

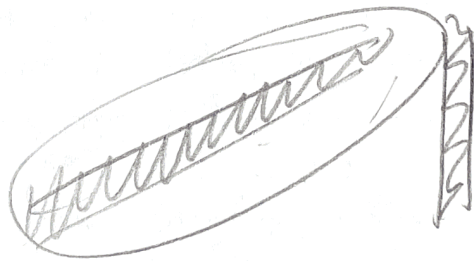
K E R R E Y

I had heard of him when he was running for the governorship of Nebraska. It was the picture in the paper that captured my attention. There he was, a marathon runner on an artificial leg. He had been the victim of a grenade explosion in Vietnam where he served heroically as a member of the Seal Team.

The first time he lectured at UC Santa Barbara he had prepared a kind of textbook address.

Stegnew model -

8:13 - 5:00  
RHHHHH!



Can't let it go -  
Teaching.

add: Chatter ah  
Per Vorkun Memorial

Kerrey - 1

I Robert Kerrey.

I had heard of him when he was running for the governorship of Nebraska. It was the picture in the paper that captured my attention - there he was, a marathon runner on an artificial leg. He had been the victim of a ~~great~~ grenade explosion in Vietnam where he served honorably as a member of the Seal Team.

Developed from articles in the Nebraska Democratic Paper.

The first time he lectured at UCSB he had prepared a kind of textbook address. He was careful to note that he wanted to offer three points, and these were analytical points about the war. One had to do with our knowledge of other countries, other peoples, and other cultures, which knowledge was neither ~~another~~ ~~person~~ nor ~~article~~ ~~point~~ to our U.S. military involvement in Vietnam. (and doing) The second pertained to what ~~it~~ ~~is~~ the kind of issues and interests that ~~could~~ ~~might~~ ~~slightly~~ motivate a nation to go to war. Here ~~the~~ ~~caution~~ he sounded cautions, telling his young audience that it is sometimes more difficult "to kill for your country than to die for your country." And the third part was an appeal to the students to learn as much as they can about the issues the country is facing, the ways the leaders are responding, and to exercise

Kerry - 2

Kerry - 3

The conviction that this the limits that helps to  
them - it is their action just a man and it helps  
to any of their predecessor generations

It was during the Q + A time that for someone  
asked the question that looked like dramatic response.

"Wally Matilda" episode -

Well, this happened. Sen. Scruton died  
after months of "should I or shouldn't I" debate  
when finally, he decided to run for the limits  
that Senate -

election the case - he says the song again.  
night

He was not the only ~~person~~ <sup>person</sup> who was also  
a Vietnam veteran.

Charles Robb of Va. - at the same time  
- was the 1st U.S. Sen. -

Jeremiah Denton -

John Kerry

John McCain -

Charles Robb -

But he was the only one of these to receive  
the Congressional Medal of Honor. The only one  
to have been so severely wounded -

He was one who, unmistakably, had been deeply  
affected by the Vietnam War -

← not whom persons immediately  
identified with that episode is recent  
American history.

Flag Burning:

There's a Tape here at home.

We have them all taped -

Next section could be by Raji, he said

at S. B. -

for news clips in the folder

top video tapes -

Also: rehearsal of stories he tells

NEXT: The DAY IN LINCOLN -

announcement - new day -

Reference to parents - what they did for

(we need to do the same).

Race for Presidency - much telling:

American leg - outside Manchester -

Concord - no medals -

MAX WELAND -

SPELLMAN COLLEGE IN ATLANTA -

My Plea: this is how the Vietnam War ends -

at Viet Vet has president

Perhaps we work ready -

he had it for Kenney long time to start of Raji.

Kennedy - 4

Perhaps he hadn't fully realized  
how dependent he would be on his  
staff -

- or, perhaps, ~~because~~ it was a simple matter of  
being defeated by a superior candidate
- one who had been through the whole process
- " did have an experienced staff  
who was able to "miss" many votes

Big Question: How well would he ~~have~~ have done had he  
been the outstanding thing is that the 1962 election <sup>was</sup> been  
did become a kind of referendum on <sup>the</sup> Vietnam War.

The expectation was that this was the year  
that a V.V. Vet would emerge +

The personality

of so, who was held in  
high regard in the B.K.

What happened - an acknowledged draft dodger  
(dig out specifics)  
was the contest.

How could this be?

We weren't sure that we were ready for a veteran.  
Yet - when

C. J. ~~Heath~~  
veterans, having been identified with  
McCarthy from such a long history,  
were being accepted more & more

Kerley - 4

There's something like - The conditions that made it acceptable for a vet. - also made it a war theater.

Does this mean the war is over?  
Does the war end when we get to a certain point = history?

Or did any of them have part in an extended

morality play?  
War theater? - BK = the vet  
BC = the theater?

Page 100:

- 1 page - set up
  - 2 " - ACSB
  - 3 " - Interview in brackets
  - 2 - Wally holds with
  - 3 - Place for people
- 
- 11

Symbolic Function  
 ? leadership  
 BK = a vet  
 BC = death  
 JFK = a call  
 = a girl  
 = a war  
 = a unity.

But the juxtaposition of a highly decorated war veteran and a celebrated death diver in the Presidential inauguration raises questions about the end of the Vietnam War era. The talk about the putting the Vietnam syndrome behind us.

- about the extent to which the content was about a provided an idea into how the popular view feels about the war. Was it an issue? Was it background? Was it context? Was it framework?

The upshot must be that ~~the~~ the particular stance - ~~the~~ taken in Vietnam is neither definitive nor instrumental when assessed -

qualification or disqualification for the Presidency. This may mean that the debate over the issue cannot be elevated to high priority. American believe that the war was controversial and

W.H. Auden

Further. They may not accept still have problems with

But the junior is more of a special interest kind. Veterans in public with a candidate who resisted military service. Person who needs sacrifices in peace war are not enamored by a candidate who took shortcuts step to remove himself from hero's way. Former war protesters + can object have no special feeling for - for a war heroes. But none of these attitudes any longer can prevent to be self reflecting.

day of the mood of the country, or of a ~~some~~ ~~common~~ certain consensus response.

So the country may have been willing to have a V.W. as a president at the same time. This characteristic ~~of~~ ~~did~~ ~~not~~ ~~equat~~ with any special qualification. B.K. was an integer candidate ~~has~~ ~~written~~ ~~2~~ ~~his~~ ~~relation~~ ~~with~~ ~~the~~ ~~country~~

his nature intelligence, and his record of heroic service to his country, the fact that the latter was regarded as a credit, in spite of the fact that he was deep ~~remained~~ ~~public~~ ~~in~~ ~~a~~ ~~notable~~ ~~form~~.

But this does not signify ~~signify~~ ~~should~~ ~~not~~ ~~be~~ ~~overlooked~~.

It does not mean that the country is ~~freely~~ ~~willing~~ ~~to~~ ~~accept~~ ~~a~~ ~~V.W.~~ ~~as~~ ~~the~~ ~~leader~~.

It ~~is~~ ~~not~~ ~~clear~~ ~~that~~ ~~the~~ ~~idea~~ ~~of~~ ~~ideological~~ ~~conflict~~ ~~is~~ ~~past~~.

What it means instead is that V.W. involvement is certainly not a ~~limiting~~ ~~factor~~ - its presence is ~~not~~ ~~very~~ ~~much~~ ~~more~~ ~~important~~ ~~than~~ ~~its~~ ~~absence~~ ~~is~~ ~~to~~ ~~the~~ ~~outcome~~ ~~of~~ ~~a~~ ~~close~~ ~~election~~..

Kerry's V.W. status as a plus ~~plus~~ ~~is~~ ~~not~~ ~~an~~ ~~in~~ ~~itself~~ ~~determining~~ ~~factor~~.

Chit's anti-modern ~~was~~ ~~not~~ ~~the~~ ~~primary~~ ~~reason~~ ~~for~~ ~~the~~ ~~country's~~ ~~lack~~ ~~of~~ ~~interest~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~war~~ ~~in~~ ~~Iraq~~ ~~was~~ ~~not~~ ~~a~~ ~~plus~~, ~~but~~, ~~was~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~crucial~~ ~~context~~, ~~was~~ ~~not~~ ~~definitive~~ ~~either~~.

So the primary election ~~was~~ ~~not~~ ~~the~~ ~~deciding~~ ~~factor~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~outcome~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~election~~ ~~was~~ ~~decided~~ ~~on~~ ~~other~~ ~~grounds~~.

~~activity~~

~~activity~~



B. K.

B.K. came up that B.C. was the answer.  
 The question was about joining the war.  
 Does it pass out? The 1952 election  
 means that the war is over. There is no longer fighting?  
 The answer is both yes + no  
 Yes = the same

1st - 1st Premier Election  
 Would war it people. 
 hotly debated  
 political factor?

This time the split with the Social was  
 simply acknowledged - not mediated nor  
 negotiated. not resolved  
 simply carried forward

845,000	325
410,000	222
435,000	103
103	
538,000	
12	
26	
31	
9	
21	
643,000	

The general that came into  
 prominence in 1952 has  
 resolved the debt after the  
 war  
 The event is debatable  
 is evidently debatable.  
 remains

Conclusion: no concern clearly -  
 the way - sign of the war.  
 But vivid think that a new general  
 his name into its own - the debt  
 split - it evidence on the war  
 is acknowledged & transmitted forward

When does this leave B.K. well. the  
 but back occurs he has to capitalise  
 capitalise politically - in war dependence

has already passed. While near the  
the most demonstrate the suitability for  
of pres. in other grounds

1000  
4400  
500  
4800  
1800  
14800

General factors: War problems  
in the world

War is a problem in the  
conflict between nations

it is a real challenge

The first World War  
the second of Reg. or rule

It is for the the V. W. cannot be  
easily accommodated - then to do it.

~~10,000~~

for anyone who for whom  
ambivalence + ambiguitiy are  
paradigmatic.

The United States signed the  
has decided to retreat not only  
+ promise;

how has successfully challenge the  
parent generation - who  
paradigm was in WWII

Not only has a new  
but a new war has been conducted

Where, when people caught the  
the first + when - away was the

example is just = the V.W. The V.W. is understood to be the way war is truly. It is not an anomalous war.

1952 put the Vichy Syndrome behind but elevates it to paradigm status

But the real symbol is the delinquent K + C. → the delinquent the V.W. has also ascended to a peak, paradigm war. In that peak it is a matter of selecting the winner or the loser - even decisions which cost which - but a schism. The severe severe & pervasive national furor that the war created & continues to stand for. The contest bet. BK + BC is reflecting of this persistent furor.

Then the populace elected to register its judgment on the propriety of the war. Because this is too ~~often~~ elusive a subject, but on the distinctness of the pres. condition judge for the sake successively for the various parts.

Learn BK file K to what he needs to do - he may be carrying the burden of war in his mind & collection slides.

but ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup>  
primarily for the veterans  
has the national symbol  
for there is no national consensus  
no ~~on~~  
undividedness -

Rather ~~is~~ <sup>is</sup> the opposite  
no large national response  
but a fractured response

So, it's not the war itself  
but the war's ability to serve as a  
feel point -

$$\begin{array}{r} 25 \\ \overline{) 750} \\ 50 \\ \underline{500} \\ 250 \\ 250 \\ \underline{250} \\ 0 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r} 37 \\ \overline{) 252} \\ 20 \\ \underline{200} \\ 52 \\ 40 \\ \underline{40} \\ 12 \\ 12 \\ \underline{12} \\ 0 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r} 62.8 \\ \overline{) 3928} \\ 60 \\ \underline{360} \\ 328 \\ 20 \\ \underline{200} \\ 28 \\ 28 \\ \underline{28} \\ 0 \end{array}$$

*[Faint, mostly illegible handwritten notes at the bottom of the page]*

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in Omaha, our hometown.

In September of 1984, I was in Nebraska to preside at a celebration of the tenth anniversary of the establishment of the Nebraska Committee for the Humanities, which meeting was to take place under the Capitol rotunda in Lincoln. Sarah Rosenberg, the executive director of the Nebraska Committee, was able to arrange a meeting for me with Governor Bob Kerrey. She informed his office that I wanted to talk a bit about public humanities programs in the state, but would also welcome an opportunity to have a brief discussion about the war. Sarah was pleased when she telephoned with the governor's acceptance that he had allocated thirty minutes of his time for these purposes.

We met on September 14, 1984 in the governor's office. I told him about the class, then offered a rather quick sketch of events since the end of the war in 1975, mentioning the dedication of the Memorial in Washington and the May 29, 1984 funeral for the Unknown Soldier at Arlington Cemetery. I talked a little about the recovery process that seems to be taking place, specifically that veterans of the war, more and more, are finding themselves in leadership positions throughout the country. He himself is the second Vietnam veteran to be elected governor of a state, the other being Charles Robb of Virginia. I mentioned that I had read such elections are being read by some commentators as being symbolic of the recovery. He smiled and said he was amused because he hadn't seen himself in this light; he didn't know that he had this reputation, he said, elsewhere in the country.

"But, isn't it true," I asked, "that your experience with the Vietnam War influenced your decision to run for governor?"

Mr. Kerrey paused, before responding, "The answer to the question must be 'yes,' but there wasn't any direct causal connection." He explained that there were other significant factors involved. Then he briefly described his life before he sought the governorship. He talked of being involved in the anti-war protest movement when he returned from Vietnam, and his effort, motivated by Allard Loewenstein, to have Richard Nixon removed from presidential office. He seemed proud of these undertakings. But he dwelt longest on his hospital stay, attesting that the surgery and the extended recovery period forced him to reflect on the conditions of persons that he might not have considered at all otherwise. He referred to the other patients in the hospitals, and to the hosts of peoples in need. This recognition had as much to do with his wanting to be governor as anything, he said.

Returning to the sequence of events that seems to mark the recovery period, I mentioned that it has taken many veterans nearly a decade or more to find ways to express themselves on the subject of the war. An estimated 500,000 veterans -- approximately 20% of the total number -- are known or believed to be suffering rather severe emotional and psychological distress. It was in response to this set of facts that Governor Kerrey invoked the authority of Elie Wiesel, the interpreter of the holocaust, with the quotation that was cited earlier: "when an event is unspeakable," he repeated softly, "it takes a while to learn the right words." I told him that, with all due respect, I hadn't expected a governor to talk

as one of the strongest and most trusted supporters of the class in the Santa Barbara community.

We recognize, of course, that some of the media attention was inspired by the fact that notable persons -- at times, national leaders -- were coming to Santa Barbara to address the class. In 1982, for example, George McGovern returned to the campus to tell of the very difficult, strained conversations he had with President Lyndon Johnson, in 1966 and 1967, when United States involvement in the war was heightened and intensified. McGovern also described his own reasoning in 1964, when he, together with all but two Senators, voted in favor of Johnson's Gulf of Tonkin Resolution. Media personnel were present as the former democratic presidential nominee -- who ran under an anti-war banner in 1972 -- talked of the agony.

And the reporters returned in significant numbers when Governor Bob Kerrey of Nebraska visited the class. Kerrey visited the class twice, in 1985 and 1986, journeying all the way from Lincoln, Nebraska for this purpose alone. When asked why he did it, he replied that he "may not have accepted an invitation, say, to the State of Minnesota, in late February, but this was California." He added that he had "heard about this incredible class, and wanted to witness it for himself. Besides, it gives me a chance to think about some things that I don't always think about in my workaday world."

His message was straightforward. The question he gets asked most often about the Vietnam War, he said, was "how he could actually kill people, that is, take away someone's life." He said that he had thought about this question more than about any other, and he has

*Handwritten note:* Kerrey: for the court.

28  
concluded that "there are some tasks the country asks you to perform that are more difficult than dying for your country." He proposed that "killing for your country is more difficult than dying for your country." He added that there are some situations in life that may justify taking some else's life, the first of these being when one's own life is being threatened, and the second being when one's loved ones are being threatened. He talked about the circle of responsibility becoming larger, so that killing may be justified if our collective life -- our life as a nation -- is threatened. At this point, he cautioned, we must be exceedingly careful. "Before long," he suggested, "the circle has grown larger, and we are out there killing for ideology, for race, for religion." Without such clarity, he chided, "we'll be out there killing to protect the rights of Burger King in El Salvador." *I'll kill ... but I wish he'd*

But it is the idealism of the man that is best able to capture the enthusiasm of the students. He talked about being so excited about the prospects for a day that gets up early to await its dawning. He talked of Nebraska farmers who have devoted forty, even fifty years, to the cultivation of their plots of ground, and of how real human achievement cannot be purchased, no matter how much money one has. And yet, the most memorable aspect of his visit was the closing paragraphs in his 1986 lecture. After telling students that he was going to portray the war, he stopped out in front of the lectern, asking if he might do something that "I have never done before except in the shower." With their encouragement, he told of the background of the song, "Waltzing Matilda," then sang a number of verses of it acappela. There he was, an idealistic





Mass Deland

Scottish huff scene - who a head of ~~them~~

arrives in the room  
we stand out & ~~see~~

Rerley:

Bob's problem:

who he is who  
acted like anth.  
was prewar

Point: a politician who came to prominence  
before Vietnam

- need to come to know with it -

open him up like a 10/5 percent.  
Gary Barnett quote

de Carver  
promish ~~sent~~ has did he see? ||

Collins:

- ① Scene in Governor office
- ② Who he is
- ③ address my class the 1st time
- ④ 1987 - 1990 - 1988
- ⑤ anecdotal wisdom
- ⑥ 1988 - Run for Senate
- ⑦ Presidential Campaign

look at the mixup  
Part = WW II  
Clinton - NO Vet  
Hawken - earlier war.

1992 =  
Presidential  
Campaign = another  
referendum

IRONY:  
what

But what is the point?

a man made by the Vietnam who  
a claimant to each part paradigmatic  
Vietnam War veteran

for good reason  
Even hated & recognized the way  
by the public

Did the public want a VW hero?  
Would war II work and explain -

can one more US IT - like  
can help the religious office  
But

Organizational  
Structure

FINISHING THE WAR

- ① The Class 30
- ② The Next Generation 30
- ③ Pilgrimage to Hue-Nha 20
- ④ to Vietnam 30
- ⑤ Ben Gulf 20
- ⑥ New Kenya & Nehru 30

$$\begin{array}{r} 300 \\ 180 \\ \hline 300 \\ \hline 400 \overline{) 54000} \\ \underline{400} \\ 1400 \\ \underline{1200} \\ 2000 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r} 138 \\ 400 \overline{) 54000} \\ \underline{400} \\ 1400 \\ \underline{1200} \\ 2000 \end{array}$$

## Persian Gulf -

Coming out of HANOI -

- bomb attacks -

- full-uniformed American servicemen in  
Hanoi airport.

buying the Vietnamese CAPS  
TV screen in Bangkok -

George Bush -

Americans wanted to fight

Vietnam Syndrome - NO.

get it behind us -

- Reagan's statement

Bush's " - unchanged

+ later -

What did it do ...?

letter to

Billy Schoor.

Kerry

graduate students who were working in the class as Teaching Assistants. And in 1985, the graduate students who were assigned to the class -- all doctoral candidates in religious studies at UCSB -- were John Simmons, Kay Alexander, Michael Burdick, and B. Keith Naylor. But before going into this topic in more detail, I need to relate two developments that occurred between the 1983-84 and 1984-85 academic years.

I was in San Francisco in July, 1984, for a meeting of the California Council for the Humanities, which, because of several scheduling advantages, took place on one of the days of the national convention of the Democratic Party. Unexpectedly, I met George McGovern in the lobby of the St. Francis Hotel, and he provided me with a ticket to attend the convention. Once inside the convention arena, I found myself down on the floor near the delegates' section, and I began talking with a rather softspoken gentleman -- a man I had not met before -- about what we might expect to take place there later in the evening. It was a conversation that I enjoyed very much. I was impressed by the kindness, graciousness, and perceived integrity of the man. When he walked away, a television reporter came up to me to ask if I knew who it was I had been talking with. I said, "no, it was only a casual conversation; we didn't even introduce ourselves." She said, "Well, that was Bob Kerrey, the Governor of Nebraska." I hadn't known.

I had been reading about Bob Kerrey, who won the governorship on his first try, after having served with the Navy Seals in Vietnam, where he was severely wounded, and had a portion of his leg amputated. I was born in Nebraska, and though I left there in the early 1950s I continue to read the Omaha World Herald from time to time. I feel that I know that paper well, for my brother Roger and I were paper carriers for many years

for the genuineness of her "welcome home" to him. He said that he had never received a note that had touched him as deeply.

She asked me if I thought she should keep the flag. I responded that I knew Murphy wanted her to have it. In response, she and her roommate, May Okihiro, a pre-medical student from Hawaii, prepared a large banner -- WELCOME HOME VETS -- on which the names of all of the veterans who had visited or were sitting in on the class were inscribed. And on the last day of class, they presented this banner to the veterans on behalf of, and in the name of, the class. The banner became the focal point of the first Santa Barbara "Welcome Home" for the Veterans. It still hangs on the wall in the Veterans Memorial Building on Cabrillo Boulevard, and has been a prominent feature of all succeeding commemorations.

By this time, the campus and local press became actively involved. The story about May Okihiro's presentation of the banner to the veterans was carried as an evening news item on KEY NEWS, the regular evening newscast of Television Station KEYT. And the campus newspaper, The Daily Nexus, carried feature stories throughout the quarter on some of the presentations of the guest presentors.

Nevertheless, we were not prepared for the significant increase in student enrollment that occurred when the class was offered during the winter quarter, 1985. Whereas in 1984, approximately 350 students took the course for credit, the pre-enrollment for 1985 was over 700; and when we arrived for the first class, the auditorium of some 850 seats was filled to overflowing. I say when "we" arrived because by this time I had formed a close working relationship with several