

# Notes

## Introduction

1. Tom Clancy, Tony Zinni, and Tony Koltz, *Battle Ready* (New York: Penguin, 2004), p. 426. David Cloud and Eric Schmitt, "More Retired Generals Call for Rumsfeld's Resignation," *New York Times*, April 14, 2006, pp. A1 and A17.
2. Thich Nhat Hanh, *Peace Is Every Step* (New York: Bantam Books, 1992), p. 103.
3. Andrew Bacevich, "Warrior Politics," *Atlantic Monthly* (May 2007). Bacevich is correct to caution us against the glorification of the military. Yet, he also argues that soldiers in uniform should not engage in politics against the war. "Although sworn to obey," "they have undertaken to obstruct." Of course, militarism is sustained precisely by way of such oaths that encourage silence in the face of misguided policies or war crimes. If Nazi soldiers in uniform petitioned against its war machine, one should not appeal to their oath of allegiance to silence them. Bacevich feels that encouraging groups of soldiers to "join the debate is short-sighted and dangerous." Perhaps it can be dangerous, but it also can facilitate democracy. Consider that the English Civil War, which in many ways was the catalyst of modern democracy, included radical elements of Levellers who worked with Agitators, who were military men in uniform. They petitioned their commanders and demanded democratic procedures. Soldiers engaging in dissent are not, ipso facto, dangerous. For a readable account of the Agitators, see Fenner Brockway, *Britain's First Socialists: The Levellers, Agitators and Diggers of the English Revolution* (London: Quartet Books, 1980), pp. 35–57.
4. For an elaboration on this point, see Michael Frisch, *A Shared Authority: Essays on the Craft and Meaning of Oral and Public History* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990), pp. 175–76.
5. Michael Frisch, "Sharing Authority: Oral History and the Collaborative Process," *Oral History Review* (Winter 2003), v. 30, n. 1, p. 111.
6. Linda Shopes, "Commentary: Shared Authority," *Oral History Review* (Winter 2003), v. 30, n. 1, p. 105.
7. Staughton Lynd, "Oral History from Below," *Oral History Review* (Spring 1993), v. 21, n. 1, pp. 1–8. Lynd, "History from Below." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Organization of American Historians, New York, March 2008.
8. Jean Krasno and James Sullivan, *The United Nations and Iraq: Defanging the Viper* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2003).
9. Alessandro Portelli, *The Death of Luigi Trastulli and Other Stories: Form and Meaning in Oral History* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991), pp. 1–26.

10. For details, see Carl Mirra, "Conscientious Objection in Operation Desert Storm," *Peace Review* (April–June 2006), v. 18, n. 2, pp. 199–205. Mirra, ed., *Enduring Freedom or Enduring War? Prospects and Costs of the New American 21st Century* (Washington, DC: Maisonneuve Press, 2005).
11. In 2005, a Gallup Poll discovered that almost 60 percent of Americans wished that the United States would remove its forces from Iraq; see Susan Page, "Poll: USA Is Losing Patience on Iraq," *USA TODAY*, June 12, 2005. A December 2006 CNN poll indicated that nearly 70 percent of Americans "expressed opposition" to the Iraq War, and over 50 percent favored the withdrawal of U.S. troops within one year; see "CNN Poll: U.S. Support for Iraq War Falls to 31 Percent," December 18, 2006, available at <<http://www.cnn.com/POLITICS/blogs/politicalticker/2006/12/cnn-poll-us-support-for-iraq-war-falls.html>>, accessed July 18, 2008. The Program on International Policy Attitudes, affiliated with the Center for International Security Studies at the University of Maryland, surveyed nearly 4,500 people in four Muslim countries from December 2006 to February 2007. An overwhelming majority want U.S. forces to withdraw from Muslim countries; see "Muslims Believe US Seeks to Undermine Islam: Majorities Want US Forces Out of Islamic Countries And Approve of Attacks on US Troops," available at <[http://www.worldpublicopinion.org/pipa/articles/home\\_page/346.php?nid=&id=&pnt=346&lb=hmpg2](http://www.worldpublicopinion.org/pipa/articles/home_page/346.php?nid=&id=&pnt=346&lb=hmpg2)>, accessed July 18, 2008. Republican support for the war is also in decline as the conflict unfolds, see "Poll: GOP Support for Iraq War Beginning to Waver," CNN.com, June 26, 2007, <<http://www.cnn.com/2007/POLITICS/06/26/poll.iraq.schneider/index.html>>, accessed August 5, 2007.
12. Johan Galtung, *Transcend and Transform: An Introduction to Conflict Work* (Boulder, CO: Paradigm, 2004), p. 59.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 46.
14. Christian Appy, *Patriots: The Vietnam War Remember from All Sides* (New York: Penguin Books, 2003), pp. 152–153. Robert McNamara, *In Retrospect: The Tragedy and Lessons of Vietnam* (New York: Times Books, 1995), p. 216.
15. The phrase is Staughton Lynd's in reference to a debate with Bayard Rustin in 1965. Lynd, "Coalition Politics or Nonviolent Revolution," *Liberation* (June–July 1965), pp. 18–21.
16. For an assessment of the toll of the invasion on Iraqis, see Juan Cole, "9 US Troops Killed; 250,000 Civilians Dead in Bush's War?" *Informed Comment*, January 10, 2008, available at <<http://juancole.com>>, February 15, 2008. Nir Rosen, "The Death of Iraq," *Current History* (December 2007), pp. 409–413.

## I. Iraq and the United States: A Brief Sketch

1. For background information, see Douglas Little, *American Orientalism: The United States and the Middle East since 1945* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), pp. 156–160.
2. See "Bin Laden's Sermon for the Feast of Sacrifice," *The Middle East Media Research Institute (MEMRI)*, Special Dispatch Series No. 476, March 5, 2003. Available at <<http://www.memri.org/bin/articles.cgi?Area=sd&id=sp47603>>, accessed July 18, 2008.

3. Dilip Hiro, *Iraq: In the Eye of the Storm* (New York: Nation Books, 2002), pp. 26–28.
4. Roger Morris, “A Tyrant 40 Years in the Making,” *New York Times*, March 14, 2003.
5. Hanna Batatu, *The Old Social Classes and the Revolutionary Movements of Iraq: A Study of Iraq’s Old Landed and Commercial Classes and of Its Communists, Ba’thists and Free Officers* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), pp. 985–986.
6. Marvine Howe, “Baghdad Executes 21 Officials for an Alleged Plot,” *New York Times*, August 9, 1979, p. A4. See also Said K. Aburish, *Saddam Hussein: The Politics of Revenge* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2001), who discusses related crimes in a chapter titled “From Planning to Plotting,” pp. 160–189.
7. Mark Pythian, *Arming Iraq: How the U.S. and Britain Secretly Built Saddam’s War Machine* (Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press, 1996). Products that can be used in the manufacture of biological weapons were among the items shipped to Iraq from U.S. suppliers in the 1980s. According to a 1994 U.S. Senate Committee, “We contacted a principal supplier of these materials to determine what, if any, materials were exported to Iraq which might have contributed to an offensive or defensive biological warfare program. Records available from the supplier for the period from 1985 until the present show that during this time, pathogenic (meaning ‘disease producing’), toxigenic (meaning ‘poisonous’), and other biological research materials were exported to Iraq pursuant to application and licensing by the U.S. Department of Commerce. Records prior to 1985 were not available, according to the supplier. These exported biological materials were not attenuated or weakened and were capable of reproduction.” See Donald W. Riegle, Jr., Committee on Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs, “U.S. Chemical and Biological Warfare-Related Dual Use Exports to Iraq and Their Possible Impact on the Health Consequences of the Persian Gulf War,” U.S. Senate, 103rd Congress, May 1994, available at <[http://www.gulfweb.org/bigdoc/report/r\\_1\\_2.html](http://www.gulfweb.org/bigdoc/report/r_1_2.html)>, accessed August 5, 2007.
8. William Blum, *Killing Hope: U.S. Military and CIA Operations since World War II* (Monroe, ME: Common Courage Press, 1995), pp. 323–25. On Kuwait’s oil maneuvers, the *New York Times* reported, “Oil formations frequently run beneath political boundaries, whether they involve unfriendly leaseholders in West Texas or neighboring Arab states, and procedures have existed for years to settle disputes that arise. Typically, participants in the same field share both production costs and revenues, using a formula that sets percentages of ownership. But Iraq refused to negotiate with Kuwait on such an agreement. So Kuwait produced oil from Rumaila without any agreement, and then adopted a policy of producing far more oil than it was allowed under the quota system of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries”; see Thomas C. Hayes, “Confrontation in the Gulf; The Oilfield Lying below the Iraq-Kuwait Dispute,” *New York Times*, September 3, 1990. See also Brian Becker, “U.S. Conspiracy to Initiate the War against Iraq,” in *War Crimes: A Report on United States War Crimes in Iraq*, ed. Ramsey Clark (Washington, DC: Maisonneuve Press, 1992), pp. 74–82.
9. U.S. Department of Defense, “The Operation Desert Shield/Desert Storm Timeline,” American Forces Press Service, available at <<http://www.defenselink.mil/news/newsarticle.aspx?id=45404>>. Accessed on March 1, 2008.

10. George H. Bush and Brent Scowcroft, *A World Transformed* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1998), p. 489. Scowcroft served as George H. Bush's national security adviser.
11. Background on UN and unfolding of the First Gulf War in Sarah Graham-Brown and Chris Toensing, *Why Another War? A Backgrounder on the Iraq Crisis*, 2nd edition, Middle East Research and Information Project (December 2002).
12. For a brief account of the PNAC, see Andrew Bacevich, *The New American Militarism: How Americans Are Seduced by War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 89–91.
13. Bob Woodward, *Bush at War* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2002), p. 49.
14. Secretary Colin L. Powell, "Press Remarks with Foreign Minister of Egypt Amre Moussa," *U.S. Department of State*, February 24, 2001, available at <<http://www.state.gov/secretary/rm/2001/933.htm>>, January 5, 2007.
15. David Manning, "The Secret Downing Street Memo," *Sunday Times*, May 1, 2005.
16. Charles Lewis and Mark Reading-Smith, "False Pretenses: Following 9/11, President Bush and Seven Top Officials of His Administration Waged a Carefully Orchestrated Campaign of Misinformation about the Threat Posed by Saddam Hussein's Iraq," Center for Public Integrity Report, available at <<http://www.publicintegrity.org/WarCard/Default.aspx?src=home&context=overview&id=945>>, accessed July 18, 2008. "President Says Saddam Hussein Must Leave Iraq within 48 Hours: Remarks by the President in Address to the Nation" (Washington, DC: Office of the Press Secretary), March 17, 2003.
17. IAEA Update Report for the Security Council Pursuant to Resolution 1441 (2002). "No Evidence of Nuclear Weapons Program: ElBaradei," *Sydney Morning Herald*, March 8, 2003.
18. "President Delivers State of the Union," January 28, 2003, available at <<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/01/20030128-19.html>>. Dana Priest and Karen DeYoung, "CIA Questioned Documents Linking Iraq, Uranium Ore," *Washington Post*, March 22, 2003. See also "Report on the U.S. Intelligence Community's Prewar Intelligence Assessments on Iraq," Select Committee on Intelligence, U.S. Senate, July 7, 2004. The report finds numerous agencies challenging the documents regarding the Nigerian uranium sale to Iraq. Among the responses were that it was "highly suspect"; "lacks crucial details"; and "completely implausible." Jeanne Cummings, "Security Advisers Now Share Blame In Intelligence Row," *Wall Street Journal*, July 23, 2003, p. A4. Note that the CIA's initial challenge led to the removal of the uranium claim from an October speech. See Ken Fireman, "Warning Unheeded," *Newsday*, July 23, 2003.
19. Jim Rutenberg and Scott Shane, "Libby Pays Fine, Judge Poses Probation Query," *New York Times*, July 6, 2007.
20. For specific citation and details see Stephen Shalom, "Iraq White Paper," in *Enduring Freedom or Enduring War? Prospects and Costs of the New American 21st Century*, ed. Carl Mirra (Washington, DC: Maisonneuve Press, 2005), pp. 173–176.
21. *The 9/11 Truth Commission Report: Final Report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States, Authorized Edition* (New York: W.W. Norton, n.d.), pp. 334–335.

22. "U.S. Troops in Iraq: 72% Say End the War in 2006," *Zogby International*, February 28, 2006, available at <<http://www.zogby.com/news/ReadNews.dbm?ID=1075>>, accessed July 18, 2008. To be sure, withdrawal does not mean abandonment. UN consultant, Johan Galtung, suggests a Conference on Security and Cooperation in the Middle East, chaired by Jordan or a party in the region. See Johan Galtung, "Human Needs, Humanitarian Intervention, Human Security and the War in Iraq," February 2004, available at <<http://www.transcend.org>>, accessed July 18, 2008.
23. Sean Rayment, "Secret MoD Poll: Iraqis Support Attacks on British Troops," *Sunday Telegraph*, October 23, 2005. "Iraqis Not So Happy," *Newsday*, September 29, 2003, p. A12. Furthermore, the Brookings Institute identifies a February 2005 poll in which 71 percent of Iraqis "oppose the presence of Coalition forces in Iraq." For this poll and several others with similar data, see Abigail Fuller and Neil Wollman, "Should the U.S. Withdraw? Let the Iraqi People Decide," *Professors for Peace*, October 13, 2005.
24. Rajiv Chandrasekaran, "How Cleric Trumped U.S. Plan for Iraq," *Washington Post*, November 26, 2003, p. A20. Juan Cole, "The Iraq Election: First Impressions," *History News Network*, January 31, 2005.
25. William Booth and Rajiv Chandrasekaran, "Occupation Forces Halt Elections throughout Iraq," *Washington Post*, June 28, 2003, p. A20.
26. Hamza Hendawi, "Iraqi Shiites Demand Elections in Peaceful Protest," *Associated Press*, January 1, 2004. The key figure behind the massive, nonviolent protest was the Grand Ayatollah Ali Husseini Sistani, a leader of Iraqi Shiites.
27. Juan Cole, "The Iraq Election: First Impressions," *History News Network*, January 31, 2005. Naomi Klein, "Getting the Purple Finger," *The Nation*, February 11, 2005.
28. In June 2005, Iraq's *Al-Mada* newspaper printed a draft of this constitution. The initial draft mirrored a "Scandinavian-type welfare system," noted one informed observer. For example, Article 18 stated that "the basis of the economy is social justice." The United States dispatched a team to help in drafting the new Iraqi Constitution. One member of the team was Zalmay Khalilzad, who participated in the Project for a New American Century. The final draft of the constitution, news sources reported, had omitted the language of Article 18 above. The final version also added a new provision that encouraged investment in Iraqi petroleum. See Herbert Docena, "Iraq's Neoliberal Constitution," *Foreign Policy in Focus*, September 2, 2005, pp. 1, 2, 5, and 7.
29. For a discussion of militias in Iraq, see the testimony of Terrence K. Kelly in chapter five.
30. For information on insurgent groups Eric S. Margolis, "Know Thine Enemy," *The American Conservative*, November 21, 2005, pp. 25–27 and Marie Colvin, "U.S. in Secret Truce Talks with Insurgency Chiefs," *Sunday Times*, October 22, 2006. On rebellion, see Camilo Mejía, *Road from Ar Ramadi: The Private Rebellion of Staff Sergeant Camilo Mejia* (New York: New Press, 2007), p. 159.
31. On Hussein, see Marc Santora, James Glanz, and Sabrina Tavernise, "Dictator Who Ruled Iraq with Violence is Hanged for Crimes against Humanity," *New York Times*, December 20, 2006. For the poll, see Robert Hodierne, "Poll: More Troops Unhappy with Bush's Course in Iraq," *Army Times*, December 29, 2006.

32. James A. Baker III and Lee H. Hamilton, *The Iraq Study Group Report: The Way Forward—A New Approach* (New York: Vintage Press, 2006), pp. 9, 16, and 30. The report is also available from the U.S. Institute of Peace.
33. As Frisch observes, “oral history can contribute a substantial counter to officially received history and officially defined policy, by empowering people to generate alternative understandings.” See Michael Frisch, *A Shared Authority: Essays on the Craft and Meaning of Oral and Public History* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1980), p. 178. Again, the testimony presented here is not offered as “The” interpretation, but one that must be included in the debate on the war.

## 2. The New Winter Soldiers Redux: The Patriotism of Antiwar GIs

1. Camilo Mejía, *Road from Ar Ramadi: The Private Rebellion of Staff Sergeant Camilo Mejía* (New York: New Press, 2007), pp. 230–231.
2. Van Gosse, *Rethinking the New Left: An Interpretative History* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), pp. 99–100. For a full account, see Andrew Hunt, *The Turning: A History of the Vietnam Veterans against the War* (New York: New York University Press, 1999). I am grateful to Christian Appy for reminding me of the importance of O’Brien’s book.
3. Jerry Lembke, *The Spitting Image: Myth, Memory, and the Legacy of Vietnam* (New York: New York University Press, 1998). Lembke, “Erasing Resistance: Spat-on Soldiers and the Construction of ‘The Good Veteran,’” Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association. Washington, DC, January 2008.
4. U.S. Department of Defense, “What Is Posttraumatic Stress Disorder,” available at <[http://www.ncptsd.va.gov/facts/general/fs\\_what\\_is\\_ptsd.html](http://www.ncptsd.va.gov/facts/general/fs_what_is_ptsd.html)>, accessed September 5, 2007.
5. Charles W. Hoge, Jennifer L. Auchterlonie, and Charles S. Milliken, “Mental Health Problems, Use of Mental Health Services, and Attrition from Military Service after Returning from Deployment to Iraq or Afghanistan,” *Journal of the American Medical Association* (March 2006), v. 295, n. 9, pp. 1023–1032.
6. Mental Health Advisory Team (MHAT) IV, “Operation Iraqi Freedom Final Report” (Office of the Surgeon—Multinational Force Iraq and the Office of the Surgeon General, U.S. Army Medical Command), November 17, 2006, p. 25, available at <[http://www.armymedicine.army.mil/news/mhat/mhat\\_iv\\_Report\\_17Nov06.pdf](http://www.armymedicine.army.mil/news/mhat/mhat_iv_Report_17Nov06.pdf)>, accessed September 5, 2007. I first learned of this report from former soldier Aidan Delgado.
7. Robert Jay Lifton, *Home from the War: Vietnam Veterans—Neither Victims nor Executioners* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1973), pp. 41, 99–133. Quotation in Lifton, *Super Power Syndrome: America’s Apocalyptic Confrontation with the World* (New York: Thunder’s Mouth Press, 2003), pp. 47–48. Sociologist Jerry Lembke has warned that Lifton’s work on guilt lent itself to a model of veterans as victims, and inadvertently fueled the image of the “bad” antiwar veteran as opposed to the “good” pro-war veteran. See Lembke, *The Spitting Image: Myth, Memory and the Legacy of Vietnam* (New York: New York University Press, 1998),

- p. 108. Nevertheless, Lifton's concept of animating guilt can lead to healthy, positive action.
8. Author interview of David Airhart, March 2006.
  9. Mejía, *Road from Ar Ramadi*, pp. 230, 240, 300.
  10. Richard Moser, *The New Winter Soldiers: GI and Veteran Dissent during the Vietnam Era* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1996), pp. 1, 7, 17–40.
  11. Author interview of Perry O'Brien, December 1, 2007. O'Brien is a veteran of the Afghanistan intervention and an active organizer in IVAW.
  12. William F. Buckley, Jr., "The Nuremberg Doctrine Is Raised and It Was Just a Matter of Time," *The Atlanta Journal*, September 25, 1965.
  13. "Army Lieutenant Becomes First Commissioned Officer to Refuse Deployment to Iraq," *Democracy Now!* Radio program, June 8, 2006, available at <[http://www.democracynow.org/2006/6/8/army\\_lieutenant\\_becomes\\_first\\_commissioned\\_officer](http://www.democracynow.org/2006/6/8/army_lieutenant_becomes_first_commissioned_officer)>, accessed June 16, 2007.
  14. Harvey J. Tharp, "Memorandum: Reasons for Submission of Resignation Request," November 18, 2004, in author's possession and used with permission.
  15. MHAT IV, "Operation Iraqi Freedom," pp. 35 and 80.
  16. William H. McMichael, "Service Members Rally against the War in Iraq," *Marine Corps Times*, January 16, 2007. Again, we should not glorify these soldiers, but we should take seriously their thoughts on the war. See this volume's introduction on this matter and Andrew Bacevich, "Warrior Politics," *Atlantic Monthly* (May 2007). While I do not agree with all of Bacevich's points, his warning that we should not succumb to blindly praising veterans as morally superior makes sense.
  17. Don Van Natta, "Bush Was Set on Path to War, British Memo Says," *New York Times*, March 27, 2006.
  18. Lynndie England, an Army Reservist, was sentenced to three years in prison for detainee abuse at Abu Ghraib. Photographs of England holding a naked prisoner on a leash and others with her smiling alongside naked prisoners appeared in media outlets across the globe after the Abu Ghraib torture scandal was revealed. See Mark Danner, *Torture and Truth: America, Abu Ghraib, and the War on Terror* (New York: New York Review of Books, 2004). The International Committee of the Red Cross described a "consistent pattern" of "brutal behavior," and noted that "the methods of physical and psychological coercion were used by the military intelligence in a systematic way." The Red Cross report is reprinted in Danner's *Torture and Truth*, and the above quotations appear on pp. 253 and 262.
  19. Rumsfeld told a soldier who questioned him about the lack of equipment that "You go to war with the Army you have." See Robert Burns, "Facing Friendly Fire: Heat from the Troops," *Newsday*, December 9, 2004, p. A5.
  20. David Montgomery, "Far from Iraq, a Demonstration of a War Zone," *Washington Post*, March 20, 2007, p. C01.
  21. The British medical journal published articles that estimated Iraqi deaths at over 600,000. For example, see Gilbert Burnham, Ridyah Lafta, Shannon Dooley, and Les Roberts, "Mortality after the 2003 Invasion of Iraq: A Cross-sectional Cluster Sample," *Lancet*, October 11, 2006. There has been considerable debate over the study. See "Lancet's Political Hit," *Wall Street Journal*, January 9, 2008. Two of the authors, Burnham and Roberts, wrote separate letters to the editor,

- which appeared in the *Wall Street Journal*, January 14, 2008. Opinion Research Business, a British polling group, placed the number of Iraqis killed at over 1 million, see Peter Beaumont and Joanne Walters, "Greenspan Admits Iraq Was about Oil, as Deaths Put at 1.2m," *The Observer*, September 16, 2007.
22. See Paul von Zielbauer, "Army Is Cracking Down on Deserters," *New York Times*, April 9, 2007. Amnesty International, "Public Statement/ USA: Staff Sergeant Camilo Mejia Castillo Is a Prisoner of Conscience," AI Index: AMR 51/094/2004 (Public), News Service No: 143 (June 4, 2004).
  23. The School of Americas at Fort Benning is a controversial facility that is accused of training a host of human rights violators. Public scrutiny was aroused in the early 1990s. A secret memo to then Defense Secretary Cheney outlined training manuals used at the school that contained information on false arrests, beatings, and even murder. Thousands of Latin American military personnel trained at the school, including those sent by Nicaragua under Somoza's dictatorship. Many "Contras," those forces opposed to the Nicaraguan Sandinistas, are also linked to the school and human rights violations. Manuel Noriega is among the school's graduates. Congress renamed the school after these revelations to the Western Hemispheric Institute for Security Cooperation. See Lesley Gill, *The School of Americas: Military Training and Political Violence in the Americas* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004).
  24. After reading this transcript, Mejía noted that this discussion was too condensed. I urge readers to consult his book for context and details. The book is also indispensable for anyone concerned with understanding GI resistance. See Mejía *Road from Ar Ramadi*.
  25. Edward Wong, "Iraqi Widow Saves Her Home, but Victory Is Brief," *New York Times*, March 30, 2007.

### **3. From Bunker Hill to Baghdad: We Will Continue the Mission**

1. Quoted in Tam Cummings, "Why I Serve: General Says Teamwork Makes Military Appealing," *Armed Forces Press Service*, February 4, 2005.
2. "Appeal for Courage," available at <<http://appealforcourage.org>>, accessed September 10, 2007. I wish to thank Professor Andrew Bacevich for bringing the appeal to my attention.
3. W. Thomas Smith, "Baghdad Calling: U.S. Troops Make the Case for Courage," *National Review online*, April 23, 2007.
4. "President's Address to the Nation," The Library, Office of the Press Secretary, January 10, 2007, available at <<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2007/01/20070110-7.html>>, accessed September 10, 2007. The plan contains six major factors: "1. Let Iraqis lead; 2. Help Iraqis protect the population; 3. Isolate extremists; 4. Create space for progress; 5. Diversify political and economic efforts; and 6. Situate the strategy in a regional approach."
5. Thom Shanker, "Army Career behind Him, General Speaks Out on Iraq," *New York Times*, May 13, 2007.
6. John Batiste and Pete Hegseth, "Getting Beyond Stalemate to Win a War," *Washington Post*, December 8, 2007, p. A17.



7. Ralph Peters, "Year of Wonders," *New York Post*, December 31, 2007. Dahr Jamail, "Challenges 2007–2008: Iraq Progresses to Some of Its Worst," *Interpress Service*, December 29, 2007. *icasualties.org* reports 817 U.S. casualties from the start of the surge in February 2007 to December 31, 2007.
8. Michael R. Gordon and General Bernard E. Trainor, *Cobra II: The Inside Story of the Invasion and Occupation of Iraq* (New York: Pantheon Books, 2006), pp. 497 and 507.
9. "President Celebrates Independence Day in West Virginia" (Morgantown, WV: West Virginia University, and Office of the Press Secretary), July 4, 2005, available at <<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2005/07/20050704.html>>, accessed September 10, 2007. I am grateful to Richard E. Killbane, U.S. Army Transportation Corps Historian, Fort Eustis, Virginia, who provided the following two unpublished essays to confirm the testimony of Captain McCormick: "Battle of BIAP, 11 April 2004" and "Firefight on ASR Heart, 30 January 2005." Captain McCormick also asked him to assist in editing the transcript.
10. Andrew J. Bacevich, "Warrior Politics," *Atlantic Monthly* (May 2007); Bacevich "Vietnam Relevant, but Not How Bush Cited It," *Stars and Stripes* (August 2007).
11. Michael Gordon and Bernard Trainor, *Cobra II: The Inside Story of the Invasion and Occupation of Iraq* (New York: Vintage, 2007).
12. The Wounded Warriors project explains its mission is "to raise the awareness and enlist the public's aid for the needs of severely injured service men and women, to help severely injured service members aid and assist each other, and to provide unique, direct programs and services to meet their needs." See <<https://www.woundedwarriorproject.org/>>, accessed November 10, 2007.

#### 4. The Sacrifice of Military Families

1. Scott Jason, "Left Behind: Wife and Son Wait for Marine to Return," *Merced Sun Star*, December 19, 2007.
2. Col. Douglas Waldrep, Col. Stephen J. Cozza, and Col. Ryo Sook Chow. "Chapter XII. The Impact of Deployment on the Military Family" in National Center for Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder, *Iraq War Clinician Guide*, 2nd edition, (Washington, DC: Department of Veteran Affairs, June 2004), pp. 83–86. Jason, "Left Behind."
3. Waldrep et al. "Impact of Deployment on the Military Family," pp. 83–86.
4. Deployment statistics and quotations from generals in this paragraph from Ann Scott Tyson, "Possible Iraq Deployments Would Stretch Reserve Force," *Washington Post*, November 5, 2006.
5. Faye Fiore, "Military Kin on U.S. Handling of War," *Newsday*, December 7, 2007, p. A32.
6. "About Us," available at <<http://familiesunited.com/docs/about/>>, accessed September 10, 2007.

#### 5. War Managers: Pundits and Policy Officials

1. Richard Perle, "Relax, Celebrate Victory," *USA Today*, May 1, 2003. David Rose, "Neo Culpā," *Vanity Fair* (November 2006). The *Vanity Fair* article generated

- controversy, and was accused of misrepresenting Perle's words. Perle's statement that the occupation was a mistake was on the BBC program, *Hard Talk*, and the video is available at <<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/programmes/hardtalk/7108199.stm>>, accessed July 18, 2008.
2. William Buckley, Jr., "It Didn't Work," *National Interest* (February 2006). Available at <<http://www.nationalreview.com/buckley200602241451.asp>>, accessed July 18, 2008. George Will, "A War Still Seeking a Mission," *Washington Post*, September 11, 2007, p. A16. Patrick J. Buchanan, "Stay the Course Is Not Enough," in *The Right War? The Conservative Debate on Iraq*, ed. Gary Rosen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 201–203.
  3. Andrew Bacevich, "I Lost My Son to a War I Oppose. We Were Both Doing Our Duty," *Washington Post*, May 27, 2007, p. B01.
  4. For a discussion and context on Carter see Andrew Bacevich, *The New American Militarism: How Americans Are Seduced by War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 175–204. The Carter Doctrine states, "An attempt by any outside force to gain control of the Persian Gulf region will be regarded as an assault on the vital interests of the United States of America, and such an assault will be repelled by any means necessary, including military force."
  5. Scott Sherman, "David Horowitz's Long March," *The Nation*, July 3, 2000. Jennifer Jacobson, "What Makes David Run: David Horowitz Demands Attention for the Idea That Conservatives Deserve a Place in Academe," *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, May 6, 2005: p. A9.
  6. Falwell is a television evangelical preacher, whose remark that homosexuals and abortionists are in part to blame for the 9/11 attack created a storm of controversy. He later apologized for the following comment: "I really believe that the pagans, and the abortionists, and the feminists, and the gays and the lesbians who are actively trying to make that an alternative lifestyle, the ACLU, People for the American Way—all of them who have tried to secularize America—I point the finger in their face and say, 'You helped this happen.'" See John F. Harris, "God Gave U.S. 'What We Deserve,' Falwell Says," *Washington Post*, September 14, 2001, p. C03.
  7. See Tim Weiner, "The Case of the Spies without a Country," *New York Times*, January 17, 1999 and Hans Blix, *Disarming Iraq* (New York: Pantheon Books, 2004), pp. 36–37.
  8. George P. Shultz, William J. Perry, Henry Kissinger, and Sam Nunn, "A World Free of Nuclear Weapons," *Wall Street Journal*, January 4, 2007.
  9. Right-hand man quotation in Dana Milbank, "Colonel Finally Saw Whites of Their Eyes," *Washington Post*, October 20, 2005. Brian Knowlton, "Former Powell Aide Says Bush Policy Run by Cabal," *New York Times*, October 21, 2005. Ring quoted in Richard Leiby, "Breaking Ranks," *Washington Post*, January 19, 2006.
  10. See Mark Mazzetti, "US Army Says Prison Deaths Are Homicides," *Boston Globe*, March 26, 2005; "US Acknowledges Torture at Guantanamo; in Iraq, Afghanistan—UN," *Forbes.com*, June 24, 2005, available at <<http://www.forbes.com/work/feeds/afx/2005/06/24/afx2110388.html>>, accessed August 10, 2007. For further documentation, consult Human Rights First, "One Year after the Abu Ghraib Torture Photos: U.S. Government Response 'Grossly Inadequate,'" A Human Rights First Assessment, April 26, 2005, available at

- <[http://www.humanrightsfirst.org/us\\_law/etn/statements/abu-yr-042605.htm](http://www.humanrightsfirst.org/us_law/etn/statements/abu-yr-042605.htm)>, accessed August 10, 2007.
11. Lawsuits were filed in Germany and France against Rumsfeld over the mistreatment of detainees; see Adam Zagorin, "Exclusive: Charges Sought against Rumsfeld over Prison Abuse," *Time*, November 10, 2006. Rumsfeld reportedly made a hasty exit from France because of such lawsuits, see "Rumsfeld Flees France, Fearing Arrest," *Altnet*, October 29, 2007, available at <<http://www.altnet.org/story/66425>>, accessed March 12, 2008.
  12. Quotation on Feith as top planner and the following Feith comment in Eric Schmitt, "Controversial Pentagon Official Is Stepping Down," *New York Times*, January 27, 2005.
  13. George Tenet, *At the Center of the Storm: My Years at the CIA* (New York: HarperCollins, 2007), see especially Part III. Seymour Hersh, "Selective Intelligence," *New Yorker* (May 2003). Inspector General, United States Department of Defense, "Review of the Pre-war Activities of the Office of the Under Secretary of Defense for Policy," Report No. 07-INTEL-04, February 9, 2007. To be sure, the Inspector General report does not specifically address the Office of Special Plans.
  14. See Hersh, "Selective Intelligence"; Robert Dreyfus and Jason West, "The Lie Factory," *Mother Jones* (January/February 2004); and Inspector General, "Review of the Pre-war Activities."
  15. Former U.S. defense secretary Donald Rumsfeld was given a "foot in the mouth" award by the British Plain English Society. The award is for public officials who make outlandish or confusing remarks, and Rumsfeld impressed the society when he said: "Reports that say that something hasn't happened are always interesting to me, because as we know, there are known knowns; there are things we know we know. We also know there are known unknowns; that is to say we know there are some things we do not know. But there are also unknown unknowns—the ones we don't know we don't know." See "Rum Remark Wins Rumsfeld an Award," *BBC News*, December 2, 2003. Ahmed Chalabi is a controversial figure who was one of the leaders of the Iraqi National Congress that promoted the overthrow of Saddam Hussein in the 1990s. Chalabi is allegedly wanted for bank fraud in Jordan.
  16. Executive Order 13303 appears to protect U.S. corporations that do business in Iraq with special attention to oil. It states, "any attachment, judgment, decree, lien, execution, garnishment, or other judicial process is prohibited, and shall be deemed null and void, with respect to the following... all Iraqi petroleum and petroleum products, and interests therein, and proceeds, obligations, or any financial instruments of any nature whatsoever arising from or related to the sale or marketing thereof..." See "Executive Order Protecting the Development Fund for Iraq and Certain Other Property in Which Iraq Has an Interest," May 22, 2003, available at <<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/05/20030522-15.html>>. Accessed on June 21, 2007.
  17. Peter Waldman, "Resigning in Protest, a Career Diplomat Turns Peace Envoy—Letter to Powell Makes Him an Unlikely Antiwar Icon," *Wall Street Journal*, April 1, 2003.
  18. Cheney delivered a speech at the Veterans of Foreign Wars National Convention in Nashville, TN, in August 2002. The vice president argued that "[t]here is no

doubt that Saddam Hussein now has weapons of mass destruction. . . . What we must not do in the face of a mortal threat is give in to wishful thinking or willful blindness. We will not simply look away, hope for the best, and leave the matter for some future administration to resolve. . . . Regime change in Iraq would bring about a number of benefits to the region. When the gravest of threats are eliminated, the freedom-loving peoples of the region will have a chance to promote the values that can bring lasting peace." See "Full Text of Dick Cheney's Speech," *Guardian* (London), August 27, 2002.

19. Thomas E. Ricks, *Fiasco: The American Military Adventure in Iraq* (New York: Penguin Press, 2006), pp. 329–340. Ricks describes what he calls the 2nd Battalion's "near mutiny," and that this first use of Iraqi forces for internal operations indicated a "strategic failure for the entire U.S. approach."
20. Douglas A. Ollivant and Eric D. Chewning, "Producing Victory: A 2007 Postscript for Implementation," *Military Review* (March–April 2007), v. 87, pp. 109–110.
21. Roger Cohen, "The Ghost in the Baghdad Museum," *New York Times*, April 2, 2006.

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# Index

- Abu Ghraib, 29, 31–32, 44, 65, 84, 96  
Addington, David, 145  
Afghanistan, 14, 30, 87–89, 90–94, 105,  
117, 128, 135, 144, 147, 163, 167  
Al Qaeda, 14, 43, 48, 64, 70, 92, 99–101,  
129, 144, 149–151, 157, 167, 171, 174  
Ali, Muhammad, 147  
Allawi, Iyad, 17–18, 170  
American Enterprise Institute (AEI), 155,  
160  
American Legion, 43  
Amnesty International, 58  
Anglo-Persian Oil Company, 10  
Annan, Kofi, 139  
Appeal for Courage, 69, 85–87, 131  
Appeal for Redress, 27–28, 69, 85, 131  
Appy, Christian, xvii, xix, 6  
Arab League, 161  
Argentina, 107, 118  
Armitage, Richard, 143  
Atta, Mohammad, 150–151, 156  
  
Baath Party, 11, 19, 151, 157, 164  
Bacevich, Andrew, xi, 2, 86, 123, 125,  
127–132  
Baker III, James, 20  
Bakr, Ahmad Hassan, 11  
Batatu, Hanna, 11  
Batiste, John, 70  
Becker, Marc, xvii  
Ben Suc, 26  
bin Laden, Osama, 10, 14  
Blair, Tony, 10, 28, 40  
Blix, Hans, xviii, 3, 15–16, 125, 136–141  
Bolton, John, 14  
Bosnia, 47, 97, 158  
Bremer III, L. Paul, 17, 170–171, 173, 180  
Buchanan, Patrick, 124  
Buckley, William, Jr., 26, 124  
Bush, George Herbert Walker, 12, 13  
Bush, George W., xiv, 10, 14–17, 19–20,  
28, 36–37, 40, 45, 48, 50, 55,  
69–72, 76–77, 106, 114, 124, 127,  
134, 136, 139–140, 146, 148,  
155–157, 160, 164, 166–167  
Buzzell, Colby, 22  
  
Cambodia, 133  
Camus, Albert, 7  
Canada, 57, 148, 172–173  
Carter Doctrine, 128  
Castro, Fidel, 59  
Center for Public Integrity, 16  
Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), 11,  
16, 62, 84, 137–139, 143, 145,  
149–151, 160–161  
Chalabi, Ahmed, 156, 164, 170  
Cheney, Richard “Dick,” xiv, 14, 16, 71,  
125, 139, 142, 144–146, 148,  
155–157, 160, 165–166  
China, 118, 135  
Chomsky, Noam, 128–129  
Cline, David, 50  
Clinton, William “Bill,” 13–14, 135  
Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA),  
17, 41–42, 126, 167–171, 173, 180  
Conscientious objection/objector, xiv, 24,  
29–31, 58, 60, 65–66, 112–115  
Costa Rica, 57, 59–60, 116–117  
Crocker, Ryan, 172  
“Curveball” (Iraqi informant), 143–144  
  
Darfur, Sudan, 132  
Da’wa Party, 18, 169



- Dean, Howard, 134  
 Dearlove, Richard, 15  
 Democratic Patriotic Alliance of Kurdistan (DPAK), 18  
 Downing Street Memo, 15  
 Drumheller, Tyler, 143  
 Duelfer, Charles, 105
- Eaton, Gen. Paul, 126, 163–167  
 Egypt, 29, 144  
 Eisenhower, Dwight, 57, 153  
 ElBaradei, Mohamed, 138–139  
 Emerson, Gloria, xiv  
 England, Lynndie, 31
- Faisal, King, 10  
 Fallujah, Iraq, 35, 44–45, 73–74, 97, 100–101, 164  
 Falwell, Jerry, 134  
 Families United for a Strong America, 104  
 Faneuil Hall, 50  
 Feith, Douglas, 125, 128, 145, 148–152  
 Feurer, Rosemary, xvii  
 Fort Benning, Georgia (U.S. Army “School of the Americas”), 60, 163  
 Franks, Gen. Tommy, 68  
 Frisch, Michael, 2
- Galbraith, Peter, 168  
 Galtung, Johan, 5–6  
 Garner, Jay, 17  
 Gathering of Eagles, 51  
 Germany, 93, 94, 135  
 Gettleman, Marv, xviii  
 Gold Star Families for Peace, 104–105  
 Gonzales, Alberto, 145  
 Gore, Al, 134  
 Grossman, Karl, xviii  
 Guantanamo, 120, 144
- Hadley, Steven, 143, 149–151  
 Halliburton, 37, 40–42, 135  
 Hamas, 40, 134  
 Hanna, John, 144  
 Hegseth, Peter, 70  
 Hemingway, Ernest, xv
- Hersh, Seymour, 148  
 Historians against the War (HAW), xi, xvii, 133  
 Horowitz, David, 123–125, 132–136  
 Hungary, 47  
 Hussein, King (Jordan), 11  
 Hussein, Saddam, xi, xiii, 1, 11, 12–20, 28, 36, 40, 48, 61, 68, 82, 84, 97, 124, 126, 133–135, 138, 144–145, 147, 156, 157, 161, 164–165, 168–173, 175–177, 180
- International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), 16, 136, 138  
 Involuntary extension of military duty (“stop-loss”), 38, 41, 46, 58, 65, 114  
 Iran, 9, 11, 12, 14, 70, 83, 101, 117–118, 130, 133–134, 141, 145, 147, 154, 160, 169–170, 180  
 Iraq and Afghanistan Veterans of America, 102  
 Iraq Liberation Act (1998), 135  
 Iraq Study Group, 20  
 Iraq Survey Group, 1, 105  
 Iraq Veterans against the War (IVAW), 22, 25, 27, 38, 44, 46–47, 50–51, 55  
 Iraqi Civil Defense Corps (ICDC), 45  
 Iraqi Freedom Congress, 126, 172, 174  
 Iraqi Interim Government, 17  
 Iraqi National Alliance (INA), 170  
 Iraqi National Assembly, 83  
 Iraqi National Congress (INC), 83, 164, 170  
 Iraqi Police (IP), 45  
 Iraqi Transitional Government, 18  
 Islamic Army of Iraq, 19  
 Israel, 128, 141, 146, 158
- Japan, 135  
 Jefferson, Thomas, 46  
 Jesus, 64  
 Jordan, 11, 61
- Kay, David, 157  
 Kellogg Brown & Root, 37  
 Kerry, John, 32, 45, 134, 140  
 Khalilzad, Zalmay, 172

- Khamenei, Ruhollah, 170  
 King, Martin Luther, Jr., 116  
 Kirkuk, 41–42, 171  
 Kissinger, Henry, 141  
 Koran, 64  
 Korea, 52, 94, 141  
 Korean War, 22  
 Kovic, Ron, 21  
 Kristol, William, 128  
 Kurdish Democratic Party (KDP), 83  
 Kuwait, 9, 12, 33–34, 47–48, 51, 53,  
     72–73, 77, 82, 94–95, 98, 159, 172  
  
 Lawrence, Thomas Edward “T.E.,” 10, 93  
 Lawson, Chuck, 68  
 League of Nations, 10  
 Lebanon, 10, 167  
 Lembcke, Jerry, 22, 32  
 Lenin, Vladimir, 59  
 Lennon, John, 61  
 Levin, Carl, 149, 151–152  
 Lewis, John, 28  
 Libby, Lewis, 16, 143–144, 149–151, 156  
 Libi, Ibn al-Shaykh-al, 144  
 Libya, 68, 154–155  
 Lifton, Robert Jay, 23–25  
 Lockheed, 146  
 Luti, William, 153–155  
 Lynch, Jessica, 48  
 Lynd, Staughton, xvii, 3  
  
 Mahdi Army, 19, 72, 174  
 Maliki, Nuri -al, 18  
 Malkin, Michelle, 69  
 Marx, Karl, 59  
 McCain, John, 166  
 McLaughlin, John, 143  
 McNamara, Robert, 6  
 Mejia, Camilo, xix, 19, 21–22, 24, 57–66  
 Mental Health Advisory Team (MHAT,  
     chartered by U.S. Surgeon  
     General), 23  
 Mexico, 141  
 Military Families Speak Out, 54, 104–105,  
     107  
 Miller, Judith, 143, 154, 156  
 Mills, C. Wright, xiii  
  
 Mitchell, David, 25–26  
 Morris, Robert, 11  
 Morrison, Norman, 6  
 Morrison Welsh, Anne, 6  
 Moser, Richard, 24  
 Mukhabarat, 144  
 My Lai, 26  
 Myers, Gen. Richard, 165  
  
 Nassiriyah, 48, 175  
 National Security Strategy of the  
     United States (2002), 14, 140  
 Negroponte, John, 90  
 New Zealand, 139  
 Nicaragua, 57–60  
 North Atlantic Treaty Organization  
     (NATO), 162  
 North Korea, 14, 61, 141, 145–146  
 Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT),  
     140–141  
 Nuremberg Principles, 26  
  
 O’Brien, Jim, xvii  
 O’Brien, Tim, 21  
 Ochoa, Enrique, xvii  
 Odierno, Gen. Raymond, 165,  
     172  
 Office of Special Plans, 148, 152–155  
 Operation Desert Storm (1991), 12,  
     72–73, 78 *see also* Persian Gulf War  
 Operation Enduring Freedom, 14, 88  
 Operation First Casualty (protest), 44  
 Operation Phantom Fury, 45  
 “Operation Shutdown,” 64–65  
 Operation Southern Watch, 41  
 Organization of the Petroleum Exporting  
     Countries (OPEC), 11–12  
 Ottoman Empire, 9–10  
  
 Pace, Gen. Peter, 165–166  
 Pakistan, 155  
 Palestine, 10, 136  
 Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO),  
     134  
 Papandreou, George, 160  
 Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK), 83  
 Perle, Richard, 124, 145

- Persian Gulf War (1991), xv, 5, 22, 31, 41, 72, 127, 146, 159 *see also* Operation Desert Storm
- Petraeus, Gen. David, 70–71, 88, 91, 93, 101, 147, 163, 172
- Portelli, Alessandro, 4
- Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD), 22–23, 40, 43, 46, 56
- Powell, Colin, 15, 125, 139, 142–146, 161–162
- Project for the New American Century (PNAC), 13–14
- Qasim, Karim, 10–11
- Quest, Richard, 109
- Reagan, Ronald, 59, 143
- Reid, Harry, 69
- Revolutionary Command Council, 11
- Rice, Condoleezza, 140, 143
- Rove, Karl, 45
- Rumsfeld, Donald, xiv, 14–16, 37, 45, 70, 78, 126, 142, 144–145, 148, 149–151, 155–156, 163, 165–166
- Rydell, Randy, xviii
- Sadr, Moqtadar-al, 19, 74, 119, 174
- San Remo Conference (1920), 10
- Sandinista Movement, 57–60
- Saudi Arabia, 9, 41, 61, 130, 134, 167, 180
- Scowcroft, Brent, 12
- Senegal, 29
- “Shared Authority” (in oral history), 2–3
- Sharon, Ariel, 160
- Sheehan, Cindy, 7, 104, 175
- Shelton, Christina, 150–151
- Shelton, Hugh, 165
- Shinseki, Gen. Eric, 165
- Somalia, 97, 163
- Somoza, Anastasio “Tachito,” 58–59
- South Korea, 141
- South Oil Union, 175
- Soviet Union, 13, 52, 157
- Spain, 59, 140
- “Stop-loss,” *see* Involuntary extension of military duty
- Sudan (Darfur), 132
- Supreme Council for Islamic Revolution in Iraq (SCIRI), 83, 169–171
- “Surge,” The (New Way Forward in Iraq, 2007), 70–71, 87
- Swofford, Anthony, 22
- Sykes-Picot Agreement (1916), 10
- Syria, 10, 64, 70, 91, 100, 140, 160, 167, 169, 176, 179
- Talabani, Jalal, 18, 170
- Taliban, 14, 90
- Tawhid, 19
- Tenet, George, 15, 143–144, 148–151, 155
- Thailand, 29
- Thich Nhat Hahn, 2
- Trotsky, Leon, 59
- Tunisia, 154
- Turkey, 9–10, 39, 112, 173
- United Iraqi Alliance, 18
- United Nations Monitoring, Verification and Inspection Commission (UNMOVIC), 15, 136–139
- United Nations Security Council Resolution 687, 13
- United Nations Security Council Resolution 1284, 136–137
- United Nations Security Council Resolution 1441, 15–16, 136, 140
- United Nations Special Commission (UNSCOM), 13, 137
- USS Abraham Lincoln*, xiv, 164
- Veterans for Peace, 22, 50
- Veterans of Foreign Wars, 43
- Vets for Freedom, 68, 70, 80
- Vets for Victory, 68–69, 71
- Vidal, Gore, xiv
- Vietnam, 72, 111
- Vietnam Veterans against the War (VVAW), 21–22, 25
- Vietnam War, xiii, xiv, xvii, 2, 6, 21, 23–26, 32–33, 38, 46–47, 51, 55, 124, 127, 133, 142, 147, 153, 158
- War Powers Act (1973), 15
- Washington, George, 59, 86, 147

- Watada, Ehren, 26
- Weapons of Mass Destruction  
    Commission (WMDC), 137, 141
- Wilkerson, Lawrence, 14, 125, 128,  
    142–148
- Will, George, 124
- Williams, William Appleman, 129
- Wilson, Joseph, 16
- Wolfowitz, Paul, 14, 145, 150, 155
- Woodward, Bob, 14
- World Trade Center, xi, 14, 29, 112
- World War I, 9, 89, 93
- World War II, 22, 26, 34, 52, 72, 88–89,  
    97, 114, 124
- Wounded Warriors Project, 102
- Yoo, John, 145
- Zarqawi, Abu Musad al-, 19
- Zinni, Gen. Anthony, 1, 68
- Zogby Poll (soldier attitudes toward  
    withdrawal from Iraq), 17