

THE VIETNAM WAR AND THE AMERICAN SHADOW

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I. THE MYTHIC ARENA OF WAR

When bombs fall and bullets fly, when guns rattle, when men charge and scream and grapple, when forests and mountains burn, when the earth fragments beneath or around us, surely we are in a merciless arena, an arena of extremes. During battle, the heart beats too hard. Adrenaline pumps too fast. Muscles, bones and mind strain beyond capacity and still perform. Thoughts and feelings fly by as quickly as bullets and disappear unrecognized. Sensations bombard far too quickly to be processed.

And then it stops. Suddenly, though the system is still in overdrive, all is still. The world returns to its quietude. We try to awaken from the trance-like experience. We look around. Where there was a forest or a village, we see fire and devastation. People, perhaps just body parts, are scattered at our feet. We shake our heads, remember our humanity, look for our friends. But some of them, with whom we were just talking, are groaning in pain. Some just lie at our feet and will never respond to us again. The world has returned to us, but suddenly it is different forever. We have helped make it so. We don't know exactly how or why, but we too are different forever.

Nor do we have the time to figure out who or what we have become. The waiting and watching start in again. Though we are still frightened, days may pass with nothing to do but the most routine of tasks. We become bored. Our boredom too reaches an extreme and can be worse than battle. We long to break the tedium that has no other outlet but through the gun we have been trained to indulge in at these other human beings we have been taught to call "enemy." Finally, we crave battle.

Under such distress, we are in an arena comprised of the most elemental conditions. Under such conditions, some of us may behave with the greatest courage. Under these same conditions, and with the dictum "kill or be killed" ruling our survival, some of us may also display the greatest cruelty or cowardice.

War tears open and destroys all ordinary categories of existence. It blasts the participant with experiences of supernatural intensity, as if each participant were in a mythic dimension, full of forces of cosmic power, where only such ultimates as life and death, and getting through the day, and keeping your socks dry and your neighbor alive, matter. As the World War II correspondent Ernie Pyle wrote from the front lines, "War makes strange giant creatures out of us little routine men who inhabit the earth."¹ War is inherently a mythic arena.

What do war and its conditions do to our archetypal life? The soul's container and patterns are shattered. As James Hillman writes, "Some accidents swamp the boat, bust the form. For example, 'shell shock,' as post-traumatic stress disorder was called during the First World War..."² Homer tells us that, during the Trojan War, Aphrodite was wounded by Diomedes and fled to Olympus for safety. In the same way, during modern warfare the soul itself is wounded by savagery and tries to flee its connections with this world.

War breaks open a society's forms as well, cracking our social containers so that the cultural shadow leaks out, revealing both the best and the worst in a culture and

society as well as in its participants. “War is sweet to those who have not tried it,” Pindar sang. “The experienced man is frightened at the heart to see it advancing.”³ As a willful activity chosen by a society, we civilized people believe that war is, or ought to be, the last resort, a final strategy used only under the most extreme and threatening conditions when all other have options failed.

Clearly, however, war is rarely such a last resort. It was used regularly and ritually, with significant containment and casualties kept to a minimum, in most traditional cultures. But in the history of mass civilizations, it appears regularly, usually with more patriotic exuberance than fright at its advance, certainly with far more destruction and death in its wake. War is an activity used more often and handily than we would wish.

Intimately tied to the human shadow, war reveals a great deal about a particular society’s shadow. War invites all that is primitive, suppressed, denied, rationalized or disguised in a particular culture to rush out unrestrained and display itself in all its savagery on that part of the globe chosen to temporarily serve as its arena. It is as if, during warfare, the tag-team of spirit and shadow of an entire culture pits itself in the arena against the tag-team of the opposing culture. To examine war from an archetypal perspective may thus help us see a culture’s values as its entire moral and spiritual life swings its club.

No American war in living memory has been more controversial than the Vietnam War. We can turn to Vietnam veterans to examine our behavior as a culture-at-war. On both the personal and cultural levels, the Vietnam War reveals archetypal dimensions that America did not want to see.

II. THE VIETNAM WAR: LOSS OF INNOCENCE AND SHATTERING OF BELIEF

While maintaining a general private psychotherapy practice since 1976, I have specialized in the treatment of Vietnam and other war veterans, many of whom suffer Post-traumatic Stress Disorder, and have directed a Veterans Treatment Program. While we cannot say that all Vietnam veterans suffer post-traumatic stress disorder, it is well established in the veterans’ treatment field that “the vast majority of Vietnam-era veterans have had a much more problematic readjustment to civilian life than did their WWII and Korean War counterparts.”⁴ It is also understood that symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder “are experienced by all Vietnam combat veterans to varying degrees.”⁵ Those veterans who are diagnosed are the ones likely to experience a majority of the disorder’s symptoms in a chronic, debilitating manner.

Approximately 2.8 million individuals served in southeast Asia, one million seeing combat, with an average age of 19.⁶ By as early as 1978, a half million of these had been diagnosed as having post-traumatic stress disorder, “affecting not only the veteran but countless millions of persons who are in contact with them.”⁷ Not every veteran returned home with significant problems or has stress disorder. Yet the number of diagnosed cases has risen steadily over the last twenty years. Today, men and women in their forties, fifties and sixties may still find their lives interrupted by that war’s aftermath and seek treatment. These individuals, whose symptoms are trying to speak, enable us to examine the archetypal dimensions of the Vietnam War.

In nineteen years of treating army, navy and marine combat and non-combat veterans for the psychological aftermath of the Vietnam War, I have not treated a single veteran who feels, in retrospect, that that war or their service in it was correct, moral, justified or honorable.

As a culture, we have heard the pain and complaints of Vietnam veterans since they began returning from southeast Asia. Alienation, nightmares, flashbacks, violent behavior, drug and alcohol abuse, intimacy and employment problems, throwing medals at the Pentagon, refusing to vote or pay taxes, all began even before the war was over. Robert Jay Lifton's seminal psychohistorical work on veterans' suffering, Home From the War appeared as the bombs were still falling.⁸

During the war, the youth of this country, the generation being asked to fight this war, was in terrible pain. The veterans were letting us know their pain as soon as they returned. The massive protests, demonstrations and actions staged at home against the war indicated overwhelming generational pain and doubt. Not to have adequately addressed the pain of our veterans either during the war or since, no matter what one's opinion on the correctness of the war, amounted to denial of the most overwhelming degree. One tank corps veteran said to me, "The main lesson I learned in Vietnam is that Denial is the name of the all-American disease."

What is being denied? That our youth, our families, our own and an entire foreign nation were in pain. That we can't participate in warfare without causing pain to ourselves and others. That war is utterly frightening and terrible. That America's prevailing cultural mythology of patriotism, super-heroism, geopolitical war of good against evil was terribly wrong and misleading in its depiction of war, its human consequences, and our true intentions. That in modern times warfare has become especially brutal because it is practiced with advanced technology devastating in its impact. That in modern times we do not practice war with the rituals and restraint that aid the participant in survival and recovery. That nobody can participate in modern warfare and emerge psychologically unscathed. That the pain of war does not go away when the bullets stop flying. That, as one jungle combat survivor wrote, "What you do, you become."⁹ What one does in one moment under the most extreme conditions will define and shape that life forever. War teaches all these existential verities.

And all these are denied by American culture. As a culture, we claim innocence, as though we Americans were above, or immune from, such unavoidable truths. We believe and behave as if we are doing God's work when we destroy other peoples and cultures. We transplanted ourselves from Europe and took this continent from its original inhabitants by force and within the protective context of a God-blessed mythology. As a nation, we have been repeating our birth drama in like manner ever since. We Americans try to conquer other peoples and land "for their own good," or for our manifest destiny, because "we're number one," because we know and do better than other people, because it is our sacred task to slay an evil demon incarnate in the foreign other. And we seem to have had the special blessing-curse of having our "God-blessed-good-guy-at-war-to-stop-evil" mythology upheld and proven to us in World War II.

The Vietnam War was conducted within this mythological context. Many young soldiers who went to war and Americans at home believed we were doing the right thing in fighting the spread of the evil demon of Communism. The reports of atrocities in Vietnam, the failure of our political and military aims over so long a span of time, the

pain, anger and dysfunctionality of returning veterans did not teach us to shed our innocence and admit our darkness. The most devastating lesson to many of our veterans was the discovery that we as a nation and they as our agents were not the good cavalry saving the helpless settlers from savages, or blessed crusaders slaying the black pajamaed invaders from the Evil Empire. Rather, they discovered that those we were trying to save saw us as the savage enemy needing to be stopped by their own painful, heroic sacrifices. This discovery shocked the archetypal foundation on which their psychology of goodness and innocence was based:

I laid my gun across my legs and, while the Vietnamese family stared at me without daring to move, I stared out the door of their hut.

That doorway was like a picture frame on the world... like I was staring out through God's eyes, looking down at Vietnam and all we were doing. I watched from this great distance... as... the men I fought with, the good guys, yelled like idiots and pushed these little people around.... I watched my buddies walk over to the hut right across from me... and torch it.... I looked at the family cowering in fear by my side. I looked across the way at my friend, the good guy, and another terrified mamasan....the flames... destroy[ing] her home.

Suddenly I knew.... Something woke up in me. Good and evil. Honor and dishonor. Right and wrong. These had been automatic concepts... but at that moment... they were real, living things. You earned them by torturing yourself with questions until you really knew what was right and good and honorable, not because someone told you, but because you saw....

I watched my buddies burn another hut, then another.... They weren't gooks, for God's sake!... They were a helpless mother and her terrified little children! After six months in the bush I saw them for the first time... They weren't evil. They weren't the enemies. They weren't the bad guys. We were!...

Everything was turned around. I swear, I knew who the bad guys were and I wanted to raise my M-16 and blast away at these crazy marauding Americans who were wasting this helpless village. Now I had a soul and I wanted to save it and these people by doing the right thing and defending them, even if it cost me my life....

I just walked off in a stupor while they... torched the hut. My hut with my family in it. Where I found my soul. Where I figured out the truth. I was in a daze for a long time. Then I went numb for the rest of my tour....

At the very moment I found my soul, at the very moment it woke up and I could see the truth for the first time in my life, at that very second when I knew we were evil, it fled, I lost it.¹⁰

A cloud of despair and a moral stain settled over America as a result of our behavior in Vietnam. It is as though the tens of thousands of veterans in chronic anguish

are, collectively, the most apparent symptoms of our national soul-sickness regarding the Vietnam War. Though in distress, America still did not address the archetypal dimensions of the problem. Rather, as President Bush and military leaders indicated at the time, the Gulf War was staged, in large part, to overcome our Vietnam syndrome. George Bush confided to his diaries much the same thought that he declared in public: He wanted a decisive outcome to “finally kick in totally the Vietnam syndrome.”¹¹ The public, political belief was that our national sickness of soul concerning the Vietnam War stemmed not from loss of innocence but from losing the war. “All the Gulf War proved,” one Vietnam combat veteran said to me, “was that we Americans don’t like to lose.” But now we have the mysterious Gulf War syndrome, by 1995 afflicting more than 30,000 of the 550,000 soldiers sent to the Gulf.¹² This syndrome is ushering in a new generation of veterans suffering a gestalt of soul-sickness nobody can explain and our officials want to deny. Our strategy of reclaiming our innocence through yet more warfare did not work.

Existential verities are, indeed, revealed by war. War can teach its participants that life is short and fragile, that its challenges must be met with courage, that we are agents of both creation and destruction and so should act with wisdom, restraint and compassion. These lessons are difficult to embrace even under the most generous cultural conditions. Yet far more than these existential verities of war are rendered invisible by American denial. America claims innocence as its fundamental character trait. “[B]elief allowed them to go forward uncorrupted in the midst of dirty doings, untouched by their own shadow, innocent,” James Hillman writes about characteristic American public figures. “[I]t is precisely this American habit of belief that... must be the essence of the American character...”¹³

We can say the same about our veterans. As a culture we believe that our boys should be able “to go forward uncorrupted in the midst of dirty doings” and return home innocent and well. That is how the quintessential American war hero John Wayne portrayed the experience of warfare to generations of Americans. His importance as a cultural role model cannot be underestimated because he was just a movie star. One night very soon after his arrival in Vietnam, one infantry veteran I worked with attended a movie screening at his base camp. He watched Yul Brynner in “The Magnificent Seven” shoot down evil banditos. Afterwards he declared to himself, “now I know why I’m here.” Every other Vietnam veteran I have worked with refers to John Wayne as a guiding image and model. “I was seduced by World War II and John Wayne movies.”¹⁴ Part of our American innocence is expressed in our Hollywood consciousness. We believe that as we redefine and remake both ourselves and life in the movies, so can we do to ourselves and life as we live it. The Hollywood enterprise replicates through technology the innocence of self creation, of the American Adam, at the beginning of history, free to start over on our own terms. Thus John Wayne could successfully avoid conscription during World War II, never serve in war or taste its true nature, yet through public performance of how he and we wish war to be, establish himself as the role model for American soldiers.

American servicemen were portrayed as coming home from World War II with no pain. The supposed minority of psychological casualties were hidden in the back wards of veterans’ hospitals. But millions of people, indeed our entire society seemed happy that the great adventure was over. America was proud of its successful participation in

the world wide battle against evil. It moved on to the good life as defined by consumerism, with only a nostalgic glance backwards for the lost adventures of youth.

Denial is certainly not a cultural habit limited to the Vietnam War. Rather, denial accompanies our very practice of warfare as well as other social policies and actions. World War II veterans being treated generously at conflict's end is the historical exception rather than the rule for America's treatment of its returning veterans. Perhaps what was unique, even successful, about the Vietnam War was that so many people, both veterans and non-veterans, screamed out against denial. "The capacity to deny, to remain innocent, to use belief as a protection against sophistications of every sort - intellectual, aesthetic, moral, psychological - keeps the American character from awakening," says Hillman.¹⁵ The severity of Vietnam veterans' suffering with and symptoms of Post-traumatic Stress Disorder are in direct response and proportion to the enormity of our culture's denial of their pain. Post-traumatic Stress Disorder, in its archetypal sense, represents the anguish, dislocation and rage of the soul as it attempts to awaken from such massive denial.

The Vietnam War destroyed the veterans' innocence. This is so not just on the individual psychological dimension, which could be damaging enough in itself but is a necessary component of the passage to adulthood. Even more devastating was that the Vietnam War destroyed veterans' ability to participate in America's mystique of innocence. The war removed many veterans from participating or girding themselves in this essential American character trait of innocence. Among my clients, an air force squadron commander realized we were the bad guys as he watched us napalm beautiful, virginal mountains along the Laotian border; an army truck driver realized it when he was ordered to exhume and relocate bodies of enemy dead with his back hoe; a machine gunner, as North Vietnamese were throwing themselves at his emplacement; in a flash, his weapon blazing, he saw that those we called enemies were human beings with families awaiting their return, yet willing to sacrifice their lives for a cause greater than themselves while all he wanted to do was get home in one piece, even if it meant killing them.

Recovering the times, places, incidents during which the moral character and soul of a veteran awakened in the field is essential. The awakening is Janus-faced, looking simultaneously at both past and present, the found and the lost. In the field, the marine found and lost himself at the same moment. Now, at home and reexperiencing the war imaginally, he can reclaim the discovery of his soul and of a truthful moral order, fight fiercely to hold tightly to both soul and its code, and shape his adult years by that effort.

Veterans with Post-traumatic Stress Disorder are people with their personal and collective belief systems shattered. Such people are no longer innocent. They no longer believe that we or our actions, values or policies are inherently good. Such people are, in an essential moral and spiritual sense, no longer American because they have left, abandoned, or felt banished from the American mythological context. "I'm not an American," one helicopter gunner who neither voted, paid taxes, nor obtained a driver's license, often said to me. "I'm a citizen of the underground."

It becomes clear why so many of the homeless on our urban streets, more than twenty or thirty per cent by some estimates, are Vietnam veterans. "On any given night, an estimated 271,000 of the nation's 26.4 million veterans are homeless," 55-60% of these having served during the Vietnam era.¹⁶ Vietnam veterans in overwhelming

numbers have been demonstrating to us that their war and homecoming experiences shattered their American belief systems, including their belief in their own goodness and innocence. This shattering and not merely individual psychological dysfunction did, indeed, render them homeless.

Homelessness is not merely an economic condition to be remedied by social programs. Rather, homelessness is an archetypal condition in which the city, the state, not as historical nation but as *polis*, the essential political body of which we are an integral part, is not the proper and fit home for the individual. Socrates' friends offered him escape and exile and he refused. His soul could not leave its Athens home and would serve it even through death. Vietnam veterans, in contrast, tell us with their homelessness and post-traumatic stress disorder that their souls cannot come home to or be at home in America. They do not fit in a culture based on the belief in its own innocence and denial of its shadow, despite overwhelming evidence to the contrary, evidence with which the Vietnam veteran is painfully familiar.

III. THE AMERICAN SHADOW IN VIETNAM

Images of the American shadow, fleeting glimpses of the mythic giant, fly by like tracers, glowing and bleeding against a green jungle backdrop. They bombard the psyche saturated with Vietnam battle scenes, enflame for a second and are gone before they can be grabbed. Regarding the Vietnam War we are tempted to be like Cyclops, one-eyed, narrowed, dull-witted, without peripheral vision. The chaotic nature and overwhelming pain of the war makes us not want to see it clearly. The shadow giant hides in shadowland.

With innocence and belief systems shattered by the brutality of technological warfare, the psychological and cultural containers of young men fighting in Vietnam were shattered. Two critical psychological events occurred. The shadow leaked, flowed, exploded through the many soldier's psychological remnants. Then, without humanizing restraints, the warrior archetype became free to possess the soldier. The warrior archetype itself is not inherently brutal or sadistic, but honorable and protective. However, sadism in war and life, according to Robert Moore, occurs when the ego has been shattered and the shadow warrior takes possession of the psyche.¹⁷ Many young Americans in Vietnam became operatives of the American shadow. Veterans with post-traumatic stress disorder still carry the moral stain and archetypal damage. They live in the shadow cast by the Shadow. The veteran, to rebuild his container and cleanse his soul, must become conscious of the full dimensions of the mythic arena in which his soul was damaged. Where was he when he was in Vietnam? What war was he truly fighting? Here are some partial answers:

1. Indian Country

Enemy territory in Vietnam was known as "Indian Country."

Numbered hills we killed and died for one day were given up the next; frightened or incompetent field officers; higher commanders making bets with soldiers' lives; learning to say "It don't mean nothing" as men looked upon their dead; burning and destroying people's homes, huts, livestock, gardens; poisoning and igniting entire forests

and jungles; prostitution; back marketeering; drugs; rape; torture; body bags; mass executions of villagers; secret assassinations of any political figures, no matter how large or small; fraggings and assassinations of our own people. This is not John Wayne behavior. Is this how Americans fight?

Think of the Vietnam War as the American frontier myth displaced to a virginal Asian forest among a people as different looking as were the Native Americans to our European ancestors, reenacted to its frenzied extreme, with attack helicopters and fighter planes for our cavalry horses and monstrously destructive weaponry for carbines and sabers. This is how Americans fight when we have not integrated the wounds of our own historical past but instead are given an undifferentiated mythic arena in which to reenact that past.

2. "Waste them!"

"Waste" was the code word combatants used to indicate killing. In military slang, to waste was to kill an enemy. The word was quickly applied to any Vietnamese person and to livestock. Soon to waste was to destroy a hut, a home, a village, a rice paddy, a mountain, a jungle. In Vietnam, we attempted to waste an entire people.

Think of the Vietnam War as our consumer culture displaced to a jungle among people and a landscape not our own, with no rules or rituals to restrain or humanize it so that we were free to carry the shadow dimensions of consumerism - its blind, devouring hunger, its incessant making and disposing of waste - to its extreme. When we stopped fighting, we left behind the world's second largest military air force for Vietnamese defenders. When we finally evacuated Saigon, we dumped much of it into the ocean. We are still paying the bills.

"Waste them" did not only refer to the Vietnamese. During the war, American minorities and the poor were represented among our troops in numbers far beyond their proportion in the population. So we practiced the wasting of American youths. American draft practices began to empty the ghettos and the hills. Those who did not fit into the American Dream were taken off our American streets where they might be a danger because of their disaffection. The Vietnam War occurred simultaneous to the Civil Rights movement. The War in Asia heated up as did racial unrest at home. Think of the Vietnam War as population control, as tear gas and water hoses on the ghettos. The military has always been one of the few potential ways up and out of poverty and hopelessness in America. During Vietnam, the way out was through fire.

And "waste them" referred to the treatment of veterans since returning from the war. No parades, no homecoming rituals, spit on at airports - these were the easy, surface signs. The long term neglect and ignorance is much more insidious.¹⁸ For decades, Agent Orange complaints were ridiculed by governmental authorities.¹⁹ Veterans have been dispensed drugs at VA hospitals as if they were at candy stores. Vets have shown me their computer printouts of their drug dispensation and intake histories; they read like the chemistry set experiments of mad scientists. In hospital, veterans were put in body coffins during flashbacks. By the late 1980s, more than 60,000 veterans had committed suicide since returning from Vietnam, more than were killed during the entire war.²⁰ Imagine the black wall of names that is the Vietnam Memorial in Washington being more than twice the length it already is. If Post-traumatic Stress Disorder is the soul screaming its anguish, then America wastes the veterans carrying that anguish. Think of our

treatment of Vietnam veterans since returning from the war as our collective cultural attempt to kill the messenger.

IV. EMERGING FROM THE SHADOW

“Accident” is the word James Hillman uses for those events that seem to unexpectedly knock our souls off their projected course. Participation in war is a traumatic accident - unplanned, unexpected, and cosmological in its distortion and destruction of previous form. The archetypal approach to Post-traumatic Stress Disorder necessitates, in Hillman’s words, that we

keep accident as an authentic category of existence, forcing speculations about existence.... What does it mean, why did it happen, what does it want?

Continuing reappraisals are part of the aftershock. The accident may never be integrated, but it may strengthen the integrity of the soul’s form by adding to it perplexity, sensitivity, vulnerability, and scar tissue.²¹

The archetypal perspective reveals Post-traumatic Stress Disorder among Vietnam veterans to be many things. It is the shape of the soul’s broken container due to its participation in unspeakably brutal modern technological warfare. It is the soul’s cry of anguish. It is the moral stain the soul carries from being an operative of the shadow. It is the soul’s attempts to purge and cleanse. It is the ongoing shock of witness. It is the dislocation at returning to a culture denying such witness an audience and making war on the returned veterans’ truths. It is the homelessness of the veterans’ souls in a *polis* no longer their own. It is a troubled incomplete presence in place of a full, dignified warrior archetype. It is continued possession by the shadow warrior archetype because the returned soldier is no longer on a battlefield or in a jungle and is supposed to be civilized and restrained in a culture that does not a mature warrior identity to its veterans. It makes the carrier a walking, breathing symptom of the culture’s soul sickness, a scar on the streets of a country that tries to deny its own shadow and offers no rituals for containing yet expressing it. It becomes the identity of one who has participated in apocalypse and been abandoned there.

Effective psychotherapy for veterans with Post-traumatic Stress Disorder must address all these archetypal dimensions. Such therapy must include going on patrol with the veteran into the dark corners of the American shadow as they are revealed both in the jungles and at home. It must have the courage to stare into the horror of apocalypse. It must seek and gather the remnants of soul left there. It must discover how, when, where the soul awakened, protested, betrayed itself, went silent, became terrified or numbed. It must effect a return that tends to the needs of returning warriors, as many ancient or traditional cultures did. It must offer the veteran the possibility of developing a new identity as honorable returned warrior. Ultimately, it must effect an imaginal initiation into a new form of warriorhood.

The warrior archetype in its mature condition helps an individual serve the community in truth. The mature warrior has witnessed to the horror and shadow, and so can recognize it and help protect against its outbreak. This is what the accident of war wants of its survivor. Only in this new identity can the soul that has survived modern war regain a necessary and life-affirming form and restore its integrity.

The archetype of the warrior is a necessary component of both psyche and culture that cannot and should not be eradicated. Healing for veterans must consist of embracing the warrior archetype while cleansing it of its shadow dimensions. Healing for our world can occur only with the wisdom, restraint and dark witness that mature warriors can offer.

¹ Nichols, David, ed. Ernie's War: The Best of Ernie Pyle's World War II Dispatches. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1987. P. 87

² Hillman, James. The Soul's Code: In Search of Character and Calling. New York: Random House, 1996. P. 207.

³ Richard Lattimore, trans. Greek Lyrics. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960.

⁴ Jim Goodwin, "The Etiology of Combat-related Post-traumatic Stress Disorders," in Tom Williams, editor. Post-traumatic Stress Disorders: A Handbook for Clinicians. Cincinnati: Disabled American Veterans, 1987. P. 7.

⁵ Goodwin, p. 8.

⁶ Goodwin, p. 6-7.

⁷ Goodwin, p. 8.

⁸ Robert Jay Lifton. Home From the War: Vietnam Veterans, Neither Victims Nor Executioners. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1973.

⁹ Gustav Hasford. The Short Timers. New York: Bantam, 1980. P. 55.

¹⁰ Edward Tick, "Satori in the Hut." Pilgrimage: Psychotherapy and Personal Exploration, 19:3, Summer, 1993, pp. 24-26.

¹¹ George Bush, Presidential Diaries, quoted in Herbert Parmet. George Bush. NY: Scribner's, 1997. P. 479.

¹² Eric Schmitt, "The Gulf War Veteran: Victorious in War, Not Yet at Peace." The New York Times. May 29, 1995. Section 4, p. 1.

¹³ Hillman, p. 268.

¹⁴ Mark Baker. Nam: The Vietnam War in the Words of the Men and Women Who Fought There (New York: William Morrow, 1981), p. 33. This quote is notable not for its uniqueness but for its commonality. Echoed by a vast majority of Vietnam veterans, it is a mantra of a media generation.

¹⁵ Hillman, p. 268.

¹⁶ Schmitt, Section 4, p. 4.

¹⁷ Robert Moore and Douglas Gillette. The Warrior Within: Accessing the Knight in the Male Psyche. New York: William Morrow, 1992. Pp. 132 ff.

¹⁸ For a fuller treatment of the symptoms and consequences of such neglect, see Edward Tick, "Neglecting Our Vietnam Wounds." Voices: the Art and Science of Psychotherapy. Spring, 1986, 22:1, 46-56.

¹⁹ For an early yet definitive examination of the Agent Orange problem, see Fred A. Wilcox. Waiting for an Army to Die: The Tragedy of Agent Orange. New York: Vintage, 1983.

²⁰ W.H. Capps. The Unfinished War: Vietnam and the American Conscience. Boston: Beacon Press, 1982.

²¹ Hillman, p. 207.