APPENDIX

A Select Chronology of Australian Involvement in the Vietnam War

1950
14 January
Ho Chi Minh declares Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

7 February
United States and United Kingdom recognize the French-sponsored government of the former emperor, Bao Dai.

8 February
Australia recognizes Bao Dai Government.

9 March
Percy Spender, minister of external affairs, speaks of the domino theory in the House of Representatives.

8 May
United States provides $10 million in military and economic aid to the Bao Dai Government.

1951
ANZUS treaty signed.

1953
Jean Letourneau, French Minister in charge of Indochinese matters, invited to visit Australia to discuss aid.

1954
John Foster Dulles, U.S. secretary of state, encourages "united action" during the Indochina crisis.

7 May
Battle of Dien Bien Phu lost by the French and Bao Dai forces.

8 September
South East Asia Treaty Organisation (SEATO) formed with initial signatories: United States, United Kingdom, France, Australia, New Zealand, Pakistan, Thailand, and the Philippines.

9 October
France leaves Hanoi.

1955
United States provides aid directly to Saigon; Australia sends troops to aid in Malayan Emergency.
160  Appendix

1957  May  Ngo Dinh Diem, president of South Vietnam, visits United States.
        September  Ngo Dinh Diem visits Australia.

1960  20 December  National Liberation Front (NLF) is founded by Hanoi for the liberation of South Vietnam.

1961

        Laotian crisis.
        Indonesia incorporates former Dutch West New Guinea colony as Irian Jaya.
        17 November  United States seeks diplomatic indications of Australia's stance on, and willingness to assist in, South Vietnam.

1962  Very Low Frequency “joint” U.S.-Australian naval communications station established at North West Cape, Western Australia.

        13 January  Operation Ranch Hand (defoliation) begins.
        24 May  Athol Townley, Minister of Defence, announces that thirty advisers are to be sent to South Vietnam.
        July-August  First AATTV personnel arrive in South Vietnam.

1963  Malaysia formed.

        Indonesia declares Confrontation with Malaysia.
        1 June  William Francis Hacking, an adviser, is the first Australian casualty, killed forty miles west of Hue.

        15,000 U.S. advisers in South Vietnam; U.S. gives $500 million in aid.

1964  83 Australian advisers committed to the Republic of Vietnam.

        June  Robert Menzies, Australian prime minister, visits Washington, D.C.

        AATTV members committed to active service.
        2 August  USS Maddox incident in the Gulf of Tonkin.
        4 August  USS Turner Joy incident.
        7 August  U.S. Congress passes Tonkin Gulf Resolution.
        10 November  National Service (Conscription) Act proclaimed.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event Description</th>
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</table>
| 1965       | **January**  
|            | Agent Orange first used.                                                                                                                         |
|            | **March**  
|            | U.S. Marines land at Da Nang.                                                                                                                    |
| 29 April   | Menzies announces the commitment of Australian combat troops.                                                                                     |
| May-June   | 1st Battalion, RAR (800 men), arrives in Bien Hoa to operate with the U.S. 173rd Airborne Brigade (Separate).                                       |
|            | U.S. troop commitment surpasses 50,000.                                                                                                          |
| 13 May     | Save Our Sons (SOS) founded.                                                                                                                     |
| 23–24 July | First Australian "teach-in" on Vietnam at the Australian National University, Canberra.                                                            |
| September  | Morgan Gallup Poll: 56 percent of Australians in favor of Australian participation, 28 percent in favor of withdrawal, 10 percent are undecided.       |
| 22 October | First arrests (65 people) for antiwar demonstration in Sydney.                                                                                     |
| 1966       | **26 January**  
|            | Harold Holt succeeds Menzies as prime minister and leader of the Liberal Party.                                                                |
| 8 March    | Government announces troop increase: two battalions and supporting units, and the Special Air Services, to be sent to Phuoc Tuy Province—a total of 4,500 men, including 500 conscripts. |
| 16 March   | 2,000 march in protest against the war organized by the SOS group.                                                                                  |
| May        | Seamen’s Union refuses to load supplies for Vietnam on the Boonaroo.                                                                             |
| 24 May     | Errol Wayne Noack (first conscript) killed in action.                                                                                             |
| 14 June    | 5th and 6th Battalions, RAR, and supports in place at Nui Dat, with logistic support base at Vung Tau, 16 miles south.                              |
| 21 June    | Attempted assassination of Arthur Calwell, leader of the Opposition, after an antiwar demonstration in Sydney.                                      |
| 30 June    | Holt visits Washington, D.C., and utters in a speech the famous "all the way" in support of Lyndon Johnson’s Vietnam policy.                         |
| 18 August  | Battle of Long Tan: Australia loses 18 killed, claims 245 Vietnamese killed.                                                                      |
Appendix

September
Arrest of schoolteacher William White, a conscientious objector.

21–22 October
Lyndon Johnson visits Australia. A million Sydneysiders and 500,000 in Melbourne line the streets to welcome him on successive days.

19 November
Morgan Gallup Poll: 68 percent in favor of conscription; 37 percent in favor of sending conscripts to Vietnam.

1967
8 February
E. G. “Gough” Whitlam succeeds Arthur Calwell as Opposition leader.

May
Morgan Gallup Poll: 62 percent in favor of the war, 24 percent in favor of Australian withdrawal, and 14 percent are undecided.

2 October
Teach-in titled “National Forum on Vietnam” held at Monash University, Melbourne.

17 November
Holt missing presumed drowned. John McEwan (Country Party—the Liberals’ coalition partner) temporarily becomes prime minister on 19 December.

November–December
Australian troop commitment peaks at 8,300.

1968
Australian Draft Resister’s Union established.

10 January

31 January
Tet Offensive begins.

12 February
Gorton announces semiofficially that there will be no increase in Australian commitment.

16 March
My Lai massacre occurs but remains unknown until 16 November.

May
National Services Act amended to impose two-year civil jail term for draft evaders.

August
Paris student riots.

1969
June
President Richard Nixon announces withdrawal of 250,000 U.S. troops and the initiation of “Vietnamization.”

August
Morgan Gallup Poll: 55 percent in favor of with-
drawal, 40 percent for continuing the war, and 6 percent are undecided.

3 September Ho Chi Minh dies at age 79.
4 October U.S. Morgan Poll: 58 percent believe the war is a mistake.
15 October Massive antiwar demonstration occurs in Washington, D.C.

1970
22 April Government announces one battalion to be withdrawn.
4 May Kent State shootings in Ohio.
8 May Approximately 120,000 march in the first Moratorium March in Sydney; approximately 70,000 march in Melbourne.
18 September Second Moratorium Marches in Sydney (100,000) and Melbourne (50,000). More than 300 arrested.

1971
10 March William McMahon succeeds as Liberal Prime Minister.
30 March 1,000 men withdrawn.
30 June 110,000 participate in third and final large antiwar march.
18 August McMahon announces that most troops will be home by Christmas.
17 December Last major troop withdrawal.

1972
2 December Australian Labor Party wins. Whitlam becomes prime minister-elect.
5 December National service ended; imprisoned draft resisters released.
8 December Last Australian troops leave Vietnam.
18 December Last Advisers leave. Nixon renews bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong.

1973
23 January Nixon announces "peace with honor."
27 January Cease fire initiated.
26 February Whitlam announces establishment of diplomatic relations with Hanoi, but continues diplomatic recognition of South Vietnam.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>29 March</td>
<td>Last American troops leave Vietnam.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974 4 January</td>
<td>South Vietnam's Pres. Nguyen Van Thieu announces that war has been declared again.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975 17 April</td>
<td>Phnom Penh falls to Khmer Rouge.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 April</td>
<td>Australian embassy in Saigon is closed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 April</td>
<td>Fall of Saigon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December</td>
<td>Malcolm Fraser, Liberal leader, wins election.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1,000 Indochinese refugees resettled in Australia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976 April</td>
<td>First Vietnamese “boat people” arrive in Australia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>Fraser government introduces refugee component into immigration program.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>Arrival of the first Vietnamese migrants under the Orderly Departure Programme.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vietnam Veterans Counselling Service established.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1983 June</td>
<td>4,000 U.S. veterans begin class-action suit in New York State against the manufacturer of Agent Orange.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Justice Philip Evatt charged with the Royal Commission to investigate the mortality of veterans.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>AVHS mortality report published.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985 July</td>
<td>Evatt Royal Commission declares Agent Orange “Not Guilty”; Vietnam Veterans Association rejects findings.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987 4 October</td>
<td>25,000 March in Sydney Welcome Home March.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989 July</td>
<td>At the Geneva Conference on refugees, Australia votes with ASEAN nations for the mandatory repatriation of Vietnamese refugees. Australia is committed to resettle 11,000 people during 1989–1992.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June-July</td>
<td>First Cambodian boat people arrive in Australia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Date</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>3 October</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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NOTES

Introduction


2. A corrective and more thoroughly documented version of the actual qualities of Australian horsemen in the Boer War can be found in the various essays in Peter Dennis and Jeffrey Grey, eds., The Boer War: Army, Nation and Empire, 1999, Chief of Army/Australian War Memorial Military History Conference (Canberra: Army History Unit, 2000). Notwithstanding the “history,” the popular view of Australians in the Boer War through such “personalities” as poet/soldier Breaker Morant contributed to the developing legends of Australian fighting prowess and indiscipline.

3. This should be pronounced with a hard ess, as in “Ozzie,” rather than as it so often is in the United States with a soft ess, as in “Ossie.” Contraction is a favorite word creation device with Australians and has worked to minimize even Aussie, so that the hard ess gives rise to the identification of Australia as “Oz.”

4. Until very recently, Korea has been the “forgotten war” despite what Vietnam veterans argue. For some analysis of the lapse of memory, nostalgia, and the history of the forgotten war see Peter Dennis and Jeffrey Grey, eds., The Korean War 1950–53: A 50 Year Retrospective. The Chief of Army’s History Conference 2000 (Canberra: Army History Unit, 2000), particularly Jeff Doyle, “Another Forgotten War Remembered,” 179–99. In the volumes Vietnam Days (1991) and Vietnam: War, Myth, and Memory (1992), Peter Pierce, Jeffrey Grey, and Jeff Doyle address the issues of Vietnam and memory.

Chapter 1

1. This chapter summarizes some of the principal themes of Peter Edwards, Crises and Commitments: The Politics and Diplomacy of Australia’s Involvement in Southeast Asian Conflicts, 1948–1965, the first volume of the official history of Australia’s involvement in the Malayan Emergency, the Malaysian-Indonesian Confrontation, and the Vietnam War. In this chapter sources will be given only for direct quotations. The full references for the other material cited can be found in that volume.


3. Francis Stuart, Towards Coming of Age: A Foreign Service Odyssey (Nathan, Queensland: Centre for the Study of Australian-Asian Relations, Griffith University, 1989), 143.

4. The different spelling of Labor and Labour noted here between political parties of apparently similar persuasions rests with the Australian party’s decision to use the spelling to differentiate, perhaps even distance itself, from other such parties.

5. See the coverage of this visit in the Sydney Morning Herald, 17–26 Apr. 1950.


9. Cabinet decision 204, 1 May 1962, CRS 4940/1, C3568.
Chapter 2

The author wishes to thank Ashley Ekins and Col. David Chinn (Ret.) for their research assistance.


2. Ibid., 21.


4. Other member nations were Great Britain, France, New Zealand, Pakistan, Thailand, and the Philippines.


6. Estimates of the number killed have varied between 10,000 and 15,000, with a further 100,000 deported or imprisoned (many of whom were later released). See Joseph Buttinger, *Vietnam: A Dragon Embattled* (New York: Praeger, 1967), 912, 914, 974. A more recent source puts the number executed at closer to 5,000 (Thayer, *War By Other Means*, 93).


8. Buttinger, *Vietnam*, 975. Buttinger is unable to estimate the number killed, but believes the official figures of 20,000 to 30,000 put into concentration camps were too low (ibid., 977).


15. Cabinet Decision no. 596, 5 Nov. 1964.


17. AHQ letter 846-R1–1, 16 May 1963, Army file 846-R1–1, Army Office.

18. AHQ file A810-R1–13(1), Army Office.


21. The referenced cable actually stated “one division OR two battalions of American marines.” In JPC Report no. 110/64, 11 Dec. 1964, AWM 121, DMO&P file 161/A/2 the assumption is stated that “or” should read ‘and’. Later correspondence indicates that “and” was correct.

22. Waller to Acting Minister for External Affairs.
23. Comments by Wilton and senior staff on minute from Secretary for Defence to the Chairman, Chiefs of Staff Committee, and the Service Chiefs, 7 Dec. 1964, enclosing cables from Waller and Long. AWM 121, DMO&P file 161/A/2.


26. NSC Working Group on Vietnam, “Section 1: Intelligence Assessment: The Situation in Vietnam,” 24 Nov. 1964. The assessment observed that “the tactical direction of VC efforts is in effect provided by North Vietnamese officers on detachment to the South—consequently any orders from Hanoi would in large measure be obeyed by the forces in South Vietnam” (Document 240, Pentagon Papers, 653).

27. NSC Working Group on Vietnam, “Section 1.”


29. Davidson, *Vietnam at War*, 324.


32. “Aid to South Vietnam,” Joint Planning Committee Report no. 110/64, 11 Dec. 1964. The committee was required to consider, in conjunction with the Joint Intelligence Committee, both an anticipated American request for two hundred advisers and the question of stationing ground forces near the DMZ. See JPC Addendum no. 172/1964, 9 Dec. 1964, AWM 121, DMO &P file 161/A/2.


35. Ibid.


37. Paul M. Kattenburg repeated a widely accepted view when he wrote that the communist leadership during the Vietnam War “survived and won out largely because, from the start, it draped itself in the mantle and championed the cause of Vietnamese nationalism” (“The U.S. and Indochina: Then and Now,” *Australian Outlook* 42, no. 2 [Aug., 1988]: 88).

41. Ibid., 158.
42. The “lips and teeth” expression was used commonly at the time. Examples of the analogy are found in Pham Van Dong, “Report to the Second Session,” 85; and Le Duan, “Excerpt from the speech,” 159. Chinese utterances are found in Chen Yi, Foreign Minister of the People's Republic of China, reproduced in The People of Vietnam Will Triumph! U.S. Aggressors Will Be Defeated (Peking: Foreign Language Press, 1965); and “Resolution of the Third National People’s Congress of the People’s Republic of China adopted 20 Apr. 1965,” ibid., copies with Official History (OHU) papers in the Australian War Memorial.
45. As a token and somewhat reluctant gesture, but to provide some positive response, an additional seventeen advisers were offered to bring the total strength of AATTV to one hundred.
47. Westmoreland, Soldier Reports, 110.
49. Prime Minister to President Johnson, 18 Dec. 1964, Defence file 248/4/100, TS 1752, Department of Defence.
52. Ibid., 7.
53. Republic of Vietnam armed forces were responsible for the defense of the air bases, but their effort was found to be inadequate and uncoordinated (Roger P. Fox, Air Base Defense in the Republic of Vietnam, 1961–1973 [Washington D.C.: Office of Air Force History, 1979], 16). For a discussion of the measures that led the United States into assuming the responsibility for defense of the major air bases, see 11–23.
54. The initial role was “to occupy and defend critical terrain features in order to secure the airfield and, as directed, communications facilities, U.S. supporting installations, port facilities, landing beaches and other U.S. installations against attack. The U.S. Marine force will not, repeat will not, engage in day to day actions against the Viet Cong” (“Marine Combat Units Go To Da Nang,” Pentagon Papers, 417).
55. The marine force was the 9th Marine Expeditionary Brigade (9th MEB). It initially consisted of two battalion landing teams (BLTs) built around the 1st Battalion, 9th Marines (BLT 1/9), and 3rd Battalion, 9th Marines (BLT 3/9). Battalion
landing teams were a combined-arms team composed of an infantry battalion
with a battery of artillery, tanks, trucks, amphibian tractors, and engineers and
other support—about 1,500 men. The 1st Battalion, 3rd Marines (1/3), based on
Okinawa, replaced BLT 1/9 for the deployment to Da Nang. Thus the first two
infantry battalions to move to Da Nang were 1/3 (by air) and 3/9 (by sea). The
total strength of the initial Marine force at Da Nang was almost 5,000 troops.
Brigadier General Frederick J. Karch commanded the brigade. By December,
1965, the Marine ground contingent in South Vietnam numbered more than
38,000 men, all assigned to Maj. Gen. Lewis W. Walt's III Marine Amphibious
Force (Shulimson and Johnson, U.S. Marines in Vietnam, xi, 3, 6, 7, 9, 15).

57. Australian Embassy, Washington, to Defence Department, Canberra, message
WA 63, 6 May 1965, Defence file 248/4/114, TS 1794, Department of Defence.
Douglas Pike, a leading American historian of the Vietnam War, comes to simi­
lar conclusions. He claims that the most important point to make about the
American formulation of strategy is that the nation first committed itself to the
war and then began to think about it comprehensively (“Conduct of the Viet­
History, U.S. Army, 1986], 112). Pike also maintains that Hanoi's leaders did not
have a clear understanding, either. For grand strategy it substituted a “blind,
implacable faith in its cause to which it clung tenaciously” (ibid., 119 n 9).
58. External Affairs to Australian Embassy, Washington, cable no. 883, 9 Apr. 1965,
2, Defence file 248/4/111, TS 1784, Department of Defence.
59. Sir Robert Menzies, Commonwealth Parliamentary Debates, H of R, 29 Apr. 1985,
1060, 1061.
60. “Further Military Assistance to South Vietnam,” Defence Committee Minute
15/1965 of meeting on 5 Apr. 1965, dated 6 Apr. 1965, AWM 121, DMO&P file
161/A/3.
61. J. Plimsoll, Minute, 28 Apr. 1965, Defence file 248/4/111, TS 1784, Department
of Defence. This episode, its likely causes, and its ramifications were analyzed
by the Australian official historian, Peter Edwards, in the Sydney Morning Herald,
6 June 1989, 19.
63. “Strategic Basis of Australian Defence Policy,” Defence Committee Minute no.
64. As a matter of military prudence, SEATO contingency plans provided for the
advent of military aggression by China.
ment of Defence.
1103, 1105
68. AAFV Quarterly Report to 30 Sept. 1965, 6, AHQ file 723/R5/18, Army Office.
An additional five Australian journalists flew to Vietnam.
70. Le Duan, “To Comrade Xuan,” May, 1965, in Letters to the South, 27. Xuan was
secretary of the Central Office South Vietnam (COSVN).
Gen. Sir Thomas Daly, interview, 22 Nov. 1974 and 4 June 1975, Sydney, 12,
AWM 107; Lt. Gen. Sir John Wilton, CGS, to Air Chief Marshal Sir Frederick
Scherger, CCOSC, Minute CGS 126/1965, 20 July 1965, AWM 121, DMO&P file
161/A/4.
72. The only exception to this occurred with the formation of self-contained battle groups during the four years of the Pentropic organization.


74. Wilton to Scherger, 20 July 1965; Wilton interview.

75. Wilton to Scherger, 20 July 1965.


77. Such requirements included withdrawing from what Australian commanders might consider to be foolhardy or ill-considered operations ordered by the U.S. command, and not being involved in operations that closed on or crossed international boundaries.

78. Wilton interview.


80. In November, 1965, the port of Saigon had a three-week backlog of shipping. The U.S. secretary of defense, Robert S. McNamara, after a visit to Saigon that month, described the logistic problems being faced by American troops in Vietnam as “massive.” During recent fighting in one area, the near exhaustion of fuel supplies was a major factor in forcing American troops to ease off their pressure on the enemy (Australian Embassy, Washington, to Foreign Affairs, cable 8653, 30 Nov. 1965, Defence file 248/4/138).


82. The Long Dat provincial committee in former Phuoc Tuy Province in 1988 consisted mostly of former Vietcong. When interviewed by the author they said this assessment was about correct except that the divisional headquarters was not formed until May, 1967.

83. This last proposal, put forward by the defense minister, was not put into effect. The AATTV was fully integrated into the American advisory system and deployed principally in I Corps. In the years that followed, some argued that more of the team should be deployed in Phuoc Tuy Province under the command of the task force. No major move into Phuoc Tuy occurred until the closing stages of the task force's presence, although the team was spread over the whole of South Vietnam. Even when members moved into Phuoc Tuy, they were not placed under task force command or “embodied” into the task force (McNeill, The Team, app.: “Australian Army Training Team Vietnam—Moves to Concentrate Team in Phuoc Tuy”). The Caribou were under command of the U.S. 834th Air Division and were used throughout South Vietnam on transport and resupply missions. It would have been wasteful to place them under task force command, especially as resupply from the Australian logistics base at Vung Tau and the task force base in Phuoc Tuy was only twenty miles by road.

Notes to Pages 33–44

85. Ibid.
86. Jackson interview, 9 Mar. 1972, 45–51; presentation by Brigadier Jackson to CGS Exercise 1971, AWM.
88. Wilton interview, 26, 27.
91. Ibid., 181, 182.
92. Ibid., 65.
93. Ibid.
97. Ibid.
100. Ibid.
101. Ibid.
103. Presentation by Brigadier O. D. Jackson to CGS Exercise 1971, AWM101 (10).
106. Ibid., 38.
110. Ibid., 181, 182.
113. Ibid., 79.
116. There was also a battalion in Malaysia.
117. As occurred during a briefing of Westmoreland at the task force base at Nui Dat in early 1967. Westmoreland was obviously impatient and irritated by the methodical extension of the secure area and separation of the guerrillas from the population favored by Jackson rather than aggressively pursuing the main force in depth (Lt. Col. A.W. Piper [GSO2 [Int] to Brigadier O. D. Jackson], interview, 26 Feb. 1990, Canberra, 5, OHU papers).
118. One writer suggests Wilton was “timid,” but this does not take into account the extent of Wilton’s determination and the strength of his convictions (Horner, *Australian Higher Command in the Vietnam War*, 72).
Chapter 3
The literature on anti-Vietnam War activism in Australia is in some areas fairly extensive, although varied in both quality and focus. The bibliography in this volume will guide the interested reader to relevant items. Here I have been content to provide specific references only for specific points or quotations within the text. By way of contrast, Peter Pierce argues in chapter 4 for a dearth of relevant material in the more literary genres.


4. His arguments are developed at length in Edwards, Crises and Commitments, especially chaps. 15, 18, and 19.


7. Ann Curthoys makes the point that the timing of demonstrations was increasingly coordinated with those in the United States after 1967 (“The Anti-War Movements,” 93).

8. This is not to imply that the media by itself had a war-winning—or war-losing—impact on middle America, as some right-wing critics profess to believe. The issue of media impact is much more complex than much of this analysis allows, and most of its assertions have not been tested and probably cannot be proved in any case.
14. This is one of the central themes in Robin Gerster and Jan Bassett, Seizures of Youth: “The Sixties” and Australia.

Chapter 4
3. Bob Buick with Gary McKay, All Guts No Glory: The Story of a Long Tan Warrior. See also the selected bibliography in this volume.
14. This material is drawn from an unpublished article by David Nadel.
15. In 2000–2001, “Khe Sanh” is one of the chosen “battle” songs of the Australian cricket team apparently sung in dressing rooms after victories.

Chapter 5


4. See chap. 4 in this volume.


7. See Ross, “Veterans in Australia,” 50–73.

8. Ibid.

9. From December, 2000, to early 2001, major exhibitions at the Australian War Memorial and at the Australian National Gallery, both in Canberra, were devoted to Federation celebrations. The AWM focused on the way the imagery and history of the digger helped define the Australian identity and “forge” (one of the key terms) the reality of Federation. The more wide-ranging exhibition at the National Gallery provided many images of the bushmen and the digger as “icons” (a buzzword for representational markers) of national identity.

10. As recently as September, 1999, six veterans were “belatedly” awarded medals for gallantry after years of lobbying (Canberra Times, 2 Sept. 1999, 5).


15. Ross, “Veterans in Australia.”


17. For a comprehensive study of the Repatriation system, see Clem Lloyd and Jacqui Rees, *The Last Shilling: A History of Repatriation in Australia*. Additional details specific to Vietnam veterans can be found in Ross, “Veterans in Australia,” and “Australia’s Legacy.” A brief summary is given by one of the then commissioners, Maj. Gen. A. L. Morrison, “Repatriation,” in *The Shock of Battle*, ed. Harry Heseltine, Occasional Papers 16 (Canberra: University College [ADFA], 1988), 117–22. In “Veterans in Australia,” Ross notes that “the Repatriation System was established in Australia during the First World War. In fact, the commonly used term “Repat” is misleading, as the series of legislative acts are more concerned with social security than with the return of soldiers to their home country. “Repat” includes disability and service pensions, health services, home loans, workforce retraining, etc. The system has undergone changes over the years, and was most recently revamped in 1986 when the various acts were consolidated into the *Veterans Entitlement Act*. The Department of Veterans Af-
fairs (DVA) administers the system. At times, the DVA has been accused of being unsympathetic and obstructionist toward veterans, which is not surprising given that the DVA and veterans are frequently in an adversarial situation, with the veterans trying to show cause for the DVA to release funds, and the DVA guarding the public monies against what it sees as unfounded claims.”


21. The Royal Commission version of PTSD included the following symptoms: flashbacks to terrifying events, nightmares, irritability, rage reaction, dizzy spells, anxiety, insomnia, depression, guilt feelings, headaches, low back pain, ulcer, migraine, irritable bowel syndrome, irritable colon, hypertension, paranoia, suspicion, crowd phobia, and alcoholism (Royal Commission, vol. 8, 23–24). See also Jeffrey Streimer and Christopher Tennant, “Psychiatric Aspects of the Vietnam War,” 230–61.

22. For more detail on this section, see Ross, “Australia’s Legacy.”


25. A thirty-minute documentary, The Last March, produced by Martyn Goddard et al., was broadcast by the Australian Broadcasting Corporation in 1988. For more comments on this documentary, see Doyle, “Bringing Whose War Home?” 97–141.


27. Peter Pierce charts similar patterns in his discussion of American literary influences in chapter 7 of this volume.


30. For a more complete history and analysis of the design and building of the Australian Vietnam Forces National Memorial, see chapter 8 in this volume.

31. The exhibition began as a Web site for the Australian Art of the Vietnam Experience virtual gallery, a project directed by Jeff Doyle designed to collect any and all images of the Australian involvement in Vietnam and its aftermath in virtual space, and where feasible as actual art, in order to halt the loss of this material. See: http://idun.itsc.adfa.edu.au/SOElVlETNAM/vietnam.htm.

32. Following the publication of Vietnam Days in 1990, I was confronted personally at a seminar by, among others, Graham Walker, one of the chief archivists and writers of VVAA (internal) history. Fundamentally, I was challenged to “put up or shut up” about how “our” book had presented the veterans’ case. (The author of the chapter that caused greatest offense in this regard, Jeffrey Grey, was also challenged by the VVAA in the letters pages of the Bulletin. He explained that he was engaged in history, not advocacy.) I accepted the challenge and spent some time at the VVAA Granville Branch with Tim McCombe, then serving as president of the New South Wales Branch. I have been given copies of almost
all the submissions, and have had access to much VVAA documentation and scientific papers on Agent Orange. My own position, I maintain, has always been one of sympathy, tempered by a “professional distance.”

33. See Garton, Cost of War. See also, Pierce et al., eds., Vietnam Days, passim.


35. Crowe, Battle after the War.


23. Peter Edwards, *Crises and Commitments, and Nation at War.*


28. Note that historically Australian usage has been to refer to such people as “returned servicemen” or servicewomen, or simply as “returned men.” The Americanism “veteran” only came into popular usage after Vietnam.

29. The best example is Rintoul, ed., *Ashes of Vietnam.* See also Martin Cameron, *Australia’s Longest War*, a book that is almost impossible to categorize.


31. John J. Coe, ed., *Desperate Praise: The Australians in Vietnam.* Gary Mackay’s participant-histories, with their robust assertion of what might be characterized as traditional soldierly values, have found a ready market in the 1990s.

1991, 9–10, and reply, ibid., 15 Oct. 1991, 15. On the other hand, a number of Vietnam veterans told me that they thought the VVAA's stance in general was "too self-pitying" and essentially counterproductive.

33. Rodney Tiffen, "News Coverage of Vietnam"; Lyn Gorman, "Television and War: Australia's Four Corners Program and Vietnam, 1963–1975," War & Society 15, no. 1 (May, 1997). Gorman points out that analysis of Australian television for content and balance in this period is made more difficult, where not impossible, by the widespread habit of reusing expensive commercial videotape on which programs were initially recorded for broadcast.


35. An exception to this, one that involves a comparison with the Canadian public broadcaster, CBC, is Neville Petersen, "The Coverage of the Vietnam War in an Organisational Context: The ABC and CBC Experience," Australian-Canadian Studies 16, no. 2 (1998): 33–47.

36. Clyde Cameron, The Cameron Diaries (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1990), 801. The remark reflected a popular belief in the Australian Labor Party that postwar migrants from the Baltic states had voted against Labor because of the anticomunism engendered by Soviet occupation of their homelands. For reasons never adequately explained, Whitlam's government extended official recognition of the Soviet incorporation of these countries in July, 1974, which largely confirmed that antagonism. Cameron was the minister for industrial relations.


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3. "David Alexander" [Lex McAulay], When the Buffalo Fight.
5. John Rowe, Count Your Dead.
Notes to Pages 114-27  181

20. Del Vecchio, *13th Valley*.
27. Greene, *Quiet American*.
35. Ibid., 176–77.
40. Thomas Keneally, *Passenger*.
41. Shirley Cass, Michael Wilding et al., eds, *We Took Their Orders and Are Dead*.
44. Peter Bourne, *Men, Stress, and Vietnam*, 170.
Chapter 8

I was granted access to the documents, sketches, and architectural design briefs by a number of interested parties whose willingness and aid I gratefully acknowledge: Ken Unsworth, AM; Peter Tonkin and other members of the firm Tonkin Zulaikha Harford; Brigadier Collin Kahn, DSO, and Andrew Baird of the NCPA; and Peter Poulton of the AVFNMC.

1. For thoroughly researched documentation of the earlier welcome home marches see Ross, "Australia's Legacy," 187–213, and "Veterans in Australia," 50–73. Stuart Rintoul's collection of interviews, Ashes of Vietnam, offers almost totally negative responses to the Vietnam War and includes several accounts of the after-midnight drop. More recently, Kenneth Maddock's collection, Memories of Vietnam, 134–35, offers an account by Neil Matthews of an early welcome home march in Adelaide for the 9th Battalion, RAR, which toured in 1968–69, and which, while it acknowledges a "new" memory of some of the events, still maintains the difficulty of readjustment as the primary focus of the homecoming experience.

2. This information is derived from The Wall: Images and Offerings from the Vietnam Veterans' Memorial (New York: Collins, 1987), and Lydia Fish, The Last Firebase: A Guide to the Vietnam Veterans' Memorial (Shippensburg, Pa.: White Mane, 1987).


6. See, for example, the photographs by Sal Lopes and others in The Wall.

8. Ibid.


10. Ibid., 17.

11. Ibid., 19.

12. Ibid., 21.

13. Ibid., 22.

14. "Fuzzy wuzzy" refers to the natives of Papua New Guinea, whose coarse wiry hair explains, if forgivably for its time, the not-so-submerged racism, while their merciful actions in helping wounded Australians back to medical camps is legendary and earned them the appellation "angel." The most famous image of the Kokoda Trail campaign is of a blinded digger being supported by such a man.

15. These comments were made to the author in a series of interviews conducted in July and August, 1991, at Unsworth's studios in Sydney.

16. For a brief skirmish with some of the more colorful and, one might observe, more quotable language of the war as it appears in the literary and cinematic products of Australia, see Pierce, Grey, and Doyle, eds., *Vietnam Days*, especially chapters 3, 5, and 6.

17. Although the implications and use I make of it are my own, much of this section is a summary of the reading of the Washington Vietnam Memorial in its context provided by C. L. Griswold in "The Vietnam Veterans Memorial and the Washington Mall: Philosophical Thoughts on Political Iconography," *Critical Inquiry* 12, no. 4 (summer, 1986): 688–719.

18. Ibid., 713.
All records generated by the Australian federal government are subject to the Archives Act (1983), which provides for material to be made accessible to the public thirty years after its creation—the so-called thirty-year rule. Australia also possesses a Freedom of Information Act (1982), but unlike in the United States, the provisions of this legislation do not cover records generated before its enactment.

As a result, records relating to Australia’s war effort remain partially closed to public researchers. The official historian of Australia’s involvement in Southeast Asian conflicts, Peter Edwards and his staff, had full and unhindered access to all such material for the writing of the history, but nonofficial historians are generally constricted in their access by the relevant legislation. Exceptions are made by individual departments concerning their own records, but this is on a case-by-case basis and cannot be assumed.

The one significant exception to this state of affairs involves material used in evidence before the Evatt Royal Commission on the use of herbicides, pesticides, and other chemicals by the Australian Army. These records, all of which are operational in nature, were released for public access in 1982, and are located at the Australian War Memorial in Canberra in a temporary record series, AWM 181. This series comprises some one hundred shelf feet of documents and contains important operational records generated by Headquarters, 1st Australian Task Force; MACV combined campaign plans for 1966–72; intelligence summaries and some unit records; as well as some administrative files. The unifying principle lies in the observation that all this material contains references to the use of chemical agents in Phuoc Tuy Province. The main series of operational records, some sixteen hundred shelf feet of material, is contained in AWM 95 and is subject to the thirty-year rule. This is the case for all other Australian government records relating to Australia’s Vietnam War, such as those generated by the Departments of External Affairs or Labour and National Service. Helen Creagh has compiled a lengthy, unpublished guide to the series titled “Search and Research: Operation Mitchell: Information collected in the search to compile the Report on the Use of Herbicides and Insecticides and other chemicals by the Australian Army in South Vietnam,” which can be found in Archives and Manuscripts 11 (May, 1983): 7–13. The materials in AWM 181 are gradually being folded back into the AWM 95 series as the passage of the thirty-year rule renders the exempt material open to public access.

Private records and those created by nongovernment agencies are subject to no such restrictions, although private embargoes or normal copyright rules may apply. There are important collections relating to the various antiwar and anticonscription movements held in state and university libraries throughout Australia. For example, the records of the Campaign for Peace in Vietnam, a pressure group formed in 1967 and based in the state of South Australia, are held in the State Library of South Australia in Adelaide, the state capital, as Record Group 124. They occupy nearly thirty shelf feet. Most states spawned a branch of the Vietnam Moratorium Campaign, formed in 1970, and these records are held in the State Library in South Australia’s case, and in the University of Melbourne Library in the case of the state of Victoria.
The National Library of Australia in Canberra holds a number of important collections of anti-Vietnam War material. Prominent among these are the records of the Save Our Sons group (MS 3821), the Vietnam Moratorium Committee (MS 4969), and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (MS 7755). The papers of significant individuals in the protest movements are often valuable sources of material. At the National Library, to give but two examples, the papers of Ian Turner (MS 6206), a radical Melbourne academic, contain three boxes of anti-Vietnam War records, while the collection donated by Andrew Reeves (MS 8076) concentrates particularly on student radicalism and antiwar agitation. A further source of antiwar material is to be found in trade union records, many of which are held by the Noel Butlin Archive of Business and Labour based at the Australian National University in Canberra.

Private groups that supported government policy in Vietnam are much less well documented. Perhaps the principal organization with relevant papers in the public domain is the Returned and Services League (RSL), which is the equivalent of the American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars. The records of its federal body likewise are held by the National Library (MS 6609).

There are considerable, though as yet relatively untapped, U.S. sources for the Australian participation in the Vietnam War. Among them are the Records of the United States Military Assistance Command Vietnam, Free World Military Assistance Forces, Command Reporting Files (Record Group 319 at the National Archives in Washington D.C.), and the Command History United States Military Assistance Command Vietnam (Record Group 472 in the National Archives in Washington, D.C.). There are undoubtedly more references scattered through other U.S. repositories, but it is difficult to identify many of these without working through large quantities of records on a file-by-file basis.

**Government Publications and Other Official Documents**

As well as the following short list, one of the most essential resources for Australian Parliamentary matters are the daily Hansard transcripts of all matters before the two houses (Representatives and Senate) of the Australian Parliament, usually cited, for example, as *Commonwealth Parliamentary Debates, House of Representatives* vol. 43, 1964. A specific speech or report will be listed under the date it was given.


[Neale, R. G.] "Australia's Military Commitment to Vietnam." Paper tabled in accordance with the Prime Minister's Statement to the House of Representatives, 13 May 1975. (Parliamentary Papers are normally published, but on this occasion publication did not eventuate.)


———. *Australian Experience in Joint Armed Service Activities*. Historical Monograph 10, Canberra: Directorate of Instructions, Orders and Manuals, Administrative Services Branch, Department of Defence, 1979.


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**Fiction, Poetry, and Drama**


Kim, D’Ono. *My Name is Tian*. Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1968.

*Unit Histories*

These were usually published by the unit and distributed within its ranks rather than for commercial sale. In recent years, a number of unit histories have appeared through trade publishing houses, while the original “tour books,” as they were known colloquially, are now highly prized on the Australian secondhand and antiquarian book market.


Cinematic and Radio/Television Productions

For Australia, Vietnam was by no means the media war it is commonly held to have been (and seemingly remains) for the United States, but there was a moderate and, as the war progressed, increasing, electronic media response. Little of this had been touched on in any detail, nor listed in any comprehensive manner, until the work of Ann-Mari Jordens in a paper delivered at the 1987 Macquarie University Conference. It would, however, be impossible to list every reference to Vietnam made by the television or radio media during the war and subsequently, as it came to feature weekly, if not nightly, in the various network news and current affairs programs. In the case of the numerous short films made by the commonwealth and state bodies, a number of these may exist in variant prints. Occasionally, differing dating and production details appear within the catalogues. In addition, scenes from some of the earlier films reappear as if contemporary in later films, and have often been edited for use within other commercial current affairs material—again without noting their “file footage” status. The list given below is therefore even more selective and imperfect than the term “select bibliography” might imply.
Action in Vietnam. Short film. Commonwealth Film Commission, for The Directorate of Defence Information, 1968. (Restricted access.)


Army Officers. Short film. Department of the Army, Commonwealth Film Unit, 1966.


Australian Task Force, Vietnam. Short film. Commonwealth Film Commission, for The Directorate of Defence Information, 1967. (Restricted access.)


Australians Remember. Short film. Film Australia Production Co., sponsored by the Australian War Memorial, 1977.


Call for Youth. Short film. Christopher Productions and Youth Campaign Against Conscription, 1966.


Changing the Needle. Film. Directed by Martha Ansara for Jequerity P.L. with assistance from Creative Development Branch, Australian Film Commission, 1981.


Diggers in Vietnam. Short film. Commonwealth Film Commission, for The Directorate of Defence Information, 1968. (Restricted access.)


Front Line. Film. David Bradbury, sponsored by the Australian Film Commission, Tasmanian Film Corporation, and Australian War Memorial, 1978.


Hit the U.S. Aggressors. Television documentary (banned from Australian TV May-June, 1966).


Once Upon a War. Short film. Patricia Penn, 1970.


“Power to the People.” 5 May 1990, documentary, Geraldine Doogue et al, for the Hindsight series, Australian Broadcasting Corporation TV [Australian Broadcasting Corporation Radio National held a phone-in forum the day following the broadcast].

The President Visits Brisbane. Premier’s Department Queensland, Queensland Government Film Unit, 1967.

Public Enemy Number One. Produced by David Bradbury and Steward Young. Creative Development Branch, Australian Film Commission, 1980.


Sad Song of Yellow Skin. Film. Directed by Michael Rubbo (Australian) for the Canadian National Film Board, 1976.

The Siege of Fire Base Gloria. Feature film. Directed by Brian Trenchard-Smith. Script by William Nagle. 1989. (Ostensibly a U.S. film, shot in the Philippines, the director, and scriptwriter are Australians or Australian-trained, and much of the technical processing was done in Sydney.)


A Street to Die. Film. Produced and directed by Bill Bennett. 1985.


This Day Tonight. Australian Broadcasting Commission TV news and current affairs program, active in the Vietnam period.


The Unlucky Country. Short film. Australian Commonwealth Film Unit, 1967.


You Can’t See Round Corners. Feature film. Directed by David Cahill. 1968. (Based on a 1967–68 television soap opera, which was an updated version of Jon Cleary’s 1947 novel You Can’t See Round Corners. The novel deals with draft resistance and absenteeism in the Second World War; the television and film versions present the hero as a Vietnam draft resister.)
In addition, single episodes of various serial (or soap opera) dramas and situation comedies have been devoted to Vietnam and/or Vietnam veterans. These include: *A Country Practice*, 1989; *Col’n Carpenter*, 1990; *The Flying Doctor*, 1990; and *Winners*, 1985. Occasional "sketches" in television comedy programs have depicted Vietnam film stereotypes (especially Ramboesque crazed killers). These include: *The Comedy Company*, 1990; *Let the Blood Run Free*, 1990; and *The Big Gig: Tuesday Night Live*, 1989–90. See also Ann-Mari Jordens. "Cultural Influences: The Vietnam War and Australia," *Journal of the Australian War Memorial* 15 [October, 1989]: 3–14, and several entries for Jeff Doyle below.

**Books and Articles**


Arndt, H. W. “The Vietnam Debate Revisited—A Perspective for the 1990s.” *Quadrant* 33, no. 10 (October, 1989): passim. (Includes comments by Coral Bell, Jim Cairns, Gregory Clark, Kenneth Gee, Frank Knopfelmacher, F. P. Serong, and John Wheeldon.)


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O’Keefe, Brendan, and F. B. Smith. Medicine at War: Medical Aspects of Australia’s


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