[21]](#footnote-21)

During the war, GIs began to organize in coffee shops. These coffee shops were a space where GIs could get away from military life. GIs were able to get the latest GI underground newspapers, listen to music, and talk about their own personal experiences in the war. The Oleo Strut, in Fort Hood, Texas, was one of the first coffee shops that opened near military bases. More coffeehouses started to open near military bases across the country such as the People’s Place, Fort Knox Coffeehouse, and Pentagon GI Coffeehouse. Many coffee shops were later raided by military police and forced to close. Other coffee shops faced opposition from locals and a number were burned (Zieger).

In 1970, performances artists, lead by Jane Fonda and Donald Sutherland, created the “Free the Army” (FTA) show (understood to really mean Fuck the Army). The artists based their sketches and songs from GI newspapers. The show was intended to inspire and support U.S. soldiers to voice their dissent and organize to stop the war. The show included protest songs, political theatre, and appearances from GIs and veterans who spoke out against the war. They began to perform in coffee shops and parks close to military bases in the United States. In response to their growing popularity, in 1971, the FTA show toured the Pacific Rim, and performed near military bases in Japan, Okinawa, Philippines, and Hawaii. Furthermore, the show supported black soldiers and their struggle against racism within the military. Many black soldiers organized and produced underground newspapers.

GIs became actively involve in protests within the military. They published antiwar underground magazines such as Winter Soldier, Last Harass, Fed Up, Shakedown, RAP, Fatigue Press, and FTA (Fuck the Army to replace the army slogan Fun Travel and Adventure). Over 300 anti-war newspapers were published and circulated on military bases all over the nation weekly or monthly (Zieger).

Low morale led to disruptive and violent behavior in the front line troops. Examples were drug-use, refusal of orders, “search and avoid mission” and acts called “fragging.” These acts involved GIs killing their commanding officers, especially officers whose orders put GIs in “harms way.” As the war went on, and became less and less popular, fragging became more and more common all over South Vietnam. According to the Pentagon, in 1970 alone, there were 209 fragging incidents.

Many Americans did not know the true nature of U.S. military actions in Vietnam. After the My Lai Massacre, Vietnam Veterans Against the War organized investigations that proved that the My Lai Massacre was not an “isolated incident of aberrant behavior,” but, it was a common practice. As Colonel Oran Henderson reported in early 1971, “every unit of brigade size had its My Lai hidden someplace.”

The findings of the investigations were presented in Detroit, 1971, and became known as the Winter Soldiers Investigations.[[22]](#footnote-22) The Winter Soldiers Investigations involved one hundred and twenty-five veterans of the war who testified about acts which they witnessed or participated in that were war crimes. They testified in panels arranged by combat unit in order to clarify the policy of each military division and therefore the larger policy about search and destroy missions and free fire zones. The soldiers gave accounts of the everyday routines of burning villages, destroying civilian infrastructures, poisoning water supplies, torturing/killing prisoners of war, killing civilians, destroying crops, killing livestock and raping women. All of this was standard operational procedure or “SOP” according to those who testified. Many testimonials involved other atrocities, such as competitions in collecting the most body parts from enemy dead, throwing suspected Viet-Cong out of helicopters, cutting off heads and displaying them. In addition, the Investigations revealed the miscalculation of body count. Many GIs reported that they had falsified body counts to satisfy their officers and/or had produced a higher body count by killing civilians or prisoners of war.

On April 22, testifying before the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee, held by its Chairman, William Fulbright ,Lieutenant John Kerry, representing Vietnam Veterans Against the War and an investigator in the Winter Soldiers Investigations, called for immediate withdrawal based on the personal experiences of veterans that were revealed during the Winter Soldiers Investigation.[[23]](#footnote-23) Kerry stated:

They told the stories at times they had personally raped, cut off ears, cut off heads, taped wires from portable telephones to human genitals and turned up the power, cut off limbs, blown up bodies, randomly shot at civilians, razed villages in fashion reminiscent of Genghis Khan, shot cattle and dogs for fun, poisoned food stocks, and generally ravaged the countryside of South Vietnam in addition to the normal ravage of war, and the normal and very particular ravaging which is done by the applied bombing power of this country.

The Winter Soldier’s Investigation and Fulbright Hearings became crucial in documenting the true nature of the American War to the public and it that way served to further the broad anti-war movement.

Two months after the Winter Soldiers Investigation, Vietnam Veterans Against the War launched Operation Dewey Canyon III, a week long of series of demonstrations in Washington, DC. Mothers Who Have Lost Their Sons in Vietnam joined with disabled veterans for a series of rallies and other actions. The protest heightened on April 23 when one thousand veterans marched to the Capital building and threw their Vietnam War medals over the erected barricade of the buildings steps. In addition, they performed guerrilla theater on the steps of the capital in order to expose the true nature of U.S. operations. They reenacted combat battles and demonstrated how prisoners were treated. Soldiers became a strong force in stopping the war at home and abroad.

1. The United States committed the first act of warfare in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam when American troops were diverted to transport U.S.- armed French troops and Foreign Legionnaries from France to retake their colony. Merchant Marines organized a protest and on the arrival in Saigon, they drew up a resolution condemning the U.S. government for using American ships to transport troops in Vietnam. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. See Appendix (Zinn, Voices of a peoples history of the United States) [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. Weeks after his “*Beyond Vietnam Speech*,” U.S. military advisors were sent to Venezuela and mounted counterrevolutions activities in Guatemala. In response, Martin Luther King Jr. stated, “this is the role our nation has taken—the role of those who make peaceful revolution impossible by refusing to give up privilege and the pleasures that come from the immense profits of overseas investments…. Nonviolent coexistence or violent co-annihilation” (Lippard). [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. American troops in Vietnam included a disproportionate number of men from rural towns and inner cities. [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. Bruce Andrews, a Harvard student of public opinion found that the people most opposed to the war were people over fifty, blacks, and women. Also noted, in a study in spring of 1964, when Vietnam was a minor issue in the newspapers, showed that 53 percent of college educated people were willing to send troops to Vietnam, while only 33 percent of grade school-educated people were willing (Zinn). [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. Chicano performance group Asco performed *Last Supper and The Situations of the Cross.* Jose and Malaquias Montoy, Estenban Villa, Armando Cid, and other artists in Sacramento formed the graphic artists collective, the Royal Chicano Air Force. See Chapter 4 (Lippard). [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. After the introduction of combat troops in De Nang in 1965, the draft resistors movement steadily gained momentum. The Selective Service sent out 13,700 induction notices in April and another 15,100 in June. By July, the number climbed to 27,400, and by December it was over 400,000 (Dougan). [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. Nixon ended the draft July 1973. [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. CO tripled from 1964 to 1971.Pacifist groups such as the American Friends Service Committee built counseling centers in which volunteers discussed CO deferments and other options with draftees, and universities became reporting centers of information that included strategies on eluding the draft (Hillstrom). [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. On May 20, 1973, the 24 men and women of Camden, New Jersey, including four priests, were found not guilty of destroying Selective Service Files in 1971. [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. Students for a Democratic Society published its Port Huron Statement in 1962 at the University of Michigan. [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
13. In 1964, students at the University of California Berkley lifted the ban of on-campus political activities under the basis of free speech and academic freedom after months of protests and demonstrations. Most of the arguments about political activism revealed that the higher education system has become an institution that supports capitalism and its students were to become white-collar professionals in support of American Capitalism. [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
14. See Chapter Two, they were producers of Napalm and Rainbow herbicides. [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
15. Alison Krause, Sandra Scheuer, Jeffrey Glenn Miller and William K. Schroede [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
16. Media coverage was poor and racist, giving no accurate facts of the event leading up to the shooting. Even the university newspaper did not report on the tragedy until in a special edition was published, one year later. [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
17. Lynch Street divided an all white suburb and Jackson State. Lynch Street was a main road that linked Jackson to downtown. [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
18. National Guardsmen blocked the west end of Lynch Street. [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
19. Green was a high school student walking home from work and stopped to watch. [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
20. The success of the missions was measured by high body count. Many villagers were suspected Viet Cong because they aided the Viet Cong with medical care, weapons, food, and shelter. Many villagers became directly involved in the war efforts. Women and children carried out logistical tasks such as transporting weapons through rough terrain, lived in underground aid stations, and even became soldiers (Karnow, Wiest, and Zinn). [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
21. Many other anti-Vietnam War organizations arose such as the American Serviceman’s Union, Movement for a Democratic Military, Black Liberation Front of Armed Forces, Black Brother’s Union, Concerned Officers Movement, and GI United Against the War. [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
22. During the winter of 1776 at Valley Forge, as the soldiers who enlisted during the summer were going home because their enlistment was over and the way was hard, Thomas Paine stated, “These are the times that try men’s souls. The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of their country; but he that stands it now, deserves the love and the thanks of men and women. Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered; yet we have the consolation with us, that the harder the conflict, the more glorious the triumph.” [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
23. Further investigations occurred from April 20th to May 27, 1971, this was known as the Fulbright Hearings. The Hearings, head by Senator Fulbright, was a set of 22 hearings conducted before the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee Hearings on Vietnam. The hearings consisted of pro and anti war supporters. [↑](#footnote-ref-23)