



## **One, Two, Three, Four! We Don't Want Your F\*\*king War! The Vietnam Antiwar Movement in Young Adult Fiction**

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### **Abstract**

This study of the representation of the anti-Vietnam War movement in 53 young adult novels published from 1967 to 2018 includes every young adult novel that lists the Vietnam War as its first or second Library of Congress subject descriptor. The teen characters who participate in the antiwar movement or question our government's war policy are regularly ignored or vilified. Only 32 novels acknowledge the existence of an antiwar movement. Most novels equate antiwar sentiment with aggressive anti-soldier action, even though the historical record does not bear this out. When young readers are repeatedly shown protesters as vicious idiots who regularly attacked veterans, they learn that there is no legitimate way to question our country's war policies. When they're never shown active-duty GIs (many of whom were teens) and veterans who worked tirelessly as antiwar activists, *this* dishonors veterans. These representations, combined with images of protesters ubiquitously spitting on veterans and shouting "baby killer" at them, have served to discredit the antiwar movement and the young people involved in it.

### **Introduction and Literature Review**

There's no doubt that teens are fully participating members of today's social movements (e.g., the Women's March, Black Lives Matter, environmental causes). After the Parkland shooting, teens newly invigorated the gun control debate, founding Never Again MSD and organizing the

March for Our Lives protest. The Standing Rock protests against the Dakota Access Pipeline were largely begun by the One Mind Youth Movement.

Youth activism, of course, is far from new and has many historical forebears. There are children's and young adult books, both fiction and nonfiction, that show, for example, young people's involvement in Germany in the White Rose movement, fighting Hitler's fascist government. Throughout the civil rights movement in America, teens and college students were involved in marches and protests, as well as in organizing Freedom Schools and participating in the Freedom Rides. Children and teens were integral in the 1963 Children's March in Birmingham.

Many teens were involved in the Vietnam antiwar movement. The war in Vietnam was fought by younger soldiers than in previous wars (the average age in Vietnam was nineteen, whereas the average age in World War II was twenty-six).<sup>i</sup> Boys were eligible for the draft at eighteen and could therefore be both soldiers and veterans while still teens. The antiwar movement was populated by teens, and while the movement was not exclusively the work of adolescents, they were regularly involved. Since the Vietnam antiwar movement can serve as a historic model for current political action, it's important to see how teens involved in the movement have been portrayed in literature.

I grew up in the late 1960s and early 1970s in a military family in Washington, DC. My father was in the US Navy, and my parents, while mostly conservative, didn't seem particularly political, at least to my child's mind. Even though no one I knew went to Vietnam, the war's presence loomed large in our house as it surely did in most homes at that time. The war dominated the news, and fighting against the war consumed the streets. Even though this was surely the defining event of American culture in the late twentieth century, I never learned anything about Vietnam in school—during the war or in its aftermath. The movement against the war didn't even rate a mention in my education.

In his groundbreaking book *Lies My Teacher Told Me*, Loewen examined the most frequently used American history textbooks. He found that information about Vietnam was both minuscule and misleading.<sup>ii</sup> Sadly, this echoes what FitzGerald<sup>iii</sup> and later Griffen and Marciano<sup>iv</sup> found in their earlier studies of the Vietnam War in school history texts—that not only was the war given short shrift and the antiwar movement practically unmentioned, but that both were presented inaccurately. This is problematic on many fronts. Not only is teaching about the war

important, but Bigelow insists that “no study of the war would be complete without examining the dynamics of the massive movement to end that war.” He goes on to insist that “there is an entire history of resistance [to war] to which students have been denied access.”<sup>v</sup> Loewen agrees, adding that the lack of information about the war in textbooks “makes the antiwar movement incomprehensible.”<sup>vi</sup>

Not teaching about those who protested our government’s war policies in Vietnam is sadly unsurprising because Americans seem peculiarly incensed by antiwar activity. Both the Vietnam War and the antiwar movement continue to echo through our culture and policies these many years later. One need only remember Senator John Kerry’s 2004 presidential campaign to see how his prominent role in the antiwar movement—particularly his leadership of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW) and his participation in the Winter Soldier hearings and the Dewey Canyon III protests—were actions his adversaries found entirely unforgivable.

Having learned that an organized antiwar movement could be quite compelling, President George H. W. Bush attempted to use public resentment toward the Vietnam antiwar movement to head off any antiwar sentiment in his 1990 buildup to the Persian Gulf War.

The [first Bush] administration argued that opposition to the war was tantamount to disregard for [the troops’] well-being and that such disregard was reminiscent of the treatment given the Vietnam veterans upon their return home. By invoking the image of antiwar activists spitting on veterans, the administration was able to discredit the opposition and galvanize support for the war.<sup>vii</sup>

Of course, by conflating antiwar action with anti-soldier sentiment, he rendered opposing war policy practically unthinkable. During the Persian Gulf War (1990–91), Operation Eagle, for example, was a program designed to create support for the troops by going into public schools in Massachusetts and, among other things, asking kids to write to soldiers. When people objected, “the press and grassroots conservatives construed their objections as anti-soldier.”<sup>viii</sup>

Given all this, it’s unsurprising that Americans have many misconceptions about the Vietnam antiwar movement and its relationship with active-duty service members and veterans. The more common misconceptions include the assumptions that anyone who was against the war was by extension against soldiers and veterans, that soldiers and veterans wouldn’t be involved in antiwar activity, and finally that there was an extremely antagonistic relationship between the

antiwar movement and soldiers and veterans, who were assumed to hate one another. However, the historical record doesn't bear this out.

Even though there has been antiwar activity against each war that America has ever fought, the Vietnam antiwar movement is the one that students are most likely to have heard of. The American war in Vietnam officially ended in 1975, but our views of the war and what happened in the United States because of the war continue to influence us. Since we can't count on school history textbooks to thoroughly or accurately explain the Vietnam War and the antiwar movement, where can we turn? For many teachers, historical fiction becomes practically a second textbook. We defer to YA fiction to teach about (or in this case, be the only mention of) one of the most divisive moments in our nation's history. Fundamentally, we might ask ourselves why any of this matters. What difference does it make how Vietnam antiwar activists and activities are written in YA novels? More than forty years after the end of the war, I believe it's crucial that we examine the role of the Vietnam antiwar movement in YA fiction because our next generation of war supporters and protesters are given powerful examples in these texts. Adolescent readers should clearly be shown that the actions of earlier teens had an impact through the antiwar movement.

## Research Questions

- How is the Vietnam antiwar movement represented in young adult fiction?
- Is the representation historically accurate?
- Is the representation affected by the category of the novel or its date of publication?

## Method

I used two simple criteria for including a novel in my study. First, the Library of Congress's category "Vietnam War, 1961–1975—Fiction" had to be the book's first or second subject-area descriptor. Second, the call number had to begin with "PZ7," indicating fiction written for a non-adult audience. There are currently 53 novels that meet these criteria. No YA novel that fits these criteria was eliminated, so this is, in essence, an exhaustive collection.

In order to make analysis more meaningful, the novels are divided into three narrative structure categories. The first category, "Combat," consists of 25.5 texts published in the fifty-one years from 1967 to 2018. As the name indicates, these novels contain at least some scenes of

combat in Vietnam. This is the largest group with the widest range of publication dates. The second category, “Response to the War,” consists of 18 texts published in the thirty years from 1971 to 2011. These books are set entirely in the United States during the war. Common plot lines for this category involve young men deciding to enlist, protest, or leave the country; the reactions of families of those whose loved ones are in Vietnam; and the antiwar movement. The third category, “Returned Vet,” consists of 9.5 texts published in the thirty-five years between 1980 and 2015. These books are set in America during and after the war and explore the experiences of those who fought in Vietnam. Some texts begin immediately as vets return from Vietnam, and some are set many years later. (Note: The “.5” books from the Combat and Returned Vet categories refer to a single novel, Ellen Emerson White’s *The Road Home*. This book is divided in half. The first half of the novel is titled “The War” and squarely fits into the Combat category; the second half, “The World,” fits just as neatly into the Returned Vet category.)

## Findings and Discussion

### *Combat Novels*

The Combat novels represent the widest range of publication dates and the widest range of experiences. Soldiers, sailors, marines, airmen, and nurses are all featured—as are both draftees and enlistees. The very first mention of the antiwar movement in any YA Vietnam novel was in *Special Forces Trooper* (1967), a GI Joe–like tale. Two young men, during their Green Beret training, go to a movie prefaced with a newsreel. They “ground their teeth when an anti-war demonstration was shown: beatniks . . . carrying signs that intimated that all servicemen serving in Vietnam were prime patsies.”<sup>ix</sup> The idea that GIs were disgusted by the antiwar movement is a common theme in YA fiction.

*Fallen Angels* (1988), perhaps the best-known YA Vietnam War novel, contains only a few oblique references to the antiwar movement. Members of the squad around which the novel is centered discuss a stateside newspaper that has an article about young men burning their draft cards. One soldier says that these people are doing what they think is right. Another responds inexplicably: “That’s why we got four- and five-man squads. . . . ’Cause those jerks are home smoking dope and burning their draft cards. You get blown away because you don’t have a full

squad, you can thank those creeps.”<sup>x</sup> Instead of talking about exactly how they thought antiwar sentiment was wrong or misinformed, the anti-antiwar characters issue an *ad hominem* attack on protesters and leave it at that. And, of course, the idea that troop numbers were diminished as a direct result of the antiwar movement is incorrect. In *Casualties of War* (2013), the fourth in a five-book series, Beck, an air force mechanic, is home on leave when he spots an antiwar demonstration—one of only three mentions of the movement in the entire series. Along with signs protesting Monsanto and Dow Chemical is the obligatory “Babykiller.”<sup>xi</sup>

*Stand Down* (1992) is the fourth book in another five-book series, Echo Company. The first four novels in the series detail the experiences of protagonist Michael Jennings and his squad, and the fifth begins in Vietnam, but ends in America as Michael goes home. He hates the army and the war. What he truly detests, though, are young protesters who also have college deferments that prevent them from being drafted. He mentions this repeatedly, saying, for example, that even draft evasion was “better than protesting with a deferment snug in your back pocket.”<sup>xii</sup> This sentiment is common in these novels. College students received draft deferments until 1971, and since they had no immediate chance of being drafted, their motivations for protesting the war could be seen as less self-interested. Without deferments, draft-age, antiwar young men could be accused of protesting the war because they were afraid to go to Vietnam.

Rick Ward, the protagonist of *Search and Destroy* (2005), knew that “the war was wrong . . . The Vietnamese had a right to decide for themselves what kind of government they wanted. The US was actually interfering with that.” However, he still enlists in the army to go to Vietnam. In his army training, he’s told that “college students and protesters . . . were traitors to America.” Throughout the novel, he’s dismissive of anyone who works to end the war, and his fellow soldiers viciously “wished they could insert into college campuses . . . and tear up a crowd of protesters with an M-60.” When Rick returns home, he’s invited by his ex to speak at a demonstration knowing that he “could be a powerful spokesman for the vets against the war.”<sup>xiii</sup> Rick is astonished that she thinks he would even consider it.

*The Road Home* (1995) and *The Journal of Patrick Seamus Flaherty* (2002) were both written by Ellen Emerson White, also the author of the Echo Company books (under the pseudonym Zack Emerson). In *The Road Home*, Rebecca, a nurse in Vietnam, thinks about the men she treats. In her mind, they’re “the most unselfish and generous people she’d ever known,” but in America, people “were calling these guys baby killers.”<sup>xiv</sup> *The Journal of Patrick Seamus*

*Flaherty* is part of Scholastic’s My Name Is America series of YA novels that purports to examine history through fictionalized diaries. Patrick, a marine at Khe Sanh, cringes when he thinks of his girlfriend at college and wonders “if she’s turned into an I-Hate-the-War hippy, and marches around carrying signs,” which is ironic given that throughout his “journal,” Patrick rails about how much he hates the war and hates being in Vietnam. After he returns home, “as an ex-Marine, Patrick did not feel comfortable being on a college campus” because “antiwar protests were everywhere.”<sup>xv</sup>

The “Life in America in 1968” section at the end of the novel would likely appear to a young reader as nonfiction. This example is a reference to the Tet Offensive:

The antiwar movement intensified. Increasingly, veterans returning home from Vietnam were treated with great disrespect and sometimes even cruelty by Americans who were against the war. Veterans were shocked to find themselves accused of being “baby killers” or “warmongers.” Anyone in uniform was treated as an enemy by the antiwar movement.<sup>xvi</sup>

This unfortunate reality may be what our cultural memory tells us, but in actuality, little could be further from the truth. In extensive and separate studies of GIs (in-service in Vietnam, in-service *not* in Vietnam, and as Vietnam veterans) and their relation to the antiwar movement, Kerry,<sup>xvii</sup> Cortright,<sup>xviii</sup> and Lembcke<sup>xix</sup> not only found no animosity between the groups, but actually found great support. A reporter for *Life* magazine, Hal Wingo, interviewed GIs in Vietnam and found that “many soldiers regard the . . . antiwar campaign in the U.S. with open and outspoken sympathy” because “the protesters may be the only ones who really give a damn about what’s happening.”<sup>xx</sup> Perhaps more shocking are the reports of Vietnam vets being attacked not by young antiwar activists but by pro-war groups, such as the VFW.<sup>xxi</sup>

On the surface, it may seem unsurprising that men in the middle of fighting a war wouldn’t spend their time chatting about antiwar activity back home; however, what is quite surprising in these novels is that there’s no mention of the sizable antiwar activity of the troops themselves. No author of a Combat novel acknowledges the existence of a significant number of antiwar active-duty GIs. Only *Search and Destroy* and *On Blood Road* (2018) mention that there are antiwar veterans. Cortright and Lembcke both examine in detail the GI movement—antiwar activities by service members *during* their service. Often at great risk, GIs published antiwar newspapers and created coffeehouses that were places for GIs to talk about their antiwar activity.

As early as 1970, antiwar activity among active-duty GIs was present on “almost every American installation at home, abroad, and on the high seas.”<sup>xxii</sup> During the early 1970s, the strongest years of active-duty GI antiwar activity, a survey conducted at the request of the US Army showed that 37 percent of soldiers were “engaged in some form of dissent.”<sup>xxiii</sup> Veteran Hal Muskat reports that there were nearly 300 “antiwar newspapers, written, produced and published [by GIs] on bases all throughout the world.”<sup>xxiv</sup>

The antiwar movement appears in surprisingly few of the 25.5 Combat novels. In fact, there’s no acknowledgment whatsoever that anyone anywhere has any antiwar attitudes or actions in 17 of these novels. Nearly half of the Combat novels give no specific setting dates, which makes the likely presence of antiwar GIs more difficult to assess. Six novels make one or two offhanded mentions of the antiwar movement at home.<sup>xxv</sup> Only three novels make extensive comment.<sup>xxvi</sup> Publication date didn’t affect the appearance of the antiwar movement, with one exception: YA Vietnam Combat novels had been published for twenty years before an author chose to make more than one or two comments about antiwar activity. Otherwise, novels with no comments, minimal comments, and more extensive comments are spread fairly evenly across six decades of publication.

### *Response to the War Novels*

The 17 Response to the War novels have the most to say about antiwar activity. Published over the course of forty years, from 1971 to 2011, these novels are set in America during the war, from 1966 to 1971. For good or ill, the characters here are models for political action, especially since many are of middle, high school, or college age. Interestingly, the earliest book in this category, *One Day for Peace* (1971), is the most directly and wholeheartedly antiwar in the entire collection. *One Day for Peace* is the only book in this category published *during* the war; no other novel set in America during the war would be published for fourteen years. When junior high protagonist Jane’s friend is killed in Vietnam, she and her classmates become more interested in the war. They organize a multiracial and multiethnic Peace Committee and plan a protest march and rally that will culminate in the planting of a tree in a local park. This early novel acknowledges the FBI’s use of *agents provocateurs*. Jane’s classmate Donald explains to the committee that “the federal government doesn’t like peace committees. If a . . . committee could be blamed for [criminal activity], it would fall apart.”<sup>xxvii</sup> Donald was correct; Small notes

that under President Nixon, the FBI assigned 2,000 agents to infiltrate “domestic peace movements.”<sup>xxxviii</sup> The principal at Jane and Donald’s school tries to intimidate them out of their antiwar activity, calling them “rash” and insisting that their future careers would be “endangered” by “becoming known as activists” and that “responsible employers” wouldn’t hire activists who “stir up trouble.”<sup>xxxix</sup> Ultimately though, the adolescents’ antiwar activities are peaceful, patriotic, and largely accepted by the community. This representation of the antiwar movement, however, turns out to be in the minority, and this is the only novel in which all of the protagonists are involved in antiwar activity. It’s also notable that these are junior high students who have created a local antiwar group.

*And One for All* and *The Best of Friends*, both published in 1989, have similar plots. Two high school friends take very separate paths: one to war in Vietnam and the other to the antiwar movement. In both novels, the boys’ younger sisters and the rest of their families are also involved in what turns into significant conflict. In *And One for All*, when high school senior Wing Brennan thinks he’s been kicked off the basketball team, he drops out of high school and joins the Marine Corps. Wing’s friend Sam’s antiwar work becomes a barrier to their friendship. Wing’s father, Mr. Brennan, a WWII vet, comments that people participating in a peace march are “just dragging out the war” and “hurting our own men.” Later Mr. Brennan tells his family that antiwar activists are “traitors” who “were aiding and abetting the enemy . . . by making it look as if Americans didn’t support their own soldiers.”<sup>xxx</sup> This is a common sentiment in these novels, and one that’s rarely refuted. Even though most of the Brennan family agrees with this, eventually Wing’s seventh-grader sister, Geraldine, realizes that the antiwar movement is trying to end the war so that *no one*, including American soldiers, will be killed. Similarly, in *The Best of Friends*, the antiwar characters’ father objects to any questioning of the war, saying that government needs “the unconditional support of the American people if we are going to win.”<sup>xxxi</sup>

*Long Time Passing* (1990) gives us Jonas, son of an active-duty marine stationed in Vietnam. After falling for a girl who was involved in the peace movement, Jonas briefly skirts the edges of protest. This is the earliest novel to acknowledge the true physical danger that activists were often in, comparing them to civil rights workers in the South. Before Jonas enlists in the Marine Corps, he wonders if by carrying a sign saying “Get Out of Vietnam!” he has “betrayed” men in Vietnam.<sup>xxxii</sup> However, as Cortright shows, active-duty GIs and antiwar activists regularly worked together.<sup>xxxiii</sup>

*Come in from the Cold* (1994) is a complex examination of two high school protagonists: Maud, whose sister was killed while trying to blow up a building as an antiwar act, and Jeff, whose brother Tom was killed in Vietnam. Before his death, Tom confronts Jeff about Jeff's peace work. Tom, like many characters in the novels, does not separate being antiwar from being anti-soldier, telling Jeff that if "you hate the war, you hate the guys who do the fighting. You can't separate us from the dirty deed."<sup>xxxiv</sup> Like Jonas in *Long Time Passing*, Jeff is accused of being a "traitor" for working against the war while having a military brother.<sup>xxxv</sup> Marsha Qualey's *Come in from the Cold* contains multiple minor military characters who object to any sort of protest. A father who fought in World War II claims his antiwar son "dishonor[s]" him, and an antiwar mother won't attend a march because her brother-in-law in the navy is "honorable" and is therefore "so hurt by all the protests."<sup>xxxvi</sup> However, during a counter-protest to a VFW march, an antiwar group displays the sign: "Honor our soldiers by bringing them home."<sup>xxxvii</sup> This sign is more in line with how many active-duty GIs in Vietnam felt at the time. Lembcke cites a 1971 Senate study showing that there was no "evidence at the time that Vietnam veterans perceived the antiwar movement as hostile to them or their interests."<sup>xxxviii</sup> It's unsurprising then that Vietnam vets are shown as the lead figures in a major protest march. *Come in from the Cold* is the earliest novel to even peripherally include Vietnam veterans as actively involved in the antiwar movement. Ten years later, *Too Big a Storm* (2004), also by Qualey, uses many similar characters and structures. Mark, a Vietnam vet and the protagonist's friend, is initially reluctant to attend a march since he still had friends in country and it seemed "disloyal." However, as soon as he arrives at the march and sees plenty of other vets, he realizes that it's "important for vets to speak out."<sup>xxxix</sup> As Lembcke points out, the Nixon administration's attempts to "portray the antiwar movement as anti-soldier and therefore anti-American" were weakened by the existence of antiwar vets.<sup>xl</sup> Mark was correct that as a vet, he would have real credibility and that vets' "denunciation of [the war] could not be easily dismissed."<sup>xli</sup>

*The Greatest Heroes* (2000) echoes the plot structure of *And One for All* and *Best of Friends* (both 1989). Ken and Bryan are seniors; Bryan is antiwar, but even though Ken doesn't approve of the war, not wanting to displease his WWII vet father, he waffles about antiwar activity. Ken's father espouses a common parental view in these novels: he believes that any antiwar activity is treason, that activists are "yellow-bellied cowards," and that it's never acceptable to question the government. For him, peace marches are about "trying to bring . . .

down” the government,<sup>xlii</sup> although later in the same confrontation with his son, he claims that activists only want the war to end because they’re afraid to fight.<sup>xliii</sup> Ken’s girlfriend’s brother is a pilot in Vietnam, and she’s horrified that Ken might protest the war because that would be “demonstrating against” and “criticizing” her brother. Karen says that “the guys in Vietnam know about these protests,” which make them “feel like the people back home aren’t behind them.”<sup>xliv</sup> However, history doesn’t bear this out. In examining antiwar archives, Lembcke found that “by helping soldiers who were in service, especially those in Vietnam, the antiwar movement established a record of caring about soldiers’ needs” far more clearly than those who sent soldiers to Vietnam.<sup>xlv</sup> Ken thinks that the demonstrators are mostly kooks “who hated everything about society” and “hadn’t bathed in a while.”<sup>xlvi</sup> Here we also have this category’s earliest antiwar use of “baby killer” as a description of Americans in Vietnam, although with a slightly different spin: a speaker at the demonstration says that soldiers are “turned into . . . baby killers.”<sup>xlvii</sup> *The Greatest Heroes* portrays antiwar characters as show-offs looking for attention and violence. Ken mostly believes that demonstrators aren’t really about “being antiwar” as much as they’re just “being anti-[their] dad.”<sup>xlviii</sup> This kind of dismissal, along with an epilogue commenting that “protests grew more violent,”<sup>xlix</sup> serves to undermine any real examination of antiwar ideology or the role that young activists played.

*Where Have All the Flowers Gone?* (2002) is the companion novel to the Combat entry *The Journal of Patrick Seamus Flaherty* (2002), both written by Ellen Emerson White, the author of 7 of the 53 novels in this study. White rarely acknowledges the antiwar movement in her many Vietnam novels, and hers is the earliest novel to include an antiwar character to directly call soldiers “babykillers.”<sup>l</sup> Teenage protagonist Molly has a brother, Patrick, who is a marine in Vietnam. While Molly is aware that she doesn’t know enough about the war to support it, she’s very pro-soldier and very anti-antiwar. She knows that even if she wanted to protest the war, that would “be betraying” her brother.<sup>li</sup> Molly is relentlessly contemptuous of antiwar activists. On a cold day with no demonstration, she surmises that “protesting the war and lounging around being groovy didn’t seem quite as tempting as usual.”<sup>lii</sup> Characters’ refusal to engage in a substantive way with antiwar ideas is a common theme in these books. Much like the “Life in America in 1968” historical notes in *The Journal of Patrick Seamus Flaherty*, we’re told that young men burned draft cards, but that it was an empty gesture because they already had student deferments. Their main motivation was that it “just looked good on television.”<sup>liii</sup>

Fourteen-year-old protagonist Cory's brother Sonny is drafted in *Sonny's War* (2002). After Cory learns more about the war and the antiwar movement from Lawrence, her antiwar teacher, she wishes that she knew more about Sonny's thoughts about the war. She assumes that Sonny would "think [she] was being a traitor" if she even asked because "it wasn't smart to be against the war if you were actually in it."<sup>liv</sup> Of course, many GIs in Vietnam were very actively "against the war," although this perspective is not included in the novel. Lawrence, Cory's young teacher, is eventually fired for his antiwar work. Lawrence is undermined as a character by turning out to be mindlessly violent and dishonest and by kissing and sexually desiring a fourteen-year-old girl. The one demonstration that is portrayed turns quickly into a riot where protesters demolish all the businesses in a small downtown.

In *Letters from Wolfie* (2004), junior high student Mark's teacher has been ordered by the school board *not* to ask students to discuss Vietnam in history class, although "pro-war teachers are able to speak their views."<sup>lv</sup> Mark donates his beloved dog, Wolfie, to the army to send to Vietnam. The VVAW appears in this novel, first in news footage and then as they join Mark's protest to get Wolfie back. Mark's father is horrified that the veterans "looked like . . . hippies" and that they were "mailing their medals back."<sup>lvi</sup> As he watches the footage, Mark's father hopes that "our boys" in Vietnam don't see this, as if by expressing antiwar ideas, the vets have ceased to be *ours*. At Mark's march, the VVAW members introduce themselves to Mark's mother and ask her and other mothers of GIs and vets to join them; she does, pushing a vet in a wheelchair. VFW members shout insults. As Mark's injured brother returns from Vietnam, Mark worries that "someone might say something awful" to him because Mark knows that "when soldiers came home, people spat on them."<sup>lvii</sup>

Like *Caribou* (1985), *Summer's End* (2005) focuses primarily on draft evasion as many of the draft-age characters burn draft cards and prepare to head to Canada. The decision to avoid the draft splits an extended family in which many characters are pro-war and others aren't so sure. Assuming that men in Vietnam would be betrayed and offended by draft evaders described as "cowards," thirteen-year-old Grace's family is surprised that when Cousin Willie, in Vietnam, learns of Grace's brother Collin's decision to go to Canada, Willie's only response is "good."<sup>lviii</sup> No real antiwar activity is shown, but Grace never misses a chance to disparage and minimize it. To her, everything is a "sit-in" (the author even refers to the 1970 shooting of students at both Kent State [four killed, nine injured] and Jackson State [two killed, twelve injured] as sit-ins).

Grace describes a sit-in as “kids . . . sitting around on lawns like they were at a picnic . . . smiling into the camera and holding up two fingers in a V that meant ‘peace.’”<sup>lix</sup>

*Georgie’s Moon* (2006) also shows no direct antiwar activity, but seventh-grade protagonist Georgie “hates” anyone who isn’t staunchly pro-war.<sup>lx</sup> When her classmate Craig comments that people shouldn’t blindly accept the government’s war policy, Georgie physically assaults him. Even though the attack is significant enough that it takes several adults to pull Georgie off her victim, she isn’t punished for her pro-war violence. Lisa, another classmate, describes her older sister Carla as having antiwar sentiments, but quickly adds that Carla isn’t “one of those [activists] who are angry at the soldiers,” which is a common present-day misconception. Lisa reports that Carla “told [her] about this soldier who came on campus. . . . Some guys beat him up just ’cause he wore a uniform.”<sup>lxi</sup> Statements like these used to attempt to discredit antiwar activity are common in the later books in this category.

Recent high school graduate Ryan in *War and Watermelon* (2011) doesn’t want to go to college, but he also doesn’t want to go to war. He’s ready to commit to the antiwar movement, which he feels holds the ultimate goal of “bringing down the establishment.”<sup>lxii</sup> Unlike many characters in the other novels in this group, the teens here never doubt the movement’s efficacy: “Those idiots in Washington will know they’d better start listening to our generation.”<sup>lxiii</sup> In order to “make enough noise to get this war ended,” Ryan takes his twelve-year-old brother Brody to a vigil held to force military recruiters off a college campus. After some police harassment, the protesters are arrested. Even so, Ryan insists to Brody that “every voice makes a difference.”<sup>lxiv</sup>

*Battle Fatigue* (2011) situates Vietnam antiwar activists as being parallel to the Germans who worked against their Nazi government before World War II. However, the general public and especially the police fail to see them that way. As a young college student, the protagonist Joel finds it puzzling that “a lot of people seem to feel really threatened by anyone who opposes war, as though there is some basic right that we are trying to take away from them.”<sup>lxv</sup> In studying public reaction to the antiwar movement, Foley found that even while holding antiwar attitudes themselves, “most Americans also regarded those who sought to end the war as equally worthy of contempt. Those who tried to end a villainous war are themselves seen as villains.”<sup>lxvi</sup> This is one of the few Response to the War novels that directly addresses the work of antiwar veterans. Dickey, Joel’s neighbor, has returned from his war year in Vietnam embittered and

antiwar. Joel realizes that we “live in a world where war is accepted, and soldiers are heroes. But if Dickey doesn’t feel like a hero, no one wants to hear from him.”<sup>lxvii</sup>

The Response to the War novels are uniquely positioned to explore or even refute the intricacies of the antiwar movement, its goals, its accomplishments, its specific actions, but this rarely happens. Antiwar activity is more frequently discussed than shown, and vaguely describing a character as “active in the peace movement” is common.<sup>lxviii</sup> Most specific activist groups (e.g., the SDS, Women Strike for Peace, SNCC, Mobe) are never mentioned, nor are many specific important demonstrations. The well-known shootings at Kent State are briefly referenced in four novels, and the police riot at the 1968 Democratic Convention in two. A few other events (e.g., People’s Park in Berkeley, Oakland’s Stop the Draft action, the October 15 Moratorium) are mentioned once. Most antiwar events are not mentioned at all. In many of the novels, young activists speculate that their work won’t accomplish much. In *Come in from the Cold*, Jeff, who even occasionally shares this doubt, encourages protest, saying that “if we don’t do something, it will just get worse next time,”<sup>lxix</sup> which may be the real model that these novels serve.

Even though the novels rarely show antiwar activists and active-duty GIs or returned vets working together or at least supporting one another, history tells us that this was actually the case.<sup>lxx</sup> Given the first President Bush’s Persian Gulf War strategy of misrepresenting earlier antiwar activity,<sup>lxxi</sup> it’s important to note that antiwar characters aren’t written as antagonistic to soldiers, active duty or veterans, until books published after the Gulf War (1990–91).

### *Returned Vet Novels*

The 9.5 Returned Vet novels are set from 1968 through 2015. Three novels feature vets who returned *during* the war,<sup>lxxii</sup> the rest are set years later. The earliest three books to feature returned vets as the central Vietnam-related character each only mention the antiwar movement briefly and in one scene: *Where the Elf King Sings* (1980), set around 1977, and *Travelers* (1986) and *Charlie Pippin* (1987), both set in 1985, contain nearly identical descriptions of the vets’ encounters with antiwar activists. Bill, the protagonist’s father in *Where the Elf King Sings*, has severe PTSD as a result of his time in Vietnam. After Bill’s war buddy Kurt effortlessly gets him into a VA treatment program, Kurt tells Bill’s family about his own arrival back in the States. At the airport was a “welcome-home committee”: “a group of antiwar demonstrators shouting

murderers at us.”<sup>lxxiii</sup> In *Charlie Pippin*, the title character’s veteran father never wants to talk about the war, even when sixth-grader Charlie does a school report on the topic. When Charlie interviews her older family members about her father’s experiences, her grandfather asks, “How would you feel coming home in uniform on crutches and being called a babykiller? Some young white girl had the nerve to spit on my son at the airport.”<sup>lxxiv</sup> When teenage Jack in *Travelers* was a very young boy, his father was killed in Vietnam; in high school, Jack is finally determined to meet some of his father’s war buddies. The wife of one buddy reports that her husband Ed was determined to go out in his uniform. At dinner one evening, “some self-righteous college students . . . called Ed a ‘baby-killer.’”<sup>lxxv</sup>

*Tough Choices* (1993) is the earliest Returned Vet novel to be set during the war. The story opens as the Morgan family arrives at the airport to pick up eldest son, Mitch, as he returns from Vietnam. As is commonly represented in this category, there are protesters waiting. When the family escorts Mitch to their car, they’re accosted by protesters, who yell, “Hey, Baby Killer!” Mitch is confused, but a young woman continues, “How many babies did you murder in Vietnam?” When Mitch insists that he’s “one of the good guys,” the protesters laugh and “spit on the ground.”<sup>lxxvi</sup> Before Mitch and his family can get in their car, the protesters throw eggs and beer bottles at them. Mitch’s sixteen-year-old brother Emmett participates in antiwar demonstrations and marches and plans to attend a “Die-In” where protesters cover themselves with red paint and pretend to be Vietnamese civilians killed by Americans. This novel is part of Scholastic’s *Once Upon America* series, which insinuated that it should be used as a supplemental American history text (a *Publisher’s Weekly* endorsement on the back of the book says that the series “breathes color and life into a social studies curriculum”)—which makes its representation of the antiwar movement even more important. Much like the “Life in America in 1968” notes in *The Journal of Patrick Seamus Flaherty* and *Where Have All the Flowers Gone?*, *Tough Choices*’ seemingly factual notes tell us that “the people protesting the war often said and did terrible things to soldiers coming back from Vietnam. . . . Soldiers were spit on. They had garbage thrown at them. They were told they should have died in Vietnam.”<sup>lxxvii</sup>

*The Road Home* (1995) is the fifth book in the Echo Company series that details the combat experiences of a group of soldiers in Vietnam. While there, they meet Rebecca, a nurse. She figures prominently in much of the plot in the first four novels, which take place entirely in country. The first half of *The Road Home* is set in Vietnam; the second half in America. This is

the earliest book of the sample to acknowledge the experiences of women as Vietnam veterans. Upon Rebecca's return from Vietnam, as her bus leaves the army base, protesters launch an "egg barrage." Rebecca is "flipped . . . off" in the airport and then assumes that a smug young man was going to "spit on [her] bag."<sup>lxxviii</sup> The protesters are described as "motley," "grungy," and "whacked-out."<sup>lxxix</sup> When two of her cousins can't attend a welcome home party, Rebecca "figured they were . . . antiwar and . . . didn't want to speak to a fascist warmonger like her."<sup>lxxx</sup> *The Road Home* is the only novel to acknowledge the GI coffeehouses, created "so that off-duty soldiers could go and listen to people with long hair make radical pronouncements about the war. . . . The idea was to foment dissension among the ranks."<sup>lxxxii</sup> This is historically inaccurate. GI coffeehouses were increasingly common in the Vietnam era; however, they were founded and run by GIs and vets. Coffeehouses were harassed and attacked—by military police, local police, and right-wing groups. Some were bombed.<sup>lxxxii</sup>

*Lost in the War* (1998) features Mary Ann, a female vet and mother to the story's protagonist, although this time set a full decade after the end of the war. Mary Ann finally seeks treatment for her severe PTSD. Her daughters are surrounded by remnants of the war: their father was killed in Vietnam, their mother is debilitated by PTSD, their mother's new boyfriend is a vet, and their school's social studies class focuses on the war. Despite all this, the antiwar movement is only peripherally mentioned. Mary Ann tells a reporter that she tried to join the VVAW in a march but wasn't allowed to because "the public wouldn't believe that a woman could be a Vietnam vet, they said."<sup>lxxxiii</sup> While many women activists reported rampant sexism in the antiwar movement, Hunt reports that the VVAW "actively recruited women and asked them to serve in positions of power,"<sup>lxxxiv</sup> so Mary Ann's experience is less consistent with historical likelihood.

Set in 1977, *Greetings from Planet Earth* (2007) portrays Vince, a vet who has come back to America, but who hasn't gone back to his home. Vince's PTSD and disgust with the war keep him from rejoining his family, who have convinced themselves that he's MIA. The novel contains an airport scene common in the Returned Vet books: Vince's twelve-year-old son, Theo, is at the airport to pick up his grandmother when he notices a soldier surrounded by "boys with long hair." They scream, "Baby killer! How many babies did you kill over there?" The soldier "didn't seem like he could kill anyone. He looked like he was going to cry."<sup>lxxxv</sup>

*Walking Wounded* (2014), the fifth novel in a series that primarily details four friends' experiences in Vietnam, features a brief confrontation between protesters outside a navy recruiter's office and Morris, an active-duty sailor home on leave. Morris thinks of the demonstrators as "know-nothing fathead idiots . . . who are probably just covering up their own shame and cowardice" by protesting.<sup>lxxxvi</sup> Morris is troubled when his air force friend Beck mentions his plans to join the VVAW and plans to "protest everywhere." When Morris writes to Beck, he says not to become a protester and then signs the letter, "your pal as long as you don't protest against me."<sup>lxxxvii</sup> Of course, Beck would be protesting the war not Morris, but Morris, like many other characters, doesn't see this distinction.

In all but two of these Returned Vet novels, protesters are seen verbally or physically assaulting vets. Historian Lembcke was so troubled by this present-day representation of Vietnam antiwar protesters that he set out to historically document the abuse. What he found flies in the face of our received perceptions.

The fact that there are no news reports of [protesters] spitting on veterans raises doubts about whether such incidents ever occurred, much less in a number that would justify the now-popular perception that the spat-upon Vietnam veteran is representative of the treatment veterans received upon their return home. If spitting on veterans had occurred all that frequently, surely some veteran or soldier would have called it to the attention of the press at that time. . . . There is no evidence that anyone at the time *thought* [this was] occurring. . . . Stories of veterans being abused by antiwar activists only surfaced years after the abuses were alleged to have happened. During the period in which soldiers returned from Vietnam, such stories were virtually nonexistent.<sup>lxxxviii</sup>

Protesters in these novels conform to a stereotypical image constructed well after the Vietnam era.

These are the novels where we would expect to see evidence of the GI antiwar movement, of veteran antiwar activity, and an exploration of the relationship between vets and the antiwar movement. Other than Mary Ann in *Lost in the War* and Beck's intentions in *Walking Wounded*, we have no Vietnam veteran becoming involved in antiwar activities in any of these novels. No one is a member of the VVAW or expresses any antiwar attitudes. While it's

true that not all Vietnam vets were antiwar or were involved in antiwar activities, Lembcke explains that “by [the] end of the war, veterans were playing a leading and militant role in opposition to it.”<sup>lxxxix</sup>

## Conclusion

It’s no understatement to claim that the Vietnam antiwar movement is either ignored or negatively misrepresented in the majority of these 53 novels. Only 30 novels acknowledge the existence of an antiwar movement—many of these with only one or two brief passages. Entirely positive representations of antiwar activists and activities exist in only one book, *One Day for Peace*, published in 1971—during the war and in the height of the movement.

The majority of the novels only give their setting dates obliquely and in ways that young readers aren’t likely to decipher (e.g., *Battle Fatigue* mentions the twenty-fifth anniversary of Pearl Harbor, *Too Big a Storm* mentions Woodstock); this lack of specific detail makes close analysis of antiwar activity difficult. Additionally, each of three narrative structure groups is perfectly positioned to explore specific aspects of the antiwar movement. Combat novels might have represented the GI movement—active-duty GIs often risking everything for their antiwar activism. Response to the War novels might have accurately shown young dedicated and organized activists participating in actual historical demonstrations. Returned Vet novels might have given us antiwar vets, who tirelessly worked to bring an end to war. This isn’t what young readers are shown. Antiwar characters do not express their positions in coherent detail, and no anti-antiwar characters ever examine then rebut antiwar positions. Instead, antiwar activists and antiwar ideas are routinely vilified, denigrated, and dismissed.

While the representations of the Vietnam antiwar movement in YA fiction may seem to be just a matter of passing interest, it’s of real importance. When young readers are repeatedly shown protesters as vicious idiots who regularly attacked veterans, they learn that there is no thoughtful or legitimate way to question our country’s war policies. When they’re never shown active-duty GIs and veterans who worked tirelessly as antiwar activists themselves, *this* dishonors veterans. These representations, combined with images of protesters ubiquitously spitting on veterans and shouting “baby killer” at them, have served to almost completely discredit the antiwar movement in YA fiction. These books lead us to equate “antiwar activism with dishonoring the troops,”<sup>xc</sup> despite the fact that the historical record doesn’t bear this out.

Finally, young readers must have access to accurate models and representations of activists, both civilian and military, because the bulk of our current YA Vietnam War novels prepare them to become unquestioning supporters of the next war.

## Appendix A: Novels

### *Combat Novels by Date of Publication*

- Archibald, Joe. 1967. *Special Forces Trooper*. New York: McKay.
- Butterworth, William. 1967. *Air Evac*. New York: Norton.
- . 1968. *Orders to Vietnam*. Boston: Little Brown.
- Dunn, Mary Lois. 1968. *The Man in the Box*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Elliott, Ellen. 1968. *Vietnam Nurse*. New York: Arcadia House.
- Butterworth, William. 1969. *Stop and Search*. Boston: Little, Brown.
- Dean, Nell. 1969. *Nurse in Vietnam*. New York: Messner.
- Graham, Gail. 1972. *Cross-Fire*. New York: Pantheon.
- Haldeman, Joe. 1972. *War Year*. New York: Winston.
- Karl, Terry. 1974. *Children of the Dragon*. San Francisco: People's Press.
- Clark, Ann Nolan. 1978. *To Stand against the Wind*. New York: Viking.
- Haldeman, Joe. 1978. *War Year*. 2nd ed. New York: Pocket.
- Myers, Walter Dean. 1988. *Fallen Angels*. New York: Scholastic.
- Emerson, Zack. 1991. *Welcome to Vietnam*. Echo Company Book One. New York: Scholastic.
- . 1991. *Hill 568*. Echo Company Book Two. New York: Scholastic.
- . 1991. *'Tis the Season*. Echo Company Book Three. New York: Scholastic.
- . 1992. *Stand Down*. Echo Company Book Four. New York: Scholastic.
- White, Ellen Emerson. 1995. *The Road Home*. An Echo Company Book. New York: Scholastic.
- Pevsner, Stella, and Fay Tang. 1997. *Sing for Your Father, Su Phan*. New York: Clarion.
- Gifford, Clive. 2001. *Water Puppets*. New York: Barron's.
- White, Ellen Emerson. 2002. *The Journal of Patrick Seamus Flaherty: USMV, Khe Sanh, Vietnam 1968*. New York: Scholastic.
- Hughes, Dean. 2005. *Search and Destroy*. New York: Atheneum.
- Lynch, Chris. 2011. *I Pledge Allegiance*. Vietnam Book One. New York: Scholastic.

- . 2012. *Free Fire Zone*. Vietnam Book Two. New York: Scholastic.
- . 2012. *Sharpshooter*. Vietnam Book Three. New York: Scholastic.
- . 2013. *Casualties of War*. Vietnam Book Four. New York: Scholastic.
- Watkins, Steve. 2018. *On Blood Road*. New York: Scholastic.

### *Response to the War Novels by Date of Publication*

- Crosby, Alexander. 1971. *One Day for Peace*. Boston: Little, Brown.
- Wolitzer, Meg. 1985. *Caribou*. New York: Greenwillow.
- Nelson, Theresa. 1989. *And One for All*. New York: Orchard.
- Rostkowski, Margaret. 1989. *The Best of Friends*. New York: Harper.
- Jones, Adrienne. 1990. *Long Time Passing*. New York: Harper.
- Qualey, Marsha. 1994. *Come in from the Cold*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- Schraff, Anne. 2000. *The Greatest Heroes*. Logan, IA: Perfection Learning.
- White, Ellen Emerson. 2002. *Where Have All the Flowers Gone? The Diary of Molly Mackenzie Flaherty*. New York: Scholastic.
- Testa, Maria. 2003. *Almost Forever*. Cambridge, MA: Candlewick.
- Qualey, Marsha. 2004. *Too Big a Storm*. New York: Dial.
- Sherlock, Patti. 2004. *Letters from Wolfie*. New York: Viking.
- Coulombis, Audrey. 2005. *Summer's End*. New York: Putnam.
- Woodworth, Chris. 2006. *Georgie's Moon*. New York: FSG.
- Dowell, Frances. 2008. *Shooting the Moon*. New York: Atheneum.
- Kurlansky, Mark. 2011. *Battle Fatigue*. New York: Walker Books.
- Wallace, Rich. 2011. *War and Watermelon*. New York: Viking.

### *Returned Vet Novels by Date of Publication*

- Wolkoff, Judie. 1980. *Where the Elf King Sings*. New York: Bradbury.
- Bograd, Larry. 1986. *Travelers*. New York: Lippincott.
- Dawson, Candy Boyd. 1987. *Charlie Pippin*. New York: Macmillan.
- Jensen, Kathryn. 1989. *Pocket Change*. New York: Macmillan.
- Antle, Nancy. 1993. *Tough Choices: A Story of the Vietnam War*. New York: Viking.
- White, Ellen Emerson. 1995. *The Road Home*. New York: Scholastic.

- Antle, Nancy. 1998. *Lost in the War*. New York: Dial.
- Hobbs, Valerie. 2002. *Sonny's War*. New York: FSG.
- Kerley, Barbara. 2007. *Greetings from Planet Earth*. New York: Scholastic.
- Lynch, Chris. 2014. *Walking Wounded*. Vietnam Book Five. New York: Scholastic.
- Watkins, Steve. 2015. *Lost at Khe Sanh*. New York: Scholastic.

## Notes

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- <sup>i</sup> Vietnam Veterans Memorial Fund, "Social Makeup of Forces," <http://www.vvmf.org/education-military-social-makeup-of-forces> (accessed February 9, 2019).
- <sup>ii</sup> James W. Loewen, *Lies My Teacher Told Me: Everything Your American History Textbook Got Wrong* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1995), 240–47.
- <sup>iii</sup> Frances FitzGerald, *Fire in the Lake: The Vietnamese and the Americans in Vietnam* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1972), 124–27.
- <sup>iv</sup> William Griffen and John Marciano, *Teaching the Vietnam War: A Critical Examination of School Texts and an Interpretive Comparative History Utilizing "The Pentagon Papers" and Other Documents* (Montclair, NJ: Allanheld, Osmun & Co., 1979).
- <sup>v</sup> Bill Bigelow, "Rethinking the Teaching of the Vietnam War," *Rethinking Schools* (Spring 2003), <http://rethinkingschools.aidcvt.com/war/readings/viet173.shtml> (accessed February 3, 2019).
- <sup>vi</sup> Loewen, *Lies My Teacher Told Me*, 251.
- <sup>vii</sup> Jerry Lembcke, *The Spitting Image: Myth, Memory, and the Legacy of Vietnam* (New York: New York University Press, 1998), 2.
- <sup>viii</sup> *Ibid.*, 22.
- <sup>ix</sup> Joe Archibald, *Special Forces Trooper* (New York: McKay, 1967), 22.
- <sup>x</sup> Walter Dean Myers, *Fallen Angels* (New York: Scholastic, 1988), 146.
- <sup>xi</sup> Chris Lynch, *Casualties of War*, Vietnam Book Four (New York: Scholastic, 2013), 105.
- <sup>xii</sup> Zack Emerson, *Stand Down*, Echo Company Book Four (New York: Scholastic, 1992), 274.
- <sup>xiii</sup> Dean Hughes, *Search and Destroy* (New York: Atheneum, 2005), 36, 62, 112, 206.
- <sup>xiv</sup> Ellen Emerson White, *The Road Home* (New York: Scholastic, 1995), 154.
- <sup>xv</sup> Ellen Emerson White, *The Journal of Patrick Seamus Flaherty: USMV, Khe Sanh, Vietnam 1968* (New York: Scholastic, 2002), 121, 167.
- <sup>xvi</sup> *Ibid.*, 176.
- <sup>xvii</sup> John Kerry and the Vietnam Veterans Against the War, *The New Soldier* (New York: Macmillan, 1971).
- <sup>xviii</sup> David Cortright, "GI Resistance during the Vietnam War," in *Give Peace a Chance: Exploring the Vietnam Antiwar Movement*, ed. Melvin Small and William Hoover (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1992), 116–28.
- <sup>xix</sup> Lembcke, *The Spitting Image*.
- <sup>xx</sup> Quoted in *ibid.*, 47.
- <sup>xxi</sup> *Ibid.*, 58.

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- xxii Terry Anderson, "The GI Movement and the Response from the Brass," in *Give Peace a Chance: Exploring the Vietnam Antiwar Movement*, ed. Melvin Small and William Hoover (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1992), 93–115, 106.
- xxiii Cortright, "GI Resistance during the Vietnam War," 117.
- xxiv Quoted in *Sir! No Sir!* Directed by David Zeiger (Displaced Films, Pangea Productions Ltd., 2005).
- xxv *Special Forces Trooper* (1967), *Children of the Dragon* (1974), *The Road Home*, Part 1 (1995), *The Journal of Patrick Seamus Flaherty* (2002), *Casualties of War*, Vietnam Book Four (2013), and *On Blood Road* (2018).
- xxvi *Fallen Angels* (1988), *Stand Down*, Echo Company Book Four (1992), and *Search and Destroy* (2005).
- xxvii Alexander Crosby, *One Day for Peace* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1971), 36.
- xxviii Melvin Small, *Antiwarriors: The Vietnam War and the Battle for America's Hearts and Minds* (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 2002), 101.
- xxix Crosby, *One Day for Peace*, 63.
- xxx Theresa Nelson, *And One for All* (New York: Orchard Books, 1989), 17, 113.
- xxxi Margaret Rostkowski, *The Best of Friends* (New York: Harper, 1989), 95.
- xxxii Adrienne Jones, *Long Time Passing* (New York: Harper, 1990), 200.
- xxxiii David Cortright, *Soldiers in Revolt: The American Military Today* (New York: Doubleday, 1975), 60.
- xxxiv Marsha Qualey, *Come in from the Cold* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1994), 55.
- xxxv *Ibid.*, 70.
- xxxvi *Ibid.*, 94, 99.
- xxxvii *Ibid.*, 143.
- xxxviii Lembcke, *The Spitting Image*, 75.
- xxxix Marsha Qualey, *Too Big a Storm* (New York: Dial, 2004), 199.
- xl Lembcke, *The Spitting Image*, 52.
- xli Qualey, *Too Big a Storm*, 62.
- xlii Anne Schraff, *The Greatest Heroes* (Logan, IA: Perfection Learning, 2000), 47, 41.
- xliii *Ibid.*, 47.
- xliv *Ibid.*, 63, 64.
- xlv Lembcke, *The Spitting Image*, 33.
- xlvi Schraff, *The Greatest Heroes*, 69, 68.
- xlvii *Ibid.*, 72.
- xlviii *Ibid.*, 130.
- xlix *Ibid.*, 141.
- <sup>1</sup> Ellen Emerson White, *Where Have All the Flowers Gone? The Diary of Molly Mackenzie Flaherty* (New York: Scholastic, 2002), 33.
- li *Ibid.*, 35.
- lii *Ibid.*, 108.
- liii *Ibid.*, 165.
- liv Valerie Hobbs, *Sonny's War* (New York: FSG, 2002), 82.
- lv Patti Sherlock, *Letters from Wolfie* (New York: Viking, 2004), 112.
- lvi *Ibid.*, 144.
- lvii *Ibid.*, 200.

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- lviii Audrey Couloumbis, *Summer's End* (New York: Putnam, 2005), 120, 140.
- lix *Ibid.*, 6.
- lx Chris Woodworth, *Georgie's Moon* (New York: FSG, 2006), 43.
- lxi *Ibid.*, 72.
- lxii Rich Wallace, *War and Watermelon* (New York: Viking, 2011), 33.
- lxiii *Ibid.*
- lxiv *Ibid.*, 158, 183.
- lxv Mark Kurlansky, *Battle Fatigue* (New York: Walker Books, 2011), 151.
- lxvi Michael Foley, *Confronting the War Machine: Draft Resistance during the Vietnam War* (Durham: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 13.
- lxvii Kurlansky, *Battle Fatigue*, 151.
- lxviii Qualey, *Too Big a Storm*, 9.
- lxix Qualey, *Come in from the Cold*, 161.
- lxx Andrew Hunt, *The Turning: A History of Vietnam Veterans Against the War* (New York: New York University Press, 1999); Cortright, "GI Resistance during the Vietnam War"; Cortright, *Soldiers in Revolt*; Lembcke, *The Spitting Image*.
- lxxi Lembcke, *The Spitting Image*, 2.
- lxxii *Tough Choices: A Story of the Vietnam War* (1993), *The Road Home*, Part 2 (1995), and *Walking Wounded*, Vietnam Book Five (2014).
- lxxiii Judie Wolkoff, *Where the Elf King Sings* (New York: Bradbury, 1980), 155.
- lxxiv Candy Boyd Dawson, *Charlie Pippin* (New York: Macmillan, 1987), 78.
- lxxv Larry Bograd, *Travelers* (New York: Lippincott, 1986), 100.
- lxxvi Nancy Antle, *Tough Choices: A Story of the Vietnam War* (New York: Viking, 1993), 11.
- lxxvii *Ibid.*, 55.
- lxxviii Ellen Emerson White, *The Road Home*, An Echo Company Book (New York: Scholastic, 1995), 223, 225, 242.
- lxxix *Ibid.*, 223, 225, 230.
- lxxx *Ibid.*, 276.
- lxxxi *Ibid.*, 328.
- lxxxii Cortright, *Soldiers in Revolt*, 54.
- lxxxiii Nancy Antle, *Lost in the War* (New York: Dial, 1998), 16.
- lxxxiv Hunt, *The Turning*, 2.
- lxxxv Barbara Kerley, *Greetings from Planet Earth* (New York: Scholastic, 2007), 151.
- lxxxvi Chris Lynch, *Walking Wounded*, Vietnam Book Five (New York: Scholastic, 2014), 149.
- lxxxvii *Ibid.*, 155, 166.
- lxxxviii Lembcke, *The Spitting Image*, 74–75, 81.
- lxxxix *Ibid.*, 139.
- xc David Sirota, "The Legend of the Spat-Upon Veteran," Common Dreams.org, June 1, 2012, <https://www.commondreams.org/views/2012/06/01/legend-spat-upon-veteran> (accessed December 17, 2018).