

**Vietnam Prisoners of War:
Taking Responsibility When Deprived of All Rights**

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**Group Documentary
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Project Description

Jethro interviewed Vietnam veterans last year while researching the turning point Tet Offensive 1968 and came to admire and respect them. When a professor at the Naval War College suggested Jethro read *Two Souls Indivisible: The Friendship That Saved Two POWs in Vietnam*, Jethro found the topic horrible but fascinating. Logan who is a whiz with computers agreed to team with Jethro on a documentary that would contain the voices and images of eyewitnesses.

Our topic connects to the theme “Rights and Responsibilities” on several levels. Prisoner of war rights were clearly stated in the Geneva Convention 1949, but those rights were not granted by the North Vietnamese when they captured Americans. In fact, Dan Mulligan, a retired Navy lieutenant we interviewed said it was naïve to think prisoners had rights because there are no rules in war. The six hundred sixty American prisoners of war in North Vietnam from 1964-1973 had no rights. However, nearly all of them took responsibility for themselves and others and remained faithful to the Military Code of Conduct. Sybil Stockdale in *In Love and War* reported POWs were a low priority to U.S. government officials who took little responsibility, so she and other wives of POWs such as Marty Halyburton formed the National League of Families of American Prisoners in Southeast Asia. They brought the POWs’ lack of rights to international attention. Despite inhumane conditions, the Vietnam War POWs took responsibility for themselves and each other when deprived of all rights.

We began by reading books by and about Vietnam prisoners of war, mostly those shot down over North Vietnam. One source led to another. We emailed and telephone interviewed Navy Commander Porter Halyburton, a POW, and Air Force Colonel Frederick Kiley, the author of *Honor Bound*. Jethro and his dad flew to North Carolina and Maryland to interview Commander Halyburton, his wife Marty, and POW Major Fred Cherry in their homes. We accessed websites and took stacks of notes. We downloaded photos, scanned others from books, and were sent pictures and slides from another Naval War College professor. We wrote draft after draft of a script by putting events and the causes for those events in chronological order and worked to prove how the men took responsibility when deprived of all rights.

We chose the documentary category because we had powerful images and audio such as Commander Halyburton describing how he forgave the North Vietnamese and making the point of taking personal responsibility. The ten-minute time limit forced us to cut the stories of POWs in

Laos, Cambodia, and South Vietnam. Our first draft did not even get to where the men got shot down until minute four. Reasons for the war, the anti-war details, stories about how POWs helped each other, and details leading to their release also were cut. We recorded (and re-recorded) an audio track into the movie program then added stills, clips, and titles. We added music from the time for the background and put credits at the end. (500 words)

Vietnam War POWs Annotated Bibliography

Primary Sources

“Admiral’s Son Shot Down, Captured in Hanoi, Reds Say.” *Los Angeles Times*. 28 October 1967. Print.

This news article from the time reported the shooting down of Navy LTCDR John McCain who was a POW from 1967 until 1973. We connected LTCDR McCain to civilian pilot Ernest C. Brace who in his autobiography described being in the next cell and learning the tap code from LTCDR McCain, details that helped us understand how the code was immediately taught to new prisoners.

Alvarez, Everett, Jr. and Anthony S. Pitch. *Chained Eagle: The Heroic Story of the First American Shot Down over North Vietnam*. Dulles, VA: Potomac Books, 1989. Print.

This is the autobiography of LTJG Everett Alvarez, Jr. shot down on August 4, 1964, on the day of the attack on the U.S.S. Maddox in the Tonkin Gulf that led to President Johnson getting Congress to grant him “all means necessary” to defend Southeast Asia. LTJG Alvarez’s eyewitness account deepened our understanding of the chain of command that developed under different commanders at the “Hanoi Hilton” and the hopes and disappointments as the years dragged on that is in our documentary.

Anderson, Jack. “POW Kin Say They’re Political Pawns.” *The Independent* (Long Beach, California). 27 October 1971. Web. <http://www.newspapers.com/clip/295262/independent>.

This news article from the time said that the Defense Department was instrumental in the founding of the National League of Families of American Prisoners and Missing in Southeast Asia. This differs from Sybil Stockdale’s account. However, the article and Sybil’s story were the same about how the League met with President Nixon and Secretary of State Kissinger.

Ang, Cheng Guan. *Ending the Vietnam War: The Vietnamese Communists’ Perspective*. New York: Routledge Curzon, 2004. Print.

The author was a communist leader in North Vietnam who gave their reasons for the war that helped us understand their point of view.

Arnett, Peter. *Live from the Battlefield: From Vietnam to Baghdad, 35 Years in the World’s War Zones*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1994. Print.

The author was an Associated Press reporter in South Vietnam who described the war at the time that helped us understand the ground war although most of the POWs we concentrated on were Air Force or Navy pilots and rear weapons operators.

----. "U.S. Commanders Face Dilemmas: Cambodian Operations." *The Daily Chronicle* (Centralia, Washington). 4 May 1970. Web.

<http://www.newspapers.com/image/?spot=503172#25392675>

This news report from the time described the problems of U.S. forces in Cambodia that were going on at the same time as many of the POWs we focused on were in captivity.

Bergholz, Richard. "Landslide Victory for Nixon: President Sweeps 47 States; Democrats Control Congress." *Los Angeles Times*. 8 November 1972. Print.

COL Kiley credited ending the war to the election of President Nixon. This article was about President Nixon's election to a second term. We used that information in our documentary.

Brace, Ernest C. *A Code to Keep: The True Story of America's Longest-Held Civilian POW in the Vietnam War*. Ashland, OR: Hellgate Press, 1988. Print.

The author was a former Korean War veteran flying as a civilian pilot for the U.S. government in Thailand when shot down over Laos on May 20, 1965. He was the longest held POW, seven years, ten months, seven days, and in the last group released from North Vietnam. His first-hand account of conversations with Seaman Apprentice Hegdahl helped us with that part of our story. Brace worked for Jethro's cousin at Evergreen Aviation in Oregon. That led to another primary source interview that we found very exciting.

----. Unpublished telephone interview in Klamath Falls, Oregon, by Jethro Abatayo. 31 May 2014. Recorded on iPhone.

Mr. Brace added to what he reported in his book such as about helicopter rescues of downed pilots and crew and his connection to LCDR McCain and Seaman Apprentice Hegdahl. He said that Mr. Hegdahl was shy and that was why he probably did not reply to our request for an interview.

Buckley, Tom. "Vietcong Attack 7 Cities; Allies Call Off Tet Truce: Rockets Destroy 6 U.S. Planes at Danang—Prisoners Freed." *New York Times*. 30 January 1968. Accessed 18 January 2013. Web.

This news article on the day of Tet showed how the North Vietnamese attacked U.S. bases all around Vietnam on their most sacred holiday that the POWs learned about only from the camp propaganda.

Burrows, Larry. "Vietnam: A Compassionate Vision: A Portfolio of War." *Life Magazine*. 26 February 1971. Print.

The combat photographer's portfolio captured images of Americans and Vietnamese from 1963 to 1971, that showed the suffering of civilians and soldiers alike that helped us see what Americans saw in magazines from the time.

Burdon, Eric and the Animals. "We Gotta Get Out of This Place." Columbia Records. 1965.

This song from the time was sung by people in the military serving their required years. It was appropriate to play in the background of the part of our documentary about the POWs released early in 1968.

Bush, George H.W. "Introduction." *At the Abyss: An Insider's History of the Cold War*. New York: Ballantine Books, 2007. Print.

The author was the forty-first president of the United States and watched the countries under Hitler in WWII go communist as well as witness the fall of the Soviet Union. This helped us understand the Cold War and the Domino Theory that is in our documentary.

Chambers, Whittaker. *Witness*. Washington, D.C.: Regnery Publishing, Inc., 1952. Print.

The author was a communist who testified against Alger Hiss in 1951. We used his opinion of communism to understand how American leaders viewed the spread of communism that we put in our documentary.

Chanoff, David and Doan Van Toai. *Portrait of the Enemy: The Other Side of the Vietnam War, Told Through Interviews with North Vietnamese, Former Vietcong, and Southern Opposition Leaders*. New York: Random House, 1986. Print.

These interviews helped us understand the North Vietnamese strategy to win the war from participants at the ground level making them human instead of some faceless enemy. We also could understand how angry they were at shot-down airmen who had just dropped tons of bombs on them.

Chau, Tran Ngoc. "The Curriculum was Designed to 'Detoxicate' Us." *Patriots: The Vietnam War Remembered from All Sides*. New York: Penguin Group, 2003. Print.

The author was a communist leader who switched to siding with South Vietnam. He was imprisoned and “reeducated” so, although in prison, he was not a prisoner of war. We looked for how communists treated their prisoners to compare with their treatment of Americans.

Chawkins, Steve. “Ex-senator, POW Who Blinkered ‘Torture’ Dies at 89.” *The Columbian*. 30 March 2014. Print.

This news article reported the passing of Retired ADM Jeremiah Denton whose book *When Hell Was in Session* we read. He was quoted in the newspaper as saying, “When you think you’ve reached the limit of your endurance, give them harmless and inaccurate information...” We quoted a similar statement by CDR Stockdale in our documentary.

Cherry, Fred. Unpublished personal interview in Silver Springs, Maryland, by Jethro Abatayo. 11 January 2014. iMovie/iSight.

Jethro interviewed Air Force COL Fred Cherry at his home in Maryland. COL Cherry was a major when he was shot down over North Vietnam in October 1965. COL Cherry shared his experiences as a POW and his legendary friendship with Porter Halyburton that we used in our documentary.

Clifford, Clark. “Set a Date in Vietnam. Stick to it. Get Out.” *Life Magazine*, 22 May 1970. Print.

Mr. Clark was Secretary of Defense from 1968 to 1969. He disagreed with Nixon’s policy to end the war by invading Cambodia. While this was going on, POWs had no idea or limited knowledge about what was happening outside their prison.

“Code of Conduct for the Armed Forces of the United States.” Web.

<http://usmilitary.about.com/od/theorderlyroom/1/blcode.htm>

We quoted articles three and four from this document in our documentary.

Cook, Don. “Vietnam Foes Sign a ‘Fragile Peace:’ 13-Year Conflict Ended by Cool Paris Ceremony.” *Los Angeles Times*. 28 January 1973. Print.

This news article helped establish when the negotiations in Paris resulted in a compromise that included the release of the American POWs that we included in our script.

Cronkite, Walter. *A Reporter’s Life*. New York: Ballantine Books, 1997. Print.

Cronkite was a Columbia Broadcasting Service news anchor who reported on the

Vietnam War. After the Tet Offensive in 1968, he went to Vietnam and returned to give his on-air editorial that was credited as the reason why President Johnson chose not to run for reelection. Within pages, Cronkite described the 1973 release of the POWs that gave a newsman's viewpoint to the POWs on the day the men boarded a plane to fly out to Clifford Air Force Base in the Philippines.

“Deloncle’s Scare.” *The Salt Lake City Herald*, 21 May 1905. Chronicling America. Web.

This news article from 1905 reads more like an editorial than a news report that accused the French deputy for Indo-China of unnecessarily spending over \$42 million on French defenses in French Vietnam and downplayed the threat. We found this day-by-day account of tensions in Vietnam and conflicting opinions very interesting rather than looking at events after a hundred years. This gave us background on the history of Vietnam.

Denton, Admiral Jeremiah A., Jr. *When Hell Was in Session*. Washington, D.C.: WorldNetDaily, 1975. Print.

Navy Commander Denton was one of four Senior Ranking Officers, SROs, shot down a month after Commander Stockdale. CDR Denton took turns issuing orders at the Hanoi Hilton for seven and a half years that we refer to in our documentary.

----. “American POW Blinks T-O-R-T-U-R-E.” Web.

<http://www.bing.com/videos/search?q=denton+prisoner+of+war&go=Submit&s=n&form=QBVR&pq=denton+prisoner+of+war&sc=0-0&sp=-1&sk=>

We used a clip of CDR Denton’s interview during which he blinked “T-O-R-T-U-R-E” in Morse Code in our documentary as an example of resisting cooperating with the North Vietnamese.

Eisenhower, Dwight. News Conference 7 April 1954. *Public Papers of the Presidents, 1954. The Pentagon Papers*. Vol. 1. Boston: Beacon Press, 1971. Web.

<https://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/pentagon/ps11.htm>

In this news conference held in Washington, D.C., President Eisenhower responded to questions about why the U.S. should be involved in Southeast Asia and described the “falling domino principle” that comes to be known as the Domino Theory that we refer to in our documentary.

Eisenhower, John S.D. *Strictly Personal*. Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Co., 1974.

Print.

The author was the son of President Eisenhower. He was an eyewitness to the Cold War in Europe and the Berlin Airlift that were events that made Americans fearful of the spread of communism that was the stated reason for attacking North Vietnam that is in our documentary.

Ellsberg, Daniel. *Secrets: A Memoir of Vietnam and the Pentagon Papers*. New York: Penguin Books, 2002. Print.

Ellsberg served in Vietnam in 1965. In 1971, he leaked the *Pentagon Papers* to the *New York Times* to stop the Vietnam War. This added in our knowledge of the growing anti-war beliefs of the American public and anti-war protests that are in our documentary.

Esper, George and the Associated Press. *The Eyewitness History of the Vietnam War 1961 – 1975*. New York: Ballantine Books, 1983. Print.

The author was an Associated Press correspondent who remained in Vietnam to report the collapse of the South Vietnamese government. This book has all the events that happened during Vietnam War that helped with our chronology.

“F-4 Phantom in the Vietnam War.”

<http://www.military.com/video/operations-and-strategy/vietnam-war/f-4-phantom-in-the-vietnam-war/2534546230001/>. Web.

This is a video clip from the time of planes flown by many of the POWs in our documentary that shows them loading bombs, flying, and landing. We did not have time in our documentary but after watching clips of U.S. bombing, it was understandable the North Vietnamese were angry at the pilots and crew of the planes that dropped the bombs.

“France has Fears: Thought Japan Wants Indo-China Territory.” 20 May 1905. *The San Juan Islander*. Chronicling America. Web.

This news article from 1905 showed how France competed with the Japanese over Indo-China. This newspaper showed how Vietnam had a thousand years of foreign conquerors including the French and Japanese.

“France Plays Defensive Game: Realizes That Friendship of Japan is First Essential in Protecting Indo-China.” *The Salt Lake Herald*. 17 June 1907. Chronicling America. Accessed 16 May 2013. Web.

This article explained that the French were willing to pay Japan the equivalent of one billion dollars in exchange for a guarantee for their trading rights in Indo-China. This article expanded even more the countries conquered or controlled like Vietnam to include Korea, Formosa, and Manchuria. This shows how Vietnam had outside conquerors for over a thousand years that helped us understand the Vietnam attitude toward foreigners. “France will Relinquish China Holdings Providing Britain and Japan Will Do Likewise: French Colonial Minister Declares His Country is Ready to Cooperate in Any Harmonious Effort to Restore Indo-China to Position it Should be Occupying.” *Bisbee Daily Review*. 18 November 1921. Chronicling America. Web.

We found this account of France’s self-stated generosity very interesting since it was two years after the Treaty of Versailles 1919 that divided up Germany’s colonial holdings in Asia, and Britain and France carved up the Middle East among the two of them too. The tone was condescending; that was the way Europeans thought at that time. Francis, Mike. “Families Still Seek POW Answers: Loved Ones of War Missing Hold out Hope for Information.” *The Oregonian*. 12 January 2014. Print.

This article is about the same briefing held by the Defense Department on what was being done to find news about or the remains of POW/MIA but contained different names of those missing such as Air Force Sr. Airman Joseph Matejoy shot down over Laos February 4-5, 1973, ironically as last minute arrangements were made for the release of James Stockdale, Fred Cherry, and Porter Halyburton that are in our documentary. Franklin, Ben A. “Former P.O.W. Whose Wife took \$121,998 Rejects \$38,449.” *New York Times*. 25 April 1982. Online.

Fred Cherry was shot down and imprisoned for over seven years. His wife deserted him, spent all his pay and savings, tried to have him declared dead, and lived with and had a child with another man. The Air Force did not act on complaints from Cherry’s sister who alleged Cherry’s money was being misspent. *Frontline: Vietnam*. Plymouth, MN: Simitar Entertainment. 1976. VHS.

This video made just after the U.S. pulled out of Vietnam contained video footage of the battles in Vietnam as well as the anti-war protests that helped us understand the ideas and people of that time. “Geneva Convention Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War. U.N.T.S 135. Entered into

Force. 21 Oct. 1950. Web. <http://www1.umn.edu/humanrts/instree/y3gctpw.htm>.

This has several sections and articles. The one that particularly has to do with the Vietnam POWs is Captivity, Section I guaranteeing “no physical or mental torture ...to secure from them information of any kind whatever” that we put in our documentary.

Gilmore, Donald L. with D.M. Giangreco. *Eyewitness Vietnam: Firsthand Accounts from Operation Rolling Thunder to the Fall of Saigon*. New York: Sterling Publishing Co., 2006. Print.

This is a book of eyewitness stories about Operation Rolling Thunder which marks the beginning of the count of the 660 American airmen shot down and captured.

Good, Bob. “POW Wives: Lemoore Group Will Not Let Hopes ‘Go Overboard.’” *The Fresno Bee*. 9 September 1972. Print.

Mrs. Percy (Sue Creed) sent us this article with a photo of her and her children. The source from the time described what President Nixon was doing to end the war and bring the POWs home that is in our script. We used the photo in this article in our documentary.

Grace, Tom. “From Cambodia to Kent State.” *Patriots: The Vietnam War Remembered from All Sides*. New York: Penguin Books, 2003. Print.

We read about the anti-war protests and included a little of Tom Grace’s story about when he was a sophomore at Kent State and shot in the foot by National Guardsmen. We used a clip of Kent State in our documentary.

Guaraldi, Vince. “Cast Your Fate to the Wind.” Parkway Records. 1965.

Guaraldi wrote this song in 1962, but it was widely played in 1965. We used it as background music for the part in our documentary about the National League of Families of American POWs in Southeast Asia.

Gulf of Tonkin Resolution. Act of Congress. 7 August 1964. Accessed 8 November 2013. Web. <http://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?flash=true&doc=98>.

“Congress approves and supports the determination of the President, as Commander in Chief, to take all necessary measures to repeal any armed attack against the forces of the United States and to prevent any further aggression” that was used as the “right” or legal basis for attacking North Vietnam.

Halyburton, Marty. Unpublished personal interview by Jethro Abatayo in Greensboro, North Carolina. 12 January 2014. Recorded on iSight.

Mrs. Halyburton was the southeast U.S. regional leader of the National League of Families of American Prisoners in Southeast Asia. Jethro recorded her comments on the League's efforts to have the rights stated in the Geneva Convention followed and what families did to publicize what was happening to their husbands, sons, and brothers.

Halyburton, Porter. *Patriots: The Vietnam War Remembered from All Sides*. New York: Penguin Group, 2003. Print.

While looking for the North Vietnamese point of view, we found this entry by CDR Porter Halyburton. It confirmed what he told Jethro in person about the rules of engagement.

----. Unpublished personal telephone interview from Greensboro, North Carolina, by Jethro Abatayo and Logan Gibert in Vancouver, Washington. 19 December 2013. Notes.

Mr. Halyburton was shot down over Vietnam in 1965, and was a prisoner of war for seven and a half years. He shared his reflections on how POWs had no rights but that taking responsibility for Fred Cherry gave him something to live for that we included in our documentary.

----. Unpublished personal FaceTime interview from Greensboro, North Carolina, by Jethro Abatayo in Vancouver, Washington. 21 December 2013. QuickTime video.

The notes from the first interview were organized so that Mr. Halyburton's comments could be videotaped. He added important details about Walter Cronkite and his views on the anti-war movement not in the first interview that added depth to our understanding.

----. Unpublished personal interview by Jethro Abatayo in Greensboro, North Carolina. 12 January 2014. iMovie/iSight.

Jethro interviewed Porter and his wife Marty at their home in North Carolina. We used Mrs Halyburton's experiences as a regional leader of the National League of Families of American Prisoners in Southeast Asia and CDR Halyburton's accounts of rights and responsibilities in our documentary.

----. Unpublished personal email interview. 26 February 2014. iPhone.

We asked some follow up questions that CDR Halyburton was very kind to answer while he was in Costa Rica.

Hasart, Lowell. Unpublished personal interview. 22 January 2013. Interviewed by

Jethro Abatayo in Vancouver, Washington. FlipCam recording.

Mr. Hasart was an aide to Henry Cabot Lodge at the Paris Peace Conference 1965-1967 where the talks stalled and made no progress on freeing the POWs that is in our documentary.

Hendon, Bill and Elizabeth A. Stewart. *An Enormous Crime: The Definitive Account of American POWs Abandoned in Southeast Asia*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 2007. Print.

The author was a former U.S. representative from North Carolina who served on the U.S. House POW/MIA Task Force making him a primary source on the POW/MIA issue. Among many other points, the author said the POWs were used as hostages by the North and forced the U.S. to pay "reparations," a U.S. responsibility to pay for damages that the U.S. just called aid.

Hershberger, Mary, editor. *Jane Fonda's Words of Politics and Passion*. New York: The New Press, 2006. Print.

The author compiled transcripts of Jane Fonda's journal entries of her trip to North Vietnam making them a primary source. Especially helpful was her list of early release prisoners and what they reported that was what CDR Stockdale reported in his book and was in the interview with COL Kiley. We noticed that the names of the six Air Force and two Navy pilots who accepted early release were not named except in COL Kiley's book *Honor Bound*.

Hoa, Truong My. "They Tied to Make Us Say, 'Down with President Ho.'" *Patriots: The Vietnam War Remembered from All Sides*. New York: Penguin Group, 2003. Print.

The author was a member of the communist party, arrested in 1964, and tortured by the South Vietnamese Saigon Military Tribunal. She was held for eleven years until finally released in 1975. We compared her treatment as a prisoner with that of American POWs.

Ho Chi Minh. Bernard B. Fall, editor. *Ho Chi Minh on Revolution: Selected Writings, 1920 – 66*. New York: Praeger, 1967. Print.

Ho Chi Minh was the leader of the Vietnamese resistance against the French colonialists, then against the Japanese during World War II, the French again until 1954, and the United States until he died in 1969. His writings inspired his people to fight foreign enemies that explained their perseverance after years of U.S. bombings and their

determination to win the propaganda war. His hard-line communism was given as the reason for treating POWs as criminals that is in the documentary.

----. "Declaration of Independence of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam." 2 September 1945. Selected Works, Volume 3. Hanoi: Foreign Language Publishing, 1960. Print. Web. <http://historymatters.gmu.edu/d/5139/>

This document proclaimed by Ho Chi Minh is very similar to the U.S. Declaration of Independence. It goes on to list their grievances against foreign conquerors and their hypocrisy since the French belief in "liberty, equality, and brotherhood" did not apply to them. We refer to the North Vietnam's viewpoint of the U.S. and French in our documentary.

----. "Proclamation of the Viet Minh-led Independence Struggle." 6 June 1941. Michael H. Hunt. *A Vietnam War Reader: A Documentary History from American and Vietnamese Perspectives*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010. Print.

Ho Chi Minh described his struggle to create the Vietnam Communist Party in 1941. The Communist Party gave Ho Chi Minh his basis for power, and he stated his beliefs about ridding the country of foreign invaders that is in our documentary.

Hunt, Michael H., editor. *A Vietnam War Reader: A Documentary History from American and Vietnamese Perspectives*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2010. Print.

This collection of documents contained meeting notes, conversations, and letters by people with widely different viewpoints that helped us especially with the North Vietnamese and other communist countries' viewpoints.

Kissinger, Henry. *Ending the Vietnam War*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 2003. Print.

Kissinger was President Nixon's Secretary of State as well as an advisor to President Kennedy and Johnson before Nixon. His nonspecific statement, in August 1969..."A campaign on behalf of American POWs...demand(ed) North Vietnamese compliance with the Geneva Convention and Red Cross inspection."

----. *Years of Upheaval*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1982. Print.

Kissinger wrote about how difficult it was to negotiate with the North Vietnamese. He and former representative Hendon agreed that the Watergate Scandal affected the peace process and return of POWs.

Le, Tyler. Unpublished personal interview by Jethro Abatayo. 18 November 2013.

Tyler was a student at our school whose parents were “Boat People.” He and his family visit Vietnam every year. He told me about how the Vietnamese hold no hard feelings towards Americans and that it was as if the war never happened.

Lennon, John. “Imagine.” Apple Records, 1971.

This song was released in 1971. We used it in the background of CDR Halyburton description of him forgiving the North Vietnamese that ends our documentary. Lewis, Flora. “Vietnam Peace Pacts Signed; America’s Longest War Halts: Two Sessions in Paris Formally Conclude the Agreement.” *New York Times*. 28 January 1973. Print.

This is a similar news story from the time announcing the peace agreement that would bring the POWs home.

Lodge, Henry Cabot. *The Storm Has Many Eyes: A Personal Narrative*. New York: W.W. Norton, 1973. Print.

Lodge was the ambassador to Vietnam from 1963 to 1967 under President Kennedy and Johnson. Lowell Hasart was his aide at the Paris Peace talks so we wanted to know more about him.

Lukas, J. Anthony. “Witness Says Police in Chicago Broke His Arm During Protest.” *New York Times*. 15 January 1970. Accessed 18 January 2013. Web.

This article from the time reported the agreement and compromises but also gave the history of the war, statistics on troop levels, and the number of deaths.

Martha Reeves and the Vandellas. “Nowhere to Run.” Motown Records, 1965.

This song from 1965 was very appropriate background music for our documentary to go with the part of our documentary about the POWs capture and imprisonment.

“McCain, Stockdale Honored.” Channel 10 News. 2 September 2011. Online.

<http://www.10news.com/news/mccain-stockdale-honored-aboard-uss-midway>

Sen. John McCain and James Stockdale received awards for their years as leaders of the POWs in Vietnam. Sybil Stockdale accepted the medal for her late husband.

McGrath, John M. *Prisoner of War: Six Years in Hanoi*. Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1990. Print.

LT McGrath was a Navy pilot flying an A4C shot down over North Vietnam on June 30, 1967, and a prisoner in several camps in Hanoi until his release on March 4, 1973. We used his drawings that he made after his release in the documentary.

McNamara, Robert S. *Argument without End: In Search of Answers to the Vietnam Tragedy*. New York: Public Affairs, 1999. Print.

The author was Secretary of Defense for President Kennedy and Johnson and credited or blamed for leading the U.S. into the Vietnam War. He identified missed opportunities and a mistake to have lumped Ho Chi Minh's form of communism with Russia's and China's. He wrote that the Domino Theory was not true but was a reason for the U.S. support of a non-communist dictator that is in our documentary.

---- with Brian VanDeMark. *In Retrospect: The Tragedy and Lessons of Vietnam*. New York: Random House, 1995. Print.

In this autobiography, McNamara both credited and blamed President Johnson for the unsuccessful Vietnam War policy that CDR Halyburton commented on in our documentary.

Mills, Nick and the editors of Boston Publishing Company. *Combat Photographer: The Vietnam Experience*. Boston: Boston Publishing Company, 1983. Print.

We looked at these photographs from the time of captured Viet Cong in this book that showed us what was happening on the ground while most of the POWs we studied were airmen.

“Minh Surrenders, Vietcong in Saigon; 1,000 Americans and 5,500 Vietnamese Evacuated by Copter to U.S. Carriers.” *New York Times*. 30 April 1975. Print.

Although the U.S. ended its support of South Vietnam in 1973 that resulted in most of the POWs return, this news article on the fall of Saigon is recognized as the real end of the Vietnam War that is historical context for our project.

Mulligan, Daniel. Unpublished personal interview by Jethro Abatayo and Logan Gibert in Vancouver, Washington. 23 January 2014. Videotaped on FlipCam.

Mr. Mulligan was a Navy lieutenant junior grade who volunteered to serve in Vietnam from 1968 to 1975. He told us about captured Viet Cong and the problems of fighting a guerilla war. We used a clip from him commenting on how naïve it was to expect rights to be respected in the middle of a war. He also gave us a copy of the Uniform Code of Military Conduct that we quoted in our documentary.

----. Unpublished personal interview. 9 November 2013. Videotaped interview by Jethro Abatayo in Vancouver, Washington. FlipCam recording.

Jethro interviewed Mr. Mulligan, an ensign in the U.S. Navy who volunteered to go “in country” in Vietnam from 1967 to 1971. We included his comments about the war, the Vietnamese he grew to care about, and its long-term effects on himself.

“Negotiations End War.” *Russell (Kansas) Daily News*. 29 January 1973. Web.

This news article from the time reported the negotiations that directly led to freeing the first of the POWs two weeks later. This helped in understanding the time line of events. Percy, Susan Creed. Unpublished personal telephone interview by Jethro Abatayo and Logan Gibert. 27 January 2014. Recorded on iMovie.

Mrs. Percy’s first husband LT Bart Creed was a Navy pilot shot down over Laos in 1971. He was captured, listed as missing in action, and presumed dead. Mrs. Percy took responsibility for raising two toddlers alone and shared her actions to bring attention to the fates of POWs and MIAs. Mrs. Percy also gave us photos of her husband and a news article with her and her children to use in our documentary.

Potter, Ted. Unpublished personal interview. 17 January 2014. Interviewed by Jethro Abatayo and Logan Gibert in Vancouver, Washington. FlipCam recording.

We interviewed Mr. Potter who is a teacher at the primary school next to our middle school. He was a Marine in Vietnam for thirteen months starting in 1968. Unlike the POWs, he was not welcomed home as a hero.

Return with Honor. Freida Lee Mock and Terry Sanders, dir. American Experience PBS Home Video. 2001. DVD.

This documentary included twenty-six interviews with POWs including Fred Cherry that helped us understand the POW experience from the viewpoints of different branches of the military.

Risner, Robinson. *The Passing of the Night: My Seven Years as a Prisoner of the North Vietnamese*. Old Saybrook, CT: Konecky and Konecky, 1973. Print.

CDR Risner was one of the commanding officers that took turns giving orders at the “Hanoi Hilton.” We did not mention him by name due to time limits in our documentary.

Rivera, Ray. “Stockdale’s Leadership, Inspiration Remembered.” *Washington Post*. 24 July 2005. Print.

Vice Admiral James Stockdale passed away and was remembered by those

who were POWs in Vietnam together.

Rolling Stones. "Paint it Black." Decca Records, 1966.

We learned that American servicemen played this song every day while serving in Vietnam in 1966. We used it as background music for the bombing of North Vietnam. Rosenbaum, David E. "Nation Ends Draft, Turns to Volunteers: Change is Ordered Six Months Early—Youths Must Still Register." *New York Times*. 28 January 1973. Print.

This article reported that the end of the war ended the need for drafting men. Rowe, James N. *Five Years to Freedom: The True Story of a Vietnam POW*. New York: Random House, Inc., 1971. Print.

LT Rowe was an Army officer captured by the Viet Cong in South Vietnam. He escaped after five years and later developed a survival training course for POWs. We noticed that most Marine POWs escaped and if we had time would compare the differences in their training.

"SECRET: Southeast Asia Force Strength vs. Airlift Activity." United States Air Force SEA 315 AD Report, 1965.

We used a slide of this graph to illustrate statistics of the positive relationship between force strength and airlift activity.

Stockdale, James B. *Courage under Fire: Testing Epictetus's Doctrines in a Laboratory of Human Behavior*. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 1993. Print.

This essay by Vice Admiral Stockdale reflected on how he was grateful for his years of captivity because it showed him what he could control and what he could not. This helped us understand what beliefs helped him cope and survive as a commanding officer of the POWs from 1965-1973.

----. *A Vietnam Experience: Ten Years of Reflection*. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 1984. Print.

The book is a collection of Vice Admiral Stockdale's lectures, speeches, and essays written after his release. We found the ones describing the collaborators and early released POWs, the "earlies," very interesting because there is so little on them. We were happy that Vice Admiral Stockdale's math that 98% of the POWs stayed faithful to the code was the same number we came up with too. We used that in our regional project but cut it from our state version to save two seconds.

Stockdale, Jim and Sybil. *In Love and War: The Story of One Family's Ordeal and Sacrifice During the Vietnam Years*. Annapolis, Maryland: Naval Institute Press, 1990. Print.

This autobiography by Jim Stockdale and his wife alternate chapters in their lives before, during, and after the Vietnam War. Jim was a Navy squadron commander shot down over Vietnam on 9 September 1965, and became the highest ranking officer of POWs including Porter Halyburton and Fred Cherry. Sybil Stockdale led the effort to publicize the plight of POWs and Missing in Action men and women and bring them home and helped clarify the issues of rights and responsibility in the documentary.

The most useful information was Stockdale's eyewitness account of the Gulf of Tonkin incident August 2-5, 1964, that did not happen but triggered the reprisal on North Vietnam the next day, Congress granting war powers to President Johnson, the President and civilians ordering military tactics, and the American serviceman suffering the consequences.

Stratton, Richard. "The Boat School Boys: Tales from Southeast Asia." Web.

<http://www.axpow.org/boatschoolboys.htm>.

CDR Stratton was one of the Senior Ranking Officers (SROs) although he names just CDR Stockdale and CDR Risner. He criticized SROs without naming names for their bad ideas such as ordering everyone to fast when already weak and working to get the order rescinded. We realize that there are hundreds of stories of different ways the POWs resisted. CDR Stratton confirmed that tortured POWs broke under torture and revived to resist another day.

Striker, Frederick. Unpublished personal interview by Jethro Abatayo and Logan Gibert in Vancouver, Washington. 15 January 2014.

Mr. Striker was a Marine colonel in Vietnam in 1964, and retired school board president in our district. Mr. Striker introduced us to Mr. Hasart who we also interviewed. We realized that there were many Vietnam War veterans in our community.

Tang, Truong Nhu. *A Viet Cong Memoir: An Inside Account of the Vietnam War and Its Aftermath*. New York: Vintage Books, 1986. Print.

The author was the former North Vietnamese Minister of Justice. He described his experiences as a political prisoner of the South Vietnamese government and of his release

as part of a prisoner exchange in 1968. Although badly treated in prison, he was allowed to see his wife once a month that was not the case with American prisoners.

Thorsness, Leo. *Surviving Hell: A POW's Journey*. New York: Encounter Books, 2008. Print.

This autobiography is by a Vietnam War POW who knew Fred Cherry in the Hanoi Hilton also called "the Zoo." His story was more about escape attempts but had a lot on the treatment of POWs that we included in our documentary.

Thurmer, Dennis. Unpublished personal interview by Jethro Abatayo in Vancouver, Washington. 3 November 2013.

U.S. Air Force Capt. Thurmer was in Vietnam from 1965-69, the same time that Cherry and Halyburton were POWs.

"Tortured with Razor Sharp Bamboo and Fed Alive to Ants." Web.

<http://peteralanlloyd.com/back-part-2/tortured-with-razor-sharp-bamboo-and-fed-alive-to-ants-the-story-behind-one-pows-incredible-escape-from-laos/>

We read about POWs that escaped but due to time and space, our main focus was on POWs held in North Vietnam.

Toth, Robert C. "U.S. and Hanoi to Resume Paris Talks July 13, Nixon Announces: Tells Press Conference Viet War Can Be 'Ended Well Before; Term is Over if Enemy Negotiates Seriously." *Los Angeles Times*. 30 June 1972. Print.

This news article reports President Nixon crediting the mining of Haiphong Harbor "Ugly War in Vietnam." *Life Magazine*. 12 June 1967. Print.

This is what the American public saw about the Vietnam War during the years the POWs suffered the most. This helped us understand what else was going on at the time.

"U.S. Losses Grow: Vietnam Raid Costs 14 Planes." *Los Angeles Times*. 28 October 1967. Print.

We used this newspaper article from the time to illustrate the war dragging on.

"U.S. Prisoners in North Vietnam." *Life Magazine*. 20 October 1967. Print.

This edition of *Life Magazine* had a photograph of CDR Denton on the cover. We used the taped interview of CDR Denton that was made at this time.

Vogt, Tom. "Missing but not Forgotten: Portland Event Lets Loved Ones Hear, Share Details of Those Lost in Service." *The Columbian*. 12 January 2014. Print.

Most of those listed in this news article were from the Korean War, but Airman Mel Holland was taken prisoner on March 11, 1968, in Laos, and Harley Hall, a pilot who

was shot down Jan. 27, 1973, was declared dead by the Navy. These are local men whose story is the subject of Representative Hendon's book on unaccounted-for POWs and MIAs in Vietnam.

Westmoreland, William C. *A Soldier Reports*. New York: Doubleday & Company, 1976. Print.

This account by the U.S. commanding general in South Vietnam from 1965 to 1968 gave us information on how Viet Cong prisoners of war were treated that were better or worse including atrocities that provided a comparison to how American POWs were treated.

Wilson, Richard. "POW Kin Say They're Political Pawns." *The Independent* (Long Beach, California). 27 October 1971. Web. <http://www.newspapers.com/clip/295262/independent>.

This article about the National League of Families of American Prisoners and Missing in Southeast Asia confirmed Sybil Stockdale's account of how retired military men tried to take control of the League and add a political wing, but they refused.

Wong, Richard. Unpublished personal interview in Vancouver, Washington, by Jethro Abatayo and Logan Gibert. 28 May 2014.

Mr. Wong served in the U.S. Air Force from 1967 – 1971. He related to us the anti-war feelings during the Vietnam War and getting spat on when returning home on leave in uniform in the Portland, Oregon airport. He also shared that he came to believe that the U.S. had no business being in Vietnam similar to the majority of American citizens that led to the election of President Nixon who campaigned on the promise to end the war and bring the POWs home that we refer to in our documentary.

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Zumwalt, James G. *Bare Feet, Iron Will—Stories from the Other Side of Vietnam's Battlefields*. Herndon, VA: Fortis, 2010. Print.

The author was a Marine who served in Vietnam making him a primary source from the time. He compiled interviews from North Vietnamese civilians and those in the military that helped us understand the North's point of view. This source confirmed other sources on how the bombing of Hanoi in December 1972 brought North Vietnam to the edge of collapse. We also included a quote about shooting down planes in our documentary.

Secondary Sources

American Experience: My Lai, PBS. DVD.

Jethro watched and took notes on this documentary on the My Lai Massacre. It helped us understand both the frustration of U.S. soldiers and the anti-war feelings that resulted from My Lai and why this event turned more Americans against the war.

Cha, Christian. Unpublished personal interview by Jethro Abatayo and Logan Gibert.. 25 May 2014.

Christian is a student at our school whose parents came to the United States as children after the Vietnam War to escape the North Vietnamese persecution of Hmong who supported the U.S. in Laos. He is a secondary source because he relates his grandparents' experiences in Laos. He told us that they saw captured Hmong who were badly treated as POWs or killed that added depth to our research.

Chadbourn, Charles. Unpublished personal email interview by Jethro Abatayo and Logan Gibert. 1 November 2013.

Professor Chadbourne teaches strategy at the Naval War Academy in Washington, D.C. He told us about Fred Cherry and Porter Halyburton and suggested leads to other sources.

----. Unpublished email interview by Jethro Abatayo and Logan Gibert. 29 December 2013.

Professor Chadbourn helped us contact Commander Porter and Marty Halyburton for an interview. After that one was arranged, Professor Chadbourn got us Fred Cherry's contact information so that Jethro could interview him the next day while on the east coast.

"Cold War: Communist China Recognizes North Vietnam." 19 January 1950. Web.

<http://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/communist-china-recognizes-north-vietnam>

When China recognized North Vietnam, the U.S. did not see a country freeing itself from a colonial power (France) but as another country under the control of communists and receiving aid from communists that resulted in a U.S. policy to support a non-communist leader that we refer to in our documentary.

Dougherty, Kevin. *Timeline of the Vietnam War*. San Diego: Thunder Bay Press, 2008. Print.

The author retired from the U.S. Army and is a historian. Although he might have lived at the same time as many of the events, we put him as a secondary source because he used primary sources to write this book. However, the photographs in the book are a primary source from the time. This book listed the events that happened while the POWs were imprisoned.

Doyle, Robert C. "Free from the Jungle Camps: Escape in Laos and Vietnam." *A Prisoner's Duty: Great Escapes in U.S. Military History*. New York: Bantam Books, 1997. Print.

The book was a history of escapes going back to the American Revolution. One chapter on Southeast Asia POWs helped us with details about one part of the POW story we did not have time to research more deeply to add to the information we learned from COL Kiley's book.

Gavin, Philip. *The Fall of Vietnam*. New York: Lucent, 2003. Print.

This book contained a chronology of the events that led up to the Vietnam War such as Vietnam being conquered by the Chinese and then the French that we refer to in our documentary.

Guy, Theodore Wilson. Web. <http://www.pownetwork.org/bios/g/g065.htm>.

COL Guy was the senior officer in charge of mostly enlisted men. This biography of him helped us understand the different officers who gave orders to POWs and how that leadership changed depending on where men were imprisoned. This biography included COL Guy's own reflections on U.S. policy that added to the conflicting stories from the POWs themselves on their experiences. COL Guy brought charges against eight POWs, and that helped us identify some of the eleven "earlies" that are in our documentary. Also, after figuring out who was released in 1968 and 1969, we looked up the biographies of those men in COL Guy's book. We were surprised to find the biographies extremely short although one stated that the POW was released five years before the others.

Hirsch, James S. *Two Souls Indivisible: The Friendship That Saved Two POWs in Vietnam*. New York: Houghton Mifflin, 2004. Print.

The author interviewed Fred Cherry and Porter Halyburton to write this book making him a secondary source. Jethro started his research by reading this biography that led to other sources that we used in our documentary. We also used photographs from this source from the time in our project.

Howes, Craig. *Voices of the Vietnam POWs: Witnesses to Their Fight*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993. Print.

The author interviewed Vietnam POWs and drew general conclusions about the leadership levels at the “Hanoi Hilton.” It also had several pages on Seaman Apprentice Hegdahl that were of particular interest to us.

Hubbell, John G. *POW: a Definitive History of Vietnam Prisoners 1964-1973*. New York: Reader’s Digest Press, 1976. Print.

The author compiled the returning POWs stories into this book published three years after the 1973 releases. Technically it is a primary source connected by time, but since there are so many books by the POWs themselves, we put this in the secondary source category because it is a summary of what POWs told to the author.

Jackson, John. PowerPoint Introduction to Porter Halyburton. 9 January 2014. PowerPoint.

Jackson is a professor at the Naval War College in Rhode Island. He sent us a PowerPoint he uses to introduce Porter Halyburton and gave us permission to use drawings by John McGrath and photographs in the documentary that were primary sources.

Kiley, Frederick T. Unpublished personal telephone interview from Colorado Springs, Colorado in Vancouver, Washington by Jethro Abatayo. 3 January 2014. Recorded on iMovie.

Col. Kiley was in Vietnam from 1968 to 1969. He teaches at the U.S. Air Force Academy and co-authored [Honor Bound: American Prisoners of War in Southeast Asia 1961-1973](#) where he interviewed or read the debriefing transcripts of all returning POWs. We asked him about the draft, the Tonkin Gulf Incident, and responsibilities of policy makers that were used in the making of our documentary.

Mayer, Dale C. editor. “Presidential Libraries Holdings Relating to Prisoners of War and Missing

in Action. Reference Information Paper 104.” Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, 2007. Web.

<http://www.archives.gov/publications/ref-info-papers/rip104.pdf>

This document is the finding aid to presidential manuscripts and materials on POWs. The index shows that Vietnam War POWs and MIAs span nine presidents from Eisenhower through Clinton. We used this source to find information about the National League of Families of American Prisoners and Missing in Southeast Asia, oral history interviews, and photographs.

National League of Families of American Prisoners and Missing in Southeast Asia. Web.

<http://www.pow-miafamilies.org/about-the-league/>

This website is for the National League that Sybil Stockdale first founded in San Diego and contains links to its history and current efforts to locate missing prisoners. A link located the Oregon chapter and we contacted that director who so far has not replied.

“Prisoners of War and War Crimes.” Web.

<http://www.history.army.mil/books/Vietnam/Law-War/law-04.htm>

This history of POWs and war crimes helped us understand the legal principles of the Geneva Convention 1949 and how each country interpreted the rules differently that we put into our script.

Raven, Margot Theis. *America's White Table*. Ann Arbor, MI: Sleeping Bear Press, 2005. Print.

This book told about the tradition for remembering military persons missing in action.

Reed, Thomas C. *At the Abyss: An Insider's History of the Cold War*. New York:

Ballantine Books, 2004. Print.

The author was the former Secretary of the Air Force and although he lived at the time, some of his narration is a history so we categorized it as a secondary source. It had information about communism that helped us in the development of our project.

Roberts, Russell. *The Vietnam War: Leaders and Generals*. San Diego: Lucent, 2001. Print.

This book of biographies discussed key leaders such as Ho Chi Minh, Ngo Dinh Diem, President Johnson, President Nixon, William Westmoreland, and Henry Kissinger; most of whom we found their autobiographies or memoirs.

Rochester, Stuart I. and Frederick Kiley. *Honor Bound: American Prisoners of War in Southeast Asia, 1961-1973*. Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 1999. Print.

The co-authors are historians who used primary sources such as the debriefing records of returning POWs to write this book making it a secondary source even though Rochester and Kiley both served in Vietnam as U.S. Air Force advisers from 1968 to 1969. From the list of captured service persons, we identified the eight early released prisoners plus Seaman Apprentice Hegdahl separate from the thirty-five Army servicemen released early. We deduced that theirs is a completely different story from the Air Force and Navy “earlies.” We scanned photographs from the time that are primary sources in our documentary.

Smith, Delbert. Unpublished personal interview in Vancouver, Washington, by Jethro Abatayo. 31 May 2014.

Mr. Smith worked for the Central Intelligence Agency, so Mr. Smith is not his real name. He knew Earnest C. Brace and shared what he remembered about Mr. Brace’s stories about his imprisonment in Laos and North Vietnam. Both VADM Denton and VADM Stockdale refer to guesses that Brace was a member of the CIA by the way the North Vietnamese treated him.

“Vietnam POW Interviews, Volume I. Volume II.” <http://www.usni.org/heritage/pow>. Web.

These biographies briefly summarized the interviews of released POWs. The biographies helped us check facts that we used in our documentary. We noticed that the “earlies” biographies are very short compared to the other biographies; one paragraph rather than several.

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North Vietnam Map
Maj. Fred Cherry on jet
Maj. Fred Cherry flight group
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